

A Future for Māori Education Part II: The Reintegration of Culture and Education

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Abstract: Education of the individual is of fundamental importance to the future of the Māori people in their determination to secure for themselves an economic future that removes them from the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. In two papers dedicated to the advancement of Māori education, poor educational performance and marginal economic success by Māori is attributed, in large part, to the imposition of culturally inappropriate Eurocentric expectations on the minority, resulting in identity loss and disengagement within the schools and universities. For Māori, the resurgent propagation of only one culture by government and cultural hegemony by the majority has resulted in social dichotomy. Māori culture has been marginalized and a monoculture now prevails driven by the determination of government to eliminate all race-based programs from the government agenda. Education and culture are inextricably interwoven and their dissociation from each other has been culturally detrimental. With the attempts by mainstream to impose Eurocentric cultural values and education on Māori, a dissociation of education from culture became inevitable. While a European education was needed to function in a Eurocentric society the end result, descriptive of all indigenous people emerging from colonization, has been one of disillusionment and disengagement.

In this paper the concept of reintegration of Māori education with Māori culture is introduced and for this to occur three major new initiatives are recommended. First, Māori culture must be reinforced, rebuilt, re-established, and refurbished; this can only be done through the development of culturally appropriate educational programs promoted and delivered within the marae environment. Second, Māori need to assume the teaching of secondary school education to their children within Māori Wānanga that will allow seamless education for all Māori children from the beginning of secondary all the way through to the bachelor degree end of tertiary education; this may reduce disengagement and subsequent drop out of Māori from education, as well as reduction in their suspension rates. Third, a National Māori University should be established that will allow the development of Māori scholarship to the highest international levels, but within a Māori environment. A National Māori University will also assist Māori focus beyond national boundaries as they learn to integrate with, and actively contribute to, the emerging global society.

Keywords: Acculturation, indigenous education, Māori education, Māori culture, National Māori University, secondary education, self determination, tertiary education.

Introduction

This paper is the second of two dedicated to the future of Māori education. In the first paper (Hook, 2006), the many contributing factors to indigenous education were examined leading to the recognition of culture as one of the most significant of all factors underpinning successful educational as well as economic outcomes. For Māori, education within a Māori setting helps to overcome educational disengagement so frequently seen for Māori struggling within mainstream institutions. In this second part the influence of culture on education and *vice versa* is examined.

While many reports and strategies have emerged from government and its agencies with regard to Māori education, current attempts to eliminate race-based programs have resulted in

official recognition of only mainstream culture within this country; all other cultures, including Māori, are simply categorized as ethnic minorities. The engineering of a monoculture through the “tyranny of the majority” may be a more subtle form of the assimilation approaches practiced over 50 years ago, and which ultimately proved unsuccessful then, and will likely prove unsuccessful in the future.

Culture and education are inextricably interwoven. The education system is primarily linked to mainstream culture, because it is they, the majority, in the context of crown sovereignty and democratic principles who have forced conformity with Pākehā socio-economic interests and values. This dissociation of Māori education from Māori culture has resulted in dichotomy of existence for Māori, alienation of the minority, disengagement from the education system, loss of language, and loss of culture. The reversal of this trend must be considered deeply and whether a monoculture will build a strong, vigorous, and healthy nation, or whether it will lead to dissention and strife as experienced in other nations where Eurocentric colonizers have tried to build monocultures.

There are three basic problems that must be overcome in order to improve Māori educational achievements, and to move Māori education onto the same footing as that of the Eurocentric mainstream. The first problem concerns the loss of Māori culture that has resulted from the belief within government and mainstream society that only a single culture exists within this nation. The second concerns the failure of mainstream secondary education to educate and prevent educational disengagement of Māori youths. The third concerns the development of Māori education to the heights of international scholarship, but reflecting those unique elements born from within a Māori framework. Reinvigoration of Māori culture and education is essential for Māori, and one might think essential for the nation as a whole.

The Aims of Education

There are two major aims of education; one concerns the individual and the other the needs of society. Individual and societal needs for Māori are (adapted from Gay, 2000) listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Individual and societal needs for both Māori and Pākehā.

<p>Societal needs</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Preserve the society2. Advance economic development.3. Produce good citizens. <p>Individual needs</p> <p><i>Māori world</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Advancement of cultural autonomy.2. Provide a secure social and Māori cultural foundation.3. Enable an individual to take part in and contribute to Māori society by providing him or her with the skills needed to function culturally, and perhaps secure a job working for Māori interests. <p><i>Pākehā world</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Advancement of autonomy within the Pākehā context.2. Provide a secure cultural foundation to function within a Pākehā paradigm.3. Enable an individual to take part in Pākehā society by providing him or her with the skills needed to function culturally and to secure a job.

For society as a whole, education of the individual is expected to contribute to the preservation of society, the advancement of economic development, and the production of good citizens (Table 1). These societal needs are the same regardless of whether we are talking about Pākehā or Māori society. For Pākehā, advancement of the individual within a mainstream context is sufficient, and for Māori the same applies, excepting for the imposition of a dual role. Quite obviously, the details will differ quite substantially in some places while in others only minor differences may occur. However, as pointed out previously (Hook, 2006), Māori must assimilate two world views in order to make their way in the Pākehā world as well as in the Māori world. As a consequence, education for Māori must necessarily differ from that of Pākehā. The rest of this paper is dedicated to considering what kind of educational system might be required to meet these diverse requirements.

