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COMPARISONS OF EXPERIENCES AT  
NATIVE SCHOOLS OF TE ARAWA  
WITH TODAY'S SCHOOLS:

THE ASPIRATIONS  
AND THE  
REALITIES.

A thesis  
submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
**Doctor of Philosophy**  
at  
**The University of Waikato**  
by

**RAMARIE RAURETI**

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## Table of Contents

	Page
<b>Abstract</b>	v
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	vii
<b>List of Photographs, Documents and Diagrams</b>	ix
<b>Part One: Chapter 1 – Thesis Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
Thesis Background	10
Thesis Structure	13
<b>Chapter 2 – The Theory</b>	<b>17</b>
Kaupapa Māori Theory	17
Māori Research Concerns	20
Māori Research Solutions: Kaupapa Māori Research	36
<b>Chapter 3 – Methodology and Research Method</b>	<b>49</b>
Qualitative Research	49
Narrative Inquiry	51
Interviews as Conversations	59
Interviews as Conversations with Kaumātua	68
Interviews as Conversations with Youngsters	76
Group Conversations	82
<b>Part Two: Chapter 4 – Historical Context</b>	<b>85</b>
Introducing Te Arawa	86
The Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi	87
Mission Schools and Initial Government Involvement	92
Early Native School Period	97
Middle Native School Period	109
Later Native School Period	118
Post Native School Period	122
<b>Chapter 5 – Native Schooling in Te Arawa</b>	<b>130</b>
Matata Native School	133
Rotorua and Wai-iti Native School	148
Rotokawa Native School	160
Whangamarino Native School	170
Whakarewarewa Native School	185
<b>Chapter 6 – The Stories</b>	<b>205</b>
Matata Native School: Dad’s Story	203
Raenor and Allana’s Story	220
Wai-iti Native School: Wai-iti Whānau Story	231
Ihaia’s Story	257

Rotokawa Native School:	Gee Family Introduction	263
	Mrs Powell's Story	264
	Ted's Story	278
	Mikayla's Story	292
Whangamarino Native School:	Nanny Tiki's Story	299
	Carol's Story	313
Whakarewarewa Native School:	Nan Nan's Story	321
	Chanz's Story	338
Part Three: Analyses and Conclusions		352
Chapter 7 - Analysis of Results		353
	Educational Aspirations	353
	School Experiences	358
Chapter 8 - Changing Contexts of Māori Education		374
Chapter 9 - Analysis of Methodology		406
Chapter 10 – Thesis Conclusions		425
Glossary		434
References		438
Appendices		467

## Abstract

The title of this thesis is "Comparisons of Experiences at Native Schools of Te Arawa with Today's Schools: The Aspirations and the Realities". It builds on the topic of native schooling introduced in my Master of Education thesis (Raureti, 2000), yet differs to that study by comparing past Māori (indigenous people of Aotearoa-New Zealand) educational experiences of kaumātua (esteemed elders) within Native Schools, with current educational experiences of their mokopuna (grandchildren) within today's schools. This thesis also adds a new dimension to current literature by exploring past and present educational aspirations, and identifying aspects of past and present schooling that helped fulfil Māori aspirations.

The main focus of this thesis is to converse with kaumātua and their mokopuna through a series of sequential, in-depth, semi-structured interviews as conversations, in order to explore, examine and compare past and present educational aspirations and experiences, within an indigenous Kaupapa (agenda) Māori approach, while incorporating suitable aspects of qualitative methodology.

In carrying out the above, this thesis addresses two main questions,

1. What were the educational aspirations and experiences for a group of Te Arawa (indigenous tribe) kaumātua and their mokopuna?
2. What factors assisted or limited the realisation of those aspirations?

From the late 1800s, many Māori people within Te Arawa have viewed education as a means of enhancing their lives, and complementing their current skills and knowledge in order to participate effectively within society. In contrast, throughout the years, governments have utilised the education system as a tool of oppression to purposefully assimilate Māori people and restrict their participation in society. In spite of oppressive structures and policies, and in line with a spirit of resistance, Māori people have continuously formulated new options

to realise their aspirations. It seems that the key factor lies with the degree of Māori control and engagement (tino rangatiratanga) within the educational context. That is, the more that Māori exercised their tino rangatiratanga, the greater the degree to which their educational aspirations were realised.

Therefore, this thesis is not merely “descriptive, telling us what we already know, yet not proposing any solutions or action that can be taken for change” (Cram, 1993, p 31); nor does it attempt to revolutionise schooling for Māori; it does however, identify and examine effective aspects of past and present schooling, as identified by a selection of Te Arawa kaumātua and their mokopuna. It is suggested that this careful intergenerational consideration of curriculum and pedagogies could inform current teaching practice, which has the potential to be useful because “many schools were aware of issues for Māori students but were unclear on how to make improvements” (Education Review Office, 2003, p 2).

## **Acknowledgements**

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi  
Engari takimano

This thesis is not the result of my work alone  
It is the fruit of the efforts of many people

Applying the above whakataukī to the context of completing this thesis is fitting because it acknowledges other people's efforts, support and sacrifices. At the risk of sounding like a poorly-rehearsed Oscar speech, it is important to acknowledge and thank supporters, without whom this project would not have been possible.

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I would like to acknowledge my chief supervisor Russell Bishop and supporting supervisor, Ted Glynn who in spite of demanding schedules met with me, listened to me and guided me so that I understood what needed to be done in order to produce a thesis that would fulfil the desires of my people as well as the academic requirements of University.

Ka nui hoki te mihi ki ōku kaumātua, nā rātou i akiaki i ahau ki te mahi i tēnei mahi, nā rātou hoki i whakatakoto i te huarahi kia ngāwari ake taku hīkoi. This thesis could not have been completed without the participants who shared their time, thoughts, beliefs and values, as well as cups of tea and specially prepared baked treats. Kia ora rawa atu kōutou. You have allowed us access to your lives, hopes and hearts.

Thank you to Mum for preserving jams and pickles and baking bread for me to take to our hui. The unconditional love from Mum and my family is a most precious tāonga upon which I unashamedly rely.

Finally, I want to give special thanks to my Dad who has always avidly supported my quest for knowledge and understanding. I remember when I was travelling from Rotorua to Waikato University to attend 9am lectures for my Master's degree; Dad travelled with me for company. I'd go to my lecture and come back to the car two hours later where Dad would be leaning on the bonnet with one foot resting on the ground and the other on the bumper, reading the Herald, patiently waiting for me to begin our journey back home. Dad passed away just over a year before this thesis was completed and it broke my heart; but in spite of his physical absence, his belief in me helped maintain motivation. It's my pleasure to share an insight into the person my Dad was via his story in Part two. Dad would say that already I've written too much about him, nā reira, ka nui ngā kōrero mōnā. Heoi anō, hei whakakapi i ngā mihi kua mihihia, tēnā kōutou katoa.

Ko te rourou iti ā haere tēnei

This thesis is a small food basket to nourish those on the road of discovery.

Aroha nui roa

Ramarie x x

## List of Photographs, Documents and Diagrams

	Page
Generations of Te Arawa People Studied in this Thesis	7
Procedure for Developing a Collaborative Narrative	67
Whakapapa from Tamatekapua to Rangitahi	87
E Tipu e Rea	114
Letter – Proposed Closure of Matata Native School (3-9-1894)	139
Letter – Matata Native School lease (19-8-1919)	143
Te Waata Taranui	149
Rotoiti Native School Examination Schedule (Roll, 1892)	154
Rotoiti Native School Name Recommendation (11-4-1908)	158
Rotokawa Native School's First Roll (30-9-1926)	162
Government Approval for Rotokawa Milk Room (24-11-1944)	165
Community Request for Whangamarino Native School (26-8-1908)	171
Whangamarino Native School Site Gazette Notice (6-10-1921)	173
Whangamarino Native School	175
Whangamarino Native School's First Roll (31-12-1926)	176
Whangamarino Native School Emblem	179
Whangamarino New Infant Room Opening (22-4-1941)	180
Performances at Whangamarino Infant Room Opening	180
Performances at Whangamarino Infant Room Opening	181
Whangamarino Native School Flag	181
Community Request for Whakarewarewa Native School (22-5-1900)	188
Careless Flying Memo Over Whakarewarewa Native School (26-9-1950)	200
Neil Raureti	203
Matata Native School 1937	204
Matata Native School Roll 1939	212
Raenor and Allana Raureti	220
Hilda Whata and Esme Sinclair	231
Native School Reading Book	235
Wai-iti Native School Roll 1939	254

Ihaia Tichborne	257
Elizabeth Powell	264
Native School Reading Book	265
Mrs Powell's Book Prize	266
Mrs Gee and Mrs Kowhai	271
Rotokawa Community and Royal Visit 1954	271-2
Rotokawa Native School Roll 1934	273
Ted Gee	278
Rotokawa Native School Roll 1936	289
Mikayla Liddall	292
Mikayla Liddall's High Jump Certificate	294
Tiki Thomas	299
Major Kingi and Mrs McLeod	300
Whangamarino Native School Flagpole	301
Whangamarino Native School Roll 1944	306
Carol Grant	313
Nini Nikora	321
Whakarewarewa Native School Roll 1937	329
Whangamarino Native School Roll 1935	331
Chanz Mikaere (secondary school)	338
Chanz Mikaere (infant)	339
Table Summarising Educational Aspirations	358
Table Summarising School Experiences	372
Changing Contexts of Māori Education	375
Educational Aspirations in Relation to Frameworks Advocating Tino Rangatiratanga	402
Comparison of Educational Experiences in Relation to Frameworks Advocating Tino Rangatiratanga	403
Table Comparing Māori Proposed Models	408
A.A.E (Adapt, Apply, Evaluate)	430

## **PART ONE**

### **Chapter 1 – Thesis Introduction**

The title of this thesis is "Comparisons of Experiences at Native Schools of Te Arawa with Today's Schools: The Aspirations and the Realities". It builds on the topic of native schooling introduced in my Master of Education thesis ("Te Kura Māori o Matata: Matata Native School, Untold Stories", Raureti, 2000), yet differs to that study by comparing past educational experiences<sup>1</sup> of kaumātua (esteemed elders) within Native Schools, with current educational experiences of their mokopuna (grandchildren) within today's schools. This thesis offers extended understandings of themes merely introduced in my previous thesis. It adds a new dimension to current literature by exploring past and present Māori (indigenous people of Aotearoa-New Zealand) educational aspirations; and identifying aspects of past and present schooling that assisted and limited the realisation of Māori aspirations. Therefore, this thesis addresses two main questions

1. What were the educational aspirations and experiences of a group of Te Arawa (indigenous tribe) kaumātua and their mokopuna?
2. What factors assisted or limited the realisation of the aspirations?

This thesis has emerged and is legitimised from within the Māori community it seeks to achieve the following aims

- Compare school experiences of two generations of Te Arawa
- Explore, document and compare Māori educational aspirations; and analyse factors which assisted and limited the realisation of those aspirations
- Provide legitimate representation of, and amplify Māori voices, previously overlooked by recording school experiences of kaumātua within the Native School system, and mokopuna within the present education system

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<sup>1</sup> The terms 'educational' and 'school' are used interchangeably throughout the thesis for example, 'educational experiences' and 'school experiences', unless otherwise specified.

- Demonstrate research practices appropriate for this Māori context by helping kaumātua affiliated with Te Arawa to articulate their own stories in the language and context that is culturally appropriate to them
- Provide a paradigm on which, if appropriate, other iwi may base their investigations
- Indicate an approach and set of experiences that other educators might reflect upon to improve their own practice in a way that acknowledges their tino rangatiratanga (self-determination)
- Provide histories for five Native Schools of Te Arawa

A total of five Native Schools of Te Arawa are included in the thesis. Before the thesis I was connected with the schools either through whakapapa (genealogical connections) to the schools' hapū (indigenous, communal sub-tribes), as a teacher, or visiting lecturer. Two maps are located in the appendices showing the schools' location. The five Native Schools are

- Matata Native School (now called, Matata Public School)
- Wai-iti Native School (now, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Rotoiti)
- Whangamarino Native School (now, Whangamarino School)
- Rotokawa Native School (now, Rotokawa School)
- Whakarewarewa Native School (now, Te Kura o Te Whakarewarewa)

The main focus of this thesis then, is to converse with kaumātua and their mokopuna through a series of sequential, in-depth, semi-structured interviews as conversations (Patton, 1990; Crabtree and Miller, 1992; Bartolomé, 1994; Anderson et al., 1994; Bishop, 1996; Myers, 1997; Eisner, 1998; Bogdan and Biklen, 1998), in order to explore, document and compare past and present school aspirations and experiences, within an indigenous Kaupapa (agenda) Māori approach, while incorporating suitable aspects of qualitative methodology. Kaupapa Māori emanates from a Māori world view where "Māori language, knowledge, culture and values are normal, valid and legitimate...where to be Māori is to be normal" (Bishop, et al., 2003). Kaupapa Māori reflects "traditional

Māori ethics and philosophy (that) drive Māori epistemology; that is, to live according to tikanga Māori, that which is tika (correct, right) and true” (Henry and Pene, 2001, p 237), and use Māori cultural practices either literally or figuratively to guide the research process. Therefore, Kaupapa Māori provides a theoretical framework for how I would naturally go about research, according to values with which I and many other Māori people have been raised. Kaupapa Māori research is a respectful, appropriate and apt approach for the type of research that I want to be involved with. Detailed explanations of Kaupapa Māori theory and Kaupapa Māori research are given within chapter 2, Kaupapa Māori Theory and Māori Research Solutions. The rationale for incorporating aspects of western qualitative methodology – narrative inquiry and interviews as conversations, within this Kaupapa Māori framework is discussed in detail within chapter 3, Methodology and Research Method – Interviews as Conversations.

In order to discuss the ‘effectiveness’ of past and present school systems, kaumātua and I came up with our own yardstick by which to gauge effectiveness. We decided that aspects of schooling would be deemed effective, if they assisted the realisation of Māori educational aspirations. It is an original way of measuring the effectiveness of schooling for Māori students, since many other indicators (such as national examinations) are externally imposed. In identifying various aspects of schooling that helped Māori achieve their educational aspirations we are not conforming to external forms of measurement, but rather using our own yardstick. This method promotes a critical feature of Kaupapa Māori theory, tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) because participants themselves identify aspects of their schooling that helped fulfil Māori aspirations based on their own estimations and benchmarks. This method also addresses concerns raised by Durie (2001) and Rei (1997) about how we can best measure Māori progress and success in education. Durie (2001) asks, “What is the benchmark against which Māori should gauge progress?” Durie (2004) acknowledges that although a current assessment NCEA (National Certificate of Educational Achievement) provides some form of measurement, “it is not, by itself a sufficient measure” (p

7). Our method also addresses Rei's (1997) recommendation that "we need to come up with indicators of our own" (p 65).

It is important to note that while participants within this project identify certain aspects as effective, and those which assisted the realisation of Māori aspirations, they may, or may not be deemed effective by other Māori people. It is not intended that aspects identified in this thesis will be considered generally applicable to all other ex-pupils of Te Arawa Native Schools, or ex-pupils of Native Schools within Aotearoa-New Zealand. Furthermore, because of the small size of the group (seven kaumātua and six mokopuna), and scope (focusing on certain schools within Te Arawa), it is beyond the capacity of this project to formulate universal generalisations, since "a large number of independent observations would appear to be necessary before generalisation can be justified" (Chalmers, 1999, p 46). Instead, the uniqueness of the various perspectives expressed in the participants' stories is emphasised in an attempt to provide explanations of experiences and attitudes rather than quantify the degree to which they exist. Crabtree and Miller (1992) explain, "The qualitative researcher is not particularly bothered by a lack of generalisability...Rather he or she endeavours to construct as thick and detailed a description as possible of his or her particular setting and circumstances" (p 245). Issues pertaining to generalisability are explored within chapter 2, Māori Research Concerns.

Through reflection and deliberation, various aspects of schooling from the past and present have been identified, and validated as effective by the kaumātua and mokopuna because they helped them realise the educational aspirations of their forbearers. As such it is suggested that this careful intergenerational consideration of curriculum, pedagogies and social contexts could inform current teaching practice, which has the potential to be useful because "many schools were aware of issues for Māori students but were unclear on how to make improvements" (Education Review Office, 2003, p 2). Simon (1978) emphasises that educational research must "assist teachers...to improve the quality of the educational process and in doing so, enhance the quality of life" (cited in Bassey,

1981, p 74). According to Ladson-Billings (1995), "Research grounded in the practice of exemplary teachers will form a significant part of the knowledge base on which we build teacher preparation" (p 483). Findings from this thesis may be considered worthwhile because effective aspects of schooling have been identified and explored by kaumātua who occupy positions of status within their communities, and have experienced the Native School system first-hand, and their mokopuna who have experienced today's school system first-hand.

The aspects of schooling that are identified as assisting the realisation of Māori aspirations, and examined within Part three could be utilised by schools conducting trials so that educators can reflect upon and adapt their own educational practices in light of their students' preferences and experiences. If successful, they could serve as models for other schools. Blind application of these findings to other classrooms, without considering the unique characteristics of the students, would be inappropriate because "what is effective in one area of the country might be inappropriate in another" (Eisner, 1998, p 204), and the method that proved effective with one group of students may "not necessarily be effective with another group living and working in other situations" (p 209).

### Participants

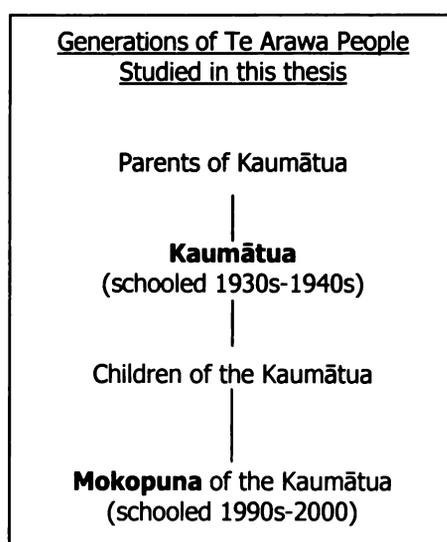
One koroua from Matata Native School participated, my father, Neil Raureti. He instigated the participation of two of his mokopuna, Raenor and Allana Raureti. Two kuia from Wai-iti Native School participated, Hilda Sykes and Esme Sinclair. Aunty Hilda initiated Aunty Esme's participation and that of her mokopuna, Ihaia Tichborne. One kuia from Whangamarino Native School participated in the project, Tiki Thomas, as well as her mokopuna Carol Grant. Ted Gee and his cousin Elizabeth Powell (nee Gee) shared their experiences at Rotokawa Native School. Rotokawa School's current pupil Mikayla Liddall discussed her experiences to compare with those of Ted and Mrs Powell. Finally, my husband's maternal grandmother, Ngapune Nini Nikora, from Whakarewarewa Native School also shared her thoughts and memories, as did her mokopuna, (my sister-in-law) Chanz Mikaere. Hence, seven kaumātua have participated in this study, all of

whom attended one of the stipulated schools while it operated as a Native School; all are affiliated to the Te Arawa confederation of tribes. It should be noted that within this thesis, the term kaumātua pertains to esteemed elderly women and men. While some iwi (indigenous tribal groups) apply the term to men only, within Te Arawa, 'kaumātua' most often refers to both kuia (female elder/s) and koroua (male elder/s). Within this thesis the term kaumātua has also been applied to two elderly Pākehā participants, Mrs Powell and Ted Gee. Some iwi may not refer to Pākehā elders as kaumātua, however, archival documents show that in 1888 members of Ngāti Pikiao (sub-tribe of Te Arawa) referred to their school teacher, an elderly Pākehā gentleman, Major Woods as a kaumātua, "He nui te aroha o Ngati Pikiao ki taua kaumatua nei" (BAAA, 1000, 532a).

Conversations occurred with six of the elders' mokopuna. As a result, a total of 14 people including myself formally participated in this project and formed what Bishop (1996) refers to as a metaphorical "whānau of interest", whereby members of the research team are likened to members of a whānau (family) who share and work towards achieving a collective vision. This description is appropriate because many of us are connected to one another through blood ties as a literal whānau; however, although some members of the research team are not, we were referred to as a whānau and acted as a whānau of interest because we were connected by our shared beliefs and goals. The concept of research participant connectedness is explained further in chapter 2, Māori Research Solutions.

In seeking to investigate Māori educational aspirations, kaumātua have reflected on the aspirations their own parents had for them during the Native School period. The kaumātua themselves gauged the extent to which those aspirations were fulfilled. Aspirations the kaumātua have for the education of their own mokopuna are also discussed. The mokopuna provide us with an insight into their schooling and aspirations; and identify aspects that assisted the realisation of the aspirations of their kaumātua. Both kaumātua and mokopuna determine whether their realities aligned with the aspirations.

The comparison of schooling experiences and aspirations across generations adds a new dimension to literature pertaining to Māori education, and more particularly within Te Arawa. By the kaumātua reflecting on their parents' educational aspirations; investigating their aspirations for the education of their mokopuna; and comparing their school experiences with the mokopuna, this study actually crosses four generations of Te Arawa people, with participants ranging in age from six to eighty years. The diagram below illustrates the main generations of people who are the focus of this study, including the two central generations of the kaumātua and their mokopuna. Their titles appear in bold.



Youngsters' participation in this project was at the invitation of the kaumātua who explained the project to their mokopuna and asked if they wanted to participate. The kaumātua acknowledged that the views of their mokopuna were vital in order for us to learn about today's school system from youngsters who had experienced, or were experiencing it first hand. The significance of the link between grandparent and grandchild within te ao Māori (the Māori world) is evident in the meaning of the Māori word for grandchild, 'mokopuna'. In this context, 'moko' pertains to the facial tattoo; 'puna' is a spring or pool of water. If a person with moko was to look into a spring they could see their moko reflected in the puna. In this sense, the mokopuna/grandchild is a reflection of the grandparent. 'Mokopuna' is a metaphorical and literal representation of their tūpuna (grandparent).

