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‘What is good for Māori is good for the institution as a whole’

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THINK PIECE: What are the models in place in New Zealand that have increased the participation of Māori in higher education? What are the elements of the approach to higher education in New Zealand that could be applied in the Australian context? What has been the effect, for example, of a treaty on the provision of higher education for Māori?

‘What is good for Māori is good for the institution as a whole’[1]

1. Context for change

When thinking about how the New Zealand education system has gone about the business of increasing participation of its indigenous Maori people in higher education it is important to recognise a number of highly significant „shapers’ or antecedents that help explain the dynamics of the current situation. This is especially true when considering what might be transferable approaches between two countries such as New Zealand and Australia. The latter will, of course make their own decisions about what might be of use to them in their own deliberations. My intention is to be highly selective as to how to answer the question posed in the contract. I will focus mainly on developments since the 1980s; those developments that are discussed derive mainly from Maori sources and therefore are in the main consistent with Maori experiences of the way things are and how they ought to be; and finally, nothing that Maori advocate that is in their interests necessarily exclude any others hence the title of this „think piece’. I will briefly outline four such major antecedents.

Colonialism

The first of these major antecedents is that both countries share a colonial history with Britain. Wherever in the world colonialism has occurred four basic components exist[2] :

- it begins with a forced, involuntary entry;
- the colonising power carries out policies which constrain, transform, or destroys indigenous values, orientations, and ways of life;
- there is an experience of being managed and manipulated by outsiders in terms of ethnic status; and
- racism is seen as fundamental, as a principle of social domination by which a group seen as inferior or different in terms of alleged biological characteristics is exploited, controlled, and oppressed socially and psychologically by a superordinate group.

Generally speaking the dominant cultures of both New Zealand and Australia choose not to dwell on issues of race and racism and prefer to think of themselves as being part of internationalist post-colonial states. Facing up to the reality that institutional racism is still alive and well in both countries is a pre-requisite for development within, between and across cultures. Despite a reasonably and relatively malleable co-existence between the indigenous Maori and dominant European/Pakeha, Maori continue to challenge this hegemony and never relax their vigilance against the colonisation complex. Generations of protest and resistance[3] from the King Movement of the 1850s, the Land Wars of the 1860s and 70s through to the recent fracas over the alienation of the foreshore and sea-bed is testimony to Maori

[1] Durie (2011, p. 168)
[2] Blauner (1971, p. 278)
[3] Cox (1993)

grievances over multiple forms of Pakeha domination. Symptomatic of this resistance is the aphorism, *ma tatou ano, tatou e korero* (we speak for ourselves).

Critical mass

The second important consideration is that of comparative populations. Maori constitute approximately 14% of the total New Zealand population. It is a growing population and a youthful one with most now resident in urban communities[4]. Intermarriage between Maori and Europeans has been a feature of relations from the earliest period of association. Compared with most other indigenous peoples as in Canada, United States and Australia the Maori population represents a significant critical mass and consequently tend to be relatively visible and not easily disregarded or ignored. As a people Maori tend to be gregarious and community-oriented while the retention of many customs are seriously maintained at an active level. Many of these customs or *tikanga* have survived into the twenty-first century despite various attempts by the dominant culture to disqualify them from general practice or to have them modified to the degree that they become unrecognisable to Maori. Those *tikanga* that survived and play a vibrant role in Maori culture today include the *powhiri* or ceremonial welcome along with the *whaikorero* (formal speech of welcome), *hongi* (formal greeting) and *karakia* (ritual incantations). These remain relatively intact and practiced throughout the country on a daily basis by growing numbers of both Maori and other New Zealanders. Other *tikanga* such as the *tangi* or ritual death ceremony has undergone significant transformations but remains a staunch artefact of Maori culture. One of the main reasons these customs have survived is because of the critical mass of Maori across the country that persevere with them and draw Pakeha friends, work mates and colleagues into participation and therefore greater appreciation into the machinations of Maori ways of knowing, doing and being.