The projected and desired outcomes for Māori appear little different from those of mainstream and, in general terms, the projected outcomes might apply to all indigenous peoples around the world. For example, Dewey (1971) pointed out that mastery of the learning process was more important than the encyclopaedic content of learning and that process of learning should be part of us throughout life. However, Dewey also recognized the foundations of that learning process are set in early childhood and that a major purpose of educating our children is to awaken in them the desire to learn (Dewey, 1979; Wirth, 1979). Recognition of the significance of the young in building language and culture has now been underway for some years and very successfully through the kura and kōhanga programs.

The examination of educational purposes, as defined by some of the great educators of the last century, appear valid no matter what society those ideas are applied. For example, Dewey (1966), Yeaxlee (1929), and Freire (1972a, b) have all written on the purpose of education.

Dewey speaks to the liberation and uplifting of the individual where education serves to facilitate psychological development throughout life, achieve the goal of identity and self actualization and to give command of himself (Dewey, 1966; Garforth, 1966). For Boshier (1980), education allows the full and ready use of all of a person's capacities supplying the conditions which ensure growth, or adequacy of life, irrespective of age and the development of intellectual and psychological capacities which enable people to learn continuously for the rest of their lives.

According to Dewey (1964), the reward of education is growth. Our educational facilities are simply tools for instilling the desire for growth and the means for achieving it. The value of educational growth for the individual lies in the maintenance of balance between the individual and his or her environment, contributing to the ability of the individual to adjust to new situations as they arise. The ultimate purpose of growth or the direction of growth was not defined (Cross-Durrant, 1987); growth was the goal in itself. An educated person according to Dewey as pointed out by Cross-Durrant (1987), was one whose innate analytical powers were developed sufficiently to enable him or her to be effective in all aspects of life or work.

Yeaxlee (1929), in his book "Lifelong Education," was more prescriptive than Dewey and recognized that the purposes of education for the individual, was as varied as the individuals themselves. While one might be intent upon understanding the meaning of existence, another might be concerned with politics or economics. Freire (1972a,b), has a perspective that is different from either that of Dewey or Yeaxlee speaking more to the value of education in revolution and the transformation of society. The concept of 'conscientization' promoted by Freire in his book "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" is important, having been embraced by Māori who realize the significance of education in liberating themselves from the position of 'oppressed' to that of equal partner. There is an expectation that the new Māori consciousness achieved through education will indeed transform Māori, and ultimately New Zealand society. The perspectives of Dewey, Yeaxlee, and Freire summarize the variety and scope of

educational purpose, and it is quite clear that those purposes as defined for western individuals are just as valid for Māori.

With societal and individual aims and purposes of education being basically similar for all peoples the question now becomes why cannot Māori be content with mainstream education? What is it that Māori want? The problem is that individual development cannot take place out of context, and little consideration has been given to the environment in which the education of the individual takes place, nor the curriculum that leads to the uplifting of the individual. Both environment and curriculum vary according to culture; that is, environment and curriculum are highly variable while purpose and aims appear universal. However, it is only upon examination of the concepts of individuality that the real differences between Māori and Pākehā mind-sets become apparent. The Pākehā/Western concepts of individuality and values of autonomy, freedom, self-interest, entitlement, competition, and so on are inconsistent with the concepts of indigenous individuality where individuality is more likely to be constituted on values of relationality, collectivity, reciprocity, and connectivity to prior generations. (The author expresses appreciation to an un-named Reviewer for comments on the concept of indigenous individuality).

Institutional Requirements

As indicated above, the educational requirements of Māori are more complicated than they are for Pākehā, because Māori have to function in two worlds, “te ao” Māori and the world of the Pākehā. While some may view this as a burden others believe it to be a privilege; as demonstrated by some of the great Māori leaders of the past; for example, Te Rangihiroa, Sir Maui Pomare, and Sir Apirana Ngata, Māori who lived in both worlds and very successfully. It might be pointed out that these men were also products of a mainstream education; however, only partially so since all came from strong Māori cultural backgrounds and hence were products of a strong Māori education. Perhaps the same penchant towards scholarship exhibited by Māori tipuna could be rebuilt upon restoration of the cultural foundations of their achievements.

What kind of foundations, and what kind of institutions, are needed in order to meet the educational needs of Māori? What kind of institutions do Māori need in order to meet their cultural needs, as well as provide the skills and pathways needed to function at the very highest level of professional development?

The aims determine the nature of an institution, its curriculum, pedagogy, and assessments and for Māori, living in both Pākehā and Māori worlds, perhaps no one institution can achieve that precisely. The idea that mainstream universities with a Māori corner is currently popular with each of the universities having their own marae operated by Māori people, doing Māori things. Unfortunately, the kind of Māori things done on marae at mainstream universities, while valuable, may not be the things needed to preserve Māori culture nor provide the skills needed to function within the Māori world. The fine line between cultural celebration and cultural debasement is defined by purpose and underlying motives. Cultural masturbation for the entertainment of the dominant culture has been the fate of many indigenous people around the world, and it is a future that hopefully Māori will avoid. How effective mainstream universities are in the preservation of Māori culture has yet to be determined. However, it must be recognized that marae have not always been part of the university scene, and that the establishment of marae within the hallowed cloisters of traditional universities so as to provide a more Māori-friendly environment for Māori students, has been one of the great achievements of Māori academics.