The wisdom of the kaumātua to seek the views of their mokopuna may be commended by educationalists who recommend educators consult with students in order to learn about educational practice (Oldfather, 1993; Oldfather and Thomas, 1998; Oldfather, et al., 1999; Wilson and Corbett, 2001; Cook-Sather, 2002b, 2003; Bishop et al., 2003). To Cook-Sather (2002a), teachers, administrators, teacher educators, and policymakers fail to consider students' perspectives, "For ten years there have been intermittent calls for greater attention to student perspectives on school, but there have been relatively few responses" (p 12). Cook-Sather recognises that "students care about their education and have important things to say" (p 14). Teachers can improve their practice by listening closely to what students have to say about their learning. It is apparent that this project values the youngsters' voices because their accounts, perspectives, opinions and insight were sought and included as an integral part of this project. Cook-Sather (2003) advises, "If we listen to the voices of our students...we can begin to make different decisions about how to...support students' learning" (p 26), such as the 'Effective Teacher Profile' that was compiled with the assistance of interviews with year 9 and 10 Māori students in mainstream classrooms within the 'Te Kotahitanga' project (Bishop et al., 2003). Additional information about the importance of students' perspectives is explained within chapter 3, 'Interviews as Conversations with Youngsters'.

While this thesis includes the voices of kaumātua and mokopuna, greater emphasis is placed on the elders' voices. It should not be misunderstood as a devaluing of the youngsters' perspectives, nor should their participation be misunderstood as a token gesture of inclusion, instead, the participation and position of the mokopuna within this project aligns with tikanga Māori (accepted and preferred modes of conduct for Māori), philosophies of Kaupapa Māori theory, and "what is real for Māori" (Henry and Pene, 2001, p 237) within whānau Māori whereby every member is valued for their contribution, yet kaumātua maintain a position of greater influence than mokopuna. It is widely accepted within te ao Māori, that kaumātua have greater influence over affairs pertaining to their whānau, hapū and iwi, than tamariki (youngsters and children). The unique

standing of kaumātua is further explained by Macfarlane's (2000) reference to the following whakataukī (Māori proverb),

Ko te tumu herenga waka.  
The stake to which the canoe is tied  
cited in Bird and Drewery, 2000, p 231.

Another reason a deliberate focus is placed on the voices of kaumātua, is because the number of people who attended Native Schools during the middle Native School period (1930s and 1940s) is already few, and decreases with time. Māori voices and perspectives have long been silenced and disregarded (Simon, 1998) and until quite recently very few accounts of the experiences of Māori at Native Schools existed (for example, Simon, 1998; and Smith and Simon, 2001). Simon (1998) captured the recollections of as many past Native School pupils as possible "before they are lost forever" (p xii). Therefore there is an urgency to capture the stories of the kaumātua while we are still able. By hearing and recording their stories we can learn about their unique experiences before there is no one left to speak. If not for projects like this one, elders may pass away "without passing on their knowledge" (Royal, 1992, p 21).

The different perspectives, roles and positions of kaumātua and mokopuna within this research context are acknowledged and valued. Kaumātua fulfil the role of providing guidance and direction for the research process; they reflect on the educational aspirations of their parents, identify aspects of their schooling that helped them achieve those aspirations, and discuss the aspirations they have for the education of their own mokopuna. At the invitation of their kaumātua, mokopuna fulfil the role of providing an insight into today's schooling, and comparing their school experiences with those of the kaumātua. The youngsters identify enjoyable aspects of their schooling - those that helped them achieve the aspirations of their kaumātua, and reflect on the educational aspirations of their kaumātua. Every participant is valued for carrying out their particular role while special esteem has been accorded to the kaumātua in keeping with Kaupapa Māori and their positions as respected members of whānau, hapū and iwi.

## Thesis Background

The instigation of this thesis began a long time ago, when I completed my Master of Education thesis (Raureti, 2000), which gives a history of Matata Native School and stories from six of my kaumātua who were ex-pupils of that school. During the course of our conversations, the kaumātua compared their schooling with that of their mokopuna, the current school-age generation. For example, Uncle Nira said, "In my day of course, we could add, subtract and divide without the aid of gadgets or doodahs, and we could spell better than many pupils today" (Raureti, 2000, p 90). Also, "Glen and Ming believe they learned the three Rs a lot better than children of today" (p 85). In fact, all of the kaumātua believed that their schooling was superior to that of their mokopuna. Therefore, the original idea to compare school experiences between these two generations was arrived at from informal comparisons, during conversations with those original six kaumātua. Similarly, Hutching (1993) suggests, the recording of oral history often opens up new fields of inquiry, and as T. S. Elliot said, "In our end is our beginning" (cited in Attwood and Magowan, 2001, p 98). Having consolidated their trust in me, and faith in my abilities, my kaumātua defined the research topic, and requested that I coordinate this project.

As some of my Ngāti Rangitahi kaumātua defined the topic for this project, other Te Arawa kaumātua guided the scope and its participants. When our previous thesis was completed ("our thesis" indicates the thesis was the result of communal work), participants circulated their copies amongst relatives, friends, and other interested people, mainly within Matata and Rotorua (two central North Island settlements within the boundary of Te Arawa). After reading the thesis, some of the kaumātua encouraged me to begin another project investigating histories and experiences at their respective Native Schools. Some of them volunteered to "be interviewed" or suggested other people they thought would like to participate. In this way, the kaumātua guided the scope of the thesis by requesting their school be included in the study, and choosing participants, either through self-selection, or nominating others. Royal (1992) advocates power sharing in research, "When making contact with elders...allow them to become

involved in the organisation of the interview. They may have ideas as to its subject and where and when it might take place" (p 44). It should not be misunderstood that this project has been instigated by numerous Te Arawa kaumātua, or that it has been discussed widely throughout Te Arawa. On the contrary, very few people within Te Arawa were involved. It is simply the result of the request and recommendation of a handful of Te Arawa kaumātua who were a part of, or read our previous thesis, and anticipated benefits from the extended exploration of this aspect of Māori education. On reflection, I now consider that the previous thesis was a testing and preparation ground. It illustrates Wilson's (2003) description of indigenous research where "the preparation...happens long before the event" (p 175). I had passed the academic standards of my university, and more importantly I had passed the ethical and academic standards of my kaumātua, whānau and hapū. I had proven that I was capable of researching a topic close to the hearts of my people, and presenting their beliefs, knowledge and opinions in a way that was consistent with their personalities and integrity. My kaumātua encouraged me to lead this project because they trusted me to 'deliver the goods'. The direction and encouragement I received from my kaumātua illustrates an accepted role "performed by kaumātua (of)...recognising and encouraging the potential of younger members" (Durie, 2003, pp 76-77).

Deeper understanding of the cultural significance of the above situation may be gained by likening it to the process of koha (offering), whereby my kaumātua identified an area of Māori education which required investigation - the comparison of past and present school systems in order to identify aspects that helped fulfil Māori aspirations. One part of the koha was the topic itself; another part was their tacit support to help sustain me during the course of the project. The koha was offered to me and presented like a gift. As with the process of koha, I had either to accept or leave their offering. For a number of reasons, I accepted, although their unspoken expectations of me proved a major deciding factor. Soutar (2000) understands the obligation to fulfil kaumātua requests, "Consultation with a kaumātua creates both obligation and expression and it is

wise to be aware of that inevitability before making an approach" (p vi). However, my agreement to lead this project was not solely decided for obligatory reasons. Another reason was because of the many benefits resulting from the previous thesis such as, rekindled friendships, renewed communal and hapū pride, appreciation of ancestors' sacrifices to access schooling for their children, and undertaking my first major academic research project within an extremely supportive environment. Furthermore, this topic was one "that grabbed me so powerfully that I could withstand the years of research and writing necessary to undertake (and) complete...the study" (Irwin, 1994, p 32). By following the advice of my kaumātua, this project was born. It aligns with the whakataukī, 'Whakarongo ki te kupu a tōu matua' - Pay heed to the words of your parent (cited in Soutar, 2000, p 10).

The initiation process described above reflects fundamental philosophies of Kaupapa Māori theory. Kaupapa Māori is based on the premise that research needs to be conducted in culturally appropriate ways, as decided by participants. The initiation process where the kaumātua guided this project's topic and scope through koha, illustrates how preferred Māori practices (tikanga Māori) were accepted as a normal and legitimate process for shaping this thesis. To Irwin (1994), a feature of Kaupapa Māori research is that it is culturally safe, and involves the mentorship of kaumātua. Glynn, et al., (1997) also believe that when "control remains in the hands of kaumātua, rather than with...researchers...cultural safety is ensured" (p 103). The initiation process of this thesis demonstrates another critical feature of Kaupapa Māori research, power sharing, whereby power and control are taken "out of the hands of the researcher and place(d) fairly in the hand of the participant group" (Bishop, 1993, p 15). "From an indigenous research position, power is repositioned away from the researcher and located back amongst those who are involved in the research process" (Tiakiwai, 2001, p 105). Both power sharing and guidance from kaumātua featured in this project's initiation. In terms of a Kaupapa Māori approach to research then, this project was initiated from within the "flax-roots community" (Henry and Pene, 2001) - my kaumātua. Its development and

subsequent carrying out was my response to their explicit desires, as well as our shared anticipated benefits, including a presentation of a history of Native Schools; a comparison of past and present Māori educational aspirations and experiences; the identification of aspects of schooling that helped fulfil Māori aspirations; and the opportunity to have my research abilities extended within a supportive whānau environment. Walker (2001) describes this collaboration as ideal, because "community ownership of a research outcome makes it a politically more potent document". To Pihama, et al., (2002), "Collective commitment and vision" is a feature of Kaupapa Māori initiatives in Māori education which "are held together by a collective commitment and a vision" (p 39). It aligns with a central principle originating from The Declaration of Independence (1835) and later consolidated within Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840, founding document of Aotearoa-New Zealand); tino rangatiratanga, which can be defined as promoting Māori control and determination of their own lives, and advancing Māori control and power with regard to research and education. This project's initiation process promoted tino rangatiratanga because my kaumātua highlighted the topic they wanted investigated; nominated schools and participants, and presented me, their chosen researcher with the topic. Tino rangatiratanga and Māori empowerment in terms of research is discussed within chapter 2, Kaupapa Māori Theory.

### Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured into three parts. Part one has so far provided an introduction to the thesis and background context. It has explained how this research project was instigated; its main purpose and significance, and identified thesis aims. The remaining section of Part one clarifies the theoretical philosophies of Kaupapa Māori theory as the principal body of theory whose philosophies underpin this thesis. It clarifies Kaupapa Māori research and examines its suitability within this research context because it is informed by Māori epistemology, Māori cultural practices, and addresses Māori concerns about research, as identified by Bishop (1996), such as initiation (who initiates research); benefits (who gains most benefits from research); representation (whose views are represented in the research); legitimation (who verifies the

knowledge and views represented within the research as legitimate); and accountability (to whom are researchers accountable). Other issues such as my position as an 'insider' within this project (since I am related by blood to most participants, and a member of the tribe whose schools are included in this thesis) are examined because for some researchers, occupying an inside position has the potential to be problematic (Bell, 1999; Smith, 1999; Creefe, 2002). For example, Bell (1999) says that inside researchers are highly subjective and therefore operate with the danger of bias. Smith (1999) also acknowledges that certain ethical, cultural, political and personal issues can be problematic for inside researchers such as the likelihood of their position as both insider and outsider within a research context. Nevertheless, it was fitting and correct that I accept my role within this project, not in spite of, but because of my inside positioning and connectedness with other participants, since it allowed us to explore at a personal level matters such as loss of te reo Māori. Heshusius (1994) suggests that researchers acknowledge their subjective participation in the research process and develop a participatory consciousness, which requires the researcher to let go of their focus of self, move into a state of complete attention, acknowledge the responsibility of all research participants as well as their own personal responsibility to the group, as they work towards achieving their common goal. This matter is explored in detail in chapter 2, Māori Research Concerns, along with other issues pertaining to inside and outside researchers such as objectivity, distance and neutrality. Discussions about this project's methodology are also given in Part one, including the appropriateness of employing techniques of narrative inquiry and interviews as conversations with kaumātua and their mokopuna, because they align with Kaupapa Māori philosophies, help amplify Māori voices and allow Māori stories to be told in a way that is consistent with participants' cultural preferences. Essentially, Part one explains how Kaupapa Māori theory and Kaupapa Māori research allows the desires of my kaumātua to be realised and thesis aims achieved.

Part two explains important aspects of our past such as an introduction of Te Arawa iwi; the Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a means

of explaining the significant term 'tino rangatiratanga' as a central component of Kaupapa Māori research and a crucial theme within this thesis. The relevance of the Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi within today's society is also explained. Part two also examines literature pertaining to early education in Aotearoa-New Zealand, including the Mission and Native School systems, post-Native School system and the modern school system. An overview of education within Te Arawa during the Native School period is provided, including the desire of the various hapū for access to schooling as a means of achieving their educational aspirations. Histories of each of the Native Schools are given to set the scene, convey the hapū commitment to their schools and faith in the education system, and shift readers' thinking to bygone years so that one of the main features of the thesis – the participants' stories, can be better understood and appreciated within their appropriate educational and social contexts. The stories are presented school by school with those of the kaumātua appearing first, followed by the stories of their respective mokopuna.

Part three compares past and present educational aspirations and experiences, and analyses factors which assisted or limited the realisation of the educational aspirations. Thesis conclusions are also presented, and implications of this research are clarified including practical ways in which this project's results may contribute to enjoyable and effective classroom experiences for today's students. Ideas are also offered so that where appropriate, this project's methodology may be adapted to fulfil the research aspirations of other iwi. Part three provides an analysis of the research methodology including how central Māori research concerns of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability were addressed within this Kaupapa Māori context. Bishop's (1996) model for addressing those research concerns is referred to as 'IBRLA' and is the main framework utilised within Part three to analyse this project's methodology. IBRLA is also applied throughout this thesis as a framework for considering Māori research concerns and promoting culturally safe and ethical research.

## Summary

Overall, this thesis is concerned with investigating educational aspirations and experiences of Te Arawa for the past and present. It compares educational experiences and aspirations of Te Arawa kaumātua and their mokopuna, in order to discover similarities and differences, identify aspects of schooling that assisted the realisation of Māori aspirations, and guide future developments. This thesis is not merely “descriptive, telling us what we already know, yet not proposing any solutions or action that can be taken for change” (Cram, 1993, p 31); nor does it attempt to revolutionise schooling for Māori; it does however, identify, document and highlight effective aspects of past and present schooling, as identified by a selection of Te Arawa kaumātua and their mokopuna. The findings may be adapted and applied to other educational settings, where they may also have positive outcomes, so that in line with tino rangatiratanga, others can reflect upon the messages within this thesis in terms of their own experiences and meaning making.

## Chapter 2 – The Theory

This chapter elucidates Kaupapa Māori theory as the philosophical and theoretical basis for this thesis. Reasons why Kaupapa Māori theory developed are discussed as well as concerns that many Māori people have with research such as issues pertaining to power, misrepresentation, the positioning of Māori as 'other', distance between researcher and participants, inside and outside researchers, and generalisations. This chapter also offers a comprehensive section about Kaupapa Māori research and Māori research solutions as a means of addressing Māori research concerns. Finally, Māori proposed models are clarified as appropriate tools of analysis within this Kaupapa Māori research context.

### **Kaupapa Māori Theory**

Kaupapa Māori approaches have developed since traditional research methods have proven harmful and ineffective in Māori contexts. Māori discontent with traditional research practices have given rise to the emergence and development of Māori culturally appropriate approaches, called Kaupapa Māori. Kaupapa Māori challenges traditional research norms and counteracts research practices which exploited and marginalised Māori people and their knowledge. Kaupapa Māori philosophies challenge harmful practices, maintain participants' cultural safety, promote tino rangatiratanga, and seek to gain maximum benefits for participants. Tino rangatiratanga can be defined as advancing Māori power, control and determination over their own state of affairs. To Henry (n.d.), the growth of tino rangatiratanga has been a feature of the Māori Renaissance. Bishop (1994) acknowledges that Kaupapa Māori "promotes self-determination" (p 9); Durie (2003) also recognises the central importance of tino rangatiratanga as "a critical ingredient of the recipe for a successful outcome" (pp 220-221). Kaupapa Māori sometimes conjures a defensive response from many people; perhaps because of a misunderstanding of tino rangatiratanga and its goals. Bishop (1996) realises that "self-determination is often misunderstood by non-Māori...as a call for separatism" (p 16), however, far from "creating division" and being preoccupied

with a "them and us" approach as Rata (2004) claims, Kaupapa Māori is concerned with proliferating, maintaining and validating Māori epistemologies, and promoting and implementing appropriate research practice within a variety of Māori contexts.

Definitions and understandings of Kaupapa Māori theory vary. Walker (1996) considers defining Kaupapa Māori theory as problematic because "Kaupapa Māori Theory is not a definitive term – Te Ao Māori is limitless" (p 150). Perhaps Walker's claim would be understood by Wilson (2003) who claims, "Indigenous researchers have often had to explain how their perspective is different from that of dominant-system scholars" (p 171). Kaupapa Māori approaches can be described as those which promote practices that are safe for use in Māori contexts, where Māori ethics, values, and ways of thinking, acting and being prevail (Irwin, 1994; Bishop, 1996; Walker, 1996; Smith, 1997; Henry and Pene, 2001; Pihama et al., 2002; Bishop et al., 2003). Within Kaupapa Māori, "Māori language, knowledge, culture and values are normal, valid and legitimate...where to be Māori is to be normal; where Māori cultural identities are valued, valid and legitimate" (Bishop et al., 2003). Wilkie, et al., (2001) and Irwin (1994) consider cultural safety an imperative component of Kaupapa Māori research. To Wilkie et al. (2001), "It is a methodology which is underpinned by cultural safety, and Māori ethics, beliefs, and knowledge" (2001, p 5). Irwin (1994) describes a Kaupapa Māori research model as one which is culturally safe, involves the mentorship of kaumātua, is culturally relevant and appropriate, while satisfying the rigour of research, and which is undertaken by a Māori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Māori. To Bevan-Brown (1998), Maori research is conducted within a Maori cultural framework. This suggests that it stems from a Maori world view, is based on Maori epistemology and incorporates Maori concepts, knowledge, skills, experiences, attitudes, processes, practices, customs, language, values, and beliefs. Other definitions are very similar whereby the cultural legitimacy of being Māori is taken for granted and an intrinsic belief in our identity, world-view and philosophy is at the core of Kaupapa Māori (Stokes, 1985, in Hohepa and Smith, 1992; Smith, 1990b, 1992; Hohepa and Smith, 1992;

Irwin, 1994; Bevan-Brown, 1998; Pihama et al., Henry, n.d.; 2002; Keenan, 2002; Henry and Pene, 2002).

The fore mentioned writers promote the development of Kaupapa Māori research, since it takes place according to ngā tirohanga Māori and tikanga Māori – a Māori cultural framework using Māori terms of reference. In stating that tikanga Māori should guide the research process, it is important to note that tikanga varies from iwi to iwi and often from hapū to hapū within the same iwi. The word tikanga derives from the word 'tika', meaning that which is correct or appropriate. Tikanga - correct and appropriate conduct that guides the research process in one context may be offensive in another. What has been appropriate in this particular Te Arawa context may be completely inappropriate in Te Rarawa (northern indigenous tribe to whom I am affiliated through my mother). It is vital that kaumātua from the hapū or iwi with whom one is working, provide direction and assurance that the research process occurs according to appropriate conduct for their particular context. Having explained what Kaupapa Māori theory is, it might also be useful to summarise what Kaupapa Māori research is not. Kaupapa Māori research is not intrusive, it is not patriarchal, and it is not driven by university agendas.

### Power Issues

Kaupapa Māori philosophies promote a respectful approach to research and provide a framework for addressing major concerns of power and control by allowing the cultural aspirations and preferences of the research participants to guide the research process. To Smith (1992), "Kaupapa Maori begins to address and control fundamental structural impediments derived from the unequal power positioning of Maori" (p 29). Adherence to Kaupapa Māori philosophies and awareness of the major research concerns allow power sharing between research participants, including the main researcher and other research participants. Bishop (1991) is adamant that power sharing between the researcher and participants is vital, including the "design of the research questions, the research orientation, and evaluation of the whole project itself" (p 22). Also, Hutching

(1993) advises, "If you are hoping to record Māori informants, you should be prepared to fit in with their arrangements and allow them to become involved in the organisation of the interview" (p 30). Heron (1981) agrees with the sharing of control, power and decision making because people "have a moral right to participate in decisions that claim to generate knowledge about them. Such a right...protects them...from being managed and manipulated" (cited in Lather, 1991a, p 55). Sharing decision-making and rejecting traditional interpretations of objectivity which serve to maintain researcher power "by distancing the 'other'" (Martin, 1998), breaks down power differences between 'researched' and 'researcher' (Reinharz, 1992). In other words, the project needs to have these means built into the process from the very beginning; indeed they need to be part of what constitutes the project. A view within the literature claims that it is naïve to expect that the removal of barriers such as authority and illegitimate power (Walsham, 1993) is possible, and that being aware of those barriers is acceptable for now. To Walsham (1993), "Explicit and critical reflection on the barriers is a step in the right direction of human emancipation" (p 13). However, mere acceptance of those views simply provides an excuse for the continued exploitation of people in research, because researchers can simply claim an awareness of the barriers and continue their invasive and harmful practice. If basic principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (subsequently explained in chapter 4) such as partnership were applied to the research context, power sharing would be automatic because Te Tiriti o Waitangi assumes power sharing between Māori and Pākehā. Exploitation of Māori within research must cease and Māori concerns about research must be appropriately addressed.

