RESISTANCE IN MĀORI EDUCATION: A CRITIQUE OF KURA KAUPAPA MĀORI

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ABSTRACT *Within the past decade, Māori education has undergone an immense transformation. For the first time since the establishment of the Native Schools in 1867, Te Reo me ōna tīkanga now pervades the halls of state supported institutions using alternate methods of pedagogy. These places now prepare children for the same positions in the work-force that other children in mainstream will be competing for. With the emergence of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, a paradigm was established that challenged, not only the ideological impediments that were embedded within both the curriculum and its delivery, but also the hegemonic influences which penetrated the habits, customs and beliefs that socialised Māori into an acceptance of the status quo.*

INTRODUCTION

One of the intentions of this paper is to engage in a critical process that seeks to analyse the tensions arising from a community based initiative like Kura Kaupapa, and the new curriculum framework. In order to acquire an understanding of the interests vested in Kura Kaupapa, we need to become cognisant of the rationale behind the liberation from mainstream ideology. This necessitates a brief theoretical exposition into the notions of reproduction, resistance and contestation. These constructs will provide a framework upon which the interests, in terms of the curriculum, of both the state and the Māori community will be analysed.

Secondly, a brief historical analysis of Māori education will be given to delineate the systematic denigration of Māori knowledge and the subsequent accumulated dissatisfaction that followed. Finally, it will be suggested that under the aegis of relative autonomy, Māori interests regarding the curriculum, can be accomplished through the implementation of what Bernstein (1971) refers to as *integrated knowledge codes*. As a consequence of this line of reasoning, a discourse is constructed which looks into the process by which Kura Kaupapa has negotiated the curriculum in terms of the state parameters. It is acknowledged that a more rigorous and extended analysis of these issues is required. However, within the limits of this paper, the ideas which are raised at this level of exposition will serve to disclose, and contribute towards, the foundation of a radical theory of resistance for Māori education.

A THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

Karl Marx recognised the implicit relationship between knowledge and control very early by suggesting that,

> [t]he development of fixed capital indicates the extent to which general social knowledge has become a direct force of production, and thus, the extent to which the conditions of the social life process have been brought under the control of the general intellect and reconstructed in accordance with it. It shows to what degree the social forces of production are produced, not only in the forms of knowledge, but also as direct instruments of social practise and of the real life process.[1]

He expressed the interest in which many, including Giroux (1983) and Apple, have pursued concerning the distribution of cultural norms and the reproduction and resistance to them. Apple has examined the transmission of culture, in particular that which sustains the status quo, and how it contributes towards the unequal distribution of the forms of knowledge, and the process by which it comes to be legitimated.[2] He argues that the maintenance of social and ideological stability is "seen in part as relying upon the deep and often unconscious internalisation by the individual of the principles which govern the existing order" and that,

> [a]ny society which increases the relative gap between say, rich and poor in the control of and access to cultural and economic capital, needs to be questioned - how is this inequality made legitimate?; why is it accepted?; and how is this hegemony maintained? [3]

These questions are directly associated with the explicit and implicit configuration of curricula frameworks, and generate other questions which focus upon the relationship between knowledge and control: What knowledge is available in the classroom?; If there are stocks of knowledge, where do they come from?; What are the characteristics of school knowledge?; Is some knowledge rejected or avoided?; Do institutional features restrict the forms of knowledge that are distributed? [4]

Bernstein and Apple have paid attention to how knowledge forms are classified (and stratified) in accordance with "assumptions underlying the distinction between, and strong classification of, uncommonsense and commonsense knowledge".[5] Bernstein identifies two categories which consider forms of knowledge in terms of either collection or integrated knowledge codes. While the former proposes that knowledge forms have distinct boundaries (science, history, psychology, etc), the latter determines that these so called boundaries are blurred, suggesting that knowledge is fluid and dimensional. Harker (1990) commented that Polynesian or Māori epistemologies embrace the latter, which of course, raises an interesting debate surrounding alternate paradigms of education, like Kura Kaupapa, and whether or not they address this issue. The accounts made by these authors are useful in identifying the tension between a "national curriculum", the composers of which have selectively organised knowledge to accommodate a neo-liberal ideology,[6] and the recent initiatives in Māori education which have sought emancipation from it. However, the explanation of what counts as knowledge within the curricula of these paradigms, requires a careful, but may I say adventurous, journey in critical analysis.