Historically, Māori had their own institutions for the preservation of customs, language, history, and traditions. At a formal level before the arrival of the European, wānanga were

conducted by hapu on a regular basis for those considered worthy of education. Wānanga were conducted as higher institutes of learning for different purposes such as training in whakairo, the transmission of spiritual and esoteric concepts, or the transmission of information relating to the practice of healing. Wānanga could be short or long in their duration, depending on the subject matter. Different wānanga served different purposes. However, all wānanga served to transmit the knowledge of the culture from one generation to the next. The training of Māori in their culture should be where it belongs, not as a sideline for mainstream institutions hoping to attract more students.

The Māori Wānanga

If the marae is the correct place for the education of Māori in Māori things, what value then are the Māori Wānanga? The Māori Wānanga came into existence as a result of the 1989 Education Act. The need was apparent because dropout rates for Māori in mainstream institutions were very high. It was thought that perhaps Māori in a Māori setting might do better and indeed this has proven itself to be true time and time again. Māori do perform better within the context of a Māori institution as evidenced by the number of students coming into Māori Wānanga over these last five or so years.

There are three Māori Wānanga, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in Te Awamutu, Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki, and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi in Whakatāne. All three differ from each other in their approach to tertiary education, but all three have shown themselves to be highly successful in attracting Māori into higher education. Te Wānanga o Aotearoa has been especially successful in bringing Māori into higher education. Most of their students would have been unlikely to survive within a mainstream institution because mainstream institutions tend not to provide the support and nurturing for Māori students that is present in Māori Wānanga.

As shown in Table 2 Māori Wānanga in 2003, were far ahead of polytechnics and universities in attracting Māori students. However, it must be realized that this table is heavily biased by the number of Māori students that entered Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. At this stage most of the students were at the pre-degree level, but with every expectation that through appropriate staircasing they would move to higher levels over the next few years. Much of the study is dedicated to cultural reactivation through the learning of Te Reo, tikanga and Māori history. The number of students entering into higher education, especially into Māori Wānanga is encouraging.

Table 2. Māori in formal tertiary education by subsector as a proportion of EFTs consumed 2003.

	EFTs Consumed
Colleges of Education	2%
Polytechnics	22%
Private teaching establishments	15%
Universities	16%
All Māori Wānanga	44%
Other tertiary education providers	1%
Total	100%

While Table 2 shows the average for all Māori Wānanga the figures for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi are quite different with 91% of students being Māori. (Annual Report Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi , 2004).

The achievements of the secondary and tertiary education sectors are deeply interwoven and it is a mistake to try and divorce one from the other. The reality is that Māori under-achievement in the tertiary sector, as compared with their Pākehā peers, is built upon Māori under-achievement in the secondary sector.

While there has been significant growth in Māori participation in tertiary education this participation has often been the first serious foray that Māori take in any learning since their early days at school. Many have not completed more than two years secondary school and come from a position of participation well behind their Pākehā peers. The following statistics provide national and local perspectives on this:

We have found that, on average, Māori have lower levels of educational achievement than non-Māori. While the reasons are complex, a factor may be the failure of the mainstream education system to adequately meet the educational needs and aspirations of Māori.

1998 figures show that: “Māori represented 21% of all 5-14 year old enrolments in schools. There were a total of 121,393 Māori enrolled, compared to 543,935 non-Māori. Significant proportions of Māori students were suspended from school for varying lengths of time. Nearly one third (30%) of Māori youth aged 16-24 years were in some form of further education (secondary, tertiary or training) compared to nearly half (47%) of non-Māori.
(see Te Puni Kōkiri website)

The Minister of Education’s more recent report on the schools sector indicates that the trend continues:

Māori have lower retention rates than non-Māori and over the last 10 years (1994 to 2003) the gap in retention between Māori and non-Māori has widened, particularly for 16- and 17-year-olds
(New Zealand Schools, Ngā Kura o Aotearoa, 2003).

These figures remain virtually unchanged according to the latest report on education (State of Education in New Zealand, 2006, p32).

...the proportion of secondary school leavers with no qualifications dropped, from 18 percent in 2002 to 15 percent in 2003. The proportion of Māori school leavers with no qualification fell from 35 percent in 2002 to 30 percent in 2003... However at 30 percent it is still twice the national average of 15 percent.
(New Zealand Schools, Ngā Kura o Aotearoa, 2003).

In 2005 the proportion of Māori without qualifications had improved to 25% a significant improvement but still a long way to go (State of Education in New Zealand, 2006, p45).

From the above brief summary it can be seen that the achievement of Māori in both the schools sector and the tertiary sector is not equal to that of their Pākehā peers. The time spent in the school environment, the qualifications achieved at school and the level of study in tertiary institutions is all well behind the national average.

The result of this has been that Māori Wānanga have had to overcome the deficiencies of a secondary educational process that resulted in high dropout rates for Māori, by creating low level courses that allow Māori to grow educationally to a point where they are able to do degree-level work. Dropout of Māori from secondary schools is a failure of the secondary school system itself. Since the government has not recognized underperformance of the secondary sector with regard to Māori tertiary educational achievement, the engagement of Māori Wānanga to overcome those deficiencies has actually come at the expense of Māori Wānanga.

According to the latest statistics from the Ministry of Education:

Maori students are three or more times as likely to be stood down, suspended, excluded or expelled as their European/Pākehā counterparts and four times as likely to be 'frequent truants'; males are two to four times as likely to be stood down, suspended, excluded or expelled than female students.
(State of Education in New Zealand, 2006, p. 27).

This disengagement of Māori from education must be overcome if Māori are to succeed both economically and culturally as a people, but how does one do that?