## **Māori Research Concerns**

### Past Research Practices

According to Bishop (1996) traditional Western oriented discourse has dominated the worldview of researchers. In the past, most researchers were white, male, middle-class (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994), and the majority of practices applied to

Māori contexts were inappropriate, harmful, and perpetuated colonial power imbalances that regarded only Western cultural frameworks as valid and legitimate (Irwin, 1994; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1999; Clark, 2002; Bishop, 2005). In order to fulfil research agendas of describing aspects of cultures, known within qualitative research as ethnography, "lone ethnographer man-scientists" (Rosaldo, 1989) imposed themselves on Māori communities to find out how the native, exotic, savage, uncivilised people lived. Lone ethnographers went off in search of natives in a distant land, then returned home with their data and wrote up objective accounts. They collected diverse iwi histories and recorded them as one version according to their own editing and assumptions. Crabtree and Miller (1992) acknowledge that "the ethnographer's...interpretations, are within the context of his or her own cultural assumptions and traditions...and an assumption is made that may not be correct" (p 76). For example, when accounts were collected from different iwi about their voyages to Aotearoa-New Zealand, the ethnographers assumed that the voyages occurred at the same time; they melded the various accounts into one big myth (e.g. Best, 1923) to cultivate what has been promulgated as 'The Great Fleet' (Bishop and Glynn, 1999). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) draw attention to the impudence of such researchers. They say that 'going native' was "worse than politically incorrect, it stands as witness to our conceits as field-workers" (p 582). Lone ethnographers became the interpreters of the world (Reynolds, 1980, cited in Lather, 1991a, p 59) because their accounts were accepted as 'true'. Consequently, Māori knowledge and practices were simplified, misrepresented, and marginalised. These harmful research practices are responsible for "many misconstrued Māori cultural practices and meanings that are now part of our everyday myths of Aotearoa-New Zealand, believed by Māori and non-Māori alike" (Bishop, 1996, p 14). For example, generations of school children have been taught that Māori discovery of Aotearoa occurred by chance when their waka (canoes) were blown off course; others were told that Māori discovered Aotearoa by a lucky guess (Sharp, 1963). In Reed's (1950) account, Kupe, an early Māori explorer, "may have been clever enough to guess that there must be a new land awaiting discovery" (p 15). Upon reflection on his Native School experiences during the 1920s and 1930s, Uncle Nira was

sure that they were provided with a biased view of our country's history as a deliberate attempt to promote assimilation, "I am now of the firm opinion that the version of New Zealand history we were taught was not wholly the correct version... devised to assimilate us into the acceptance of the Pākehā norms and culture, and the abandonment of our own" (cited in Raureti, 2000, p 150). Royal (1992) is well aware of the misrepresentation of Māori knowledge, "This misrepresentation of tūpuna Māori and their histories has been exacerbated by the state education system accepting the findings of Pākehā historians of Māori tribal history. It has indoctrinated generations of New Zealanders as to what Māori society was and is" (p 25). Continuous harmful research practices such as the misrepresentation and ignoring of Māori perspectives, has resulted in an overall negative attitude from Māori towards research. According to Royal (1992), "Māori people have been the most written about indigenous people in the world" (p 63). The majority of past Māori research has been conducted by people from backgrounds and cultures that are different to Māori (Walker, 1996; King, 1997; Durie, 1998; Bishop and Glynn, 1999). Pākehā were identified as the main authors of Māori stories. Royal (1992) acknowledges misrepresentation as a concern for Māori, "Pākehā historians have been writing and publishing books on tūpuna Māori and their histories for more than a century, and very often these books have misrepresented Māori people" (p 25).

Paternalistic, invasive research practices have resulted in Māori feeling used, exploited and resentful towards researchers and the learning institutions they represent. Irwin (1994) explains, "Researchers and academics generally have a poor reputation in the Māori community" (p 38). Smith (1999) considers merely the word 'research' as one of the most unpleasant words in the indigenous worlds' vocabulary, "When mentioned in many indigenous contexts...it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is...distrustful" (p 1). Clark (2002) frankly states, "Māori people are just plain fed up with being researched by all and sundry with negative effects...They do not want and do not need more of the same research revealing more of the same" (p 98). It is evident that researchers have also misrepresented other indigenous groups' perspectives. Bin-Sallik (1996) reports a

similar state of affairs in Australia where most research about aborigines is conducted by people of other cultures. Consequently scholars are forced "to rely on British literature" p 57). Martin (2003) informs us that Aboriginal lands; people, worldviews, cultures, experiences and knowledge was misrepresented "during the 1970s and well into the 1990s" because they were represented through Western eyes and ears. According to Brayboy (2000), many people within his Native American Indian community "tend to distrust anyone with letters after their name. It is these people who...publish our stories. Sometimes they get it right; often they get it wrong and we have no recourse to correct the damages" (p 415).

Variance between the cultures of the researcher and 'researched' has contributed to the misrepresentation of Māori perspectives since culture is the means by which we are able to process, understand information and make sense of the world. Bruner (1996) explains, "Culture is a toolkit of techniques and procedures for understanding and managing your world" (p 98). Metge and Kinloch (1978) believe Pākehā and Māori "interpret each others' words and actions in terms of their own understandings, assuming that these are shared when in fact they are not - in other words (it is) because of cultural differences" (p 8). Witherall and Noddings (1991) acknowledge that the narrator's voice "is embedded in his or her culture, language, gender, beliefs, and life history" (p 3). According to Soutar (2000), misrepresentation is the major contributor to Māori resistance towards research and their reluctance to be involved in research is the result of "Pākehā researchers who have in the past mis-interpreted information given to them by Māori informants" (p v). As a result, Maori knowledge and practices were pushed to the margins of society where they were denied authenticity and voice. As well as misrepresenting Māori perspectives, researchers ignored oral accounts since they were not acknowledged as valid sources of information. Binney (2001) confirms that "New Zealand's history was mostly penned without a Māori audience, and it neglected most orally composed sources-the narratives and the songs, the living korero" (p 82). There are still disciplines that do not consider oral accounts as reliable sources of information (Hutching, 1993) even though

“within Māori society oral history remains the preferred historical approach” (Soutar, 2000, p 11). Binney (2001) explains that the non-acknowledgement of Māori perspectives had a detrimental effect on written history, simply because “the general writings had not acknowledged that there existed different ways of seeing, depicting and transmitting crucial events” (p 82).

Although information about harmful research methods has been widely publicised and criticised, literature suggests that research is still being conducted in ways that are unsatisfactory to Māori, with most benefits going to the researcher, and/or the research institution rather than to Māori themselves. “Pacific peoples...are still ‘subjects’ of research, mostly by outsiders, including New Zealanders, Australians and others...the major beneficiaries of research are not the ‘researched’ but rather, the university researcher” (Penetito and Sanga, 2002, p 29). Practitioners of impositional and harmful research have caused many people to believe that researchers in general are mendacious in character, who take as much as they can from research ‘subjects’, give nothing or very little in return; and/or publish reports that cause embarrassment to groups of people. Understandably, many Māori shun any involvement with researchers. This reputation has made things difficult for Māori researchers especially, who work for their people but are sometimes viewed with suspicion by those people to whom they are unknown, or those not fully informed about the research. Consequently, while I am passionate about researching matters that are important to my hapū, I strongly resist being labelled a ‘researcher’, or an ‘academic’ because of the stigma associated with those labels within many Māori communities, certainly within my own hapū, Ngāti Rangitahi. Ahakoa he Māori ahau, ka kite pērā tonutia ahau e ētahi, i te mea, kua pāngia kē rātou, ō rātou mātua, tūpuna rānei e te pene kino ā ngā kairangahau o mua (although I am Māori I am sometimes viewed negatively by people and the descendants of those who have been wronged by researchers). There is a call for more capable and ethical Māori researchers, yet the stigma associated with the vocation within many Māori communities makes it unappealing to many Māori people. Cram (1993) observed a similar situation within the psychology profession, “Many Pakeha researchers have built their

careers on the backs of Maori, their research satisfying the criteria set by Pakeha institutions but offering nothing back to the Maori community in return ...Is it any wonder then that Maori communities are wary and weary of Pakeha researchers...Maybe this is one reason why Maori have been unwilling to enter our profession?" (p 33).

### Māori as 'Other'

The development of New Zealand since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, despite continued...resistance by Māori people, has been one where the Pākehā majority has benefited enormously and where Māori have been politically marginalised, culturally and racially attacked, and economically impoverished within their own country

Bishop and Glynn, 1999, pp 14-15.

"Dominance of Pākehā history and culture means that Māori forms of knowledge and culture are seen to lack 'mainstream' legitimacy, being positioned as 'non-scientific' and 'other'" (Waipara-Panapa, 1995, cited in Rata, 2004, p 10). The dominant group names people, whose epistemologies differ to theirs, as 'other', thereby elevating their own "as strong or good" (Martin, 1998). Pihama et al. (2002) confirm, "Power structures in Aotearoa...have constructed Māori people in binary opposition to Pākehā, reinforcing the discourse of Māori as the Other" (p 39). Orange (1987) and King (1997) confirm a power imbalance within Aotearoa-New Zealand. King (1997) says that "Māori values and institutions had a lower status in New Zealand life than their Western equivalents" (p 95); and Orange (1997) claims, "The European record in the last century and a half has shown a determination to dominate" (p 5). As recent as the late 1970s, the right for Māori to speak Māori, in courts was denied. At that time, if Māori were able to "speak and understand English, magistrates (were) within their legal rights in insisting that English alone is used in court proceedings" (Benton, 1979b, p 1). Even though the Magistrates Court Act 1947, allowed "a person of Māori ancestry to apply...after service of a document for a translation into Māori...a Māori who understands English reasonably well may not...expect to obtain such a translation as of right" (Benton, 1979b, p 5). The situations above align with Freire's (1996)

description of oppression, in any situation where 'A' hinders 'B's "pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression" (p 37). It is ironic then that academic guidelines suggest that Māori words within text are immediately followed by an English translation in order for it to be more easily understood by people unfamiliar with te reo Māori. I understand that translations are necessary for an international audience, however, even words most commonly understood within Aotearoa-New Zealand, such as 'whānau' and 'kai' require English translations. Conversely, I frequently read articles and books by writers who incorporate French words and phrases within their English writing, yet no translation or glossary is provided because of the assumption that those words are readily understood by speakers of English, for example, "Teachers gave me *carte blanche* to visit their classrooms" (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p 472).

People who live their lives "outside mainstream academe are expected to adapt to research contexts chosen and constructed by academics" (Haig-Brown, 2003, p 416) even though mainstream is typically focused on middle-class beliefs and practices (Macfarlane, 2004) markedly different to Māori. To Wilson (2003), "As part of their 'white privilege,' there has seldom been a requirement to see other ways of being and doing or even to recognise that other ways exist" (p 161). Antone (2000) confirms that "traditional knowledge and values of the Native (Aboriginal) people have not been valued by mainstream approaches to education; consequently, their voice has been silenced" (p 97); and Glynn et al. (1997) acknowledge, "Many of the research and training contexts we (educational researchers) create, do not allow indigenous people to participate from within their own world view" (p 103). Eisner (1998) informs us about the denigrating manner with which some researchers regard methods or perspectives that deviate from accepted norms. Those methods "are often regarded as mistakes (and) threaten competence and conventional lore" (p 51).

#### Objectivity, Distance, Neutrality

Traditional Western paradigms advocate ideal and valid research as objective, distant and neutral, where "the researcher is an outsider able to observe without

being implicated in the scene" (Smith, 1999). Researchers adhering to conventional research methodology consider objectivity and distance necessary in order for their voice to remain neutral and research results valid and credible (Wilson, 2003). Rata (2004), Mateev (2002) and Chalmers (1999) argue that research methods, data and findings cannot be considered valid if the researcher is not objective, does not maintain distance from research participants, and a neutral approach to the entire research process. They believe that by constructing distance the researcher can obtain and consider data from a neutral, objective position, "preventing their research from becoming tainted with personal bias" (Heshusius, 1994, p 16). Quantitative researchers consider "the empirical materials produced by the softer, interpretive methods...as unreliable, impressionistic, and not objective" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p 6); and often refer to their qualitative counterparts as "journalists, or soft scientists because their work is "unscientific...entirely personal and full of bias" (p 4). Casebeer and Verhoef (1997) confirm that quantitative research is usually linked to the "notion of science as objective truth or fact, whereas qualitative research is more often identified with the view that science is lived experience and therefore subjectively determined" (p 3). In advocating objective neutrality, Rata (2004) criticises Māori epistemologies claiming, "Rational scientific knowledge, on the other hand, is objective (and) extends ideas" (p 11). She lends support to the belief that "modern science is a distinctive body of knowledge, which has succeeded in attaining higher standards of objectivity and reliability than other pre-modern, magical-religious ways of understanding nature" (p 10). Chalmers (1999) too supports a scientific, distant approach because "science...is derived from facts, rather than being based on personal opinion" (p xx), and their "results are straightforwardly given and totally secure" (p 38). This viewpoint is shared by Mateev (2002), "Scientific hypotheses are value-free; the researcher's own values, biases, and subjective preferences have no place in the quantitative approach" (p 60).

### Inside/Outside Researchers

Inside researchers can be defined as researchers who, prior to the commencement of the research, were involved with research participants; and their involvement continues beyond the scope of the research project. Outside researchers therefore, are those whose involvement with research participants is limited to the research context. Differences of opinion exist regarding potential risks and benefits of inside and outside researchers. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), "Qualitative researchers are committed to an emic (inside), idiographic, case-based position, which directs their attention to the specifics of particular cases" (p 6). Bell (1999) highlights "definite advantages in being an 'inside' researcher. For example, he had an intimate knowledge of the context of the research...He knew how to approach some of the individuals and appreciated some of their difficulties" (p 43). To Wolcott (1999), an advantage of an inside researcher is their ability to define the 'heart of the matter' (cited in Tiakiwai, 2001, p 105). Morris et al., (1992) also affirm that it is advantageous if researchers and the people with whom the research is carried out, share similar backgrounds because "questioning can be more searching. The interviewer knows what questions to ask to draw out information beyond the merely superficial" (p 15). However, a researcher's inside positioning and sameness of culture as other participants does not guarantee accurate representation; but it makes sense that the task may be more easily accomplished when the researcher and participants are using the same toolkit of techniques and procedures for understanding and managing the world (Bruner, 1996). When an inside researcher and research participants share culture, common beliefs, experiences and language (including colloquialisms), they are described by Metge and Kinloch (1978) as having "cultural understanding". Cultural understanding allows the inside researcher to recognise what counts as significant and appreciate the significance of what is being said. According to Eisner (1998), this ability to see what counts is "one of the features that differentiates novices from experts...The expert knows what to neglect. Knowing what to neglect means having a sense of the significant and possessing a framework that makes the search for the significant efficient" (p 34). The importance of culture is also evident in Casey's

(1995/6) description of narratives as “highly constructed text structured around a cultural framework of meaning and shaped by particular patterns of inclusion, omission, and disparity” (p 234). Cultural understanding is one such framework that allows an effective search for the significant.

To some researchers (Bell, 1999; Smith, 1999; Creefe, 2002), occupying an inside position has the potential to be problematic, for example, inside researchers can be highly subjective and therefore operate with the danger of bias (Bell, 1999). Creefe (2002) erroneously subscribed to traditional Western beliefs that working with whānau would result in research that was subjective, biased and ultimately deemed to be invalid, “I thought it would be to my advantage to step outside of (my mother’s) shadow, assert my intellectual and personal independence, and travel to neutral territory where I could practice objective scholarship...That was my first mistake” (p 73). To Smith (1999), an inside researcher’s position can be complex because there are multiple ways of being both insider and outsider in indigenous research contexts. Smith highlights complexities of indigenous inside researchers’ position, “Indigenous researchers work within a set of inside dynamics and it takes considerable sensitivity, skill, maturity, experience and knowledge to work these issues through” (p 10). For example, when conducting interviews with Māori mothers Smith was positioned as an insider since she too is a Māori mother; however, since she is an educated professional and most of the interviewees were not, she was located as an outsider. Smith viewed aspects of how she was treated by the participants as treatment practiced for an outsider (for example food prepared, houses cleaned and children washed especially for her visit). Although she acknowledges they were “signs of respect”, she also interpreted them as “barriers constructed to keep the outsider at bay” (p 138). Evidently Smith was accorded special treatment; however, the courtesies extended to her were in line with tikanga Māori which allowed the participants an opportunity to act as host, extend their generosity and fulfil their own, and probably their families’ expectations of manaakitanga (hospitality). Opposition to outsider researchers often results in resistance by some participants. According to my father who was informed by koroua (male elders) from Ruatāhuna during

the 1960s, some of their predecessors deliberately gave Elsdon Best (anthropologist) incorrect information by exchanging names of streams and landmarks, because they didn't want outsiders to know as much about their histories as their own people. Some of those names were later recorded on official road signage. The above situation is similar to that described by Royal (1992), "Sometimes tūpuna Māori deliberately invented facts to satisfy the insatiable curiosity of Pākehā anthropologists and ethnologists...Subsequently this misinformation has been published in various books" (p 26).

A different view in the literature states that Māori research does not have to be carried out exclusively by Māori researchers; instead, the quality of relationships between the research participants and lead researcher/s is a crucial consideration when deciding who should be involved in Kaupapa Māori research. This view contradicts Rata's (2004) postulation that "only those 'of the blood' can fully participate in this Māori 'way of knowing'" (p 8). Maaka (2003), Soutar (2000), Bishop (2005) and Stokes (1985) are four such educationalists 'of the blood', who support the involvement of suitable non-Māori researchers within Kaupapa Māori contexts. At the 2003 joint conference of the New Zealand Association for Research in Education and Australian Association for Research in Education, Maaka clearly expressed her view that research about Māori must be conducted by Māori in the first instance, and if required, "with the help of invited others"; and Soutar (2000) believes the debate is not about race "but rather who has access to the heart and soul of the people" (p viii). These researchers maintain that researchers working within a Kaupapa Māori framework do not necessarily have to be Māori, but need to have cultural empathy and cultural competence within a Māori environment. Stokes (1985) says those researchers should be bicultural and possess skills that enable them "to weigh up sometimes complex cross-cultural situations" (in Hohepa and Smith, 1992, p 11). Glynn et al. (1997) also support the involvement of non-Māori researchers who are "able to engage themselves...in terms of Māori-constituted practices and cultural understandings" (p 104). Although Smith (1992) advocated a 'for Māori, by Māori' position, she also acknowledged (1999) that the inclusion of non-Māori researchers can be

positive because “many individual non-indigenous researchers remain highly respected and well liked by the communities with whom they have lived” (p 3), for example, Don Stafford is held in high regard among Te Arawa as a respectable and reputable historian. When present at official hui (gatherings) he is formally acknowledged as a distinguished member of the gathering. Bishop (1996) believes that a variety of perspectives are necessary to give an accurate depiction of the history of Aotearoa-New Zealand, and “for Pākehā researchers to leave it all to Māori people is to abrogate their responsibilities as Treaty partners...(Furthermore), there is a cohort of highly-skilled...non-Māori who are...willing to work within Māori-controlled contexts” (pp 17-18). Bishop (2005) contends that participation by both Māori and non-Māori educational researchers “within the cultural aspirations, preferences and practices of the research participants”, can address domination (p 110).

In advocating tino rangatiratanga, Kaupapa Māori research takes for granted the right of the Māori community to choose who will lead, and be involved with the research. The Māori community may not automatically choose Māori researchers, for example, to write “Te Pūea Herangi: from darkness to light” (1984), Tainui iwi chose Michael King because he was not of Tainui descent and would give an objective, honest, account of her life (Tiakiwai, personal communication, 10<sup>th</sup> September 2004). Perhaps Tainui were of the opinion that “if the writer (was) a member of the group, there (would be) an exhortation to maximise the mana (standing) of the iwi or hapū” (Soutar, 2000, p vi). Crabtree and Miller (1992) believe that outside researchers can work efficiently within communities and cultures different to their own by utilising ‘informants’ who are members of the community/culture studied, and have relationships with participants that ensure a richness of information. The informants act as a type of interpreter for the researcher, helping to ask questions, “In this case the researcher asks the key informant, ‘I want to understand the world from your point of view, I want to know what you know in the way you know it...I want to feel things as you feel them...Will you become my teacher and help me understand?’” (Spradley, 1979, p 34). Since our cultural understandings encompass esoteric aspects, and form that

which allows us to make sense of the world, I doubt that Spradley's (1979) request "to know what you know in the way you know it" is achievable. It could be more likely that outside researchers would gain understanding of the phenomenon on an intellectual and possibly emotional level, rather than the full, understanding that Spradley sought. Instead, Irwin (1987) explains, the outside researcher "enables us to glimpse what 'seeing with a Māori eye' is all about" (cited in Historical Review, 1998, p 88). Perhaps if the researcher were an insider they would enjoy the benefits of full 20/20 vision instead of just a glimpse? During a trip to Raiatea (an island of Tahiti) in 1999, I learned the difference between understanding something on an intellectual level, and understanding it completely. On an intellectual level I was familiar with stories about Raiatea being the home of Ngāti Ohomairangi (the former name of Te Arawa iwi) prior to our migration to Aotearoa-New Zealand, however, when I stayed at Raiatea I had several remarkable experiences that gave me a new and full understanding of a significant part of my history. For example, I knew the names of rivers, mountains and areas of the island before our 'guide' told us the names, even though I had not previously known any names. I was privileged to experience a full intellectual, spiritual and physical understanding of my connection to Raiatea and doubt whether people without a spiritual connection to Raiatea could have experienced that same knowing. I now have a transformed understanding of the whakatauki,

E kore au e ngaro  
He kākano i ruia mai  
I Rangiatea  
I will never be lost  
For I am a seed  
That descends from Rangiatea.

Another view in the literature purports that non-indigenous, outside researchers (referred to by Haig-Brown [2001] as "a distanced 'tourist' researcher" [p 20]), are best suited to 'conducting' research for indigenous people. Beckett strongly opposes indigenous researchers and supports non-indigenous, outside researchers reporting to their mainly non-indigenous audience "given the political incapacity of most indigenous people to not only raise the consciousness of their

own people but also to appeal to non-indigenous sympathisers" (p 128). One could deduce that Beckett (2001) doubts the abilities of indigenous people. Perhaps this writer has not made the effort to become familiar with the works of Māori researchers and educationalists (many of whom are discussed in this thesis), who raise Māori consciousness and contribute to making positive changes to Māori lives. Smith (1999) explains that sometimes participants prefer research to be conducted by an outside researcher because they may not consider an insider good enough; they may be concerned that research information will be shared with other parties known by both of them; and they are sometimes suspicious that inside researchers have a hidden agenda. Similarly, Irwin (1994) cautions Māori researchers that they are often viewed with suspicion and regarded "as part of the...system that oppresses *matauranga Māori*... such are the political issues facing Māori undertaking research in the Māori community" (p 38).