Bernstein suggests, that "formal knowledge can be considered through three message systems: curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation".[7] He continues by saying,

> . . . curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realisation of this knowledge on the part of the taught.[8]

These propositions pre-empt discussion on the socio-political construction of the curriculum: its creation arises from the power that certain collectivities have in the community in objectifying their real interests [9] through the manipulation of social and political structures. These structures contribute towards the validation of knowledge, in particular, the schools or the institutes of education, and the interests which are located within them:

> [These are] interests that dominate advanced corporate societies and . . . contribute . . . to the suffering of minorities and women, the alienation of youth, the malaise and meaningless work for a large proportion of the population, and the increasing sense of powerlessness and cynicism that seems to dominate our society.[10]

The creation and implementation of the forms of knowledge which become embedded in the curriculum however, are not explicitly determined by the interests of these collectivities alone. The control of knowledge is regulated on a much more insidious level of social engineering, even hegemony.

Aronowitz (1973) argues that hegemony is that which acts to 'saturate' our very consciousness, so that the educational, economic and social world we see and interact with, and the commonsense interpretations we put on it, becomes the world 'tout court', the only world.[11] It is linked to the control of meaning in the "categories and modes of thinking we commonsensically employ".[12] In other words, the control of the content of the curriculum is partially supported by our everyday, taken for granted assumptions about the world. Hence, the pervading social forces, especially those which are economic, become fundamental to the selection, classification, validation and legitimation of what counts as "real knowledge". Here knowledge is power, but primarily in the hands of those who have it already and who already control cultural capital as well as economic capital.[13]

Power

But I believe that power, in terms of the curriculum, has to some extent been rendered uni-dimensional in light of the arguments produced by the reproduction theorists. They propose that certain forms of legitimated or "high status" knowledge determine who has cultural and economic power. While agreeing that the economic environment has tremendous influence on what is taught in schools, it does seem a rather fatalistic claim and appears to offer no solutions as to how power can be exercised by those without cultural capital. Indeed, it does not

account for the appearance of those phenomena which congress outside of the "state ideological apparatus". Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa invite us to generate a more penetrating analysis of how communities can exercise power in terms of their relative autonomy. The notion of cultural capital and its economic linkage is sufficient to explain the social and cultural reproduction of the dominant ideology within the state schooling system, but it does not explain, with a great deal of clarity, how subordinated or low status knowledge resists hegemonic control of what counts as knowledge. This is crucial in arriving at a causal explanation of what determines the curriculum in Kura Kaupapa and Te Kohanga Reo.

Resistance

Giroux (1983) provides us with a proposition that redresses the position of subordinated groups. He contends that in order to gain a deeper insight into applying resistance as a critical pedagogy, the theoretical terrain must shift from "functionalism and mainstream psychology to those of political analyses".[14] He continues by suggesting that,

> resistance in this case re-defines the causes and meanings of oppositional behaviour, by arguing that it has little to do with the logic of deviance, individual pathology, learned helplessness (and of course genetic explanations), and a great deal to do with the logic of moral and political indignation.[15]

Freire (1990), in juxtaposition to Giroux's commentary, augments this by answering a rather perplexing question:

> How can the oppressed, as divided unauthentic beings, participate in developing the pedagogy of their liberation? Only as they discover themselves to be hosts of the oppressor can they contribute to the mid-wifery of their liberating pedagogy.[16]

Both Giroux and Freire identify that an oppressive political state, that which is dehumanising, is fundamental for the shift towards radical transformation: the hope of emancipation from prescriptive constructs generates the interest to struggle for self and social emancipation. While Apple and others have provided us with a discourse that reveals how the selective tradition and the stratification and legitimation of knowledge maintains hegemony, Giroux and Freire offer possible solutions to the transformation of society and the breakdown of hegemony. In short, it is resistance with a view towards emancipation which re-positions the curriculum as an object of struggle and contestation whereby it is challenged, modified or transformed. Further, this emancipatory interest is concomitant with the exercise of power when it is situated within the context of relative autonomy (tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake) and *educated* [17] community support. Hence, the curriculum is constructed in a propinquitous manner that reflects the political and cultural interests of those engaged in transformation, or be it, liberation.

Transformation

What then generates this concern in Māori Education for a radical transformation of the "schooling system"? The emergence of Kura Kaupapa and Te Kohanga Reo was subsequent to an accumulated frustration, resulting from educational policies that have instituted a selected curriculum, indicative of Pakeha ideology. The sum total of past paternalistic "efforts" on the part of the government colonised Māori, and created an acceptance of their position so that Māori came to blame themselves for their lack of success:

> As 'victims' Māori believed that it was their own fault, that they were deficient. Any suggestions and strategies that were suggested and readily tried, but which failed to work, made not only Māori believe even more strongly - but also those operating the system - that it was because Māori were deficient.[18]

How and why did fatalistic acquiescence of oppressive constructs become the reality for Māori, and what generated the resistance that challenged and transformed that reality?