As shown in Figure 1, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi grew substantially following its inception in 1992. The foundations for this growth were predicated on the development of a close relationship between the wānanga and the people it was designed to serve.

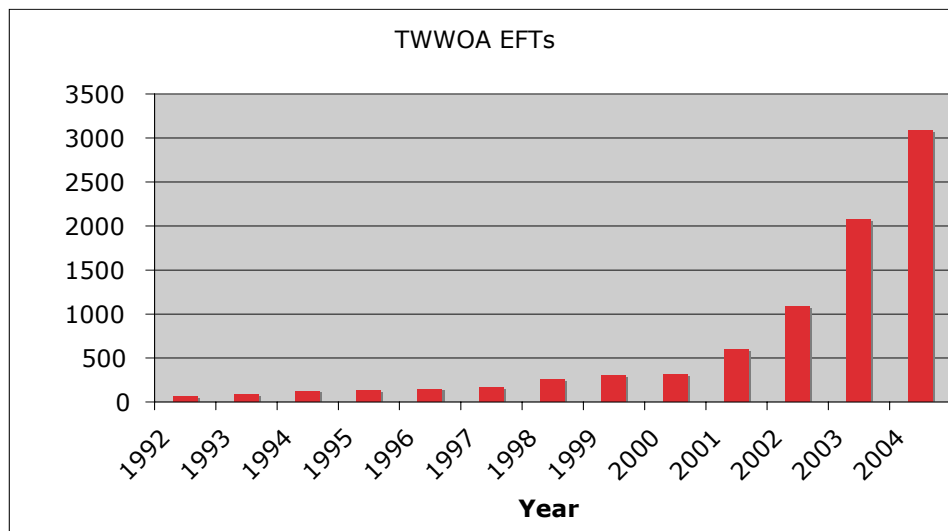


Figure 1. EFT Growth for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

Growth in student numbers between 2001 and 2004 was chiefly as a result of the implementation of community education, bridging and language programmes. This resulted from a concerted effort to bring acculturation education to the marae. Community education programmes were set up specifically for that purpose alongside bridging programmes intended to bring new students into degree programs within the Wānanga.

The figures and market position of Wānanga shown above were not sustained into 2005 and 2006. This was the result of a number of factors. The government curtailment of Community Education placements in 2005 meant a loss of several thousand EFTS to the Wānanga over a

period of 2 to 3 years; the review of A1 and J1 funding category courses hit Wānanga very hard particularly some of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's courses. Systematic reviews and cut backs of both Awanuiārangi and Aotearoa further reduced the significant market share that the Wānanga formerly had. Issues of "quality of provision" of courses by Wānanga were alleged to be at the heart of cuts in both course offerings and in funding of courses found popular by Māori and that enabled entry level participation that could well have lead to many moving to more advanced levels in tertiary education.

However, one wonders if allegations of quality and overspending are legitimate when retention and completion figures as well as moderation of courses by external parties (independent economist firm Berl evaluated the impact of Mahi Ora on the national economy and concluding that the real contribution of the course to employment and wealth creation resulted in millions of dollars on an annual basis) has shown remarkable success for some courses. At a time when government policy rushed to reflect the "mood of the nation" as allegedly expressed in the ex-leader of the opposition's speech at Orewa in 2005, independent Māori education institutions have been fair game for media attention and government funding restructuring. Minor challenges at these institutions became national media foci, when major overspending and similar or worse issues at mainstream institutions received little or no attention at all. Perhaps new leadership within government will promote educational policies that will allow Māori to engage with education, but within a Māori paradigm.

The success of the Māori paradigm is clearly demonstrated by the number of students who graduated from Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi over the three year period of 2003 to 2004 (Table 3). While most of these graduates achieved at the low end of the academic spectrum they were well poised to go on to higher degrees.

Table 3. Number of graduated students from Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi .

Level	2002	2003	2004
Degree and above	26	44	43
Pre-Degree	116	559	942
Total	142	603	985

Acculturation education is not the end of education for Māori but the beginning. For many Māori the awakening of educational desires within the marae setting has led to more advanced studies and the appropriate place for those studies is within the Māori Wānanga, or if the student so desires a move into mainstream.

Can Mainstream Institutions be Adapted to Māori Needs?

Most Māori are in mainstream educational institutions and the question is, can those institutions be adapted or improved to meet the educational needs of Māori? Most of the research that has been reported is rightly aimed primarily at secondary schools because it is here that Māori seem to meet the greatest barriers to their advancement as manifested through high drop out rates and lower academic achievements. The problem is multifaceted and there seems to be no single answer.

The relationship between lack of success and socio-economic background has been known for over 50 years. To a degree what once was the problem of the disadvantaged has been simply transferred to the culturally diverse (Loretan & Umans, 1966). However, numerous examples exist of individuals who have risen far above their impoverished childhood backgrounds including many recognized educationally successful Māori.

The relationship between educational success and socio-economic background is not fixed. The work of Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richardson (2003) clearly demonstrates the significance of numerous social factors in the educational achievements of young Maori in mainstream schools; such as, the cultural knowledge and sensitivity of teachers, the attitudes of teachers towards Māori students, the preconceived expectations of teachers towards their Māori students and the relationships between the student's home and their school to name a few. The most disturbing explanation by teachers for Māori underperformance in mainstream schools came from those who blamed their Māori students. Cultural deficit explanations inevitably end with the suggestion that Māori are inherently less capable of being educated than Pākehā, a theory that is adamantly rejected by the most capable/successful teachers and researchers. Other theories have focussed on the home environments of Māori students suggesting that their struggles may be due to inadequate or insufficient educational resources hence stimulus within their homes (Nicholson (2000); Chapple, Jeffries & Walker, 1997). However, much of the problem, according to Bishop et al., (2003), resides at the feet of teachers who fail to understand the nature of dominance and power imbalances that exist between the student and the teacher.