Communication

Closely aligned with the critical mass issue is the additional advantage Maori have of speaking one native language albeit with a few dialectical variants. Every Maori who speaks Māori can be easily understood by any other speaker of Māori. In today's world every Maori can speak and read English. For generations following the influx of European settlers there was no obvious reason to believe that the Maori language was anything else than in a healthy state. When research demonstrated that the Maori vernacular was rapidly diminishing as a first language[5] it was received with initial shock but perceived as a problem that could be remedied by mobilising *kaumatua* (elders) and *whanau* (families) to concentrate on „teaching' *mokopuna* (grand-children) and *tamariki* (children) to reverse the negative trend by immersing themselves in the language in the tribal context of the *marae* (traditional institutional base). In hindsight this action seems entirely reasonable but it overlooks one vital element; virtually everything about Maori tradition has transformed over the last 170 plus years. Maori fell into the trap of taking their language for granted: so long as Maori elders were in sufficient numbers, so long as they continued to speak the language of their

[4] Durie (2011, p.198) says that from the 2001 census Maori were 14% (526,281) of the total population and 85% of those were urban dwellers. He estimates that by 2051 the Maori population will almost double and of the total population at least 33% of children will be Maori.

[5] Benton (1979)

ancestors; and so long as Māori customary ceremonies were able to maintain the traditional marae (or tribal institutional base) then the Maori language would be safe against outside encroachment. However, language survival in a universal sense is a function of learning the language „on one's mother's knee'. The successful resolution of this issue of Maori language revitalisation has proven to be the fundamental problem for Maori advancement and will be commented on again later in this essay. The communicative issue to be faced by other indigenous peoples as in the Aboriginals, the First Nations peoples and American Indians is that they are proportionately smaller populations, spread out across vast expanses of often desolate lands where multiple tribes speak completely different languages from each other.

Indigenous predispositions to education

With the arrival of the missionaries in New Zealand in the early 1800s, literacy through the vehicle of Christian religious doctrine proved an irresistible tool for Maori to engage with Europeans, to learn about the ways of these visitors and at the same time to „talk' to each other through a new medium about what was happening throughout the land, the comings and goings of settlers and tribesmen, and other events of note that otherwise would pass without notice. Varieties of forms of education through schooling followed and it was not long before the first Maori were entering the earliest established universities in the country. Apirana Ngata was the first graduate in 1894 achieving distinctions in law, politics, literature and land reforms. The first two Maori medical graduates were Maui Pomare and Te Rangi Hiroa who graduated in 1899 and 1904 respectively[6]. The influence of these men on later generations of Maori thinking about becoming involved in higher education was a powerful motivation. The paths that these early scholars of Maoridom paved are an intrinsic part of the development of a „radical ego ideal' that is central to the thesis of this Think Piece.

1.1 The emergence of a 'radical ego- ideal'

In the context of change these four issues: the devastating impact on Maori of the colonisation complex and its associated racist ideologies, the nature and size of comparative indigenous and mainstream populations, the issues surrounding communications in the complex task of talking to and understanding each other, and the presupposition generally held by most Maori that education is a „good' and worth pursuing to whatever levels one desires, constitute what I will call the „radical ego-ideal'[7]. An ego-ideal in the way I am using the concept is about drawing on traditional concepts such as *te reo Māori* (language), *marae* (traditional institution), *kaumatua-mokopuna* (generations) and *tikanga* (customs) as banners for acclaiming one's Maori-ness. What makes these ego-ideals „radical' is their projection into the future as a model for transforming the historical and current situations into something that benefits everybody. Such a transformation is only possible if Maori and Pakeha and all other New Zealanders see themselves reflected in the important matters, structures and processes the society has to offer.

2. Purposes of education in indigenising the education system

[6] Durie (2011, pp. 158-159)
[7] Lear (2006) describes what he calls the ego-ideal (p. 86) and ego-ideal of radical hope (p. 141)

Māori have been demanding answers to some fundamental questions about the purposes of education for Aotearoa/New Zealand for decades. I will outline three of these purposes each in the context of developments in Māori education[8]. I have borrowed this elegant model from the book by Dr. Alex Frame[9] who in turn borrowed it from the renowned French anthropologist, Claude Levi Strauss (1952). According to the latter, "within certain limits, cultures thrive and prosper best when they encounter other cultures, and *the more different the cultures the better* (emphasis in original). The question we need to ask is what is meant by encounter?

