

Matauranga Maori Literacies: Indigenous Literacy as Epistemological Freedom v. Eurocentric Imperialism.

Dr. Shane Edwards (Ngati Maniapoto/Waikato)

Abstract

This paper discusses ideas of functional, cultural and critical literacy as inherent within indigenous/Maori ideas of literacy as being multifaceted and (w)holistic. The paper challenges prevailing ideas that functional literacy has long term benefits for Maori and argues that the current narrow focus of literacy pervading New Zealand education, and in particular tertiary/post secondary education is antithetic to the desires of Maori to live as Maori. The views and approach by one indigenous New Zealand institution, a Wananga, to respond to dominant agendas whilst advancing Maori desires and aspirations is highlighted.

Introduction

Literacy in its long held denotative sense and referred to here as reading, writing, listening and speaking is being promoted as a key skill for all peoples to have to participate in society in the future. However, these definitions of what literacy is are subjective and yet are applied to indigenous groups, including Maori¹ as a panacea for Maori levels of social discomfort. The monocultural views that literacy refers to reading, writing, listening and speaking – what is commonly termed functional literacy is being applied to Maori as supporting the common good. What this ignores is the cultural capital and intellectual sovereignty sought by Maori and indigenous peoples and our own informed intellectual and spiritual capital as regards our views of what counts as literacy and what literacy counts, and who says so. In this agenda Maori voice is largely marginalised to support dominant group agendas of economic slavery of the indigenous population of Aotearoa/²New Zealand.

This paper examines a Maori view of literacy as relevant to the adult education environment and within a wananga³ context. It highlights the current literacy focus as an agenda that is narrow in focus advancing economic outcomes in isolation from other important factors of importance to Maori and that the agenda promotes ‘economic slavery’ aimed at ensuring the units of production – low class workers, overly represented by Maori, as the units to be upskilled with the sole purpose to increase our productivity for capitalist agendas. It continues and contributes to a growing critical literature by indigenous and Maori authors and groups that see a shift away from ‘orthodox’ (Rawiri, 2008:1) and Eurocentric views of what

¹ Maori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

² Aotearoa is the Maori name commonly given to New Zealand recognising Maori discovery of this land.

³ Wananga are tertiary/post secondary educational institutions that are characterised by being Maori led, have their philosophical base in Maori knowledge and predominantly serve Maori students educational needs.

is and is not appropriate for us (Romero-Little, 2006). Shore (2003:20-21) makes exposes and makes transparent these agendas explaining;

I want to put notions of difference and diversity on the agenda because they are fraught with complexity and also because they are inescapably associated with literacy teaching...I want to ask how common framings of literacy as social practice ‘forgæ’ that dominant discourse in adult literacy education is deeply structured and framed by White Western understandings of textual and social practice.

Indigenous institutions of higher learning

Whare Wananga represent the oldest social and educational institution in Aotearoa/New Zealand predating western educational institutions in this country. Wananga traditionally had primary responsibility for the development of skills, knowledge and the transmission thereof for the benefit of society. Whare wananga are generally recognised as dealing with two distinct knowledge types, higher level exoteric known as te kauae runga and lower more common forms known as te kauae raro. The higher whare wananga that were responsible for esoteric knowledge were underpinned by a group of secular fora and institutions within their own right known as ‘whare.’ These knowledge institutions permeated Maori society and included whare kura, whare kau po, whare maire, whare pora, whare takiura, whare puni, whare tatai, whare mata, whare takaha, whare korero, whare kohanga, whare kahu, whare porukuruku, whare tapere and whare tupapaku. These whare required specialised knowledge and contextual literacy skills to be successful in and were developed over time. Given this history as the oldest institution of literacy provision in Aotearoa/New Zealand it is fitting therefore that wananga and others interested in Maori sovereignty begin to explore, articulate and take positions in the provision of literacy within appropriate contexts of knowing.

Functional Literacy⁴: A smallpox blanket?

In July 2008, the New Zealand Government launched a Skills Strategy to address the future needs of the New Zealand workforce. The rationale for the strategy was to ensure that the skills of the workforce would support the nation to remain competitive in a global environment⁵. Skills Strategy Implementation Plans and Action Plans were developed and published.