THE RATIONALE FOR EMANCIPATION

The early curriculum instituted by Thomas Kendall and the early missionaries,[19] was one where Māori children were "trained up in the knowledge of those divine truths, by which under the blessing of God, they would become *useful members* of society and heirs of a glorious immortality".[20] Although the instruction was given in Māori, here was the first evidence of the subordination of knowledge. "Real knowledge" could be found only in the volumes of western culture, and of course, the bible. The pedagogy that was "administered" was based upon the monitorial,[21] didactic English schooling system, which formally designated the teacher as "master"[22] and the students as the "patiently waiting empty receptacles".[23] Despite, these early attempts by the missionaries to subject their students to the illumination of the catechism, the majority of Māori probably tolerated it. Coming to school was more likely to be in connection with receiving a free meal than with learning about the fruits of an obedient life.[24] However, these attitudes were soon to change as Māori began to recognise that literacy was a means by which one could breach the traditional constructs of status, especially for those who did not have any.[25] This along with the obvious benefits ensuing from technology, promulgated the inception of a crisis in cultural and historical beliefs. Māori parents became,

> . . . insistent on having access to good quality Pakeha knowledge. This interest coincided with the colonial beliefs about what Māori children should learn and contributed to a heavy commitment within government policies towards Pakeha orientated assimilationist schooling.[26]

Instituted under the "protectorate" of George Grey, the policy of assimilation was to effect racial amalgamation as quickly as possible, a project which had a major impact on the social and cultural identity of Māori, to the extent that they themselves supported the obliteration of any vestiges within Māoridom that would influence the return to "the ancient ways".[27]

Assimilationist policy manipulated the content of what was to be taught where Māori were to become brown skinned Pakeha. Knowledge became framed within a content of prescription: what was to be taught served to legitimate the educational policies developed by succeeding governments. Between 1867 (Native Schools Act) and 1961 (The Hunn Report) a plethora of policies continued to endorse Pakeha ideology.[28] Collection codes indicative of Western epistemology perpetuated the notion that learning was equivalent to "accumulating banks" of knowledge; that teaching was a didactic process; that the methods of assessment measured how much you retained, not how much you knew; that meritocracy (Young: 1971), validated certain forms of knowledge and excluded others; and that to accumulate knowledge was contingent upon how well the student accepted the position as an object of the teacher's narration.[29] Consequently, integrated knowledge codes were denigrated, oral traditions became subjugated[30] and rendered "low status" and of little use to the common good of the Pakeha community.

The combination of oppressive educational policy, and the suppression of the Māori language, all but secured an inevitable downward spiral of cultural distortion and dissemination. In 1900 over 90% of Māori children who entered school had Māori as their first language, but by 1960, this figure had fallen to less than 15%. The necrotic affect of prescriptive education supported by self alienation of the culture, due to this spiral effect, all but left the Māori destitute of identity. Faced with the stark reality of cultural annihilation Māori leaders in 1981 "responded to the imminent demise of the Māori language by proposing the establishment of Te Kohanga Reo".[31] The effect of this action was to promote Te Kohanga Reo (TKR) as the vehicle by which cultural and political emancipation would be realised. It was the overt signal in response to a raised consciousness that had been initiated by an iwi-wide desire to revisit their culture.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF TE KOHANGA REO

The first Kohanga opened in 1981 at Pukeatua Kokiri, in Wainuiomata, as a pilot scheme. From its inception what was implicit in the epistemological base of Kohanga was, and is, the notion that knowledge is acquired through the interaction with the environment. Children come to "know" the object of cognisance through experiencing it. As a symbol of the movement's beliefs about the acquisition and nature of knowledge, Kohanga adopted the "Whāriki" (flax mat). This metaphor discloses that knowledge is not stratified, autonomous (having distinct boundaries) or classified, but is integrated and interdependent. The boundaries between types of knowledge become blurred. In terms of Bernstein's supposition, the classification between subjects is weak, hence, previously insulated subjects "become subordinate to some relational idea which is the main focus of the educational enterprise".[32] Here, the ideas that children have about the world are not denigrated - their perceptions are not excused as

something typical of Freudian egocentricism. One could argue however, that the same notions about epistemology can be found in other early childhood programmes, but what distinguishes Kohanga Reo from these others is the urgency that pervades the Māori community in resurrecting the Māori language. This urgency contributes towards the drive for self determination and control of the curriculum:

> Kohanga Reo is the best thing to have come out of Māori Affairs for years. It is the salvation of our people! It is our hope for the future . . . We may not be sure how some will cope, but what Māori people can be sure of is that we are alive as a people. Kohanga Reo and its kaupapa, te reo Māori, is the basis for all of this.[33]

We are reminded of Giroux's comments concerning resistance and the emancipatory interest that leads to transformation. The very notion of education is re-positioned in a political context where the forms of curricula, pedagogy and evaluation are contested. There is a struggle for the reification of community interests where power may be exercised relative to the context in which people live. This community interest procures "an expressed hope, an element of transcendence for radical transformation".[34] The notable feature which encapsulates the philosophy of Kohanga is its power to empower Māori to make decisions based upon the issues which represent their real interests. Hegemony continues to survive so long as the process of socialisation maintains those ubiquitous ideas that reinforce the "mind-sets" people have about reality. Hegemony begins to crumble when certain elements congregate outside its field of influence, which distort or upset the ruling ideology, and thereby offer a beacon to which others may gather.

The guiding interest, so powerfully implicit in the human psyche, is the will to survive. If anything, the philosophy that underpins the curriculum in Kohanga is one of humanisation through the restoration of mana or the power to determine and the will to frustrate total annihilation. This is the purpose of Te Kohanga Reo:

> Ko te Whāngai i te reo ki ngā mokopuna kia korerohia te reo i ngā wā katoa, kia kore ai e mate.
> The teaching of te reo Māori to our children so that it is spoken on every occasion, so that it shall never perish.[35]

Te Kohanga Reo represents a renaissance in cultural identity for Māori, and from it has ensued a multitude of Māori language community groups in support of its philosophy.[36] From its inception Kohanga has created such a demand that the former Department of Education had to seriously consider the possibility of significant changes in administration as well as in the curriculum. What was previously subordinated and considered "low status" knowledge, now contested the very constructs that denied it legitimacy. The economic rationale by which knowledge was stratified did not find efficacy in the educational environment of Te Kohanga Reo. The political climate had shifted so that decisions were now being made from a collective base. With the firm establishment of Kohanga, by 1984 [37] the focus of interest now rested upon the primary schools; upon the very

bastions that for so long had been the haven of pakeha political and educational ideology.

KURA KAUPAPA MĀORI

> Kaupapa Māori philosophy takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge pedagogy and practise. It asserts the right of the tangata whēnua (indigenous people) and their culture to exist and to continue to flourish in Aotearoa. Of central importance is the revival and survival of [te reo Māori].[38]

Kura Kaupapa Māori (KKM) and its forbear, Te Kohanga Reo (TKR), have the great potential to become the vehicles by which hegemonic interests, especially those which are state driven, are challenged. Kaupapa Māori schooling directly challenges the state schooling system by implementing major structural changes outside of the state system; changes that challenge the narrow state schooling definitions of what is to count as valid knowledge.[39]

The relationship between knowledge (the curriculum) and control (the community) may be construed as one expression of the notion of resistance. Indeed, it suggests more than "an interest in radical consciousness raising and collective critical action".[40] Resistance, as suggested here, requires the appropriation of power: the ability to transcend boundaries of dominant ideology. Smith (1990) argues that,

> Kaupapa Māori schooling by its mere presence, let alone success, demands that dominant Pakeha interest groups relinquish power and resources to Māori people to enable Māori to take greater control over their own lives.[41]

I believe, however, that power acquisition is already occurring, but within a different dimension. As I suggested earlier, power, in terms of the control over the curriculum, is not necessarily dependent upon the notion of cultural capital. The notions of collective agency and subsidiarity, in association with the notion of resistance,[42] disclose that the lived experiences of our commonsense world can serve to appropriate an emancipatory interest. TKR and KKM are admirable examples of this. However, the acquisition of what Smith suggests to be "legal rational"[43] power, will remain elusive so long as minorities remain minorities. It makes much more sense, in terms of immediate self determination, to divert community energies towards their relative interests than to expect power groups to relinquish the control over ideologies that maintain their social position. Kura Kaupapa endorses the notion that power is best effected from the "flax roots" and in terms of the curriculum, legal rational power is not a necessity *if* an educational paradigm operates outside of state control.