The arithmetic of culture

1 + 1 = 1 Assimilation

The first of these is likened to the idea of „Winner takes all'. It is assimilationists in that only one culure can come out on top; in Levy-Strauss terms, "one plus one equals one – winner takes all". In the New Zealand context Māori plus Pākehā equals Pākehā. The principle and policies of assimilation and its variants (accommodation, integration, multiculturalism etc.) are well documented in both research and in politics and the conclusions remains steadfast. The Māori experience of these practices is less well documented but what does exist (for example, the Waitangi Tribunal Report, 1986)[10] suggests that the idea of „winner takes all' is close to what those who gave evidence felt about this sustained period of Pākehā cultural hegemony. Given a kind of begrudging respect in line with the idea of the „noble savage' some things Māori were included in the curriculum, mainly of a performative nature, such as action songs*, kapa haka*, weaving and carving etc. but there was never sufficient quantities or varieties of Maori knowledge to suggest a wholesome acceptance that acquisition of this knowledge was useful and could contribute to what it might mean to be a New Zealander. The slogan of „winner takes all' or „one size fits all' has sat comfortably with New Zealand's dominant socio-educational ideology of egalitarianism for more than a century but is now slowly withering with the advent of norms related to equity, diversity and difference.

1 + 1 = 2 Integration

The second period of policies and practices in Māori education is referred to as the „mirror image'. It describes the period when Māori were seen to wake up to the fact that the education system was never going to deliver an education to their children in their interests as Māori. For example, from the earliest times when literacy was introduced to Māori they showed a great deal of zeal and skill in acquiring this new „knowledge'. It took more than a century for Māori to wake up to the transforming potential of literacy as „technology', as something that can be used to do something else and not merely to be a Western cultural

[8] Penetito (2011) taken in part from an invited address to the NZARE conference in Tauranga, 30 November.
[9] Frame (2002, p. 32-33)
[10] The Waitangi Tribunal Report of 1986 was a response to the claim that the Crown had failed to protect the Maori language in breach of the promise made in article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi 1840.

artefact. The idea that literacy could also be a tool for liberation, as a pedagogy for conscientisation (Freire and Macedo, 1987) and where they could develop a deepening awareness of their socio-cultural reality was stirring in the imagination of Māori teaching professionals through the 1970s. It needed the inspiration of something much closer to home such as the impending loss of te reo Māori highlighted in the research undertaken by Dr. Richard Benton (1979) and his colleagues at the New Zealand Council of Educational Research in the 1970s and 80s that provided the necessary spark, the catalyst to take this agenda onto *marae* and into *whānau* throughout the country, into government departments and into schools. But there is a problem. One hundred and thirty years plus of formal schooling under the shadow of colonialism has left a legacy that cannot be reversed over night. We have all been schooled; all teachers are trained and educated according to the conventions of the time; a school is a school is a school. The alternative system or the *kaupapa Māori* system to be more accurate is very much like every other school apart from the fact that the Māori language is the major language of instruction and of socialisation. There is more going on than that within *kaupapa Māori* schools but the legal, educational and professional requirements placed on them makes it extremely difficult for them to be much more than a „mirror-image' of mainstream schools.

1 + 1 = 3 Complexity

From Levy-Strauss,"The arithmetic of cultures is *one plus one equals three.* The two encountering cultures remain (albeit mutually influenced) but a third and new culture gradually appears alongside them". Taking my own *whakapapa* (genealogy) as an example, I have Tainui, Scottish and French ancestry but I am not part Māori and part European. I am fully fledged in both and deeply influenced by an emergent imbricated culture, a hybrid version. I am not half-caste, nor am I Kiwi, or a New Zealander yet I am all of those things. The European predisposition of putting people into boxes must cease. The world is more and more becoming one of mixed heritages not in the same sense as the American idea of the „melting pot' which suggests a disappearing of heritages rather than an acceptance of them in a relationship. When cultures „encounter' one another in the sense portrayed by 1 + 1 = 3 we are thinking of the development of a mutuality, of trust and respect and these necessarily require us to learn about each other and what makes us who we are on our own terms.

2.1 The purpose of education 'is' the context

The shifting emphases in the purposes of education and the way in which institutions of learning have gone about their business from the early missionary day schools, through the 100 years of the Native/Māori schools to today's schools has seen huge changes in virtually everything and none more so than that which fits under the umbrella of „participation'. The system wants participation to be universal (available to everybody), compulsory (one must attend between certain ages), and secular (abstract, rational-oriented). It is assumed that through the doctrine of participation in schooling people will engage, respect, accept, feel included, gain a sense of belonging, be empowered, and experience active agency. But to what end? If what counts as valid knowledge to you, and what counts as the appropriate pedagogy to enable you to acquire that knowledge is not made available then it can be

argued that much of what is made to count as education is „empty of intellectual cogency and moral force'[11]. This is what *kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, wharekura* and *wānanga* have been trying to build into their institutions and practices for the last 30 years. There is no coincidence that increasing Maori confidence with what the education system has to offer them has produced new levels of performance across the system. Looking only at the top end of the system Durie states that,

> Since 1999 indigenous participation in tertiary education in New Zealand has been transformed. From a position of relative exclusion, multiple levels of Māori participation have evolved, reflected in the curriculum, the student body, the academic workforce, tertiary education policy, the establishment of tribal tertiary education institutions, and indigenous research (2011, p. 73).