The Literacy, Language and Numeracy action plan outlines the response to this challenge and is focused on building, over five years, the demand for and supply of literacy, language and numeracy learning opportunities, as well as the capability of providers. The aim is to build a system that is responsive to changing demands in the

⁴⁴ An idea gaining more saliency with me at this point is the idea of ‘colonial literacy.’ This developing idea acknowledges that the literacy that predominantly occupies the mind is a colonial legacy of the predominance of reading and writing, most often in English and that is historically located with and in ideas of assimilation or extinction of indigenous groups.

⁵ NZ Skills Strategy, 2008 NZ Government.

*workplace and in the wider community. ...Capability building will focus on ensuring that provision of literacy and numeracy in all contexts is high quality and results in transferable skills for learners. This includes a focus on increasing the qualifications of educators and their access to sustained professional development, developing teaching and learning resources and tools, and providing advice to employers, educators and providers.*⁶

The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) Investment Guidance 2008-2010 (which guides funding decisions for individual institutions) includes key shifts relating to increasing literacy, numeracy and language in the workforce. Key performance indicators for the key shifts are:

- a. Increased participation of people with the foundation learning needs in quality training focused on lifting literacy language and numeracy skills.
- b. Participation by tutors and providers in professional development programmes supporting effective teaching practice for lifting literacy, language and numeracy skills.

Through the Literacy and Numeracy Action Plan (2008-2012), a TEC work stream under the Skills Strategy, specific funding is available to wananga to make the organisational changes required to introduce progressively more literacy and numeracy into their provision.

The (TEC) has defined literacy as the written or oral language people use in their everyday lives and work; it includes reading, writing, speaking and listening. The TEC considers skills in this area are essential for good communication, critical thinking and problem solving in the workforce. It includes building the skills to communicate (at work) for speakers of other languages. Numeracy is the bridge between mathematics and real life. It includes the knowledge and skills needed to apply mathematics to everyday family and financial matters, work and community tasks.

It is clear that the thrust of focus is on functional literacy. Function literacy aims to increase fuller participation in a literate society or a society attempting to become more literate by the individuals within the society. Functional literacy agendas are achieved by the development of programmes of education aimed at meeting the reading and writing needs of the society concerned (George, Isaacs, Pihama and Yates, 2009). Someone is considered to be functionally literate when they are able to reads and write to a level that allows them to complete the requirements of daily life particularly in job settings, successfully (Harman and Hunter, cited in Lankshear with Lawlor, 1987). Similar to current aims of Aotearoa/New Zealand prescribed agendas Rassool (1999) describes functional literacy as literacy related to work related tasks, employability and the requirements of an economy and is reduced to skills

⁶ NZ Skills Strategy Implementation Plan 2008-2009, 2008.

with particular outcomes and measurements supported by testing techniques to match the changes in functional literacy levels with the performance of any given society.

Papen (2005) explains that functional literacy focuses on the deficits a person has and assumes that these deficits are the base of the problem. Programmes are constructed to help people to develop these skills to participate in the economy as labour units in the workplace. George, Isaacs, Pihama and Yates (2009) identify that this had some success but also has had some less than powerful results.

Government agendas and Indigenous aspirations

While Maori would not deny the relative importance of employment agendas and material well being in mediating the socio-economic inequalities that see Maori employment, health and income rates significantly below those of non-Maori New Zealanders (Rawiri, 2008) the idea that Maori might continue to disproportionately occupy the under skilled and under educated majority is equally untenable. The current agenda within New Zealand of using tertiary education programmes to embed literacy to increase the literacy skills levels as it relates to Maori, while not overtly saying so, to ensure that New Zealand has a more educated and skilled workforce in the future exemplifies a banal focus on utilising Maori as productive labour units to support future needs of government in achieving capitalist agendas of economic stability and growth. In this agenda the space and place of Maori culture and Maori sovereignty is not considered by decision makers as equally important.⁷ When used in this way literacy becomes assimilationist in nature, something indigenous authors (Hohepa, 2001) that must be carefully avoided.

The desire by Maori to live as Maori is challenged by this limiting focus. In particular the covert idea that Maori will be necessary to form the lower class of the labour force in future and that literacy will support higher rates of Maori productivity has undertones of racism. These ideas are being promoted as good for Maori and as contributing to Maori employability into the future. This has some element of truth as capitalism is underpinned by competitive advantage and the individual over the collective cognisant with Eurocentric worldviews and yet antithetic to the ideas and values inherent within Te ao Maori, Maori worldviews and matakauranga Maori.