Smith (1992) and Irwin (1994) support insider researchers and believe that Māori should carry out Kaupapa Māori research. Smith (1992) reaffirms that Kaupapa Maori research is "research by Maori, for Maori and with Maori" (and Henry and Pene, 2002, p 236). Archives New Zealand's newsletter, 'Outreach' (2003) lends support to this position, "Māori have their own stories, which must be told by Māori" (p 1). Royal (1992) explains the importance of an inside researcher's cultural understanding, "Māori and Pākehā themselves are generally those best placed to analyse and understand the actions of their own forebears" (p 27). Swisher (1998) too supports indigenous researchers conducting research about their own communities because non-indigenous researchers lack passion, and indigenous people "feel they must speak for themselves" (p 192). When completing my Master of Education thesis (Raureti, 2000), I realised the importance of my inside position within the whānau of interest, not only in a metaphorical sense, but also literally. Had I not been directly related to the participants, two of them stated they would not have participated in a 'university project'. We would not have gained access to their knowledge. Within this context also, I occupied an inside position within our whānau of interest. I was

trusted by the research participants to carry out the research in a manner that was culturally appropriate, to achieve maximum benefits for us all.

### Generalisability

According to Eisner (1998), the aim of qualitative research is to "arrive at useful generalizations" (p 201), which in its simplest terms is "a collation of observed results, or findings, or conclusions" (Bassey, 1981, p 78). To Donmoyer et al., (1995), generalisations fulfil the natural human inclination to "seek order and rules to explain and to help deal with" life's complexities, p 51), so that we are given opportunities to learn from previous practise. The ability to learn from generalisations is explained by Eisner (1998) whereby a young child touches a hot teapot then generalises about the potential consequences of touching other teapots (whether hot or cold). In citing this example, Eisner raises the important point that first-'hand' experience is not always necessary for learning to take place, and that generalisability allows us to learn from the experience of others vicariously, "One of the most useful of human abilities is the ability to learn from the experience of others...We listen to story-tellers and learn about how things were, and we use what we have been told to make decisions about what will be" (p 202). Therefore, generalisations allow us to make predictions, or at least to have expectations, about the future and provide "a structure for framing expectations" (p 200). Various types of generalisations include open generalisations, closed generalisations and retrospective generalisations. Open generalisations are statements that can be applied to similar contexts with the expectation that findings "will be similarly applicable" (Eisner, 1998, p 79). A closed generalisation is a statement which refers to a specified set of events that cannot be applied to similar contexts. Closed generalisations are "closed in space and time to a particular group...at a particular time" (Eisner, 1998, p 79). Retrospective generalisations are arrived at by examining history. They are statements which use "findings to anticipate the future...by...seeing our past experience in a new light" (Eisner, 1998, p 205). He says, "When we make sense of experience we already have, the generalisation can be regarded as retrospective" (Eisner, 1998, p 207). Concerns exist about the ability to identify

generalisations from research data and apply them to other situations, and the validity of generalisations gained from studying smaller, more focused groups, as opposed to generalisations from large samples. According to Chalmers (1999) a generalisation is only considered "legitimate" if the statement is 'true' "over a wide variety of conditions" and if they are confirmed by a large number of independent observations (p 46). According to Bassey (1981), researchers tend to value open generalisations more than closed generalisations, in fact "the subset of researchers who call themselves 'scientists' are...only concerned with open generalisations" (p 80). Donmoyer et al., (1995) confirm that science approaches generalisations in a law-like manner, demanding that "if a science is to have any legitimacy, then it must be able to say that under certain conditions 'X' will happen" (p 34). Qualitative researchers endure additional criticism if a project lacks generalisability beyond the individuals and circumstances of the study (Crabtree and Miller, 1992).

Generalisations have often impacted negatively upon Māori. Bishop (1996) tells us that the general trend of research into indigenous people's lives in Aotearoa-New Zealand has been for the researcher to gather the stories of others, collate them and "generalise as to the patterns and commonalities" (p 26). A potential danger is that patterns and commonalities can lead to categorisation and negative stereotyping. Categories often don't take into account the specifics of a case, the uniqueness, meaning and significance of individuals and when viewed in this light, generalisations can be misleading and damaging. Bevan-Brown (2000) has a "whole truckload" of stories about the low expectations of many teachers towards their Māori students. She showed that "research quotes from principals, teachers and teacher aides" whose negative attitudes adversely affected the progress of gifted Māori students, demonstrated "a level of generalisation and stereotyping that (was) unwarranted, unfair, and prejudicial" (p 2). Guild (1994) agrees that "generalisations about a *group* of people have often led to naïve inferences about *individuals* within that group... it is a serious error to conclude that all members of the group have the same style traits as the group taken as a whole" (p 16).

## **Māori Research Solutions: Kaupapa Māori Research**

Observance of Kaupapa Māori philosophies and guidelines ensures research is conducted in culturally appropriate ways as decided by participants, or as in Bishop (2005), derived from Māori cultural practices. The expectation that tikanga Māori will guide the research process is accepted as 'normal' and valid; Māori cultural preferences including values, ethics, language, practices, courtesies and humour are taken for granted, which is called Kaupapa Māori research. In other words, Māori people, being Māori people, within a research context. Kaupapa Māori research offers an organising framework for culturally appropriate research to address harmful research practices and achieve Māori goals and aspirations through research.

### Māori as 'Normal'

While Māori forms of knowledge and Māori epistemologies may be regarded as different in 'other' countries, it is not in accordance with the promises of Te Tiriti o Waitangi that they be regarded as such in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Te Tiriti o Waitangi promises that Māori 'tāonga' will be protected. It is therefore unacceptable for Māori ways of knowing, experiencing and viewing the world to be considered as 'other' or "irrational but necessary knowledge" (Munz, 1999, cited in Rata, 2004, p 11) within Aotearoa-New Zealand, where Māori are the tāngata whenua, the indigenous people. No longer can Māori be treated as foreigners and our ideas as foreign in our own land. Smith (1997) agrees that "Kaupapa Māori...assert(s)...its rights to continue to flourish in the land of its origin" (p 273). According to Cunningham (1998), "Māori knowledge in New Zealand shouldn't be acknowledged as 'other'. Māori knowledge should be acknowledged as at least of equivalent status" (p 52). Pihama et al. (2002) recognise that when Māori practices and language are "viewed as valid and legitimate, then Māori are no longer positioned as the Other, but rather hold a position of being the norm" (p 36). Many educationalists (such as Walker, 1996; Smith, 1997; Reid, 1998; Bishop et al., 2003; Durie, 2003) advocate the development of Kaupapa Māori research as valid instead of continuing previously

accepted yet harmful practices. Sharples (2004) believes, "There has to be a Kaupapa Māori alternative to the mainstream, one size fits all approaches". Durie (1998) provides encouragement for researchers embracing a Kaupapa Māori approach, "There is no need to...paint Māori in Western terms in order to make them fit". Eisner (1998) supports alternative frameworks and considers it "far more liberating to live in a world with many different paradigms and procedures than in one with a single official version of the truth or how to find it" (p 48). Howitt and Owusu-Bempah's (1994) view is similar. They believe that "lack of awareness of alternatives to mainstream knowledge... leaves the discipline impoverished" (cited in Macfarlane, 2004). Resistance against different paradigms may "trap researchers into believing that there is only one true 'scientific' way to conduct research" (Casebeer and Verhoef, 1997, p 4).

#### Objectivity Accepted

The claim that knowledge can be created objectively is challenged by some writers who emphasise the impossibility of guaranteeing objective knowledge, because all researchers are human and as such we convey our own interpretations and understandings (Gadamer, 1975; Lincoln and Guba, 1987; Donmoyer et al., 1995; Hampton, 1995). To Donmoyer et al., (1995), "Today there is a growing realization that no knowledge is objective and that all knowledge reflects the values, interests and biases of the knower" (pp 5-6). According to Hampton (1995) "Emotionless, passionless, abstract, intellectual research is a goddam lie...Humans-feeling, living, breathing, thinking humans-do research" (p 52). Eisner (1998) explains that while researchers adhering to conventional research methodology try to minimise the personal dimension, it inevitably enters qualitative work since "all forms are influenced by style, and...style is personal" (p 169). Whether we like it or not, the qualitative researcher's voice is a character of their research, like their research signature (Eisner, 1998). The neutralisation of voice and absence of the first person singular – is seldom a feature of qualitative studies (Eisner, 1998). "Instead, we display our signatures thereby making it clear that a person, not a machine, was behind the words" (p 169), and by expressing empathy, we expose "the heart (of)

the situations we are trying to help readers understand” (pp 36-37). This view is reinforced by Bruner (1993) who emphasises the value-laden nature of qualitative research, because “the qualitative researcher is not an objective, authoritative, politically neutral observer standing outside and above the text” (cited in Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p 576). Subjectivity can be a “strength rather than a perceived weakness” (Crabtree and Miller, 1992, p 246). Others also state that researchers’ subjectivity is actually needed because our prejudice gives us the ability to experience and understand the world (Gadamer, 1975; Peshkin, 1988). Peshkin (1985) summarises researcher subjectivity, “By virtue of subjectivity, I tell the story I am moved to tell. Reserve my subjectivity and I do not become a value-free participant observer, merely an empty-headed one” (cited in Eisner, 1998, p 48). This position is similar to Bishop’s (2005), “For Māori researchers to stand aside from involvement...is to stand aside from one’s identity... (It) would signal the ultimate victory of colonisation” (p 129).

### Dispelling Distance

Traditional Western paradigms which espouse objective, distant and neutral research as ideal and valid research, contravene basic philosophies of Kaupapa Māori research, where connectedness and close, on-going relationships between the ‘lead’ researcher and participants is fundamental; where relationships are deeper and more intimate than the more formal construct of researcher/researched (Tiakiwai, 2001, p 115). Henry and Pene (2001) confirm, “Kaupapa Māori emphasises interdependence and spirituality as a fundamental component of intellectual endeavour and knowledge construction” (p 238). Within Kaupapa Māori research, close involvement and connectedness between research participants is expected in order for all to contribute effectively, and therefore gain maximum benefits. Indeed, the importance of connectedness is fundamental within te ao Māori because it is our whakapapa (genealogy and family connections) that gives us identity. This idea is captured with the name, ‘whānau of interest’ (Bishop, 1996), whereby members of the research team are likened to members of a whānau (family). All whānau members have individual and collective responsibilities to the whānau (based on their strengths) and each

member's contribution is valued as they work towards achieving their common goals. The members of a research team may not be connected to one another through blood ties as a literal whānau, yet are referred to as a whānau of interest because they are connected by their shared beliefs and goals. Close interaction and connectedness between research participants is also supported by others (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Reinharz, 1992; Heshusius, 1994; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Bishop, 2005) who consider close interactions fundamental to forming collaborative relationships and gaining a detailed understanding of the given situation. Heshusius (1994) suggests that researchers acknowledge their subjective participation in the research process and develop a "participatory consciousness" that is similar to Schachtel's (1959) 'allocentric knowing', Polanyi's (1966) 'tactic knowing', Harman's 'compassionate consciousness', and Lykes' 'passionate or engaged scholarship' (cited in Reinharz, 1992). Participatory consciousness requires the researcher to let go of their focus on self, move into a state of complete attention, acknowledge the responsibility of all research participants as well as their own personal responsibility to the group, as they work towards achieving their shared goals. Participatory consciousness is concerned with the "participation of the total person and requires an attitude of profound openness, and receptivity...a temporary eclipse of all the perceiver's egocentric thoughts and strivings, of all preoccupations with self and self-esteem" (Heshusius, 1994, p 16). Reinharz (1992) describes participatory or collaborative research whereby "the researcher abandons control and adopts an approach of openness, reciprocity, mutual disclosure, and shared risk... participants make decisions rather than function as passive subjects" (p 181). The result is the "break down of power differences between 'researcher' and 'researched' and...emphasise(s) the importance of the relationship, rather than the distance, between...'the researchers'... and 'the researched'" (Glynn et al., 1997, p 103). The letting go of self, required for participatory consciousness is fundamental for Māori researchers who are aware of and understand their whakapapa, total integration, connectedness, and commitment to the world (Bishop, 2005). A research group's participatory consciousness can be likened to the type of cooperation that is required of paddlers within a waka. Each paddler's efforts

contribute to propelling the waka towards their destination; each paddler needs to be aware of fellow paddlers' actions (for example, their length and pace of strokes) so they may adjust their strokes accordingly to work effectively as a team. The paddlers also make use of their somatic knowing whereby their physical bodies perceive a type of understanding that guides their actions (Heshusius, 1994). In this situation, all paddlers are operating within a participatory mode of consciousness.

With regards to this research project I share trusting relationships with members of our whānau of interest, and am a member of the same iwi as the majority of participants. My inside positioning allowed me access to participants and because of our relationships, trust and commonalities, I was given the opportunity to gain an in-depth understanding of past and present Māori educational aspirations and experiences. Because of support from my whānau and kaumātua who encouraged me, an insider, to lead this research, I was able to respond appropriately to their request and carry out the research in a way that affirmed our cultural identity and validated their cultural understandings within a Māori frame of reference. It aligns with Royal's (1992) advice of not learning "about other families first, but research your own part of the world" (p 43).

#### Useful Generalisations

Rather than being overly-concerned with generalisability, "qualitative researchers...endeavour to construct as thick and detailed a description as possible of his or her particular setting and circumstances so that others who encounter his or her description can determine its possible applicability to their setting and circumstances" (Crabtree and Miller, 1992, p 245). Bassey (1981) uses the term "relatability" rather than generalisability, which describes a researcher's ability to decide on a course of action because of the ability to relate his/her own research to a similar situation (phenomenon) described in another research. In this way, this project may allow other iwi to identify parallels between their situation and those communicated in this thesis, and serve as a model, on which they could base their particular investigations as a way of

locating and understanding the educational aspirations and experiences of their own tūpuna, kaumātua and mokopuna.

According to Eisner (1998) the use of particular cases to say something about the general situation is referred to as "the concrete universal" (p 203), and "the qualitative study of *particular* classrooms and *particular* teachers in *particular* schools makes it possible to provide feedback to teachers that is fundamentally different from the kind of information that they are given in in-service education programs or through journal publications" (p 11). The analyses and conclusions given in Part three reflect on information from particular cases of educational aspirations and experiences within a particular iwi, which, if Eisner's (1998) claim is accurate, have the potential to illustrate a more general picture of Māori education. Findings from this thesis may contribute to the concept of Ako Māori, "the culturally preferred pedagogy principle" (Pihama et al., 2002, p 37). The findings could have a greater influence on classroom practice than more general, and more widely publicised research findings. Some open generalisations given in Part three have the potential to offer benefits, for example, the identification of effective aspects of schooling might allow today's students and teachers to adapt those generalisations to contribute to their effective learning practices; however, it is not intended that those generalisations will be applicable to all Māori students, or to all schools within Aotearoa-New Zealand.

Retrospective generalisations in Part three may serve as a catalyst of demystification for other Māori people. Demystification is "the change in consciousness that occurs...when they consider their situation in a new light" (Reinharz, 1992, p 192). In this context, generalisations are made in a way that acknowledges readers' tino rangatiratanga. Readers are able to reflect on the stories, apply them to their unique circumstances, make their own generalisations and reach conclusions about their own state of affairs, after considering information shared within this thesis. For example, readers may find congruence between their educational aspirations and experiences, and those expressed by participants. Bishop (1997) acknowledges this role of the researcher who "paints

a picture, potentially facilitating the voice of the research participant to be heard, for others to reflect on" (p 30). Crabtree and Miller (1992) confirm that qualitative researchers...endeavour to construct as thick and detailed a description as possible of his or her particular setting and circumstances so that others who encounter (the) description can determine its possible applicability to their setting and circumstances" (p 245). After reflecting upon their own experiences and considering new information shared within this thesis, readers may come to view their situation from a new perspective, with a transformed understanding. This project's relatability may enable members of similar groups to recognise problems and possibly, to see ways of overcoming difficulties in their own group (Bassey, 1981; Renée, 2003). Therefore, this type of research is potentially "powerful (because) it enables people to change by encouraging self-reflection and a deeper understanding of their particular situations" (Lather, 1991a, p 56). Readers may experience demystification similar to that described by Shultz and Cook-Sather (2001), "Through listening to their words and rethinking our own, we have gained insights that enrich our understanding of both worlds" (p 178).

While the benefits to be gained through this thesis' generalisability and relatability are acknowledged and supported, the uniqueness of the various perspectives expressed in the participants' stories is emphasised, since "much qualitative research is based on the view that multiple realities exist" (Crabtree and Miller, 1992, p 245). The ability to consider multiple perspectives is referred to as 'polyvocality' by Denzin and Lincoln (1994). They, along with Eisner (1998) advocate its suitability for drawing attention to the specifics of particular cases, "rather than reducing all views to a single correct one" (p 49). According to Eisner (1998), polyvocality is also favoured by educational critics because they "see the insights secured from multiple views as more attractive than the comforts provided by a belief in a single right one" (p 35). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) believe that local, small-scale theories fitted to specific situations, will replace "the search for grand narratives" (p 11), (the widely-accepted stories that serve to "maintain the existing systems of privileges and power" [Donmoyer et al., 1995, p 35]). Such small case theories are presented within Part three. In

acknowledging potential benefits of open and retrospective generalisations, this thesis emphasises the uniqueness of the various perspectives expressed in the participants' stories, and acknowledges them as valid and legitimate because, 'He mana tō te kupu o ia tangata' (every person's story is important). Due to the idiosyncrasies that shape people, places and events, generalisations can never provide prescriptions for practice (Donmoyer et al., 1995). Conditions vary significantly within qualitative research contexts, and it is not always possible to relate one given research context to another because there is a great degree of unpredictability that has to do with a "basic truth of human life" (Donmoyer, et al., 1995, p 34). What works in one particular situation might not, in another, "What is effective in one area of the country might be inappropriate in another" (Eisner, 1998, p 204) and the method that proved effective with one group of students may "not necessarily be effective with another group living and working in other situations" (p 209). Therefore, it is worth heeding Eisner's (1998) advice, "Generalisations in education, whether produced through statistical studies or through case studies...(should) be treated as tentative guides, as ideas to be considered, not as prescriptions to follow. 'It all depends' is probably the most useful qualifier to attach to answers to all questions about the efficacy of particular educational methods" (p 209).

### Māori Proposed Models

Various suggestions have been proposed to address Māori concerns about inappropriate research practices, such as Bishop's (1996) areas of Māori concern - 'IRBLA'; Soutar's (2000) Seven-point Māori Oral History Framework; Smith's (1992) Intervention Elements; and Mead's (1996) Ethical Framework based on Māori concepts and language. Bishop's (1996) IBRLA offers a framework for addressing power issues and Māori research concerns. Those five main areas of research concern for Māori are initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability. By addressing the following questions and issues pertaining to each of the major research concerns, Māori can participate in respectful and beneficial research processes that are based on their own cultural aspirations and preferences.

- **Initiation:** Who initiated the research and why? What are the goals? Who set the goals? Who designed the work?
- **Benefits:** What benefits will there be? Who gets the benefits? How will the research benefit Māori? How does the research support Māori aspirations?
- **Representation:** Whose voice is heard? Whose interests, needs and concerns does the text represent? How were the goals established? How were the tasks allocated?
- **Legitimation:** What authority does the text have? Who defines what is accurate, true and complete in a text? Who is going to process the data? What happens to the results?
- **Accountability:** To whom is the researcher accountable? Who will have access to the research findings? Who has control over the distribution of the knowledge?

Soutar's Seven points can raise researchers' awareness of Māori research concerns so that they may work appropriately and effectively with Māori. The seven points are language (consider whether Māori, English or both will be used in interviews); individual group continuum (support for individual and group interviews); location (interviews be carried out in the most appropriate locations including homes, marae and whānau centres); community ownership (community empowerment should be the result of research by the community having ownership of the research process); cultural safety (researchers recognise and respond to participants' cultural realities in ways that are acceptable to participants and their families); interview techniques (being open to whānau participation, using visual and oral prompts, and peer interviewing); and research impacts (through continued consultation with the community concerned, researchers make themselves aware of potential positive and negative research impacts on the community). The six intervention elements that Smith (1992) outlines are tino rangatiratanga (autonomy), mana (authority), iwi (tribal support), whanaungatanga (group responsibility) and manaakitanga (sharing and support). Tino rangatiratanga ensures benefits will be gained by the iwi; that they can initiate research as well as iwi participation in research. Mana ensures

the iwi are represented accurately and they legitimise their own stories. Iwi ensures tribal support for the research. Whanaungatanga ensures their research is deemed legitimate and accountability is focussed on the group. Manaakitanga involves the sharing of control of the research process as well as benefits. Mead's (1996) Ethical Framework recommends "aroha ki te tangata - respect of the people; kanoahi kitea - the seen face, present yourself face to face; titiro, whakarongo, korero - look, listen, speak; manaaki ki te tangata - share and host people, be generous; kua e takahi te mana o te tangata - do not trample on the mana of the people; kia tupato - be cautious, in terms of confidentiality and protection of both researcher and researched; and kua e mahaki - don't flaunt your knowledge as academic institutions encourage you to promote yourself" (p 221). Mead (1996) acknowledges that the recommendations may appear simplistic, "but she argues that these principles are the beginnings of a concerted approach to develop an ethical framework that draws on traditional Māori cultural concepts and language" (Tapine, 2000, p 12). All of the models above are utilised in Part three as analysis tools, and I have chosen Bishop's (1996) IBRLA model as the main framework for addressing power issues and Māori research concerns because it offers guidelines for restructuring research practices and relationships based around the interests, concerns, and cultural preferences of the research community rather than the 'researcher'. For some researchers accustomed to facilitating research focused on achieving their goals from within their own frameworks, IBRLA offers a framework for participating in respectful and mutually beneficial research. In addition, IBRLA offers a framework by which to explain the research process facilitated within this Kaupapa Māori context and provides a means of evaluation that is built into the project as in what constitutes the project. IBRLA aligns with my own ethical guidelines because it advocates considerate and mutually beneficial research practice within Māori contexts.