“...it is clear that unless teachers engage in considerations of how dominance manifests itself in the lives of Māori students (and their whānau), how the dominant culture maintains control over the various aspects of education, and the part they themselves might play in perpetuating this pattern of domination, albeit unwittingly, they will not understand how they and the way they relate to and interact with Māori students may well affect learning.”
(Bishop et al., 2003, p.7).

Bishop et al. (2003) further declare that:

“...it is through the reassertion of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices, here termed Kaupapa Māori theory and practice, (after Smith, 1997, and Smith, 1999) that power imbalances will be addressed. This report suggests that the solutions to marginalisation do not lie in the culture that marginalises, rather solutions to issues of power and control; initiation, benefits, representation, legitimisation and accountability (Bishop, 1996, Bishop et al., 2001a) can be addressed in mainstream classrooms by reference to Māori culture in ways that will eventually benefit all students.”
(Bishop et al., 2003, p.11).

The report of Bishop et al., (2003) clearly identifies the inherent problems of mainstream institutions in dealing with Māori education and demonstrates the value of kaupapa Māori in the education of young Māori. Whether mainstream institutions could ever be adapted to meet the educational ambitions of Māori seems doubtful because the changes called for are too radical and the problems too institutionalized to be overcome easily. In addition, it seems unlikely that a kaupapa Māori philosophy would ever be adopted by a mainstream institution.

Differences Between Māori and Pākehā Wānanga: The Power of Aroha and Manaakitanga

Both mainstream universities and Māori Wānanga are tertiary education providers; however, Māori Wānanga are not recognized officially as universities. All mainstream universities call themselves “Whare Wānanga,” but Māori Wānanga are banned by parliamentary decree from using the term “university”. Since government makes the distinction most emphatically, it may be necessary to discuss the differences briefly from a Māori perspective.

Let us examine the expectations of the 1989 Education Act since without expectations it would be difficult to make any pronouncements regarding success or failure. The 1989 Education Act attempts to define Māori Wānanga by its character.

“A Wānanga is characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence and assists the application of knowledge regarding ahuatanga Māori (Māori tradition) according to tikanga Māori (Māori custom).”

This was an interesting beginning, because it raises the question as to when does character become defining? Is a person defined by his/her character? Is an institution defined by its character? Is a nation defined by its character? Character is defined in my dictionary as “the set of qualities that make somebody or something distinctive, especially somebody’s qualities of mind and feeling” (Encarta World English Dictionary). In some ways this might seem to lay a foundation for Wānanga, but it is in fact, philosophy that defines character; that is, what one believes. A definition of philosophy is, “a precept, or set of precepts, beliefs, principles, or aims, underlying somebody’s practice or conduct” (Encarta World English Dictionary). Undoubtedly, it is the philosophy of a person, an institution, or a nation, that defines it more than anything else. It is philosophy that builds character and it is here that the definition of Wānanga should have begun. Also it is here that the most fundamental distinction between a Māori Wānanga and a Pākehā Wānanga is made.

What then is a philosophy of a Wānanga that might set it apart from all other institutions; that might lead to the development of character; that might be recognizable, and indeed defining in the eyes of the world? What set of principles should lay the foundations of a Wānanga?

The definition of Wānanga should have begun: “A Wānanga is based on the principles of manaakitanga and aroha.” These are the principles that lay at the heart of the Wānanga movement. The character by which the Education Act seeks to define Wānanga is heavily influenced by the manner in which these basic principles are applied. It is these two principles that set Māori Wānanga apart from other institutions and it is upon these two principles that the survival of the Wānanga movement depends. These two principles arise naturally out of āhuatanga Māori. However, āhuatanga Māori relates to many other principles besides manaakitanga and aroha, including rangatiratanga, kotahitanga, and reciprocity, which also have a place in the definition of Māori Wānanga; however, manaakitanga and aroha are the most important. Te Wānanga of Raukawa under the leadership of Professor Whata Winiata recognized most emphatically the importance of these principles in the development of their institution.

The idea of manaakitanga and aroha in the educational workplace is not new. Gay (2000) in her book speaks of, “the power of caring” in the context of teaching within the class room. She also refers to the criteria of Webb, Wilson, Corbett, and Mordecai (1993) that states that:

“Caring is a value and a moral imperative that moves self-determination into social responsibility, and uses knowledge and strategic thinking to decide how to act in the best interests of others. Caring binds individuals to their society, to their communities, and to each other.”

In the present paper, the concept of caring has simply been elevated to its rightful place as the underpinnings of educational success.

The philosophy of caring is powerful and there are many examples of its success in uplifting minority students (Gay, 2000, p.45). Caring is about nurturing, supporting, encouraging, and accountability; caring is not about abrogation of responsibilities. Caring must permeate an institution from the top down, and not be simply attributes of a few gifted teachers. Caring leads to empowerment of students, and affords them confidence in who and what they are.