Indigenous Literacy: Reconnecting the sacred?

Multiple Literacies⁸

⁷ Cornel West (1993:xvi) vividly reminds us how our human beingness is compromised by banal focuses on economic imperialism when he writes,

The expansion of corporate power is driven by this pervasive commercialisation and commodification for two basic reasons. First, market activities of buying and selling. Advertising and promoting weaken non-market activities of caring and sharing, nurturing and connecting. Short term stimulation and instant titillation edge out quality relations and substantive community....and no democracy can survive that focuses solely on the economic dimension.

⁸ See also; Wood, J. (2004). *Defining Literacies*.

Te Ao Maori and its body of knowledge, Mātauranga Māori, has always recognised multiple literacies. In these contexts it is apparent that in the field of ‘indigenous literacies’ (Rawiri, 2008) a body of knowledge that could be termed mātauranga Māori literacy is possible to re-exist. As Rawiri (2008:16) notes;

While literacy has always been valued by indigenous peoples as a means of achieving economic prosperity, within indigenous and First Nations understandings literacy functions in a more fundamental and critical way. Literacy is the means with which to express, understand, provide for, and make sense of, one’s self and the whole ‘richness of one’s self in its widest cultural, spiritual, intellectual and physical sense (Penetito, in Irwin et al, 2001). There are many rich ancestral ‘literacy’ practices which function in this way. Describing these as ‘indigenous literacies’ validates these as literacy skills and approaches as being just as important, and just as relevant as orthodox Western understandings and economic approaches to adult literacy learning...Separating indigenous and First Nations peoples from their ancestral literacies has had serious adverse social and adverse environmental consequences on a world-wide scale.

Literacies include the ability to communicate and understand the environment including nature, weather patterns, star paths, tides and seasons (Edwards, 2009) as well as the ability to communicate and relate to human entities, most commonly done through whaikorero, karanga, pao, waiata, whakatauki and general korero. Other literacy forms included ‘art’ such as whakairo, raranga, taniko, kowhaiwhai just to name a few. These literacies primarily were about communication, living and balance that supported mutual causality (Meyer, 2009). All of these literacies were present and intact within Te Ao Maori prior to the arrival of Pakeha as part of a replete system for the maintenance, enhancement and advancement of this encyclopaedic knowledge existed. The arrival of non-Māori to these lands had devastating effects on those knowledge systems. The development of non-Māori social systems and structures meant that Māori systems were replaced and set aside. Much of this occurred by force of will and force of arms. Māori at these times were highly literate with those skills that provided healthy and fulfilling lives contributing to high levels of well being and the realisation of potentials. An illustrative example of this difference in literate ability in relation to wananga is that when non-Māori arrived to these shores they were unable to read or comprehend the encrypted messages contained within our various language forms such as whakairo, raranga, taniko to name a few and so they grouped them and called them ‘art.’ These literacy forms were relegated to categories of ‘inferior’ and ‘quaint’ and were gradually subjugated.

The idea of multiple literacies is gaining new ground and recognition in the field of literacy, particularly in the field now known as New Literacy Studies and what might just as easily be termed in a Māori context (K)new Literacy Studies given that our literacy ideas are an inherited legacy from tipuna – ancestors. The New Literacy Studies field has increasingly recognised that the acquisition of skills as per the dominant approaches are increasingly being

replaced as social practice requiring the acknowledgment of multiple literacies as having greatest value.

In this recognition the place of power relations becomes evident and as Street (2003) explains 'asking whose literacies are dominant and whose are marginalised' and I would add and for whose and what purposes.

Street's work is important as it proposes an alternate ideological model of literacy that acknowledges the place of culture as part of practice and content and the relationship to context advancing Bourdieu's idea of 'habitus' – cultural context as essential. Street further notes that in this context even the term 'literacy' becomes inadequate as a descriptor of the activity.

Pillars of cultural, critical and functional literacies is a view of literacy as having multiple parts of a wholistic indigenous reality and worldview that are inextricably linked to survival, revival and advancement that we seek to maintain, enhance and advance consciousness and action – it reflects our desire to live as Maori.