The level of commitment, shown by Māori parents to reify their interests in creating an emancipatory education process reveals the extent to which collective agency empowers people to make relative decisions. In 1993 a group of Māori parents in Hamilton,

> . . . decided to commit themselves to teaching their children and themselves, in a primary school run along the same whanau orientated lines they had established in their kohanga. To keep the fees down, they spend their compulsory time either teaching, doing gardens at week-ends, collecting resources for children, management and administration, secretarial work and other necessary tasks.[44]

The reality for this group, and one that was fully comprehended, was that the only support that was to be forth-coming would be from their own networks. The lack of funds and the sparsity of resources did not deter parents from directing their energies towards creating a pedagogy of self determination. As one parent indicated, "this is not an experiment. These are our children's lives and futures we are dealing with. We cannot afford to fail".[45] Such hardships are characteristic of the early stages of "kura" development, but it is from these initial difficulties that a unique curriculum and pedagogy is generated. Given this environment, which has been created under a collective interest, the positions of "teacher" and "parent" become blurred. There is no dichotomy between what is expected of a teacher and of a parent. To the children, they are one and the same. The pedagogy then, becomes a part of the child's commonsense world and the social typifications (Berger & Luckman: 1981) associated with the roles people have in society are in this case highly integrated. The coincidental appearance of an integrated curriculum and an integrated pedagogy is not to suggest that both are mutually exclusive. Indeed, each one refers to "integration" within different terms of reference. What it does reveal, however, is that the integration of roles has some relational idea to struggle and contestation, when considered in the context of self determination or relative autonomy. It means that operating outside of the state model requires a forging of communal relationships and a feeling of hope with a view towards liberation. The integration of the pedagogy and the way in which it came about does, however, seem to complement the curriculum itself.

STATE vs COMMUNITY: TENSIONS IN LEGITIMACY

Bernstein's notion of an integrated curriculum code suggests that the acquisition of knowledge, as opposed to its accumulation, is not contingent upon a pre-determined set of rules or methods. Learning may be entirely dependent upon the "situation" or the context in which the object of study is under investigation. Consequently, the pedagogy which addresses those forms of knowledge must also complement them. This would suggest then, that the process of education is not necessarily an institutionalised noumenon. Learning is not necessarily a classroom activity, co-ordinated by a teacher, with a pre-determined and prescriptive outcome. The outcome is dependent upon how the object of study is cognisized.[46] The curriculum therefore, takes on quite a different configuration and one which, theoretically, has no distinguishing boundaries between the different forms of knowledge. This of course creates a tension between "high status" or legitimated knowledge, (because it is usually of the collection code type) and the epistemological suppositions typical of TKR and KKM.

The 1991 National Curriculum statement, lauded as a "discussion document", exemplifies the disparity (in terms of addressing the needs of Māori children in

Kura Kaupapa) between the codification and configuration of the curriculum. The guiding philosophy, which pre-supposed any discussion on the content, that underpinned its rhetoric, not only emphasised the collection codes indicative of western epistemology, but also affirmed its New Right market liberal position. [47] Students need to obtain skills to be of economic benefit to the community. In the opening paragraph, the Minister of Education makes clear the nature and the intent of the curriculum:

> The National Curriculum is one of the key mechanisms for achieving the ***Governments goals*** for education. It sets national directions for schooling which ***I*** believe, will assist young New Zealanders to achieve ***success*** and acquire the ***essential*** knowledge , understanding and skills which will enable them to ***compete*** in a modern international economy.[48]

The managerial rhetoric and market driven ideologies which underpin this statement, serve to militate against the collective interests of initiatives like KKM (see footnote 48). In 1993, the Ministry of Education released a document which attempted not only to encapsulate the Māori renaissance in education, but also to strike a balance between those Māori aspirations and the agenda of the Government. Under point eight of that document a contradiction occurs between addressing the needs of Māori children, in terms of KKM, and the means by which it was going to achieve that. The political aim was to,

> . . . develop a targeting strategy in relation to the New Zealand Curriculum Framework to remove all barriers to learning and achievement for Māori students in both primary and secondary schools so that they have a strong foundation for later achievement.[49]

But its epistemological objective was to,

> [e]nsure the learning needs of the Māori students are ***taken into account*** in the development of the curriculum statements in Science, Social Studies, Technology, English and Te Reo Māori.[50]

The point here is that despite these attempts at reconciliation, the forms of knowledge indicative of KKM are subjugated under an over-arching construct of the national curriculum. If, as I have established, KKM has adopted a curriculum and a pedagogy that embraces an integrated and holistic philosophy, how can a national curriculum, based upon a collection code epistemology, adequately address the learning needs of Māori children? How is reconciliation achieved if it is at all? How can resistance with a view towards transformation reify the educational aspirations of the Māori community? The resolution of this dilemma does not lie so much in the framework of the curriculum. It lies in the manipulation of the methods by which the curriculum is delivered and the means by which children come to know about science, maths, technology and society. For example, within some KKM, the teaching of subjects employs a thematic methodology where the themes that are selected are situated in a Māori context:

> For example, in the fields of mathematics and science, concepts of categorising sea-life into particular whanau (species) were formed and those new learnings were then used to demonstrate algebraic functions.[51]

There appears to be a process of negotiation whereby tīkanga Māori reconceptualises the object/s of study and a disclosing of how collection codes are transformed into integrated codes.