He argues further that at the doctoral level in the years between 2002 and 2008 which is when the Māori Academic Excellence Awards were initiated, more than 200 students have obtained PhD degrees. In the six years prior to 2002 there were fewer than 50 Māori doctoral graduates (2011, p. 79). How has this revolution occurred? Coming to terms with the purposes of education at a societal level is fundamental. The problem of 1 + 1 = 2, the „mirror image', as some see it, is that the Māori alternative to the system is a separatist move. Others see *Kaupapa Māori* institutions as being the flip side of mainstream schools and therefore tending to be equally sterile, limiting and unimaginative. If there is a common ground between the two systems representing two cultures then both can be viewed as inauthentic and denied cultural validity because they exist jointly and interdependently. Inclusion of Māori knowledge and custom into the education system has traditionally been criticised by Māori because what was selected was often seen as piecemeal (a part of some often unexplained whole), an end-in-itself (not connected to anything else), and out of context (lacking coherence). Whatever the shortfalls might be of *Kaupapa Māori* institutions[12] there is no doubt that they exist, that significant proportions of the Maori population want them, and that they are successful in adding authentic Maori elements into every aspect of their composition.

I have gone to some lengths to try to explain the philosophical and theoretical bases for changes in Maori education over the last 30 years. I have tried to maintain a dialectical approach that is one that emphasises understanding of processes, flows, fluxes and relations because, as Harvey (1996, p. 46) explains these are prior to elements, things, structures and systems. Now we can explore some of the actions, policies and processes behind these changes.

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[11] see C.Wright Mills. (1977). *The Marxists.* Harmondsworth, Middlesex, p. 23)

[12] For a legal definition see Waitangi Tribunal Report (2005). "A wananga is characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances, and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence, and assists the application of knowledge regarding ahuatanga Maori (Maori tradition) according to tikanga Maori (Maori custom)" (p. 5).

3. On with the revolution – transforming the system

Gandhi is reported to say, „There is no way to equality, equality is the way'. I take him to mean that the „means' toward something is also the „end' that is, you build a fence by building it. It is not something that you set out to do and then one day you've done it. It is being done all the time. Developments in Maori education are like that, at least that is what it feels like to someone like me who has been formally and intimately involved in the system for half a century.

This essay is mainly about Maori in higher education and how that happened but of course nobody gets to try „higher' education without first tasting and mainly succeeding in earlier forms of the education system.

I am deeply indebted to the wonderful works written by Mason Durie in the fields of Māori health (1994), Māori self-determination (1998), and Māori social and cultural developments (2003, 2005, 2011). Within education, particularly Māori and indigenous tertiary education, Graham H. Smith has arguably been more involved at the radical action end of transforming Maori education and the system's response to those actions. I have drawn liberally from their contributions to the discussions on Māori participation in higher education in New Zealand focusing on the period from the 1980s to the present. Both Durie and Smith are Māori with distinguished careers in academia as well as being strongly grounded in the Māori world. This last point about „groundedness' has taken on new life within the system as a whole with the Ministry of Education's latest Maori education strategy affirming the notion of "Maori enjoying education success as Maori" (2008, p. 16). In this essay I draw especially on Durie's most recent study where he specifically addresses issues surrounding the indigenising of the academy in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In three chapters of *Ngā Tini Whetū – Navigating Māori futures* (2011) Durie outlines six major Māori educational transformations that have occurred since 1984 (p. 160):

- a rapid uptake of early childhood education
- greatly increased participation in tertiary education
- education policies recognise Māori aspirations and Māori knowledge
- multiple educational pathways (university, polytechnic, wānanga, private training organisations)
- higher participation rates in sub-degree programmes
- significant research capacity.

I prefer to think of these as initiatives that set the platform for transformation. Initiatives are more likely to be taken because of some dissatisfaction with the status quo often made necessary as a result of some specific research or pressure-group politics whereas transformations are much broader involving change of consciousness, exposure to a different way of seeing things that are likely to include the learning of new systems of categorisation. Where initiatives are likely to occur as the result of some planned change, transformations are more profound change that result less from planned interventions than from deeply embedded dissatisfactions with the way things are, culturally speaking, and the realisation

that one must "face up to reality" what the American philosopher Jonathon Lear describes as "an ego-ideal of radical hope"[13]. I referred to this phenomenon earlier.