Some other frameworks which embody and advocate tino rangatiratanga are explained below and will be utilised as tools of analysis in chapter 9 with relation to Māori aspirations and experiences. They are Smith's (1990b) Fundamental

Aspects of Kaupapa Māori, Durie's (2001a) Framework for Considering Māori Educational Advancement Goals, Durie's (2001b) Principles for Education, and Glynn's (1985) Characteristics of Responsive Contexts. According to Smith's Fundamental Aspects of Kaupapa Māori (1990b, pp 2-3), within a Kaupapa Māori base the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted, the survival and revival of Māori language and culture is imperative, the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing, and over our own lives is vital to Māori survival. Durie (2001a) suggests a framework for considering Māori educational advancement goals. They are to live as Māori (reo, culture, resources etc), to actively participate as citizens of the world (contribute), to enjoy good health and a high standard of living, and concurrent goals (pursue all goals, learning for learning's sake). Durie (2001b) also outlines principles for education - the principle of best outcomes (respect for students, relationships between home and school, rejection of failure), the principle of integrated action (co-operation between institutions e.g. home and school and across sectors), and the principle of indigeneity (indigenous people's rights that they may reasonably expect to exercise in modern times). Glynn (1985) suggests characteristics of responsive contexts which are given below

#### Glynn's (1985) Characteristics of Responsive Contexts

1. Initiations by the learner.

Within a variety of contexts learners have some degree of control over their own learning by being able to initiate interactions with others.

2. Activities shared between less-skilled and more-skilled performers.

Less-skilled learners have the opportunity to participate in activities with more-skilled learners with whom they have a positive relationship. The activity is purposeful for both learners.

### 3. Reciprocity and mutual influence.

When two learners interact together in a learning situation the behaviours of both parties is modified and the relationship between both learners is strengthened.

A brief summary of social-cultural philosophies are explained so that Glynn's (1985) Characteristics of Responsive Contexts may allow for a better understanding when related to the experiences of the kaumātua (in Part three). Principles of social-cultural theory were prevalent throughout the social context within which the kaumātua lived and were schooled. According to social-cultural theory, the ways in which a person behaves and thinks is a result of their interactions within the social institutions (for example, school, marae, sports teams) of the culture they grow up in. Vygotsky is credited with first conceiving and developing social-cultural theory (West and Oldfather, 1993). According to Vygotsky (1978), learning is embedded within the social events of their culture. Children's learning is maximised when education experiences incorporate cultural content, reflect cultural values, attitudes, and practices. To Glynn et al. (2005), people come to know and understand the world "especially through their use of language in contextualised social interactions with other people" (p 1). Wenger (1998) puts it succinctly, "We interact with each other and with the world accordingly. In other words, we learn" (p 45). For example, my father likened their village to a large family home where the residents were one large family who ate, played and lived together. Within this environment, they learned skills as a part of their communal lifestyle. Due to social interactions providing a basis for learning new skills and developing skills previously acquired, relationships between people is a crucial ingredient in social-cultural theory's recipe for learning. Bishop et al' (2003) explain that positive relationships between students and teachers are crucial to students' 'success' at school. Penetito (2004) advises, "The most important influence on Māori students at school is the face to face interaction with their teacher". Oldfather and Thomas (1998) acknowledge, "Learning takes place through reciprocity between the individual and the social

context (Vygotsky, 1978), including the family and the larger culture” (Oldfather and Thomas, 1998, p 3).

### Summary

Kaupapa Māori theory has developed out of Māori people’s harmful experiences with research. Māori concerns about research can be effectively addressed through Kaupapa Māori research because it emanates from a Māori world view where Māori language, knowledge, culture and values are normal, valid and legitimate...where to be Māori is to be normal, and where full recognition of Māori culture and value systems is given (Smith, 1997; Reid, 1998; Bishop et al., 2003). The philosophies of Kaupapa Māori theory underpin this thesis. It supports my close involvement with participants as a means of sharing power, dispelling distance, supporting personal disclosure and providing accurate representation of participants’ stories. Because of the acceptance of Māori as normal rather than other, and the acceptance of my inside objectivity, the kaumātua and mokopuna were able to participate as Māori. Māori models have also been developed to assist researchers facilitate appropriate Kaupapa Māori research. Chapter 3 explains the appropriateness of the chosen methodology and method for this Kaupapa Māori context and how they too can allow Māori people to participate as Māori, and facilitate the sharing of intensely personal thoughts, emotions and experiences.

## **Chapter 3 – Methodology and Research Method**

This chapter gives details about the methodology and research method. Information pertaining to the characteristics and aims of qualitative research is given as well as explanations about the suitability of utilising appropriate aspects of qualitative research within this research context. Discussions pertaining to narrative inquiry and interviews as conversations with kaumātua, tamariki and groups of participants are presented to explain their suitability for use within this Māori research context. Furthermore, detailed explanations are given to show how features of narrative inquiry and interviews as conversations such as the facilitation of purposefully relaxed yet focused, in-depth yet semi-structured conversations were utilised to develop and eventually present participants' stories.

### **Qualitative Research**

Qualitative research is concerned with gaining a detailed understanding of people and the social and cultural contexts within which they live, from the perspective of the interacting individual (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Myers, 1997; Denscombe, 1998). Qualitative researchers rely on the collection of qualitative data such as words and stories (as opposed to numerical, statistical data) to allow them to gain understanding of the studied phenomenon. A central philosophy of qualitative research is that in order to directly capture lived experience, researchers need to study things in their natural settings (Casebeer and Verhoef, 1997; Fryer, 1991, cited in Matveev, 2002, p 60). Some writers (Sagan, 1997; Einstein; cited in Heshusius, 1994) criticise qualitative research and claim that qualitative techniques only allow researchers to gain a surface understanding of phenomena. According to Sagan (1997), "If you know a thing only qualitatively, you know it no more than vaguely. If you know it quantitatively – grasping some numerical measure... you are beginning to know it deeply...Being afraid of quantification is tantamount to...giving up on one of the most potent prospects for understanding and changing the world" (p 23). Einstein has described qualitative research as a soft science seeking a somatic knowing that is likened to "love, enchantment and

being in love" (cited in Heshusius, 1994, p 17). Mateev (2002) favours quantitative techniques because they "ensure high levels of reliability of gathered data" (p 59). While some knowledge is secured through scientific experiment, it is not the only approach. According to Kozerawska and Kovatcheva (n.d.), "Both qualitative and quantitative research methods can provide valuable contribution to scientific knowledge". The particular approach should be chosen depending on which is more likely to provide a more comprehensive, complete description of the phenomenon. Similarly, Casebeer and Verhoef (1997) believe it is more useful "to see qualitative and quantitative methods as part of a continuum of research techniques, all of which are appropriate depending on the research objective (p 4). Crabtree and Miller (1992) agree that both quantitative and qualitative methods are equally 'scientific' and 'rigorous' but via different routes" (p 176). They consider qualitative techniques essential because "quantitative measures often wash out the gestalt and richness of data derived from qualitative sources" (p 233).

Many Māori researchers (Johnston, 1998; Smith, 1999; Cram et al., 2004) support the incorporation of a range of methodologies within the overall framework of Kaupapa Māori research. Smith (1999) refers to it as a process of Indigenising Western Methodologies, "Kaupapa Māori weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values (and) Western ways of knowing" (p 191). Cram et al., (2004) explain, "A Kaupapa Māori approach does not exclude the use of a wide range of methods, but rather signals the integration of methods in relation to cultural sensitivity, cross-cultural reliability (and) useful outcomes for Māori". To Metge (2001), there are no "hard-and-fast directives" for working in Māori settings (p 9), but "flexible adaptation of practice to suit particular contexts" (p 45). Crabtree and Miller (1992) also support the utilisation of a "multiplicity of strategies" in order to enhance the believability and trustworthiness of findings" (p 246). In this thesis, a narrative inquiry approach through the use of semi-structured interviews as conversations has been utilised within a Kaupapa Māori framework so that we have the opportunity to understand Māori educational aspirations and how individuals – kaumātua and their mokopuna experienced a phenomenon -

past and present school systems. It also seeks to gain a deep understanding of their experiences by finding out which aspects of those schools systems they deemed effective and assisted the realisation of aspirations. It aligns with Robson's (2002) description of phenomenological research (a major qualitative approach), which "focuses on the subjective experience of the individuals studied. What is their experience like? How can one understand and describe what happens to them from their own point of view?" (p 195). 'Qualitative' research has to do with finding certain qualities, which make us strong and unique (Jackson, 1998) - they are facets of the participants' personalities and characters, which have been explored and documented within their stories. The appropriateness of incorporating other methodologies is evident in the following whakatauki,

Ahakoā he iti taku iti  
He iti nō roto i te kōpua kanapanapa

Although some aspects of Western methodology have been utilised  
They come from the vast pool of research methodology.

### **Narrative Inquiry**

Narrative inquiry has a long intellectual history both within and outside of educational contexts. It involves participants telling stories to convey their thoughts, beliefs and knowledge about particular situations, and offers opportunities to understand how human beings deal with experience by constructing stories and listening to the stories of others (Myers, 1997). The process of narrative inquiry is often appropriate for use in Maori contexts because it addresses Maori concerns about research in a number of ways. Firstly, narrative inquiry enables participants to tell, retell and relive their stories in the language and context that is culturally appropriate to them, rather than having one imposed upon them (Bishop, 1996). Secondly, there is no 'other' within this process. All are participants who bring with them their own realities so that we can gain understanding from the perspectives of the interacting individuals. Narrative inquiry is appropriate for Māori who have a strong traditional oral base, where "tradition is represented by marae etiquette and oratory, and oral literature

and history" (Gadd, 1976, p 8). Great credence was given to the spoken word which was regarded as the food of chiefs, 'Ko te kai a te rangatira, he kōrero'. The importance of oral traditions for Māori people was, and still is an important means of preserving genealogies, tribal histories, tikanga and knowledge (Gadd, 1976; Whakarewarewa 75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee Organising Committee, 1978; Metge, 1993; Hutching, 1993; Soutar, 2000). Metge (1983) tells us that within traditional whare wānanga, tōhunga (expert) instructed selected taura (students) who gained knowledge by hearing information, often repeating then memorising it. Hutching (1993) confirms, "The narratives and descriptions of people and events in the past that have been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation...This type of evidence is particularly relevant in...Māori whakapapa and traditions" (p 2). According to Royal (1992), "Knowledge was passed down from parents and elders to children in informal and formal learning situations by vocal expression" (pp 20-21). Because oral tradition has served Māori society since its beginnings, "Māori consider the oral tradition to be *the* historical tradition" (Royal, 1992, p 21). According to Royal (1992), words are greatly significant because they have great value and are expressions of people's souls,

I ngā rā o mua e mana ana te kupu. Ko te kupu te  
kaiwhakaari i te wairua o te tangata. Kei roto i te  
wairua ko te pūtake o te whakaaro. Ko te pūāwaitanga  
o te whakaaro ko te kōrero.

Royal, 1992, p 5.

Narrative inquiry was therefore highly suitable for use within this project because most of the participants were Māori. Furthermore, stories allow "an incredibly personal and multi-faceted insight into the situation being discussed" (Gray, 1998, p 2).

### Storytelling

According to Bishop and Glynn (1999), "Cultural preferences for story as a medium of education is widespread, not only among Māori and Polynesian cultures, but among indigenous cultures generally" (p 180). It makes sense therefore, that people whose traditions are based in oral history "have a different

relationship to speaking a story than do those for whom legitimate knowledge (i.e., 'legal truth') is dependent upon the written word" (Haig-Brown, 2003, p 417), and "Māori culture, far more than Pākehā culture, is a culture of the spoken word" (Gadd, 1976, p 7). For Māori, storytelling is a method of "passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further" (Smith, 1999, pp 144-5). Bishop (1996) suggests that narrative inquiry addresses the concern of researcher power because "the storyteller maintains the power to define what constitutes the story and the truth and the meaning it has for them" (p 25). Selby (1999) describes storytelling as "A WONDERFUL ART and skill which is admired throughout the world. Within many cultures there is a time and a place for a good yarn and for storytelling. In many indigenous cultures storytelling is used to enhance memory skills, to teach, to entertain and to record history" (p 63). Solomon's first nation's people traditionally educated their young through experience and storytelling (cited in Antone, 2000, p 94). Cole (1990) reveals the importance of story in his Wolf clan where the story is more important than the words; it is the performance of the story, involving the speaker and the listener. Parsonson (2001), Cole (1998) and Te Hennepe (1993) confirm that other indigenous people passed down histories, beliefs and knowledge by means of stories, "Storying is a traditional cultural practice preferred by indigenous people for the maintenance and legitimation of their own knowledge" (Cole 1998, Te Hennepe, 1993, cited in Barnard and Glynn, 2003, p 38). Gray (1998) informs us that participants often speak in story form during interviews which the researcher will hear by listening and attempting to understand. Bell (1999) asserts, "Storytelling can be structured in such a way as to produce valid research findings (p 16). Gray (1998) agrees that stories may be collected "as a form of data collection, or as a means of structuring a research project" (p 1).

In many instances, the verbal transmission of knowledge is preferential to that which is written since it often conveys information not able to be expressed or revealed in written form. Binney (2001) is certain that "the narratives had illuminated a world that could not be recovered any other way" (p 90). Coles

(1989) too is of the opinion that only through stories can we fully enter another person's life. Also, Bell (1999) argues that through stories, people of other ethnicities get a chance to view the world from the perspective of another culture, "One of the major strengths...is the ability to allow readers who do not share a cultural background similar to either the storyteller or the researcher to develop an understanding of motives and consequences of actions described within a story format" (p 17). Connelly and Clandinin (1990) have argued that the best way to capture people's lives on paper is in story form. Bruner (1986) also believes that human activity and experience, filled with meaning, are best communicated through stories (Bruner, 1986). While those writers above and others (such as Royal, 1992; Hutching, 1993; Bishop, 1996; Selby, 1999; Smith, 1999; Soutar, 2000; Simon, 2001) acknowledge narrative inquiry and storytelling as valid techniques of qualitative data collection, "storytelling...is not considered a legitimate form of discourse by academicians" (Donmoyer et al., 1995, p 76) and some historians "dismiss tape-recorded oral testimonies as acceptable sources of evidence" (Hutching, 1993, p 57). To Binney (2001), until recently, published history has failed "to enter into other ways of seeing, and...respect the integrity, and the purposes, of oral accounts" (p 80). The validity of narrative inquiry is also questioned because of discrepancies between oral and written evidence, however, Hutching (1993) believes "this can be viewed in a positive light and seem as a strength, in that it allows the original multiplicity of viewpoints about an event or issue to be reconstructed, and may reveal debate about an issue which the documentary evidence does not disclose" (p 59). Further opposition to narrative inquiry is highlighted by Bell (1999) who explains that close relationships with participants are necessary for narrative inquiry, but such relationships "can make the researcher (and participant) particularly vulnerable" (p 18).

Negative attitudes towards the verbal transmission of knowledge have had a detrimental effect on its use and proliferation. To Witherall and Noddings (1991), "Adults, like children, are natural storytellers, though they have often learned to suppress their urge to tell stories as a way of knowing because of the theory of knowledge based on 'objectivity and generalizability' that is so dominant within

the Western world" (p 3). Consequently, we are losing the skills of storytelling and the patience to listen, "We often remember parts of stories and our families sometimes don't have the patience to listen to us tell our same stories over again" (Selby, 1999, p 2). With some of the younger generations' impatience to listen, some of our elders have become more reluctant to share their stories. Therefore, it is appropriate that the process of narrative inquiry is recognised and utilised in this project, as is the unique position of kaumātua as repositories of specialised knowledge, so that we do "not lose the art of storytelling, or of writing down true stories...storytelling (is) an art our tūpuna knew well" (Selby, 1999, p 65). As well, Royal (1992) cautions, "We must not allow the oral tradition to erode even further" (p 22). Narrative inquiry and storytelling align with Kaupapa Māori research because it acknowledges the tino rangatiratanga of every participant, who "maintains the power to define what constitutes the story and the truth and the meaning it has for them" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p 178).

The skills of verbal transmission of knowledge and the art form of storytelling were practiced and legitimised in this study, through the vehicle of narrative inquiry. The verbal transmission of knowledge through narrative inquiry was an integral part of this project because it involved conversations with kaumātua and their mokopuna to investigate past and present school related aspirations and experiences. Perhaps Simon and Smith (2001) would consider narrative inquiry suitable for use in this project because it allows us access to oral testimonies, which provide "a rich source of knowledge and added new insights into the Native Schools system that enrich our understanding about education" (p 300). Knowledge gained from those conversations is presented as narratives in chapter 6, so others not privy to the conversations may enjoy them, which is in accordance with Royal's (1992) advice "to remember that the tāonga that you as a researcher, may now sustain belongs to the people...As other people have shared with you, so you must share with them" (p 85). This project adds to a growing body of literature that legitimises the verbal transfer of knowledge since

Tā te rangatira  
Tana kai he kōrero  
Tā te ware  
Tana kai he muhukai

Speech is the food of a chief  
The ignorant person is inattentive

cited in Ryan, 1983, p 135.

### Individual Perspectives

Bishop (1996) explains that narrative inquiry is suitable for use in Maori contexts as it addresses the central concerns of representation and legitimation by presenting truths and enabling all participants to talk their truths, rather than the 'official' versions which have masked Maori reality, "Story as a research approach...opens up the complexity of human experience and the multiplicity of reflected interpretations where none is privileged, absolutist or authoritative beyond the sense in which it can be contextually verifiable" (pp 25-26). Also, "Stories allow diversities of truth to be heard, rather than just one dominant version" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p 177). The value of narrative is that the living individual forms its core (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Myers, 1997; Ah Nee-Benham, 1997). Those individuals "can reveal memories that reflect the strengths, weaknesses, and potential of the human soul" (Ah Nee-Benham, 1997, p 78). The opportunity for individuals to share their stories of the same event (for example, experiences within Native Schools) is important because "there are multiple constructions or diverse perceptions of the same phenomena" (Oldfather and Thomas, 1998, p 4). Renée (2003) justifies the need to include several individual perspectives because "others...might have just the opposite kind of memory. For instance, I am one of three. We all had the same mother. But our experiences of her are all different" (p 15). Some similarities between participants' stories are evident; nevertheless, we are privy to unique accounts of individual's educational aspirations and experiences.

### Multiple Perspectives

Narrative inquiry and storytelling also address the issue of power because "stories allow the diversities of truth to be heard, rather than just one dominant one"

(Bishop, 1996, p 24). In resisting grand narratives and emphasising polyvocality, narrative inquiry is a fitting method of qualitative data collection. To Bishop (1996), "Narrative inquiry is aimed at uncovering the many experiences and 'voice' of the participants, emphasising complexities rather than commonalities" (p 24), where each person's 'realities' are accepted and explored. Grewal and Kaplan (1994) warn against the dangers of creating master narratives, "Unless we begin to take seriously what indigenous voices can bring to our understandings, we are in danger of establishing new, flawed master narratives that lead to continued impoverished theory" (cited in Haig-Brown, 1998, p 107). In traditional research many Maori have been voiceless. Freire (1996) asserts that everyone has the right to speak for themselves, and "saying that word is not the privilege of some few persons, but the right of everyone. Consequently, no one can say a true word alone-nor can she say it *for* another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words" (p 69). Penetito (1997) agrees that Māori must tell their own stories, create their own images, and listen to their own voices (p 57). To Gray (1998), "Narratives allow voice to the researcher, the participants and to cultural groups and in this sense they have the ability to develop a decidedly political and powerful edge" (p 1). Beckett (2001) agrees, "The 'voice' of an indigenous person is in a sense political, whatever the content" (Beckett, 2001, p 124), as does Tuhiwai-Smith (2004) who says, Kaupapa Māori research cannot be politically neutral. Within this project, "the person who has long been silenced in the research relationship has the time and space to tell their story" (Bishop, 1999, p 42). We have recorded the stories of people "previously denied the chance to contribute to the recording of history" (Fyfe and Manson, 1989, p 1) and "a period in our history which will be forgotten if it is not recorded" (Selby, 1999, p 3) to expose different historical experiences and consciousness within New Zealand, to display different memories, and allow and equality of perceptions" (Binney, 2001). This project fulfils what Fyfe and Manson (1989) identify as a "purpose of oral history...to create a record where none exists or to supplement existing records for future researchers" (p 1).

### Māori Women's Voices

This project records Māori voices, in particular the voices of women. According to Royal (1992), "A tremendous amount of oral literature was created by women. Examples of these taonga that exist today include karanga and waiata written by women" (p 41). Walker (1990) agrees that women were respected for their knowledge. With reference to Maui he said that "his kuia, the female ancestors above him in the line of descent from the gods, were the repositories of knowledge" (p 17). In spite of Māori women's significant contribution to oral literature, they have been written out of history and repositioned as 'distant and passive old crones whose presence in the "story" was to add interest to an otherwise male adventure" (Smith, 1992, cited in Walker, 1996, p 80). Te Awekotuku (1994) agrees, "What I believe has happened in the last 200 years is the reduction of the female voice" (cited in Walker, 1996, p 80). An example where Māori women have been literally written out of history is evident in Reed's (1950) account of the discovery of Aotearoa-New Zealand. Reed names the great Māori explorer Kupe and his companion Ngahue, yet fails to name Hine te Aparangi, wife of Kupe, even though the role she played in the discovery was crucial. In Māori oral accounts, Kupe is said to have seen Aotearoa in a dream, yet Hine te Aparangi is credited as being the first person to physically sight Aotearoa, upon which she cried in excitement, "He ao, he ao!" (Clouds/land). Although the name by which this country is known, Aotearoa-New Zealand originates from Hine te Aparangi's expression, few people are familiar with that story, and an even smaller number know Hine te Aparangi's name. (According to some accounts, Kupe's wife's name is Kuramarotini [Tiki, 2003]). With regard to Māori land court hearings, "it seem(ed) that senior women were seldom called on, though there were women of great mana...and knowledge, widely recognised as such, who might have spoken" (Parsonson, 2001, p 24). Sommer (1998) revealed that marginalisation of indigenous women was also the case for Latin American women. She acknowledged that their life stories existed but they were relatively isolated and ignored. Donmoyer (et al., 1995) and Boler (1999) claim that the exclusion of women from the production of knowledge is not a recent occurrence, and that women's experience has been historically ignored and

discounted. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) also acknowledge the missing female voices as the “missing picture” (p 580). Lynch (1990) on the other hand, notes that female experience has been explained but only to compare it “against theories derived from male experience” (cited in Donmoyer et al., 1995, p 195). Similarly Casey (1995/6) says that female voices have been included, and “the problem, after all, is not with the voices that speak but with the ears that do not hear” (p 223).