Māori Wānanga differ from mainstream insofar as their foundations are built upon a doctrine of care, and it is here that the successes of Māori Wānanga must be attributed. While all three Wānanga practice these principles Te Wānanga o Aotearoa has been particularly successful in attracting students, both Māori and Pākehā, into higher education. Without these principles of manaakitanga and aroha it is unlikely that Te Wānanga o Aotearoa would have been considered a safe and comfortable place for learning.

The Teaching of Mātauranga and the Curriculum of a Māori Wānanga

It has been asserted that more than one kind of knowledge exists and few of us would challenge such an assertion. According to Royal:

“Lest we Māori think that the knowledge our children obtain at school is the only kind of knowledge. I say, no. This is but one kind of knowledge, knowledge of the European – writing, counting, reading and European languages... There is another body of knowledge and that concerns the Māori people and our customs. When a person has obtained this kind of knowledge, then he/she is truly knowledgeable of both ‘sides’.”
Royal, (2006, p. 2).

Again according to Royal (2005, p. 3) “Mātauranga Māori is a modern term for a body of knowledge that was brought to these islands by Polynesian ancestors of present day Māori.” Recognizing that the body of knowledge known as mātauranga has its origins in the distant past and recognizing the evolutionary nature of knowledge, what then constitutes mātauranga today? There is no doubt that a body of knowledge existed within Māori society prior to European contact and intervention. Certainly that body of knowledge rightfully carries the label mātauranga. However, mātauranga did not end upon contact with Europeans, but it did change; exactly how it has changed is the topic of an ongoing debate.

Certainly, mātauranga should be a central focus of a Māori Wānanga but Wānanga are not about being educated to the standards of Māori knowledge prior to 1840. Māori knowledge, like the knowledge of all peoples, is an ever-evolving body. Mātauranga is not about reverting to the knowledge base pre-contact. It would be inappropriate to impose upon students, knowledge that existed at and to a level found in the distant past. All people’s knowledge evolves.

What then is Māori knowledge? What is Mātauranga Māori? Others have intimated that what is taught in the Māori Wānanga is not pure and has become contaminated with the learning of Europeans, which, in my opinion, is totally appropriate. Somehow within the mind of many Māori has arisen the idea that, “there is your knowledge and then there is mine, and that mine is just as good as yours.” The facts are that not all knowledges are equivalent, and that truth has no preference when it comes to ethnicity. However, it is not the place of a government agency to define truth and what is appropriate learning for Māori. Government may define expectations, but exactly how those expectations are met should be up to Māori to decide.

According to Durie in his Newman Lecture of 1999 where he celebrated the achievements of Sir Maui Pomare in the area of Māori Health, Pomare believed in the development of community and the empowerment of Māori community leaders (Durie, 2003, p.41). Durie goes on to suggest that Pomare’s single most important contribution to Māori health, “was not something that could be prescribed by the doctor, but something that should arise from within communities and the leaders of health were not doctors or nurses, but community leaders who could use their influence and wisdom to alter lifestyles and living conditions.” Perhaps a similar approach should be taken for acculturation education and uplifting of Māori communities all over this nation. Perhaps the foundation of Māori education should be where it has always been for Māori, within the communities, at the marae, led by community

leaders, the kuia and koroua, the tohunga and the speakers of te reo. The results of community education for Māori are increased tribal identity, increased fluency in te reo, knowledge of traditional crafts, knowledge of tikanga, āhuatanga, increased individual confidence to pursue education for the benefit of the community. The outcomes are improved communal and whānau life, enhanced attachment to communities, enhanced pride in individuals and whānau, decreased crime, decreased violence.

Some will view reintegration of education with culture as a reversion to tribalism, but not so. That which strengthens identity and self confidence allows, nay demands, participation. Assimilationists presume that for Māori to be active participants in this nation they must become brown Europeans inculcated in all aspects of mainstream culture; unfortunately, this has proven to be a deceptive path finally rejected because of the realization that forced integration leads to disunity and resistance.

Within the Māori Wānanga system, the participation of Māori in tertiary education is primarily at the sub-degree level frequently in the areas of Te Reo and tikanga. However, this engagement is encouraging because many Māori are able to staircase into higher degrees and courses. The Wānanga system has high promise of success for Māori students. Within Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, for example, retention rates and completion rates were at the end of 2004, over 80% (Table 4) simply demonstrating that with sufficient support Māori Wānanga are capable of sustaining very high retention and completion rates.

Table 4. Retention and Completion Rates by Qualification Level (1999-2004).

Programme	University	Polytechnic	Colleges of Education	Māori Wānanga	Awanuiārangi (2004)	Total
Retention						
All	29-58%	27-62%	40-73%	30-48%	84%	38%
Level 7 Bachelor	49%	43%	73%	39%	91%	52%
Completion						
All	28-43%	22-37%	38-71%	33-43%	82%	33%
Level 7 Bachelor	40%	37%	71%	33%	77%	43%

Unfortunately, the Māori Wānanga system is considerably disadvantaged by current educational policies being pursued by the Tertiary Education Commission. The revamping of the tertiary education system in this country and the reapportioning of educational funds in favour of the universities has left the Māori Wānanga struggling. The Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) was a disaster for Māori Wānanga because of the difficulties in getting staff to the point where they can become researchers. Of the three Wānanga only Awanuiārangi was able to attract significant PhD level staff and to establish a PhD programme. Reduced funding, because of the PBRF, cost all three Māori Wānanga substantial funding, which makes it even harder to attract appropriately qualified staff.