It is within this context of change that I will discuss Durie's educational transformations. The emphasis will be on Māori in tertiary education throughout but the constant reminder is that „Māori thinking' about the way things ought to be is „system or process thinking'[14] which means they are often preoccupied with finding the balance between integration and self-assertion rather than simply how to improve the performance of this or that unit or sector or even system.

Political recognition

Durie's explanations of these transformations are identified in three broad areas that have contributed to change. Firstly, the political recognition of indigeneity manifest in societal inequalities viewed through a social justice lens along with a growing national awareness that the state has a responsibility to facilitate, in the interests of Māori, the *„tino rangatiratanga'* (autonomy) article of the Treaty of Waitangi at least as diligently as it has enacted the Crown's „right to govern' article. Over the last 20 years plus both indigeneity and social justice arguments have been applied to major government agencies including health, justice, social welfare, employment and education.

The second transformation that has contributed to change Durie identifies as educational reforms. These include the Maori inspired *kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, wharekura* and *wananga.* Referring to these initiatives as educational reforms that have led to educational transformation does not sit comfortably with the way in which these institutions came into existence. They did not arise as the result of some grand plan nor did they emerge as an *ad hoc* arrangement. When we speak of educational reform we are referring to change that derives from the system as a result (usually of an officially sanctioned report) of questions being asked at the political level about some part of the system perceived as being in need of repair, readjustment, renovation, or replacement. In other words, the motivation for change is internal, to improve the way the system works. As a result of these reforms a wider transformation might occur but not necessarily.

The major initiatives in education that derived from Māori sources of inspiration came from a realisation that the formal education system would never deliver an education that was in their interests. The Māori immersion institutions were established outside the existing legal administration and therefore without any state resourcing. All Maori immersion institutions are now firmly entrenched within the state system, legally defined and officially resourced by the state. At the tertiary level *wānanga* developed separately but within the same relative time-frame as in the other three sectors and philosophically coherent with them.

The Māori inspired and Māori led initiatives described briefly above began with transformation of their own position as their goal. If anything, these institutional forms of

[13] Lear. (2006, p. 141)
[14] Capra (1988, p. 43)

Māori development had self-determination at the core, „if the system was not going to provide the education Māori wanted and needed then Māori would provide it themselves'. Of course, this is argument by rhetoric because both Māori and Pākehā, tribe and government were fully aware that Māori did not have the resources to establish let alone maintain a national schooling system without the support of the state. Nevertheless a history of relations that survived some of the worst excesses of colonialism and imperialism, internal land wars, the resultant crippling loss of mana Māori, and the deconstruction of Māori knowledge and custom would eventually either lead to structural separation or bring about some kind of mutuality through biculturalism. Māori were well aware that a strong and unified appeal for the system to meet its own stated goal of equality of opportunity for all learners would not be ignored for long and that concessions would follow. Embarrassing the state might have been new in the education world but there was a long history of Māori resistance movements, mainly over loss of lands, which they could call on to make it extremely difficult for the government to ignore or „play-down'.

Throughout this 30 year period of change The Treaty of Waitangi has played an important role in providing guidelines through which institutions must take account. Typical is a statement under the Treaty heading which expresses a university's commitment to Maori educational success through recruitment, retention and achievement and including policies on Maori research excellence, contribution to *matauranga Maori* (Maori knowledge), building Maori staff capability and building long-term positive relationships with Maori stakeholders[15]. Government agencies such as the Tertiary Education Commission require from every tertiary education institution some demonstration that they have developed initiatives to address Treaty of Waitangi principles with additional expectation of reporting against Maori enrolments, course completions by Maori students, and staffing profiles. Responding to Maori is no longer an optional exercise or a question of goodwill but is closely linked to funding agreements.[16]

Transforming praxis

Two American critical education researchers and practitioners[17] talk about praxis as "using theory to inform transformative action" which they translate as "student knowledge production, literacy development, academic advancement, ethnic empowerment, and commitment to social change" through focusing on "the collective struggle for racial and economic justice that includes members of all ethnic groups while holding race and ethnicity as central to understanding power and privilege in society" (p. 138). This is precisely the struggle in tertiary education that Māori have been earnestly engaged in from the 1980s through to the present. The notion of praxis as developed through the work of Freire in particular is well known among Māori scholars and educators interested in the fields of literacy, critical theory and social justice.