This project honours the voices of women. It is appropriate to acknowledge the unique perspectives of women since 5 of the 7 kaumātua voices within this project belong to women. We are grateful that they have shared their stories and given “special voice to the feminine side of human experience – to the power of emotion, intuition, and relationships in human lives” (Witherall and Noddings, 1991, p 4). The recording of their stories as well as those of the koroua is necessary because “storytelling, oral histories, the perspectives of elders and of women have become an integral part of all indigenous research” (Smith, 1999, p 144). New voices have emerged in this study including those of Māori women. As well, the voices of another group of people who are often overlooked have emerged – the mokopuna. While we can learn from the experience and wisdom of our kaumātua, we can also learn from the optimism and contemporary views of our youngsters, “Students have much to teach us” (Oldfather, 1993, p 9). Although the voices of Māori, Māori women and youngsters may have been disregarded in the past, within these pages their voices are significant and cherished. Far from being disregarded, the stories of our kaumātua, rangatahi and tamariki have been amplified through narrative inquiry and interviews as conversations.

### **Interviews as Conversations**

According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), “Qualitative investigators think they can get closer to the actor’s perspective through detailed interviewing and observation” (p 5). Throughout the process of narrative inquiry, we used

sequential, in-depth, semi-structured interviews as conversations within our whānau of interest to explore and document past and present educational aspirations and experiences. From these interviews as conversations have emerged stories about schooling within Te Arawa that draw upon the educational aspirations and experiences of the participants and the meanings they construct about their experiences. Sequential, in-depth, semi-structured interviews as conversations align with our aims of finding out about "the day-to-day reality, struggles, concerns and dreams" (Bartolomé, 1994, p 176). They are an effective method of studying things peculiar to certain cultures, and the way people feel about various issues, because within this type of interview, "respondents provide answers and give accounts of their lives in terms of their understanding of the settings in which they are located... (In this way) gender, race, class and other types of power relations are conveyed" (Van Manen, 1990, p 10). Narrative material derived from semi-structured interviews "may serve as a resource for developing a richer and deeper understanding" (p 66).

Interviews as conversations are purposefully relaxed yet focused; in-depth yet semi-structured. According to Bell (1999), interviews that are relaxed and focused allow participants "a considerable degree of latitude within the framework" (p 138), where they have the freedom to speak in their own voices, about topics that are of central significance to them rather than the interviewer. They are flexible enough to follow the lead of the 'interviewee' while not losing sight of the project's focus. Some structure is still required however, "to ensure all topics which are considered crucial to the study are covered" (Bell, 1999, p 138). Moll et al., (1992) consider this type of interview beneficial. They "learned much more with a greater breadth of knowledge because (the focus was) not narrow ... (they went) in with an open mind-not prejudging-being totally receptive to everything you hear and see" (p 137). It differs to Fyfe and Manson's (1989) position that "ultimately, good research ensures control of the interview" because researcher control over the interview "can help avoid wasting time and ensure that the interview has a context and purpose" (p 4). In-depth interviews as conversations maintain a relaxed yet focused tone, while allowing participants to

speak in-depth about topics and issues that are significant to them in order to provide a holistic understanding of the interviewee's point of view (Patton, 1990). In practical terms, "the researcher...encourages the subject to talk in the area of interest and then probes more deeply, picking up on the topics and issues the respondent initiates" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998, p 95). Deeper probing in areas initiated by "the respondent" contributes to creating a narrative that places emphasis on issues considered significant to the participants. It allows us to gain access to what a person knows, values and believes (Tuckman, 1972), and "enter the other person's perspective" (Patton, 1987, p 109).

### Conversation-like

Interviews as conversations differ from other more rigidly structured interviews where the researcher asks participants a list of questions and records their 'answers', in that interviews as conversations are normally just "a purposeful conversation (usually between two people)...in order to get information" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998, p 93). The aim of these types of interviews is to "elicit the respondent's views and experiences in his or her own terms" (Anderson, et al., 1994, p 55). Interviews as conversations allow us to gain access to the core of participants' thoughts and experiences, "which they then reveal through their own narratives" (Eisner, 1998, p 14). Crabtree and Miller (1992) describe interviews as conversations as "guided, concentrated, focused, and open-ended communication events that are co-created by the investigator and the interviewee" (p 16). Like a good conversation, the participants are at ease and talk freely about their points of view. Through dialogue participants listen to each other, and how, when, and what one says depends upon what the other has said" (Eisner, 1998, p 170). These conversations "connect us to each other and help us to maintain caring relations" (Noddings, 1996, p 164). While some writers (Patton; 1987; Fyfe and Manson, 1989; Cohen and Manion, 1994; Bogdan and Biklen, 1998) perceive interviews as conversations primarily as a means of gaining information, within Kaupapa Māori research, interviews as conversations are a necessary part of the research process, but insufficient if unaccompanied by the negotiation of conversation initiation and negotiation of meaning. A major flaw

with the previous view is that power is still maintained in the hands of the researcher, and participants are seen as mere informants – a data source. As supporters of collaborative research (such as Kaupapa Māori research), Bishop (2005), Smith (1999), Lather (1991), Mishler (1986), and Crabtree and Miller (1992) emphasise that power must be positioned within the hands of the research group. They acknowledge that the negotiation of initiation and negotiation of meaning is crucial.

### Negotiation of Research Questions

“What we come to see depends upon what we seek”

Eisner, 1998, p 46.

“Questions always imply answers”

Spradley, 1979, p 83.

Semi-structured interviews as conversations allow the (lead) researcher to accurately represent participants' views more easily than other more rigidly structured interviews. During structured interviews there is little freedom to discuss topics the 'interviewee' considers important if they do not align with the researcher's focus. The researcher poses a series of narrowly-focused, pre-determined questions that often intentionally lead participants to give a particular response because “the researcher's questions will frame the respondent's answer” (Crabtree and Miller, 1992, p 85). Myers (1997) agrees that questions posed to participants largely determine the information given from participants. This view contravenes Kaupapa Māori philosophies of shared control because the power to influence topics of conversations and the depth to which those topics are explored remains in the hands of the researcher instead of the participants. According to Eisner (1998) and Spradley (1979), information gained from conversations depends largely upon themes and lead in questions put to the participants. Similarly, Hutching (1993) says, “Questions for a topic-based interview need to be carefully designed so that the required information is uncovered in the interview” (p 2). Therefore, careful consideration was given to the preparation of thesis themes and questions. During conversations with kaumātua advising me to “do a

study on their Native School”, I paid close attention to the topics they offered and included them as prompts in the form of themes and lead in questions to help generate discussion. In this way, those who initiated the project also framed the interview themes and questions. Needless to say, our discussions were not limited to suggested themes and questions; every conversation was a unique journey where participants travelled to a variety of places of interest, some planned, some unplanned, all destinations and journeys enjoyed. Crabtree and Miller (1992) advise, “Questions, probes, and prompts are written in the form of a flexible interview guide” (p 16).

Well before the first conversation, participants were given written information about the project which included some major themes and lead in questions for the conversations to help prompt memories, focus thinking and motivate participants. Lead in questions for the kaumātua and mokopuna differed. They are listed within those respective sections (that is, ‘Interviews as Conversations with Kaumātua’ and ‘Interviews as Conversations with Youngsters’). The major themes included in the written information for participants were

- Experiences at Native Schools and today’s schools
- Māori educational aspirations
- Histories surrounding the establishment and operation of each Native School
- Relationships with other pupils and teachers
- Community involvement and special occasions
- Curriculum
- The place for Māori language in participants’ schooling (if at all)
- The place for Māori language in participants’ homes (if at all)
- Virtues of the Native and present school systems

Consultation with participants and careful consideration of research themes and lead in questions is vital to help fulfil mutually determined research goals, and gain significant information from interview sessions. Cohen (1976) likens the interview process to fishing because they are both activities that require careful

preparation, patience, and a great deal of practice if the reward is to be a worthwhile catch.

### 'Quality' Conversations

Rather than considering interview conditions that gain 'quality information', emphasis is placed on 'quality' conversations, which for the purpose of this thesis are defined as those that encourage and allow the negotiation of meaning between research participants, locate power within the hands of the research group, and "provide an environment that invites participants' critical reactions to our accounts of their worlds" (Lather, 1991a, p 64). The quality of relationship between research participants affects considerably whether quality conversations can occur (Fyfe and Manson, 1989; Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Morris et al., 1992; Reinhartz, 1992; Heshusius, 1994; Bell, 1999; Bishop, 2005). According to Bell (1999), it is highly unlikely that intimate information will be shared "until a trusting relationship has developed between researcher and storyteller (p 18). Similarly, Morris et al., (1992) consider good rapport between the lead researcher and "the person being interviewed" to be of highest importance, so that the interview can occur "in a manner which will encourage the interviewee to talk about their lives" (p 15). Fyfe and Manson (1989) also consider that "the most successful interview will result when there has been a good relationship between the interviewer and interviewee" (p 2). As well as trusting relationships between participants, quality conversations depend on effective communication, such as the participants listening to each other, and their ability to interpret each other's non-verbal language. Cook-Sather (2002b) informs us that "most power relationships have no place for listening and actively do not tolerate it because it is very inconvenient" (p 8). However, the importance of effective listening in interview situations is emphasised by Dobbert (1982), "The question is not, how do you talk to an informant? But how do you listen to an informant?" (p 118). According to Metge and Kinloch (1978), effective communication "depends on both parties listening to what the other is really saying, not reading *our* meaning into *their* words or actions" (p 47). Although it was stated earlier that successful

interviews as conversations transpire in ways similar to a typical conversation, to Bogdan and Biklen (1998), "In some ways the qualitative interviewing is not like a typical conversation. Too often people involved in conversations do not concentrate intensely on what the other person is saying...Good interviewing involves deep listening" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1998, p 96).

Effective communication often implies verbal communication; however, equally as important are non-verbal modes of communication because sometimes "silence and body language dominate the conversation" (Noddings, 1991, p 162). Bell (1999) suggests, "The way in which a response is made (the tone of voice, facial expression, hesitation, etc.) can provide information that a written response would conceal" (p 135). The information is more likely to be recognised if the lead researcher is fluent with, and is correctly able to interpret participants' non-verbal signals. Metge and Kinloch's (1978) research shows that "Māoris... emphasise 'body language' more and verbalisation less than Pakehas (p 10), resulting in a great deal of misinterpretation. They state further, "Pakehas...define communication primarily in terms of verbal expression (and) typically find Māoris...unresponsive and 'hard to talk to', all the while they themselves are failing to pick up much of the communication directed their way because they are 'listening' with their ears instead of their eyes" (p 10).

Quality conversations can also be influenced by equipment and prompts (for example, photographs). Royal (1992) advises researchers to "always use the best equipment...Do not settle for poor quality" (p 44). He adds, that with the "right equipment you can obtain a portrait, whereas poor-quality equipment will provide only a snapshot" (p 46). Within this project, photos were most often and most effectively used with kaumātua to help stimulate memories and discussions. Binney (2001) also found that photographs "spurred people to discuss their knowledge with us" (p 83). Some participants produced their own certificates, newspaper clippings and old text books from family collections to help tell their story. (Photograph sources are acknowledged within each photo caption.) We were privileged to have their permission to include copies of those tāonga within

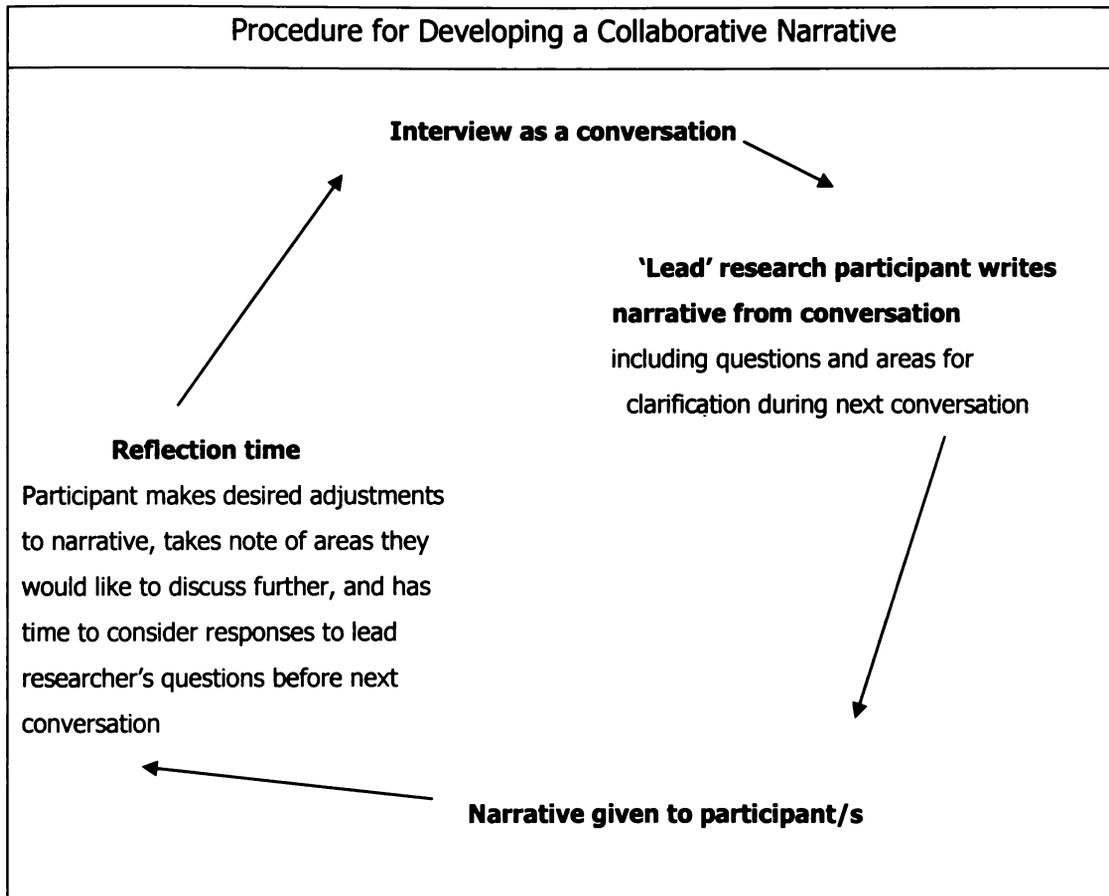
Part two, where they can be appreciated by others. Binney (2001) considers the use of photographs beneficial, "We found that the photographs unlocked memory...The photographs conveyed a past which had not died in either individual or collective memory... (It) "was as if we were bringing the tipuna to visit" (p 83).

### Negotiation of Meaning

In accordance with the methodology previously explained, our whānau of interest participated in a series of sequential, semi-structured interviews as conversations based on mutual respect, participatory consciousness, and commitment to the outcomes of the research project. The collaborative stories are the results. Lather (1991a) suggests that sequential interviews facilitate collaboration, deeper probing of research issues and work toward reciprocity.

The "Kōrero Tahī" (speaking together) procedure described by Metge (2001) aligns with the collaborative type of conversations that took place within this project, where conversations occurred in places "that (were) comfortable and empowering to all participants in a discussion...where none feel disadvantaged or intimidated by rules, words or actions they do not understand, and where all are accorded equal dignity and respect" (p 6). Our interviews as conversations took place at venues chosen by participants, such as their homes, marae and the homes of their relatives to ensure the participants were comfortable and at ease. Some kaumātua also returned to their former school to reminisce and prompt memories. Metge explains further that the process of Kōrero Tahī acknowledges that every participant contributes to the overall success of the discussion by their unique contribution. Gadd (1976) acknowledges that "the kind of talking together characteristic of Māori culture is far more an interaction of personalities than is the usual casual conversation of much Pākehā human contact" (p 7). Kōrero Tahī is similar to Walsham's (1993) "ideal speech situations" where straightforward, undistorted communication takes place, and "recognition of the authentic right of each participant to participate in the dialogue as an autonomous and equal partner" (pp 11-12).

The duration of our interview sessions varied from conversation to conversation, but on average, lasted about an hour and a half each. The diagram below shows the process that applied to most situations in this project and outlines how our interviews as conversations became a collaborative narrative. As the time for each interview varied, so too did the number of conversations, however, the process was repeated approximately three times with each participant.



After the initial interview as a conversation had taken place I wrote the first narrative from the tape recorded conversations (with prior approval from participants). I highlighted parts of the conversation that I did not fully understand; I also jotted down additional questions and thoughts that arose from the conversation. The text was then given to the participants to read, check for accuracy and (if they desired) note the topics they wanted to discuss further. Participants also had time to consider responses to the questions that were posed within the text and draw inferences from the interviews. Participants' additions

and responses to the questions were addressed at the beginning of our next conversation which helped us to engage in a process of critical reflection and build on the previous discussion. The above process was repeated following the next conversation. During my first interview as a conversation with my father, he stressed the necessity to employ this process when I was probing for deeper understanding, "One thing you have to realise is that you don't get all of your answers from one session. We listen to it and then we go back and explain things better and talk about things we didn't discuss previously. This first interview is just to get us going. It is like being in a car that wants to merge into the line of traffic. At the moment we're still on the side of the road" (Raureti, 2002, personal communication). Mishler (1986) describes the process as the interviewer and respondent jointly constructing the discourse of the interview in an attempt to make continuing sense of what they are saying to each other. Bishop (2005) supports the development of collaborative stories because they "go beyond an approach that simply focuses on the cooperative sharing of experiences and focus on connectedness, engagement and involvement with the other research participants" (p 116). Oldfather and West (1994) suggest that collaborative methods of inquiry allow those who have traditionally been the 'researched' to assume more active roles.

From this process our whānau of interest collaboratively gave meaning to, and gained meaning from the conversations whereby a variety of topics were discussed and revisited in order to "mutually negotiate meaning" (Lather, 1991a). We worked together toward our common goal of creating a collaborative narrative. Through the process explained above, participants have been able to "transform their own experience into a public form called text, which, when artfully crafted, allows us to participate in another way of life (Eisner, 1998, p 22).

### **Interviews as Conversations with Kaumātua**

Within many cultures, Māori especially, is the belief that elderly people are to be respected because of their accumulated years of vast experience and wisdom.

Indeed, one of the most positive attributes commonly associated with kaumātua is their years of experience and developed wisdom (Berger, 1994; Westheimer and Kaplan, 1998; Hemara, 2000; Bird and Drewery, 2000). With reference to the elderly, Bird and Drewery (2000) explain, "With their greater age and accumulated wisdom they are accorded the greatest respect, or mana, which a long life, well lived deserves" (p 230). In Māori contexts, knowledge was usually passed down from elders to the young generation by means of storytelling, "Traditionally it was grandparents and other elderly relatives who bore the major responsibilities for the care and education of the younger children, and storytelling was one of their main methods" (Metge and Kinloch, 1978, p 37). Similarly, Royal (1992) reports, "Knowledge was passed down from parents and elders to children in informal and formal learning situations by vocal expression" (p 20). He also explains that learning from one's elders "maintains the knowledge in its true tribal and family context. Furthermore, elders can explain to the learner how to deal with certain pieces of historical information, the sensitivities to observe, which material should be talked about and which should be kept in the home environment" (p 39). Perhaps New Zealand's council of education research and the ministry of education is not convinced of Māori grandparents' influence over the education of their mokopuna because some of their policy and research focuses on parents' influence via the nuclear family structure (for example, Ramsay et al., 1993; McKinley and Else, 2002), however, their ten year plan, Ngā Huarahi Arataki: Pathways to the Future, acknowledges the important role played by kaumātua in Māori Early Childhood Education (ECE) services. Their "2012 target will be introduced in a way that preserves the role of kaumātua in Māori and centre-based training in ECE services" (Thoms, 2002). Within this context, elders are respected for their ability to reflect on a lifetime of experiences and developed wisdom, from which we may be fortunate enough to learn. Many kaumātua are considered repositories of knowledge and cultural values, or as Westheimer and Kaplan (1998) say, "Reservoirs of family wisdom" (p 55). Hemara (2000) agrees that many kaumātua are "considered a vast information resource (whose) wisdom and reflection were considered essential to the teaching of practical and social skills along with underpinning esoteric and ethical

principles" (p 43). In turn, kaumātua play a vital role of passing on crucial information to subsequent generations. Westheimer and Kaplan (1998) note, "Perhaps the oldest of all roles for grandparents is that of the teacher, passing on the knowledge and experiences they've gained during their lives (p 67).

Some literature pertaining to the influence of elders within the lives of their grandchildren in the United States of America differs to literature focused on kaumātua in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Gardner (1991) acknowledges that grandparents within the United States of America play an important role in the education of their grandchildren, but Westheimer and Kaplan (1998) point out that it is more a feature of the past than the present, and that "grandparents and other elders were great repositories of wisdom and life experience for the younger generations...before formal education became widespread in the United States and elsewhere in the world" (p 67). During a public address on National Grandparents' Day (1979), President of the United States, Jimmy Carter acknowledged the significant role that elders play in preserving cultural practices, "Grandparents are our continuing tie to the near past, to the events and beliefs and experiences that so strongly affect our lives and the world around us...our senior generation also provides our society a link to our national heritage and traditions" (cited in Westheimer and Kaplan, 1998, p 1). Westheimer and Kaplan (1998) agree that grandparents can be proud examples of their ethnic or religious heritage, "On a daily basis you can demonstrate what it means to live your faith or represent your people in the world" (p 66). There are no hard and fast rules regarding the degree to which elders are involved in the lives of their grandchildren. While Westheimer and Kaplan (1998) highlight the "indispensable roles" grandparents play in the lives of our grandchildren, some of their writing gives the impression that the roles of kaumātua within Aotearoa-New Zealand and elders in the United States are very different. For example, Aotearoa-New Zealand sources (Metge and Kinloch, 1978; Royal, 1992; Irwin, 1994; Uncle Nira and the Burt brothers, cited in Raureti 2000; Thoms, 2002; Durie, 2003) maintain that kaumātua still play an influential role in the lives of their grandchildren and wider whānau. Conversely, Westheimer and Kaplan (1998) advise, "What are you

to do when you disagree with the way your children are raising your grandchildren?...Put briefly and succinctly...keep your mouth shut...Remember, you had your chance to raise your kids your way. Now it's their turn" (p 21).