In order to teach at the very highest levels of tertiary education a Māori Wānanga should be a research institution. Only through the generation of new knowledge can a teacher gain overview perspectives of their field and truly understand the rapid changes in their fields of

study. Students benefit from the research activities of their mentors. Unfortunately, in the context of the current education system it may be very difficult for Māori Wānanga to come up to the research standards of the universities.

Community-Based Acculturation Education

Culturally responsive teaching is a current drive within the Ministry of Education. The effectiveness of this approach to Māori education is quite evident in the cultural standards model implemented by Te Puna Mātauranga o Whanganui (Maharey, Horomia & Fancy, 2006), teaching models that have arisen out of the experiences of Alaska's Inuit tribes. This culturally sensitive and responsive teaching model is a step in the right direction, incorporating education with acculturation; and I quote, "culturally-responsive teaching is practice that helps learners become knowledgeable about the history and cultural traditions of Whanganui hapū and iwi, while learners, according to this model should have an ability to participate in a range of cultural environments and in a global society." This approach to indigenous education should be promoted at all levels, including the education of our elders; however, a vision has been articulated and its success for the future is encouraging. In addition, there are private teaching establishments that identify themselves as Māori providers delivering Māori subjects, in Māori environments, focusing specifically on Māori learners (Maharey, Horomia, & Fancy, 2006). The achievements of Te Wharekura o Rākaumangamanga as outlined in the Annual report on Māori education by the Ministry (Maharey, Horomia, & Fancy, 2006) also supports the value of acculturation and its value in Māori education. Culturally appropriate learning in a culturally sensitive environment may be the keys to educational success; however, the methodology does not go far enough, and needs to be extended throughout Māori teaching environment.

Māori tertiary education should begin with acculturation programs in Māori communities on the marae. This could be done through the current Māori Wānanga, or it could be reshaped for administration through some central body. Alternatively, it could be done directly through the marae. Negotiation for the promotion of acculturation education within iwi, is best done at the hapū level, and all hapū should have access to educational programs that will serve to sustain them culturally. The benefits of such programs are myriad. Māori recover their culture, language, and pride, and tertiary institutions face the possibilities of new students anxious to pursue their education and advance their knowledge.

Social Justice

Justification for the pursuit of culturally responsive education occurs not only through the success of such programmes, but also through the fundamental principles of social justice. Some think that justice transcends social and racial divides, deriving from some fundamental concept that arises from the human condition. Social justice is different from legal justice insofar as it is itself context-bound. Social Justice derives its authority from codes of morality as they exist in each culture, and that which is considered just in one society may not be considered fair in another. In its narrowest sense social justice may be considered to be "fairness" and the concept of fairness is a societal value that can differ from people to people and age to age.

Where two cultures of unequal size come together, and where the rules of engagement are determined by the more dominant culture, problems are inevitable. That which is fair to the dominant culture may often seem unfair to the minority, and *vice versa*. A single education system based on the cultural beliefs of the dominant people has left the minority culture struggling to make educational headway. It seems reasonable and fair to provide a system that facilitates Māori access to education in order to improve citizenship, productivity, and more equitable apportionment of the rewards.

We are two people under one law and the government is opposed to any programs that are race-based. However, this principle of majoritarian democracy was turned into a race-based attack on programmes designed to assist Māori to achieve equity. The Māori people as tangata whenua of this country occupy a position of inherent right for which Māori should make no apology. The Second Article of the Treaty of Waitangi states that Māori shall retain the “supremacy over their lands” The reversion to needs-based programmes denies the “inherent right” position of Māori. Māori have instead been placed alongside all other ethnic groups who have come to New Zealand, even those who have come as refugees.

The Treaty of Waitangi speaks of a partnership between Māori and Pākehā, a mutually beneficial partnership that has been eroded through the application of democratic principles to deny the minor partner its own partnership rights. The Treaty of Waitangi was not a needs-based treaty. It was a race-based treaty between the Māori people of Aotearoa and the colonial government of the day. Democracy requires that we work towards “The greatest good for the greatest number”; however, to the indigenous partner the “tyranny of the majority” is real and something with which most colonized indigenous peoples around the world have to contend.

Sometimes, for justice to prevail, it is necessary to treat unequals unequally. This may seem at odds with principles of equality that the government would like to promote. Equality is fine when goods and services are distributed equally amongst equal people. The fact is that we are not equal people. This principle of equality as applied by the government ignores the fact that people are different in their contributions to society, they have different talents, different needs, and different productivity. We are not paid equally. We are not equal shareholders in the land. The government uses the principle of equality to disadvantage its minority population which is itself a breach of social justice, a breach of fairness.

A Future for Māori Education

What is the future of Māori education in this country? As it stands the education system available for Māori is far from ideal, but what can be done to improve or replace what we have got? Let us return to the contention made at the beginning of this essay; that Māori must function credibly in both Māori and Pākehā worlds. Within the Māori world culturally appropriate education must be provided according to the precepts already established by community and custom. Community education programmes should be eliminated and replaced by acculturation programmes specifically for the uplifting of Māori culture. These programmes could be administered and supported by Māori Wānanga and become part of their brief. The methodology and processes recently developed at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi for the uplifting of Māori communities wherein the education and the educational process is basically defined by those communities has proven to be highly successful. The role of the outside provider, such as Māori Wānanga, could then be to provide the framework for achieving the desired outcomes. This process has proven highly successful within many hapū of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Porou.