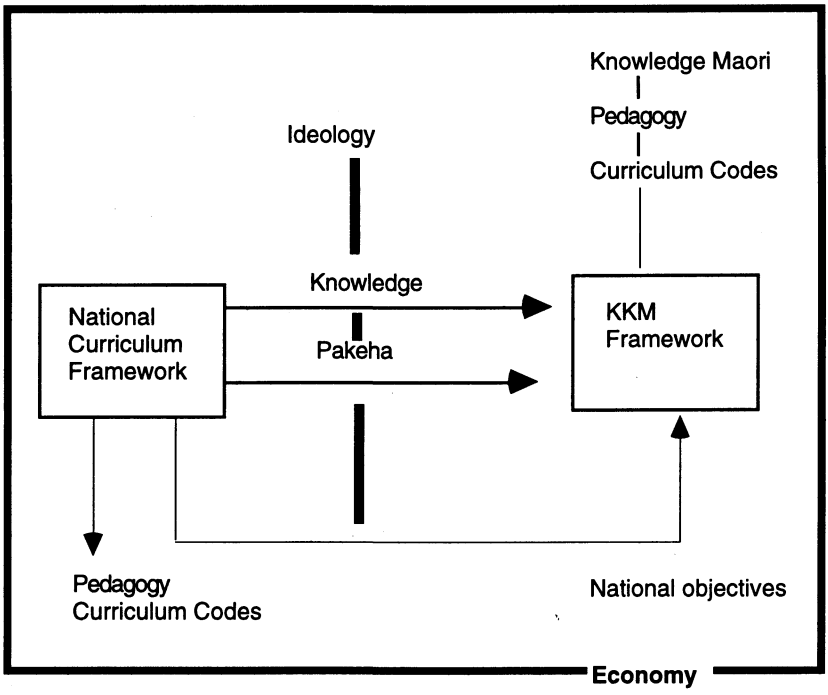

Figure 1 Pedagogoy, curriculum codes and Kura Kaupapa Māori

Figure 1 suggests that the pedagogy and curriculum codes associated with mainstream education are disencumbered from the national framework by a process that only allows knowledge in its unclassified form to pass over. This knowledge is appropriated by Kura Kaupapa Māori and is synthesised by the codes characteristic of the paradigm.[52] Reconciliation between each model however is not necessitated only upon the negotiation of the curriculum and its delivery. There also has to be recognition of the ideological differences between mainstream and KKM. There has to be a conscious attempt to re-define the process by which knowledge comes to be legitimated or regarded as high status. It is not enough that resistance has facilitated control, or the reification of community interests, but, and much more importantly, that it has facilitated the power to legitimate forms of knowledge. This means essentially, that Kura Kaupapa can not operate within a vacuum. Its autonomy is only sufficient to reify

its interests within its own paradigm. In order to objectify those interests in the wider context, it has to negotiate at the interface between its ideology and the ideology of mainstream.[53] This, as Apple argues, is contingent upon the extent to which "corporate economies" which support and maintain the mainstream ideology, are willing to negotiate the terms of what defines high status knowledge.[54] This then is the ultimate objective of the entire process postulated here: that knowledge in both paradigms is afforded equal status within the broader context of the economy. That the objective of resistance must be the means by which the interests of KKM are granted access to the same opportunities in the market place as those found in mainstream. This effect is reciprocal, where KKM must also provide the means by which the economic apparatus continues to run effectively.

Of course this requires a much deeper analysis than can be elaborated here, but what it reveals, at this level of investigation, is that previously subordinated knowledge can be legitimated. First, it can be legitimated by the disencumberment of one form of pedagogy and curriculum, and the introduction of alternatives that meet both the objectives of KKM and those of the national curriculum framework. Second, in order to gain access to the wider context in which KKM is situated, its ideological structures must contribute to "the sophistication and maximisation of economic expansion".[55] How this is to be achieved, exactly, is beyond the scope of this critique, but it is of paramount importance in determining how effective KKM will address the needs of its children. The contra-position arising out of this milieu is that despite the reification of community interests, legitimation has occurred only on the condition of the interposition of national objectives and economic utility.