Hutching (1993) recognises the valuable perspective elders can bring to a project, especially when attempting to learn about a lifestyle, or in the case of this project, a system of education that no longer exists, "Interviews with elderly people can provide a vivid insight into a way of life which now survives only in their memories" (p vii). Allende (1995) encourages the recording of information that survives only in memories because what is not put in words on a page will be erased by time. Put succinctly, kaumātua are our "bridge to the past" (Westheimer and Kaplan, 1998, pp 65-66). It is important to record the stories of our elders so that we may understand practices of the past in the context of the times in which they occurred. As Hutching (1993) explains, "History is not merely an exposition of the past: it is an attempt to understand it" (p 65). Understanding decisions and practices in the context of their times is extremely pertinent in this study. For example, some Māori people blame their predecessors for speaking English and not being able to converse in te reo Māori,

There has been open hostility by young people towards some of their elders who cannot speak Māori. I have seen rangatahi arrogantly pass judgement on their elders who do not speak te reo Māori. I see the pain felt by our elders who were punished as children and who now suffer at the hands of the rangatahi who do not know about our history

Selby, 1999, p 4.

By providing information about the reasons many of our tūpuna encouraged their children to learn English, (such as a means of gaining equality with Pākehā and access to jobs) greater understanding may result, and blame may be duly removed from the shoulders of our tūpuna and kaumātua. Selby (1999) insists, "We must not judge our elders and make assumptions about why they do not speak te reo Māori. Nor should we judge their children whom they insisted should speak only English – believing that English was the key to the future and to survival" (p 68). Parsonson (2001) advocates learning about factors which

influenced past practices "because it was important that younger generations knew the history" (p 38).

A view evident in some Western contexts is that once elderly people retire and cease their financial contribution to society, their 'use-by' date expires and are no longer considered useful to society. Berger (1994) comments that some elderly may not adjust well to retirement because they are "abruptly severed not only from productive work but also from their major source of status" (p 647). Māori elders however, reach a new stage in their lives upon retirement where they can play a more active role within their hapū, "The roles ascribed to older people are not only positive, they are critical for the survival of tribal mana" (Durie, 2003, p 76). Durie (2003) explains, "When other New Zealanders might be contemplating withdrawing from public life, older Māori need to consider whether they will accept the new responsibilities they are expected to fulfil by their own people" (p 78). If however, there is a large gap between cultural expectations and actual competence due to alienation from family and tribe, such as lack in marae skills and inability to relate to Māori realities, Māori elders will be unwilling or perhaps unable to assume significant senior roles within Māori society.

A resurgence of Māori identity and culture over the past two decades may have come too late for many of the second generation of post-World War Two urban Māori. Alienated from their own culture for most of their lives, and less than comfortable in a marae situation, the transition to kaumātuaanga may pose immense difficulties to the point that many will be unable to fill a positive role within Māori society

Durie, 2003, p 83.

On the whole however, and "despite several generations of western influence, Māori society generally retains a positive view towards ageing and older people" (Durie, 2003, p 75). After all, "The standing of a tribe, its mana, as distinct from its size, relates more to the visible presence and authority of its elders ...it is the older generation who carry the status, tradition and integrity of their people" (Durie, 2003, p 76).

This study documents the stories of seven kaumātua. Since the Native School system no longer exists and the number of people who attended these schools diminishes with time, it was crucial to record the experiences of ex-Native School pupils. "Think how often you wished you'd asked your mother or father, your aunts and uncles, your grandparents, to tell you the story of their lives. But by the time you thought about it, it was too late" (Renée, 2003, p 8). Sadness is expressed by Frame (1951) who revealed, "My grandmother wasn't there to show me everything and tell me stories" (p 108). Sadly, since the completion of our previous thesis (Raureti, 2000), four of the six kaumātua have passed away. Their families have expressed poignant gratitude for having recorded their stories. Simon and Smith's (2001) experiences were similar, "Four of the informants, from whose testimonies we prepared vignettes, have died since they were interviewed" (p xiii). It was with a certain degree of urgency that the stories of our kaumātua for this project were recorded before there is no-one left to speak. Their stories connect us with our past, and provide insights into a world which we no longer have access.

Concern of the kaumātua for the schooling of their mokopuna is in accordance with their role of caring for the well being of their mokopuna. Kaumātua in our previous thesis demonstrated that while reflecting on their own school experiences, they also considered the educational experiences and well being of their mokopuna. Hemara (2000) confirms the traditional role of kaumātua over the nurturing of their mokopuna, "It was not and still is not uncommon for Māori grandparents to oversee the upbringing and education of their mokopuna" (p 43). Koro Ben Hona (personal communication, 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2004) informs us that this traditional role fits in with modern times because "parents are often concerned with working and don't have the time to put into their children, but when they become grandparents they have more time". King's (1988) account also lends support, "Children were often brought up by their grandparents...A child's mother and father could then get on with earning a living...These older people had more time to spend with the child, and would educate him or her in things Māori" (p 8). Royal (1992) acknowledges the valuable role that kaumātua

can play in shaping research, "Working with older people within your family, such as your father, your mother, your aunty and your grandmother, is useful in a number of respects...They can suggest directions for your research" (pp 11-12). The comparison of educational aspirations and experiences of kaumātua and their mokopuna within this research context is appropriate because it aligns with acknowledged and established Māori cultural practices of kaumātua considering the wellbeing of their mokopuna.

#### Non-elective Researcher Position

Understanding my position as tamāhine (daughter/ niece) in relation to the kaumātua was one factor that contributed towards our positive interactions. Their position as kaumātua and mine as tamāhine are definitely not equal, but appropriate within Kaupapa Māori research where Māori cultural practices and preferences are accepted as normal. While some people may consider 'interviewing kaumātua' to be a daunting task, I love it and cherish the opportunity to share in their memories and lives. Because my parents, their siblings and friends are in their mid 70s - a similar era to most kaumātua who participated in this project, I am accustomed to talking with, relating to, and caring for them in a way that is respectful. It is important that researchers are considerate of specific courtesies to help achieve effective communication with kaumātua. For example, it would be useful for the researcher to speak clearly, ensure their mouth can be seen by the kaumātua, be constantly aware of their comfort so as to avoid fatigue, and any written material provided should be written in a font that is large enough to be easily read by the kaumātua. Royal (1992) advises, kaumātua "will warm to you more quickly if they can see that you are sincere, honest and prepared to care for the taonga that they may offer you" (p 44). The kaumātua knew my interest in their stories was genuine. It probably influenced their decision to participate in the project, and the honesty with which they discussed personal matters.

Sometimes, kaumātua may intentionally talk 'around' subjects. Royal (1992) explains, "They may talk about all sorts of other things before coming to the

subject at hand. They are testing you! And they may be talking about your subject without you realising it" (p 43). An extreme, yet genuine example occurred during the 1930s, when New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute (NZMACI) Master Carver, Hone Taiapa visited tōhunga whakairo (expert carver) Ereimiha Kapua at his home in Te Teko, to research the use of the tōki (adze). After three days of chatting about other topics, Ereimiha finally asked the purpose of his friend's visit. Their meeting resulted in Taiapa learning the correct use of the tōki which he took back to teach the carving students at the NZMACI Carving School. It is still taught there today according to Ereimiha's instructions.

Through sequential, semi-structured interviews as conversations, the kaumātua have revealed and allowed us access to their hearts and minds. Interviews as conversations can be an effective and appropriate method of data collection for kaumātua as opposed to less personal, less interactive methods such as questionnaires; what's more, "you don't get all the juicy bits through questionnaires" (Nan Nan, personal communication, 2004). Interviews as conversations can also be appropriate for this age group because "the spoken word (is) very important to the old people" (Royal, 1992, p 40).

Some lead in questions used during conversations with kaumātua were

- Do you know how your school came to be established? Was it always located on the current site?
- Who were some of your friends at school?
- What games did you enjoy playing? What sorts of 'things' do you get up to?
- Can you tell me about one of your favourite teachers?
- Can you tell me about any special occasions such as sports days, pet shows or flower shows?
- What was your favourite subject at school?
- What other subjects did you have?
- Was Māori spoken at school by other pupils / teachers?
- Did / does your family speak Māori at home? Why do you think this was / is so?

- Were your parents directly involved with the school? If so, in what ways?
- What do you think your parents wanted you to get out of your schooling?
- How important do you think they would have rated various aspects of your schooling (such as academic knowledge, religious instruction, participation in sports etc)?
- To what extent do you think you achieved that which your parents hoped you would from your schooling?
- What are some things you would like your grandchildren to get out of their schooling (e.g. academic knowledge, religious instruction, fluency in te reo Māori etc)?
- How do they seem to be progressing? Does their progress so far indicate that they are on the way to fulfilling the aspirations you have for them?

Having been privileged enough to spend many hours listening to and conversing with kaumātua, I agree wholeheartedly with Rooney (2002), "I've learned that the best classroom in the world is at the feet of an elderly person". We are grateful to the kaumātua for providing guidance and direction for the research process and sharing their stories. The story and the story teller have both connected "the past with the future, one generation with the other" (Smith, 1999, p 145). Westheimer and Kaplan (1998) retell a situation that occurred at Kaplan's daughter's pre-school. The teacher asked the students, "How many of you have great-grandparents?" Yona (Kaplan's daughter) age 3 replied, "All my grandparents are great" (p 45). Like Yona, we are 'great-ful' for our great kaumātua.

### **Interviews as Conversations with Youngsters**

The opinion that children should be seen and not heard is evident within research realms and classrooms around the world where adults (teachers and researchers) assume the role of expert. They sometimes confer with each other in an attempt to improve education for students; however, the students themselves are almost always excluded from these conversations. Cook-Sather (2003) confirms, "Basic

educational questions are debated endlessly among teachers, administrators, teacher educators, and policymakers. Missing from these discussions are students' perspectives" (p 22; Cook-Sather, 2002) <sup>2</sup>. This section advocates that the 'silent children' viewpoint should be challenged, and that by inviting youngsters to participate in discussions that affect their education, many potential benefits for the students, teachers and the education system may ensue. It is acknowledged that major shifts on the part of teachers, students, and researchers, in terms of their notions of power and current relationships may be required (Oldfather, 1995), such as that already achieved by the kaumātua in this study, who instigated the involvement of their mokopuna. As long as we exclude students' "perspectives from our conversations about schooling and how it needs to change, our efforts at reform will be based on an incomplete picture of life in classrooms and schools and how that life could be improved" (Cook-Sather, 2002b, p 3).

### Challenge Old Thinking

Teachers and educational researchers should acknowledge that they do not have all of the answers to educational dilemmas and allow students to have some meaningful contribution to discussions focused on improving school practice (Vygotsky, 1978; Fullan, 1991; Short and Burke, 1991; Oldfather, 1993; West and Oldfather, 1993; Wilson and Corbett, 2001; Shultz and Cook-Sather, 2001; Cook-Sather, 2002a, 2002b;). Writers such as those fore mentioned are "fully convinced of the value of listening to students as an important part of planning, implementing, and adjusting reform" (Wilson and Corbett 2001, p 10). They believe that students have a major role to fulfil in research that strives to improve students' classroom experiences (Oldfather, 1993; Cook-Sather, 2002a), "and if made to feel as though they could be of help, would gladly help their teachers become more effective" (Cook-Sather, 2002a, p 13). After all, "as those who spend the majority of their days in classrooms and schools, students should have

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<sup>2</sup> Although not focused on educational issues, Coles and Paley's work needs to be acknowledged. "Robert Coles (1964) started recording children's narratives some years ago, and Vivian Gore Paley (1981, 1986a, 1986b, 1990) has published a series of books analysing the stories of young children" (Casey, 1995/6, p 235).

a voice in the conversations that shape what happens there" (Cook-Sather, 2002a, p 12). If students are not allowed to share their thoughts and ideas, "most educational change, indeed most education, will fail" (Fullan, 1991, p 170). Listening to students' voices about their education allows us opportunities to learn about education as experienced by them, and begins to close "the widening gap between adults' worlds and the worlds of young people" (Cook-Sather, 2002a, p 12). Wilson and Corbett (2001) advise, "Adults...have to become well-versed in these adolescents' worlds-and how to connect to them-as a prelude to embarking on new designs for how to operate schools" (p 9). Furthermore, listening to students' voices about their education fulfils a central aim of qualitative research of attempting to understand people's realities from their own perspective, which according to Cook-Sather (2002b), "means ensuring that there are legitimate and valued spaces within which students can speak, re-tuning our ears so that we can hear what they say, and redirecting our actions in response to what we hear" (p 4).

### Benefits for Students

There are numerous educational benefits to be gained from including students' perspectives in discussions about educational reform. According to Cook-Sather (2002a, 2002b), students respond positively to being included in conversations about educational policy and practice, for example, they are more engaged in, and take more responsibility for their schooling, "because it is no longer something being done to them but rather something they do" (2002b, p 10). When included in discussions, students also focus on their own roles in education, "It made me think about how to be a better student" (cited in Cook-Sather, 2002a, pp 14-15). In addition to reflecting on their own roles in education, students also become "vitaly interested in understanding schooling through teachers' eyes as they sought to be agents for change in their schools" (Oldfather and Thomas, 1998, p 4). However, the most basic and perhaps critical benefit to be gained overall is that, students are empowered in classrooms that honour their voices (Oldfather, 1993).

### Benefits for Teachers and the Education System

Listening to students' perspectives has the potential to benefit teachers and the education system itself, if what students say, is allowed to "inform policymaking and practice-shaping decisions" (Cook-Sather, 2002 b, p 7). "Teachers can improve their practice by listening closely to what students have to say about their learning" (Commeyras, 1995, cited in Cook-Sather, 2001, p 5). Oldfather and Thomas' (1998) work with students and teachers resulted in deepened teacher understanding of students' perspectives and stimulated "them to try out various new approaches" (p 22). Similarly, Shultz and Cook-Sather (2001) discovered, "Through listening to their words and rethinking our own, we have gained insights that enrich our understanding of both worlds" (p 178).

### Ako: Reciprocity of Learning and Teaching

The idea of listening to, and learning from students' voices may be fundamental for teachers who understand the Māori concept of *ako*. *Ako* is a Māori word for learn, it also means to teach. "Pere describes *ako* in terms of the reciprocal and continuous interchange between the teacher and learner role as part of traditional Māori educational practice...where the child is both teacher and learner" (Barnard and Glynn, 2003, p 49). Within this approach, the roles of student and teacher change throughout their interaction. Short and Burke (1991) explain, that a student's role can shift roles several times, being both teacher and learner. In this way, *ako* addresses the issue of teacher power over students because of their continuous role exchange. This type of reciprocal relationship "in which every teacher is always a student and every pupil a teacher" (Gramsci, cited in Lather, 1991a, p 63) is supported by Pere (1994), Bartolomé (1994), Oldfather and Thomas (1998), and Vygotsky (1978). Bartolomé (1994) advises, teachers "must remain open to the fact that they will also learn from their students" (p 182) because children and adults learn continually by helping and interacting with each other (Vygotsky, 1978). Oldfather and Thomas (1998) suggest, "When teachers and students together consider, in systematic and intentional ways...they open up possibilities for personal growth and for small beginnings of transformation of school culture" (p 24).

It is evident that the kaumātua involved in this project are not of the opinion that children should be seen and not heard, because not only are the voices of mokopuna included in this project, their participation was in fact instigated by the kaumātua who viewed their perspective as vital in order for us to gain an insight into the current education system, based on the experiences and perceptions of the mokopuna. Involving mokopuna in this study aligns with Kaupapa Māori philosophies that recognise and value “the diversity within our people; women, men, tamariki, kuia, koroua, rangatahi” (Pihama et al., 2002, p 39). While it is appropriate to listen to the voices of youngsters within this Kaupapa Māori context, it would not be appropriate for their voices to be considered in the same light, or carry as much weight as those of the kaumātua. In spite of this ‘imbalance’, the regard for the youngsters and their stories fulfils what Shultz and Cook-Sather (2001) say students desire, that is “care, respect, and support from (those) who influence their educational experiences” (Shultz and Cook-Sather, 2001, p 3). This thesis offers the stories of six youngsters. Their perspectives have been included within a Kaupapa Māori approach to compare past and present educational aspirations and experiences. In all cases except one, the kaumātua instigated or recommended the participation of their own mokopuna. The mokopuna have reflected on the educational aspirations of their grandparents, identified enjoyable aspects of their own schooling as well as those aspects that assisted the realisation of the educational aspirations, “These...students describe their experiences of school, offer recommendations regarding how their educational experiences could be improved” (Cook-Sather, 2002a, p 12).

The interviews as conversations with the mokopuna “occurred as a natural conversation between two people, rather than as a prepared interview” (Oldfather, et al., 1999, p 34), usually when the series of conversations with their kuia or koro were completed. The mokopuna were able to reflect on the kōrero (conversations) of their kuia/koro. In one case however, one of the kaumātua, Aunty Hilda elected to participate in one to one conversations with her mokopuna, Ihaia because she knew that they would have more purposeful conversations

because of their close relationship. In this way, control of the research process was placed fairly in the hands of research participants (Bishop, 1993) according to participants' preferences. Another participant, Ted, commented on the appropriateness of this arrangement, "This methodology challenges a Western mode which would be inappropriate in a Māori situation". It is similar to the situation that occurred with my nieces Raenor and Allana, whereby they participated in a group conversation with their Koro, Nana, another aunty and me. Within this conversation they, like Ihaia, were part of their Koro's (and in Ihaia's case, Kuia's) storytelling. Youngsters' exposure to storytelling situations can encourage them to tell stories, enhance their storytelling skills, and increase their enjoyment of storytelling (Selby, 1999). Westheimer and Kaplan (1998) acknowledge benefits to be gained from intergenerational storytelling sessions such as strengthened understanding of their heritage, and ties between youngsters and older members of their family. Metge and Kinloch (1978) confirm, "Where children have access to story-telling 'old folks', this can be a potent means of stimulating their imaginations" (p 37). Bruner (1996) also supports storytelling, "A child should 'know,' have a 'feel' for, the myths, histories, folktales, conventional stories of his or her culture (or cultures)" (p 41). Storytelling is highly appropriate within many Māori contexts where a strong oral base is acknowledged (Gadd, 1976; Whakarewarewa 75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee Organising Committee, 1978; Royal, 1992; Metge, 1993; Hutching, 1993; Selby, 1999; Soutar, 2000).

Some lead in questions used during conversations with the youngsters were

- What games do you and your friends enjoy playing at school? What things do you do during interval / lunchtime?
- Can you tell me about one of your favourite teachers? What things do you most like about that teacher? In what ways is that teacher different to others?
- What exciting things have you got coming up at school (e.g. sports day, concert etc)?
- What is your favourite subject? Why is that your favourite subject? What sorts of things do you do in that subject? What other subjects do you have?
- Do teachers or other students speak Māori at your school?

- Does your family speak Māori at home?
- Why do you think your parents and grandparents want you to go to school?
- Do you think it's important for children to go to school? Why/why not?

### **Group Conversations**

Interviews as conversations between a group of individuals offer a highly effective method of gaining access to the core of participants' thoughts and experiences. Belgrave and Smith (2002) refer to group conversations as focus groups, whereby, "A number of people come together to discuss some issue under the guidance of an interviewer, whose questions introduce topics and provide the direction, and perhaps tone, of the conversation" (cited in Denzin and Lincoln, 2002, pp 240-241). Oldfather and West (1994) liken group conversations to a jazz band, "The quality of the music depends on each musician's hearing, responding to, and appreciating the performances of the other players. The spotlight moves back and forth between the ensemble and soloists – as they alternate taking the lead or providing backup" (p 22). Interviews as conversations in groups provide participants with an alternative and often preferred means of sharing their aspirations, experiences and realities. A special feature of purposeful yet relaxed group conversations is that they offer some benefits which can only be gained from within this environment. For example, group conversations allow participants opportunities to collectively reminisce; validate each others' stories; model and nurture storytelling skills between generations and prompt each others' memories. They can also address the issue of researcher power by research participants outnumbering the researcher, which may also prevent the researcher from dominating the conversation. Group conversations and sharing the spotlight can be suitable for people who are uncomfortable being the focus of attention. Within this situation they are free to take the lead when comfortable, or simply provide backup (West and Oldfather, 1994, p 22). Burley and Moreland (1998) are convinced of the advantages of group interviewing because the synergy of the group can allow a much livelier discussion than one-to-one interview situations. According to Watts and Ebbutt

(1987), group interviewing is increasing in popularity. They suggest it may be due to the potential for discussions to develop. In their opinion however, group interviews are of little use in allowing personal matters to emerge. Conversely, in our previous thesis (Raureti, 2000), the Burt brothers shared extremely personal stories during group conversations with my father and me. Some information was so delicate that we did not contemplate including it in the public thesis.

Within this thesis, group conversations occurred with the Wai-iti whānau following a hapū meeting at Tapuaeharuru Marae, then another weekend at Aunty Hilda's daughter's house at Rotoiti. This "unique...form of social interaction (Belgrave and Smith, 2002, cited in Denzin and Lincoln, 2002, pp 240-241) provided a platform for the Wai-iti whānau to meet, reminisce and discuss 'the good ole days'. It also resulted in them verifying and legitimising each others' stories through the acknowledgement of shared perspectives. At my parents' home, my father, mother, two nieces, one sister and I enjoyed discussing and comparing past and present school experiences. Within our (literal) whānau, the intergenerational group conversation allowed my parents to model storytelling skills and nurture those skills within their children and mokopuna. It also gave my nieces an insight into their grandparents' personalities and pasts, aspects of which they had not previously been aware. Lewis (1992) found that children's understanding (of the focus subject) improved when they were involved in group interviews, and they extended each others' ideas. West and Oldfather (1993) reported students' preference for group discussions, "It's a lot easier because three or four brains is smarter than one" (p 376); another student commented, "If you don't know something, the other person can tell you. Or if neither one of you know, you can figure it out together" (p 377). Also, during a conversation with Ted Gee, we were joined by his wife and daughter; and Chanz's mother participated in one of our conversations.