Education for Māori adults should begin with the acculturation programs that build Māori language and Māori knowledge. This includes tikanga, waiata and other music, raranga harakeke, taaniko, tukutuku, kapahaka, ta moko, whaikorero, karanga, philosophy, science, spirituality, carving, history, whakapapa, and all the skills needed to function within the Māori community. These programs are absolutely essential for the preservation of Māori culture. Such education should be condoned and supported by the public purse without the expectation that they conform to what Pākehā consider appropriate. These acculturation programs should be designed to encourage learning, self knowledge, build self confidence,

and re-establish the foundations of Māori culture. These acculturation programmes would be “cultural needs-based programmes” as permitted under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi.

A future for Māori education in this country is summarized in Figure 2. The Māori Wānanga would remain as tertiary education providers, but could be extended to incorporate secondary education of Māori children. Many of the problems with Māori under achievement in education appears to begin in the secondary schools. Disengagement by often quite intelligent Māori children, especially within the sciences, might be overcome if secondary education for Māori could be incorporated into the supportive environment of the Māori Wānanga. The division between secondary and tertiary education in New Zealand is purely arbitrary, with most secondary schools students passing on to tertiary institutions at the age of around 17 or 18. For many Māori this amounts to being tossed onto the streets ill-prepared for anything but unemployment and poverty. Perhaps the transition between secondary and tertiary education could be made seamless and thereby retain Māori secondary students within the Māori Wānanga system far beyond their expected disengagement from secondary school. By the time such youths are 18 or 20 they could have earned tertiary qualifications such as certificates, diplomas, or bachelor degrees and thus go out into the world with qualifications that would help them get well-paying jobs.

A National Māori University should be established that will allow the best and the brightest of Māori students to learn in a Māori-focussed research-based institution with access to equipment and resources appropriate to a university. Māori leadership, commerce, scientific advancement, and scholarship development needs a university environment acting as a doorway out into the world or back into the Māori world. A National Māori University is needed to help Māori become part of the global economy.

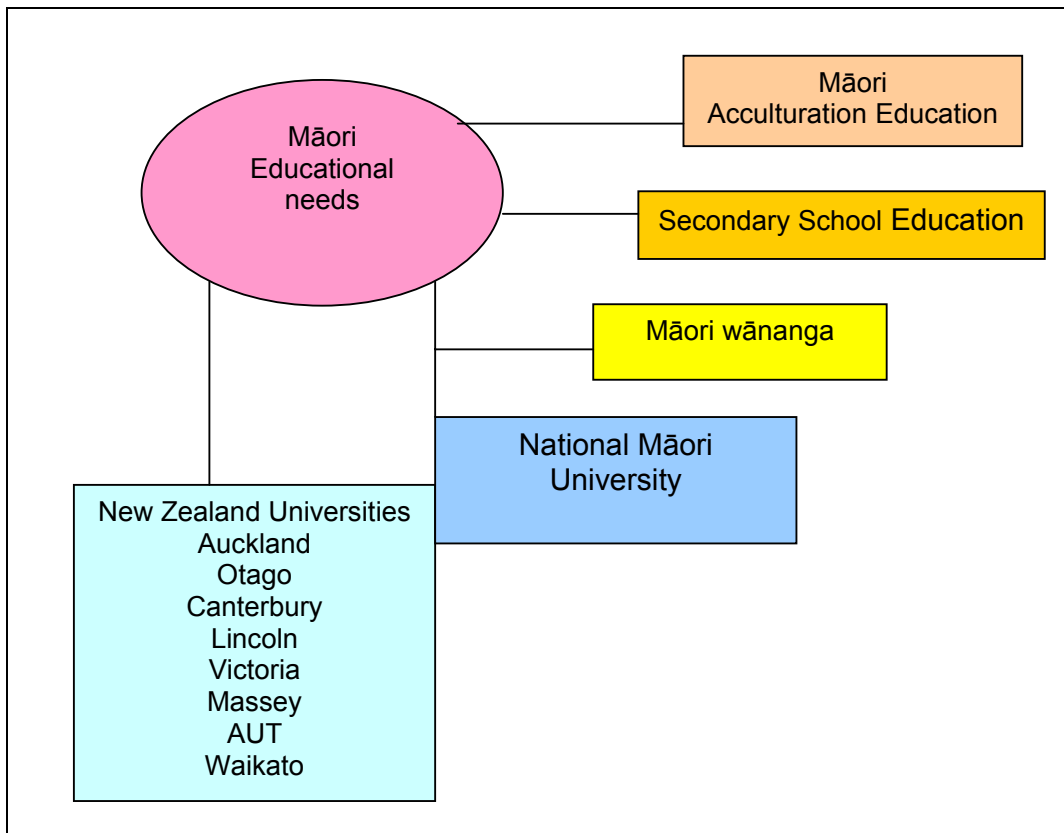


Figure 2. Meeting the educational needs of Māori.

It might be that the existing Māori Wānanga could form an interrelationship with a National Māori University such that the development of new degrees need take place only once instead of each institution developing new degrees only for their own use. It is also true that every tribe desires their own Wānanga which is an impossibility under the current funding limitations; however, it may be possible for them to achieve their dream if organized and provided for through such a National Māori University. A National Māori University could only be achieved if it came under, was supported by, and developed under the jurisdiction of the NZVCC. A close relationship between the National Māori University and the other universities would then be assured and the desire for an equal footing could become fact. A research university that can train students to the highest international levels in whatever topic is available is a dream that is worth dreaming. Let Māori take their place at the highest levels of academia and let them ascribe to international standards of excellence. Let them stand up and be recognized as high achievers, and as valuable contributors to the health and future of this nation.

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Author Notes

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