The validation-legitimation of knowledge is, at this present stage, still contingent upon the negotiated process of obtaining state approval. Recently, this process was extended when KKM was given the means to articulate its interests directly with the Ministry of Education, in April of 1994:

> The Ministry of Education will consult Te Runanga nui ō ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori prior to recommending the establishment of additional Kura and prior to redesignating state schools as Kura Kaupapa Māori.[56]

Although this agreement established a pseudo-formal protocol between the two parties, it essentially gave KKM the power to determine what constitutes the philosophy, pedagogy and curriculum it would employ. Its regulation, however, was also contingent upon the parameters which the state had defined. Under section 155 of the Education Amendment Act 1989, the right of "absolute" discretion remained with the Minister. But in spite of these political impediments, what needs to be taken into consideration and placed in perspective, is that KKM is still very much in the early stages of development. If self determination remains an emancipatory and guiding principle, it may not be too far into the future when Māori initiatives in education will no longer require the mainstream "nod of approval".

CONCLUSION: CONTEMPLATION ABOUT THE FUTURE

What is required now is a serious critique into how the ideological differences between the apparatus which maintains the economy and the holistically based philosophy of Kura Kaupapa Māori can be reconciled. Any attempt at this must recognise that it requires a 'pensive process of negotiation and one which contemplates the future position of Māori children in all spheres of social interaction. What is being suggested here is that Kura Kaupapa Māori must take into consideration that it should not divorce itself from the international tide of economic persuasion; that the economy is inextricably connected with the "type" of knowledge that is considered high status or technical and that the autonomy of Aotearoa itself is limited in the sense that the fiscal environment is manipulated by global economic influences. Given the pervasive and mono-ideologic force of the economy, the knowledge which is acquired by children in "Kura" must have some relevancy to this context. But this does not require KKM to relinquish the strategies which it employs to satisfy these demands. What the state has to recognise is that there are alternate ways in which knowledge is acquired and that they will not denigrate, or impede the contribution of the students who participate in them.

Curriculum development in Kura Kaupapa, is at the leading edge in developing a mechanism by which the process of legitimation may be articulated with the specific interests of Māori people in mind. This crisis in legitimation could at some stage create an opportunity for the process of decision-making to be situated within total Māori control, that is, a "Māori Education Authority". Such a proposal may be problematic within te ao Māori, in terms of who, or what, has control. Does one authority guarantee the tino rangatiratanga of individual iwi? Similarly, the criteria upon which Kura Kaupapa is designated (Te Aho Matua), may lead to a prescriptive authoritarianism that contradicts the notion of relative autonomy or tino rangatiratanga. These disparities cannot be ignored if claims are being made to create an authentic iwi curriculum that addresses the needs of Māori children. What this means is that the designation of what counts as Kura Kaupapa should be an iwi decision not a "Runanga" (appointed committee) one. The identification of these contradictions, through critical analysis, serves to generate a dialogue of reconciliation, the object of which is to ensure that decisions made about the curriculum are in accord with the interests of the iwi-community.

The appearance of community driven educational reforms, like Kura Kaupapa Māori, have created opportunities for Māori to contribute to the development of an education system unique to Aotearoa. Its continued development however, is dependent upon the extent to which it addresses both the demands of the economy, and the needs of the children in its care. To facilitate the means by which this may be successfully achieved requires an analytical penetration of the educational objectives of Kura Kaupapa itself, one that raises the points of concern, but also, and much more importantly, the process by which they can be ameliorated. There is no question that Kura Kaupapa offers a "real" solution to the crisis in Māori Education. But in order for it to compete in the wider context, it must continue to postulate and augment the concepts within its framework, so that it not only resurrects and preserves nga taonga o nehera (the treasures of the

past), but reveals also ngā taonga e huna tonu ana (the secrets yet to be discovered).