Views from the literature

Literacy is the means with which to express, understand, provide for, and make sense of, one's self and the 'whole' richness of one's self in its widest cultural, spiritual, intellectual and physical sense. There are many rich, ancestral 'literacy' practices which function in this way. Describing these as 'indigenous literacies', validates these literacy skills and approaches as being just as important, and just as relevant as conventional western understandings (Rawiri, 2005).

Cultural literacy

Within a wananga context cultural literacy is the bedrock upon which our education is built. We continue to use maramatanga Maori (Maori wisdom) in the application of our legislative requirement of Tikanga and Ahuatanga Maori in our programmes that have at their very core high levels of cultural literacy. In this way we are able in some small part, to address the ethnocide agendas that have permeated New Zealand society and provide distinctive approaches to teaching and learning in the New Zealand context that recognise and value tangata whenua and our 1000 years of residence and survival success in these lands and from where for centuries our literacy ideas have been developed (Romero-Little 2006).

Indigenous learners learn in distinctive ways. Universalised literacy agendas do not support indigenous learning methodologies. What has been termed in other lands as 'Native Literacy' is a developing field and acknowledges wholism⁹ and advances and expresses knowledges in

⁹ Wholistic is an indigenous philosophical position that acknowledges that all things and all elements are inter-related.

contemporary terms and has evolved to directly include native cultural components and language retention.

Cultural literacy in the context of wananga refers to the transmission of culture to support indigenous identity through culture. A recent study conducted by another wananga identifies that the transmission in uniquely Maori ways and contexts as part of ancestor legacies and ‘ancestor literacies’ (Rawiri, 2008) is a powerful catalyst to success advancing the idea that cultural literacy, that is teaching through culture also involves appropriate context and spiritual presence for effectiveness (Ministry of Education, 2009). These ideas are epitomised in the view that it is far better for indigenous people not to be taught about their culture but rather to be taught through and in their culture (Hohepa, 2001). West (1993:99) reminds us that;

Any progressive discussion about the future of racial equality must speak to black poverty and black identity.

Current Aotearoa/New Zealand literacy agendas speak to Maori poverty, but disguised within ideas of maintaining social classes that disproportionately position Maori in the bottom end and remain silent on the place of Maori identity advanced through cultural and critical literacy (Wood, 2004).

A current tension that highlights covert racism is that in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context government literacy agendas for embedding are only valid in the English language and not in the indigenous language. This is quite obviously an oppressive agenda that contributes to the maintenance of the dominance of the English language over the Maori language – te reo Maori, and further highlights an abuse of power. This is further manifest when we realise that Maori experiences of English literacy are primarily schooling experiences and that those experiences have caused ethno-stress and trauma for many. The marginalisation of te reo Maori as valid from current literacy agendas mimics the assimilation policies of the 1900’s and holds very little positive meaning for Maori in its orthodox form (Rawiri, 2008:53). Further, the bias towards English language gives dominant literacy discourses a perceived, but incorrect distinction of superiority, both racial and ideological (George, Isaacs, Pihama and Yates, 2009).

In indigenous terms literacy begins with orality and timeless indigenous values. Historically indigenous learning was measured against literacy that involved and advanced ‘colonized thinking.’ No exploration of what Tangata Whenua Literacy (TWL) might offer and look like has yet been fully explored in the Maori Aotearoa context. This work is essential. As an example, the peoples of Canada have a view on ‘Aboriginal Literacy’ that they describe as ‘distinctive perspective on literacy and includes culture and language in the context of Native education as a whole.’ It is further described as the beginning of the life long process of affirming the worldview and thus empowering the spirit of Aboriginal peoples. TWL might include language proficiency in both Maori and English, reading the geography of land, the

messages in Maori symbol, to read body language, to read tohu or signs (Smith, 1998; Balanoff and Chambers, 2005; Sharples, 2007; Rawiri, 2008, Edwards 2009).