[15] Victoria University of Wellington. (2010). Tearning and Teaching Strategy, 2010-2014
[16] Durie (2011, p. 162)
[17] Duncan-Andrade and Morrell (2008, p. 138)

In a recent conference[18] Graham Smith talked about the 'transforming praxis' enacted through his institution, Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi. He discussed such topics as the need for strong support systems, the need for a dual focus that extended the cultural framework as well as extending opportunities for students to acquire world knowledge. He saw the need to understand our own limitations as an institution and the additional need therefore to establish alliances with other institutions.

In lessons learned from the 'front-line' in New Zealand Graham Smith applied these to his work in Canada in the strategic plan for 'The Indigenous Education Institute of Canada'. I think they are as pertinent in Canada as they are in New Zealand as they can be in Australia. He writes (2005) that the objectives outlined will be established and based from within the Faculty of Education, but also have a cross institutional outreach. Its objectives will be to;

- Develop a range of research based innovative interventions into the education and schooling crises that have persistently and disproportionately constrained First Nations and Indigenous advancement;
- develop a critical mass of outstanding Indigenous graduate scholars who will have the capacity to develop transformative educational outcomes within community contexts and who have a commitment to taking up this leadership responsibility
- build a critical mass of First Nations, Indigenous researcher talent, capability and capacity;
- seek to improve the socio-economic conditions in First Nations communities by linking in more direct ways investment in education and schooling transformations and social and economic advancement outcomes;
- enhance policy formation and practice as it relates to the schooling and education of First Nations and Indigenous communities;
- positively support First Nation's concerns for language and cultural maintenance through developing a specialist focus on educational strategies for language revitalisation programmes and to reflect these aspirations within the practice, programs and structures of the Institute as appropriate;
- work collaboratively with the First Nations House of Learning and other First Nations staff and other Faculty and programs across the University;
- develop and enhance the scholarly and cultural growth of all First Nations faculty, researchers and scholars who have the capability to develop transformative outcomes in their work;
- support the development of a wider range of curriculum options that reflect First Nations students interests and that can be made available more widely across the Faculty of Education as appropriate; to propose to develop the INDIG course nomenclature to identify Institute courses offered through Departments and Programs across the Faculty (and University) as appropriate;

[18] Smith (2011) NZARE Conference in Tauranga. 'Transforming Praxis – The potential of the Indigenous University in the New Zealand tertiary Context'.

- provide opportunities and support for all educators, scholars and researchers interested developing skills, knowledge and capability to support the education and schooling needs of First Nations and Indigenous communities;
- harness all available talent and skills from across the Faculty as may be appropriate to accomplish the goals for First Nations and Indigenous educational

4. Considerations for the indigenous groups:

- If you are in agreement at the level of the community or family about some course of action that is in your particular interests, as the benefactors of the action, *do it* rather than wait until you have 'official' support or until you get the 'required' legal mandate. In most cases, if your dreams are compelling enough, you need to have the courage to act and to deal with the consequences later. You might be surprised about just how tentative the status quo really is or how deeply your concerns are shared by others. In Māori the saying is '*mahia te mahi',* just do it.

5. Considerations for officials:

- There is a need to focus on 'solution building' rather than 'problem definition'. This is a mind-set issue as much as it is material but it will more likely to be resolved with the input at all levels and at each critical point of development through Aboriginal and Torres Strait structured contributions.
- Multiple sites for intervention is the norm but motivations for change must be inspired from the bottom-up with support and resourcing from the top-down with intellectual capacity and capability building as the goal.
- The retention, revitalisation and enhancement of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples languages, knowledges and cultures need to be harnessed through education and research.
- The need to encourage inter-state, national and international outreach and relations both within and through education is fast becoming a leitmotif among indigenous peoples especially across the Pacific-rim nations. The internationalisation theme has always been a convention for university lecturers but for indigenous scholars it is relatively new and surprising discovery.

Conclusion

One usually finds descriptions of strategies for change and/or development as identifying targets or goals, for example:

- to increase the participation of Māori in tertiary education by X% by the year Y;
- to ensure that every tertiary institution has a fully functioning Māori Studies Department or equivalent by year Z;
- to identify priorities in Māori resource development etc.

but it is critical that we remain vigilant of the big picture and the power of the 'radical ego-ideal' as the inspiration for change. I will leave Durie to have the last word:

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> If education has not made some contribution towards indigenous participation in the indigenous world then it has not addressed indigenous realities which are about belonging to two worlds and being active in both[19].

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