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2. Apple, M.W. (1990). *Ideology and Curriculum.* London: Routledge (2nd ed.), p.31.
3. *Ibid*. p.32.
4. See Meighan, R. (1981). *A Sociology of Educating.* London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. pp.101-102.
5. Bernstein, B. (1971). *Class, Codes and Control* (vol. 3); London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. p.148.
6. The 'New Right'.
7. Bernstein (1971), *op.cit,* p.85.
8. *Ibid*
9. See Lukes, S. (1992). *Power: A Radical View;* London: MacMillan (14th ed.).
10. Apple (1990), *op.cit*, p.128.
11. *Ibid*, p.5.
12. *Ibid*, p.154.
13. See Bourdieu, P. (1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture.* London: Sage (2nd ed.).
14. Giroux, H.A. (1983). *Theory & Resistance in Education;* London: Heinemann, p.107.
15. *Ibid*
16. Freire, P. (1990). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed;* London: Penguin (4th ed.), p.25.
17. By "educated", I am making a subtle inference to Freire's notion of conscientisation.
18. Jenkins, K. (1994). Māori Education. In E. Coxon, et. al (eds.), *The politics of learning and teaching in Aotearoa New Zealand*. p.152, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
19. See Barrington, J.M. & Beaglehole, T.H. (1974). *Māori Schools in a Changing Society*. Wellington: NZCER.
20. *Missionary Register,* Vol 1, 1814, p.29. Italics added.
21. See Lancaster, J. & Bell, A. (1973). *Improvements in Education as it respects the industrious classes of the community*. London: Clifton & Kelly.
22. No sexism intended. All missionaries were men in this period.
23. Freire (1990), *op.cit*, p.45.
24. See Barrington and Beaglehole. The Missionaries found that food was a way of enticing children to come to school.
25. McLaren, I.A. (1983). *Māori Education* Waikato University. p.1.
26. Smith, L. (1992). Kura Kaupapa. In McCulloch, G. (ed.). *The School Curriculum in New Zealand: History, Theory, Policy and Practise.* (p.221). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

27. See *National Gazette*, Dec. 3rd, 1942 - Speech by doctor Wī Repa. In it he admonishes Māori to reject the "primitive" ways of the Māori; that the Māori way is useless and finds no efficacy in the modern world.
28. McLaren (1983), *op.cit.*
29. Freire (1990), *op.cit.*
30. See Walker, R.J. (1990). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou: struggle without end;* Auckland: Penguin. pp. 146-147.
31. Walker, R.J. (1991). *Liberating Māori From Educational Subjection.* University of Auckland (mono. 6), p.9.
32. Harker, R.K. (1981). In Department of Education, *The Report from the Conference on Priorities in Multi-cultural Educational Research;* Wellington. p.70.
33. Hawera, N. (1989). In Gilling, M., *Māori Education in Pakeha Hands*, (p.56) University of Waikato.
34. Giroux (1983), *op.cit*, p.108.
35. Te Kohanga Reo Trust (1992). *He Whāriki Mātauranga mō ngā Mokopuna ō Aotearoa*, Wellington, p.16. The translation is by the writer.
36. Ko te Ataarangi is one of these.
37. Many initiatives like bi-lingual and total immersion schooling had been well underway before this date. But the paradigm of "Kura Kaupapa" had its philosophical roots auspicated at about this time.
38. Smith, G.H. (1990). The Politics of Reforming Māori Education. In H . Lauder, & C. Wylie, (eds.) *Towards Successful Schooling.* (pp.77-78). London: Falmer Press.
39. *Ibid*
40. Giroux (1983), *op.cit*, p.110.
41. Smith, G (1990), *op.cit*, p.81.
42. See Finnis, J. (1980). *Natural Law and Natural Rights*. London: Clarendon Press.
43. See Weber, M. (1964). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organisation.* NewYork: Free Press.
44. *Kia Hiwa Ra: National Māori Paper,* Sept/ Oct (1993), p.27.
45. *Ibid*
46. See Freire, P. & Shor, I. (1987). What is the Dialogical Method of Teaching? *Journal of Education*, 169 (3).
47. Hugh Lauder, Richard Bates and Gerald Grace address this very issue, and at great length. See Middleton, S., et.al. (1990). *Critical Perspectives: New Zealand Educational Policy Today*. Wellington: Allen & Unwin.
48. Ministry of Education. (1991). *The National Curriculum of New Zealand.* Wellington: Learning Media. The words highlighted in bolden italics, indicate that success is rendered in terms of economic amelioration; that the objective for education is to build a nation of people who compete with each other; that the enrichment of the community depends on the amount and type of skills individuals have.
49. Ministry of Education. (1993). *Nga Tīkanga Tekau o Te Tatai mo Te Akoranga Māori*. Wellington. p.21.
50. *Ibid.* Parentheses added.

51. Reedy, T. (1992). *Kura Kaupapa Māori: Research and Development Project Final Report,* June. p.11.
52. This would suggest that under synthesis it would be difficult to establish the authenticity of Māori knowledge: the fusion of two sources of knowledge blurrs the boundaries. Can we then say "authenticity" in the same breath as tīkanga Māori?
53. Note the similarity between the negotiation of knowledge and the negotiation of the ideologies.
54. See Apple (1990), *op.cit,* p.36. In this part of his discourse Apple argues that high status knowledge is inextricably linked to its instrumentality. The instrumentality of knowledge is contingent upon the value that the economy places on it.
55. *Ibid*, p.37
56. See *Education Gazette,* June, 1994.

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