Adult literacy programmes must build on wider and broader cultural values (Balanoff and Chambers, 2005). Elders are a foremost source of indigenous literacy in the wider sense that we conceptualise literacy. Being literate in indigenous terms is about ways of living and being in totality. It is a part of everyday life. Literacy in indigenous contexts must focus on empowerment and profound contributions to indigenous Maori identity. The idea of ‘text’ needs to be conceived in indigenous terms. For example, elders and information from elders would be considered text. Indigenous languages are essential to forming a ‘fully literate’ indigenous person. Literacy evaluation must have indigenous epistemologies present. The current literacy drives from round the world are largely western, white and male.¹⁰

Rhythmic, reading and riting are equally as important as respect, relationship and reciprocity. Literacies are ideological and so what counts as literacy and what literacy counts is also an issue of power and control representing interests. Literacy agendas are indicative of the dynamics of power. In the context of where we are working, Te Wananga o Aotearoa, we view literacy in a (w)holistic way recognising multiple equally important elements as part of a strategy to increase literacies over time as part of the current educational vision

Kia whai mauri ora i nga mahi katoa – That all activities of Te Wananga o Aotearoa actively support learning journey’s that seek to maintain, enhance and advance Mauri ora - conscious well being.

The idea of conscious well being is a common theme emanating in indigenous contexts worldwide. Antone and Cordoba (2005:10) strikingly remind us that;

Aboriginal languages, culture and tradition need to be forefront in literacy learning for Aboriginal people.

Critical Literacy

The Maori relationship with non-Maori is fairly young, being less than 250 years old. It is a history of oppression and ethnocide but also one of resilience, survival and revival. The major interface between Maori and non-Maori remains the New Zealand government. The New Zealand government delegates its responsibility to its various ministries and groups within those ministries.

Given that Maori occupy marginalised and minority positions in Aotearoa a Wananga literacy agenda must be aimed at fracturing and giving greater balance to the unequal power relations. In this regard literacy for Te Wananga o Aotearoa must provide skills and abilities to

¹⁰ Reference, Wood, J. (2004). *Defining Literacies*.

challenge taken for granted assumptions that support consciousness raising about the unequal power relations, their existence, creation and possible fracture to support Maori agendas of survival and self determination.

Literacy is always negotiated by its purpose and is always political because literacy by its definition and focus includes some and excludes others while purporting to be available to and for universal good and being power neutral (Wood, 2004).

Shor (2009) succinctly explains why for the disenfranchised and for the marginalised any literacy agenda must include critical literacy when he states;

Critical literacy thus challenges the status quo in an effort to discover alternative paths for self and social development. This kind of literacy – words rethinking worlds, self dissenting in society – connects the political and the personal, the public and the private, the global and the local, the economic and the pedagogical for rethinking our lives and for promoting justice in place of inequity.

In this way literacy from a Mātauranga Māori perspective and as subjugated knowledge offers opportunities to create a (k)new society that critiques the power currently in power and advances subjugated knowledge in the face of colonial canons of imperialism present today. This view accepts the idea that for liberation and freedom to be a reality Māori must be actively engaged in critical thinking from a Mātauranga Māori frame and position using appropriate *gaze*,⁶ frame and lens with which to filter and discern thought and action. Acknowledging that critical thinking from this perspective is essential also acknowledges that to do so requires critical literacy in the first place for the development of a critical consciousness from which transformation and change becomes possible.

In relation to functional literacy critical literacy asks that the elements of any functional literacy agenda are accountable to ensuring those engaged are aware of how society constructs and maintains inequity and then also seek to change it. A functional and embedded literacy that does not do this is complicit in the oppression of, in this case, Māori and Māori knowledge paradigms. When functional and critical literacy are in synergetic form the agenda becomes one of literacy for self determination and equity med at meeting the reading and writing needs of the society concerned (George, Isaacs, Pihama and Yates, 2009). In this way Mātauranga Māori literacy is culturally and contextually grounded, is responsive to change and so can easily accommodate functional literacy, more readily so in te reo Māori and due to its dynamic nature is able to respond to inequities of power. Writing on critical literacy Lankshear and McLaren (1993: xviii) state;

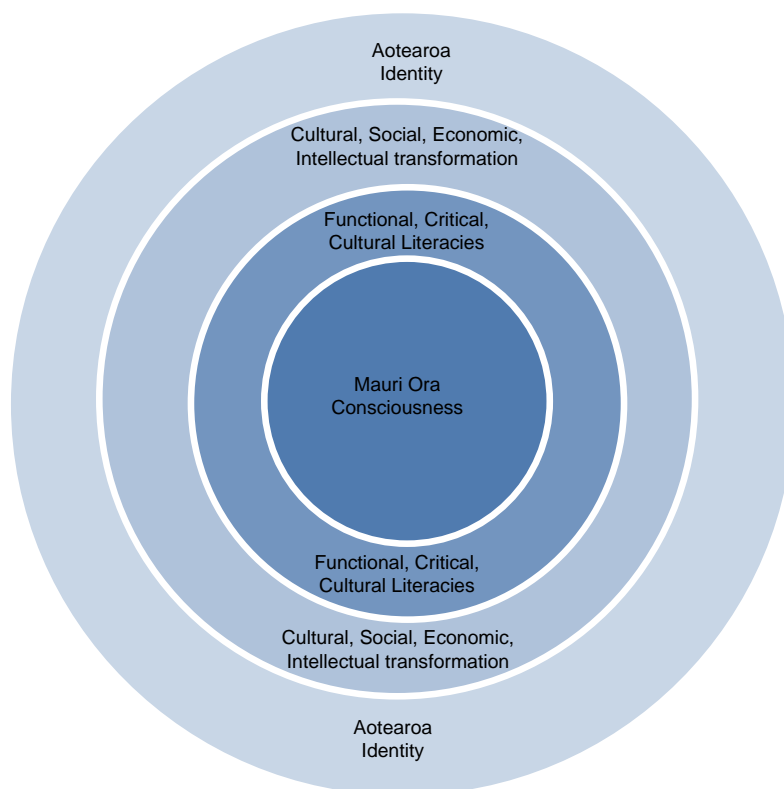
In short, literacies are ideological. They reflect the differential structured power available to human agents through which to secure the promotion and serving of other interests, including the power to shape literacy in ways consistent with those interests. Consequently the conceptions people have of what literacy involves of what counts as

being literate, what they see as real or appropriate uses of reading and writing skills and the way people actually read and write in the course of their daily lives – these all reflect and promote values, beliefs, assumptions and practices which shape the way life is lived within a given social milieu and in turn, influence which interests are promoted or undermined as a result of how life is lived there. Thus literacies are indices of the dynamics of power.

When cultural, critical and functional literacy are (w)holistically synchronic then we are able to begin to envision ethno-transformation and change. The ideas above are summarised in the table below;

Reconciling Indigenous and Eurocentric Literacies

Given the points made above the need to ethnovision literacy becomes vitally important for indigenous groups. Nakata (2000) encourages such groups to develop relevant theoretical frameworks for literacy to discern and to filter and arrive at new spaces. This idea acknowledges that indigenous peoples need not depend on established systems and thought alone and in this way the creation of theoretical frameworks in these contexts becomes counter-scholarship and is counter hegemonic aimed at reclaiming indigenous health, wellbeing and possibility. The elements of Te Wananga o Aotearoa's contribution to literacy is multipurpose supporting indigenous ideas of (w)holism and multiple literacies essential to living as Maori and is summarised as;



The inner circle represents human consciousness and the human spirit that is the essence of our mauri ora, or conscious wellbeing. This is a Maori idea that our spirit is nurtured and must be in a good space for our fullest potentials to be realised. We are responsible for caring for and having due regard for our mauri for its powerfulness to continue to emanate.

The second circle identifies three pillars of literacy focus at Te Wananga o Aotearoa as part of our view of multiple literacies and (w)holism. These are cultural literacy, critical literacy and functional literacy.

The third circle is where literacy contributions are made, within domains of cultural, social, economic and intellectual, for the express purpose of advancing positive transformation to support mauri. In many cases they provide the stimulus for learning.

The fourth circle, Aotearoa Identity, ensures we consider our contribution as tangata whenua of this land and that we uphold our obligations and responsibilities as kaitiaki for Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Conclusion

As with nearly all, if not all the initiatives that have advanced Maori aspirations and transformation it is likely that for literacy to be of value to Maori literacy that supports us will have to;

- Be developed outside of (limiting) dominant thinking and ideas.
- Be informed by Matauranga Maori.
- Require diverse solutions for diverse realities.
- Require Maori and Maori allies to do extra to sanitise infected policy ideas.

It is clear from the evidence and literature reviewed here that Government ideologies worldwide do not consider indigenous peoples or our ideas as regards key and important areas of work that impact significantly on indigenous identity and well being. Indigenous people will need to powerfully continue to remind our colonisers that Eurocentric thought is not the benchmark against which all knowledge and good ideas should be measured. At the same time we will need to provide counter narratives as to what literacies count, what counts as literacy and be the ones to say so.

Indigenous literacies are wholistic and occur in relationship with each other. These relationships and indigenous worldviews are able to allow for the introduction and inclusion of more recent literacies such as reading and writing but these must be tested against indigenous paradigms and world views for appropriateness. This includes analysing purpose, function and process that ensures and advances indigenous authority and control over indigenous lives.

Bibliography

- Antone, E and Cordoba, T. (2005). *Re-Storying Aboriginal Literacy*. Literacies #6, fall, 2005. Retrieved from <http://www.literacyjournal.ca>
- Balanoff, H and Chambers, C. (2005). *Do My Literacies Count as Literacy? An Inquiry into Inuinnaqtun Literacies in the Canadian North*. Literacies #6, fall, 2005. Retrieved from <http://www.literacyjournal.ca>
- Edwards, S. (2009). *Titiro Whakmuri kia Marama ai tatou te wao nei: Whakapapa Epistemologies and Maniapoto Cultural Identities*. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Massey University.
- George, B., Isaacs, P., Pihama, L., and Yates, B. (2009). *Adult Literacy Literature Review for Te Wananga o Aotearoa*. Literacy Aotearoa.
- Hohepa, M. K. (2001). *Maranga e te mahara: Memory arise- Learning, Culture and Language Regeneration*. In, NZARE Conference Papers. Rangiora: NZARE.
- Irwin, K., et al (2001). *Te Kawai Ora, reading the world, reading the word, being the world*. Report of the Maori Adult Literacy Working Party. Wellington: Te Puni Kokiri.
- Lankshear and McLaren. (1993). *Critical Literacy: Politics, Praxis and the Postmodern*. State University of New York Press: New York.
- Lankshear, C. with Lawlor, M. (1987). *Literacy, Schooling and Revolution*. New York: The Falmer press.
- Meyer, M. (2009). Personal communication.
- Ministry of Education. (2009). *Te Piko o te Mahuri, Tera te Tupu o te Rakau: Language and Literacy in Maraebased Programmes*. MOE: Wellington.
- Ministry of education. (2008). NZ Skills Strategy, 2008. Wellington: New Zealand Government Printer.
- Ministry of Education, (2008). NZ Skills Strategy Implementation Plan 2008-2009. Wellington: New Zealand Government Printer.
- Ministry of Education, (2007). Tertiary Education Strategy 2008-2010. Wellington: New Zealand Government Printer.
- Papen, U. (2005). *Adult Literacy as Social Practice: More than Skills*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Rassool, N. (1999). *Literacy for Sustainable Development in the Age of Information*, Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.
- Rawiri, A. H. (2008). *Embedding Adult Literacy in a Sense of Community: Literacy and Employment within Whanganui Iwi*, Te Puna Matauranga o Whanganui: Whanganui.
- Rawiri, A. H. (2005). *Nga Whiringa Muka - Literacy for Indigenous Communities' Cultural Continuity and Dynamism*. Te Puna Matauranga o Whanganui: Whanganui.
- Romero-Little, M. E. (2006). *Honouring Our Own: Rethinking Indigenous Languages and Literacy*. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, December 2006; 37, 4; Proquest Education Journals pg. 399-402.
- Sharples, P. (2007). *The Power of And*. Speech made by Hon. P. Sharples (MP) at the International Adult Literacy Conference, October, 1st, 2007. Retrieved from <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA0710/S00007.htm>
- Shor, I. (2009). *What is Critical Literacy?* Retrieved on April 29th 2009 from <http://www.lesley.edu/journals/jppp/4/shor.html>
- Shore, S. (2003). *What's Whiteness Got to do With it? Exploring Assumptions about Cultural Difference and Everyday Literacy Practices*. Literacies #2, fall, 2003.
- Smith, T. (1988). *Doing Research from Home: Tangata Whenua Research and Maori Issues*. In, Te Pumanawa Hauora (Ed.). proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference. School of Maori Studies, Massey University 7-9 July 1998. (2nd Ed.) Palmerston North: Te Putahi-a-Toi, School of Maori Studies, Massey University.
- Street, B. (2003). *What's —*ew*” in New Literacy Studies? Critical Approaches to Literacy in Theory and Practice*. Current issues in Comparative Education, Vol. 5(2). Teachers College, Columbia University.
- West, C. (1993). *Race Matters*. Beacon Press: Boston.
- Wood, J. (2004). *Defining Literacies*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, April 2-5, 2002.