According to Hutching (1993), one of the greatest advantages of group conversations is that participants can prompt each others' memories and raise other related topics for discussion, "More people remember different things. So

you don't just get the information that one person knows. You get it from a bunch of people" (West and Oldfather, 1993, p 376). The following whakatauki can be applied to the context of group interviews,

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi  
Engari taki mano

The strength of these words were not found in the words of one person  
But in the conversations that took place with the whole group.

### Summary

Chapter 3 has explained significant features of qualitative research, narrative inquiry and interviews as conversations and justified their utilisation within this Kaupapa Māori research context, for example, the suitability of narrative inquiry and storytelling for Māori participants who value an oral tradition. In utilising appropriate methods this thesis may serve as an example of appropriate research practice in order to inform researchers, stress the necessity of employing appropriate research practices within Māori contexts, and "act as a challenge to Pākehā dominance" (Pihama et al, 2002, p 36). The research theory, methodology and methods utilised in this thesis are offered as a respectful way of participating in Māori research. It was "not only the right but the only conceivable way of doing and looking at things" (Metge and Kinloch, 1978, p 9). Hopefully, the continued proliferation and acceptance of Kaupapa Māori research approaches will, like the native-going, lone ethnographers of the past, lie to rest harmful research practices.

## **PART TWO**

### **Chapter 4 – Historical Context**

#### Introduction

This thesis spans the period from the year 1816 to 2004. An examination of material pertaining to significant events from our past allows the thesis to be better understood in the appropriate historical context. Within this chapter Te Arawa iwi are introduced; and the significance of the Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi are discussed. A detailed examination of literature pertaining to Māori schooling is provided and organised into five periods of time. The first period examines the Mission School period<sup>3</sup> of 1816 to 1857 since it was Māori people's first exposure to Pākehā schooling, and provided a basis of education for Māori upon which the government developed the Native School system. The next period, the early Native School period covers 1858 to the early 1900s<sup>4</sup>. The middle Native School period from 1930s to the 1940s is the focus of this study because it is the period when the kaumātua were schooled, and they are at the heart of this study. The late Native School period examines literature pertaining to the 1950s to the end of the Native School period in 1969. The fifth and final period reviews the post Native School system from the 1970s to the 1990s with a deliberate focus given to the Tomorrow's Schools reform so that the context within which the mokopuna were schooled may be better appreciated. Within each of those five periods, Māori people's struggles are highlighted as they sought to utilise the education system as a means of fulfilling their aspirations. Government aims for the education of Māori are examined by highlighting significant acts of Parliament and legislation – some of which assisted the realisation of Māori aspirations, while others prevented their realisation. Various impacts of such legislation on Māori are also scrutinised within this chapter.

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<sup>3</sup> Although government involvement in Maori education began in 1847, it is categorised within the Mission School period since the government initially extended the education system that was established and operated by the Missionaries.

<sup>4</sup> The Native School Act was passed in 1858, however the Native School system was not actually created until 1867.

## Introducing Te Arawa

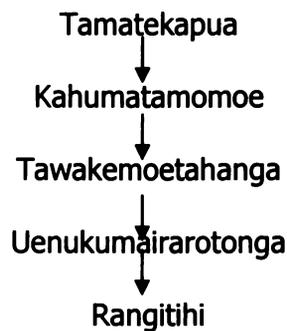
This thesis examines a selection of Native Schools within the tribal boundary of Te Arawa, a central North Island tribe indigenous to Aotearoa-New Zealand. Te Arawa arrived here from Hawaiki (original homeland, whose exact origins are still debated) around 1300AD, on a large waka (canoe) led by Tamatekapua, a legendary character, well-known for his playful spirit. According to respected Te Arawa historian, Don Stafford (1967), Tamatekapua “sparked off the last trouble of a long and bitter series which finally caused a group of Ngāti Ohomairangi (the name by which Te Arawa were known in Hawaiki) to leave their homeland of Hawaiki and travel to...Aotearoa” (p 1). Another reason for the departure was their adventurous nature and eagerness to explore far-off lands. During the migration from Hawaiki to Aotearoa, Tamatekapua offended the tohunga (navigational expert), Ngatoroirangi because he became intimate with Ngatoroirangi’s wife, Kearoa. So great was Ngatoroirangi’s fury that he “called aloud to the heavens, and changed the stars of the evening into those of the morning...raised the winds (and) the canoe was drawn straight into the huge whirlpool” called Te Korokoro o Te Parata - The Throat of Te Parata (Stafford, 1967, p 15). After desperate pleas Ngatoroirangi saved them all from certain death by chanting a karakia (incantation), and becalming the waters. Part of that karakia is shown below, and is often recited by Te Arawa orators today,

...Ngahue i te Parata,  
Eke,  
Eke,  
Eke Tangaroa, Eke panuku,  
Hui, e!  
Taiki, e!

cited in Stafford, 1967, p 16.

In due course, Te Arawa waka landed at Maketu, the voyagers explored and claimed surrounding areas, and eventually settled in the new land. Thus, the boundary of Te Arawa was established and is given in this pēpeha (tribal proverb), ‘Mai i Maketu ki Tongariro’ (which refers to the bow of Te Arawa waka

resting at Maketu and the stern at Tongariro). The people of Te Arawa descend from Tamatekapua. The whakapapa (genealogy) below traces a line of descent from Tamatekapua to Rangitihi.



Rangitihi had four wives - Rongomaiturihuia, Kahukare, Papawharanui and Manawakotokoto. They gave birth to eight children – Ratorua, Taurua, Rangiwahakaekau, Rangiaohia, Tuhourangi, Rakeiao, Kawatapuarangi and Apumoana. Descendants from these eight children became the hapū of Te Arawa, known as Ngā Pū Manawa e Waru o Te Arawa – The Eight Pulsating Hearts of Te Arawa. Participants within this project are linked to Te Arawa through their affiliation with at least one of the hapū of Te Arawa.

### **The Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi**

Fundamental to the Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the principle of tino rangatiratanga - a crucial component of Kaupapa Māori research. The principle of tino rangatiratanga is frequently referred to in this thesis because it is fundamental to Kaupapa Māori research, Māori education, and Māori people's aspirations for an appropriate place in the modern society and economy of Aotearoa-New Zealand. Although references to tino rangatiratanga in this thesis are located within the context of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, information about The Declaration of Independence/ He Wakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni is also given since the term 'rangatiratanga' was first written in The Declaration of Independence, five years before it's inclusion in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

During the 1830s, Pākehā (European) aspirations towards Aotearoa-New Zealand were complex. Some wished to use the islands as a base for commerce, some wished to Christianise Māori, others sought to annex and govern (Orange, 1987). Although initially Māori-European contact was "mutually advantageous...Māori wanted trade goods that Europeans could supply...Europeans needed Māori co-operation to obtain services and provisions" (Orange, 1987, p 7), however, some traders and settlers behaved in an unruly manner which shocked and displeased Māori (Stenson and Williams, 1990). In order to ensure that Māori rights were not violated, protect traders and settlers; and re-capture escaped convicts, Busby was appointed British Resident to New Zealand by the Colonial office in London, in 1833 (Stenson and Williams, 1990). During this time, French involvement within the South Pacific increased. Busby felt increasingly suspicious about French actions and motives. "Within 36 hours of receiving a letter from the (French representative), who trumpeted his intention to become 'Sovereign Chief', and 'Lord and Governor' over New Zealand, Busby was encouraging chiefs to sign his agreement" (p 64). It resulted in the signing of He Wakaputanga o Te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni - the Declaration of Independence on the 28<sup>th</sup> of October 1835 at Waitangi. The Declaration of Independence asked the British Government to recognise the independence of Aotearoa, and give Crown protection. The British Government agreed to both (Orange, 1987; Stenson and Williams, 1990). Significant parts of The Declaration say,

Ko matou, ko nga Tino Rangatira o nga iwi o Nu  
Tireni...ka wakaputa i te Rangatiratanga o to  
matu wenua...Ko te Kingitanga ko te mana i te  
wenua o te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni ka meatia  
nei kei nga Tino Rangatira anake i to matou  
huihuinga, a ka mea hoki e kore e tukua e matou  
te wakarite ture ki te tahi hunga ke atu...

It is translated as,

We, the heredity and heads of the tribes...declare  
the Independence of our country...All sovereign  
power and authority within the territories of the United  
Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside  
entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and

heads of tribes in their collective capacity...

Orange, 1987, pp 255-256.

Busby also played a crucial role in writing the final copy of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In August 1839 Captain William Hobson was sent to Aotearoa to make an agreement with Māori and persuade them "to recognise Queen Victoria's authority so that New Zealand could be governed by Britain" (Stenson and Williams, 1990, p 20). The main rationale put forward to Māori was that while the Queen's officials were ready and willing to protect Māori and restrain unruly settlers, they had no authority to do so. Hobson "lacked the authority that was essential if he were to be of any benefit in controlling British subjects. The chiefs could give Hobson that authority if they signed the treaty laid before them" (Orange, 1987, p 45).

Hobson and his secretary, Freeman, drafted notes as the basis for the Treaty, and gave them to Busby to check. Busby knew that Māori would not accept the Treaty in its proposed form, so he prepared a draft and gave it to Hobson. "Busby's draft consisted of three articles and a lengthy postscript. These articles, with no alteration, were accepted for the treaty. Lengthier and more precise than Freeman's, they differed significantly by including a guarantee to the Māori people, collectively and individually, of the 'full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests fisheries and other properties, as long as they wished to retain them" (Orange, 1987, p 37). Subsequently, a meeting with Māori was held at Waitangi on the 5<sup>th</sup> of February 1840 where the Treaty was discussed, "Hobbs...had translated Hobson's 'repeated assurances...that the Queen did not want the land, but merely the sovereignty, that she...might be able more effectually to govern her subjects who had already settled" (Orange, 1987, pp 64-65). Some Māori decided that it was in their best interest to accept the Treaty; others disagreed and were troubled that the Treaty may expedite the arrival of more uncontrollable Pākehā. An example of opposition to the Treaty is given by Walker (1989) who quotes Tareha, Ngāti Rehia chief (of Ngā Puhī), "We, we only are the chiefs, the rulers. Will not be ruled over. What! Thou a foreigner up and I down. Thou high and I, Tareha the great chief of the Nga Puhī tribes low! No, no, never, never" (cited in Kawharu, p

266). After some discussion, the first Māori signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of February (Orange, 1987; Stenson and Williams, 1990).

The second article of Te Tiriti o Waitangi is given below because it includes the principle of tino rangatiratanga which is fundamental to Kaupapa Māori theory, and a principle this thesis advocates with regard to Māori education and research, that is, Māori authority over their state of affairs.

Te Tiriti o Waitangi...Ko Te Tuarua (Article the Second).

"Ko te Kuini o Ingarangi ka wakarite ka wakaae ki ngā rangatira,  
ki nga hapū, ki ngā tangata katoa o Nu Tirani, te tino rangatiratanga  
o o rātou wenua o rātou kainga me o rātou taonga katoa"

Stenson and Williams, 1990, p 25.

"Literal English Translation of the Māori Version.

This is the Second. The Queen of England agrees and consents  
(to give) to the Chiefs, hapus, and all the people of New Zealand  
the full chieftainship (rangatiratanga) of their lands, their villages  
and all their possessions (taonga: everything that is held precious)"

Stenson and Williams, 1990, p 26.

"English version – Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms  
and guarantees to the Chiefs and tribes of New Zealand and to  
the respective families and individuals thereof, the full exclusive  
and undisturbed possession of the Lands and Estates, Forests,  
Fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or  
individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to maintain  
the same in their possession"

Stenson and Williams, 1990, p 24.

Glynn et al., (1997) affirm, "Under article two, Māori retained their sovereignty or chiefly control (tino rangatiratanga) over their lands, forests and fisheries and other treasures or resources (taonga). That is, they retained their sovereign rights to define, promote and control those treasures and resources" (p 102). Although there are different understandings and many misunderstandings about Te Tiriti o Waitangi, many sources agree that "the Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of our nation" (Glynn et al., 1997; Te Puni Kokiri, 2001; Ministry of Education, 2004; State Services Commission, 2004). One reason for the differing understandings is because of differences in interpretations of the two

versions – “a Māori version, which the Māori chiefs signed, and a Pākehā version...The two versions are not exactly the same” (Stenson and Williams, 1990, p 24). “There are 512 signatures on the Māori version” (Tiki, 2003, p 16) - Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and only “39 chiefs...signed an English-language version” (State Services Commission, 2004). Walker (1989) agrees that there are “serious discrepancies between the translated Māori version...and the English version” and that “the moral validity of the Treaty hangs on the translation of the word sovereignty” (p 263). Under *Contra Preferendum*, an aspect of International Law (established by the United Nations), if misunderstanding occurs because of two versions, the version written in the indigenous language (Māori) is to take precedence (Whare, 1999), and “the preferred interpretation will be the one that helps the party who drafted it least” (Wikipedia, 2004). However, Whare (1999) informs us, “The New Zealand government has never applied the international rule of ‘*contra preferendum*’, which requires that any international Treaty with two interpretations should be recognised in the language of the Indigenous Peoples”. According to Glynn et al., (1997), in spite of promises vowed in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, “the history of the relationship between Māori and European people in New Zealand...has not been characterised by partnership and power sharing but rather by political and social domination by the Pākehā majority” (p 102). Similarly, Stenson (2004) states, “While Pākehā New Zealand did its best to ignore the Treaty, Māori New Zealand kept it always in sight” (p 7).

This thesis advocates *tino rangatiratanga* because it “goes straight to the heart of Kaupapa Māori...reinforcing the goal of seeking more meaningful control over one’s own life and cultural well-being” (Pihama et al., 2002, p 34). This project supports *tino rangatiratanga* as advancing Māori control and power over their affairs, especially with regards to research and education in recognition that “loss of control of one’s assets is damaging to one’s social well-being” (Durie, 1989, p 281). The Ministry of Education (2004) claim to support “*rangatiratanga*” by stating that “Māori have the right to control their own resources”. This declaration of “responsibility to contribute to the Government’s partnership with Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi” (Ministry of Education, 2004) justifies

requests for the Ministry of Education to support Māori initiatives that are focused on improving educational experiences and outcomes for Māori students.

### **Mission Schools and Initial Government Involvement: 1816 to 1857**

Missionaries were the first Pākehā who assumed responsibility for establishing and operating schools for Māori. In 1816 at Rangihoua in the far North, the first mission school was opened with 33 children in attendance, aged between 7 and 17 years of age. "In this way, the formal education of the Māori into European culture began" (Māori Schools Centennial, 1967, p 25). The main aim of the missionary schools was to convert Māori to Christianity and 'civilise' them. According to Barrington and Beaglehole (1974), the schools were the means by which children could be "trained up in the knowledge of those divine Truths" (p 8), which is in accordance with Mackey's (1967) comment, "The task the missionaries set themselves was to convert" (p 29). Within mission schools Māori were encouraged to replace their cultural norms with the habits and usages of Europeans, "Schooling was seen by the colonial statesmen as the most effective means of achieving this 'civilising' agenda" (Simon, 1998, p 2).

#### Literacy

Through missionary schools Māori first acquired the skills of literacy. The missionaries sought to teach Māori to read as it would allow Christianity to become widespread very quickly through the distribution of the written word. By the 1830s, "Māori had begun to interest themselves in European-style schooling and literacy" (Simon, 1998, p 3) and they experienced a remarkable degree of success in the early missionary schools (Royal, 1992; Selby, 1999; Outreach, 2001). "There is clear evidence that our early association with formal book learning was highly successful and literacy rates high amongst the Māori population" (Selby, 1999, p 14). Bishop Pompalier (1888) noticed Māori easily learnt to read and write their own language within three months (cited in Simon, 1998); Brown (1845) claims that Māori were able to master the skills of literacy

within a fortnight (cited in Simon, 1990, p 32). So quick were Māori to master the skills of literacy that they “were more highly literate than were the Pākehā immigrants of the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s” (Royal, 1992, p 22). “In fact...there were proportionally more Māori literate in Māori than immigrants literate in their own languages” (Outreach, 2003, p 1). The ability of Māori to master the skills of literacy was considered outstanding by Pākehā standards. Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) tell of unmistakable “enthusiasm for reading” (p 26) on the part of the Māori, “The Māoris came to place great value on the ability to read and write” (pp 29-30). Missionaries also reported Māori “enthusiasm for reading and the demand for books necessitating the printing of thousands of copies of bibles and testaments in Māori” (Selby, 1999, p 14). Trade with Europeans during this time became “concentrated on books and printed matter” (Simon, 1998, p 3).

One of the first Māori educational aspirations was to master the skills of literacy because they viewed it as “a means of enhancing their traditional way of life” and gaining access to new wealth (Simon, 1998, p 5). McKenzie (1985) confirms, Māori enthusiasm for schooling was due to their belief that the skills taught were relevant and could add value to their lives. Jackson’s statement (1975) identifies that “Māori sought to emulate, master and command the means of understanding their new world” (cited in Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974, p 30); and Williams (1969) agrees that schooling was perceived by Māori as the most likely means of effecting improvement to their position within the developing society. In effect, “Māori embraced schooling as a means to maintaining their sovereignty and enhancing their life-chances” (Simon and Smith, 1990, p 4). In contrast to the positive accounts given thus far regarding Māori and literacy, Openshaw et al. (1993) acknowledge Māori interest in literacy was “initially impressive”, however, they identified a period of decline during the 1840s, when some schools in the Rotorua area were almost abandoned and “attitudes of indifference” prevailed in other areas (p 29). Nevertheless, within the mission school system Māori quickly mastered literacy skills due to their enthusiasm and intelligence. Walker (1996)

reveals, "In Jenkins' opinion, as a result of acquiring print literacy, Māori did not gain control over their lives and the continuation of Māori Tino Rangatiratanga was halted. For Māori, print literacy led to suffering and disempowerment; the results of which we witness today; well over a century later" (p 11). Walker explains this view with reference to Te Tiriti o Waitangi which clearly spelt out principles of partnership and equality, "Māori are wary of the written word, especially the English word. The fact that a signature or resemblance of one on a piece of paper, can have far reaching consequences, that the writer has ever imagined, has been more than adequately exemplified for us since the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840" (p 9). So literacy was to be something of a double-edged sword for Māori, on one hand offering access to the new world, within which Māori sought to function successfully, but on the other bringing with this access unseen hurdles that would eventually overcome the benefits literacy was to offer.

#### Government Involvement and Te Reo Māori

From 1816 when the first missionary school was established, to 1840, the missionaries continued to establish and operate schools without government involvement. During this period, overall Māori demand for the skills of literacy increased. Consequently, "by the late 1850s about half of all adult Māori could read in the Māori language and about a third of them could write it" (Simon, 1998, p 5). It is of major importance to emphasise that the language of instruction at the mission schools during this time was Māori. Missionaries learnt to communicate with Māori people through te reo Māori which fulfilled Māori aspirations of mastering the skills of literacy through the medium of their own language. This situation also satisfied the missionaries because they were able to communicate their doctrines verbally and through text, by means of Bibles that were also written in Māori. Dramatic change occurred between 1840 and the 1860s when missionaries' control over the schooling of Māori children lessened, and government involvement and control increased. The latter became intent on the eradication of te reo Māori. Initially, with the 1847 Education Act, the

government consolidated and extended the work of the missionary schools which continued to operate in Māori, however, their main aim was to Europeanise Māori children. In order to become more involved in Māori education, the government offered financial assistance to those mission schools that agreed to function according to government stipulations. Clear requisites regarding the language of instruction were established in the 1847 Education Ordinance. In order to qualify for financial assistance mission schools had to enforce English as the medium of instruction; provide industrial training; religious training; and allow regular government inspections. Under these stipulations it was no longer officially permissible to conduct lessons in Māori, nevertheless, this practice continued and eventually resulted in a frustrated government bringing Māori schooling under their control in the post-Land Wars period.

### Importance of Language

The government's destructive policy of non-tolerance towards te reo Māori disregarded the importance of a language to its culture, as conveyed in the whakataukī, 'Ko te reo Māori te pūtake o te Māoritanga' (the Māori language is at the heart of Māoritanga), and Oldfather et al.'s (1999) statement, "Language enables us to name the world and our experiences within it, to differentiate ourselves from the world, and to find our place in it" (p 10). Spradley's (1979) comment also recognises that language functions "not only as a means of communication, it also functions to create and express cultural reality" (p 20). Maribelis, a high-school student summarised the enormous importance of his native tongue, "If people try to stop Puerto Ricans from learning our language, it's like ordering us to stop breathing because our language is a part of us" (cited in Shultz and Cook-Sather, 2001, p 37). The government's scathing policy of disallowing te reo Māori in schools also ignored promises made some years earlier in Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) guaranteeing the protection of te reo Māori, "Ko te Kuini o Ingarangi...ka wakaae ki...ngā hapū katoa o Nu Tirani, te tino rangatiratanga o o rātou ...taonga katoa" (Stenson and Williams, 1990, p 25). Walker (1996) agrees, "Te Reo Māori, as a taonga, was guaranteed protection by

the Crown, in article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Te Reo Māori is essential for the survival of Te Iwi Māori" (p 138). According to McPherson (1994), "As the language of the tāngata whenua, as a language that is spoken only in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and as a taonga protected under the Treaty of Waitangi, it is clear that the responsibility for safeguarding the language must be shared by both Māori and the Government" (p 12).

### Colonisation

Policies such as the 1847 Education Ordinance legalised the spread of colonisation. Within the process of colonisation, one culture enforces its own beliefs and habits on another. Freire (1996) terms the process, 'Cultural invasion' which "always involves...the imposition of one world view upon another. It implies the 'superiority' of the invader and the 'inferiority' of those who are invaded, as well as the imposition of values by the former, who possess the latter and are afraid of losing them" (p 141). Walker (1996) describes colonisation as "a discourse of war. As such, one of the strategies of this war had been to use language as a weapon" (p 60), and education was used as the means of conveying the weapon to the 'enemy'. Education was another such weapon used against Māori in the war of colonisation, "Education then was about transforming Māori into Pākehā" (Durie, 2004, p 7). Gradually this hegemonic move from te reo Māori to English by the dominant group began to be taken on board by Māori people as their own aspiration as a means of fulfilling their initial aspiration of functioning successfully within their new world. Numerous sources (Barrington, 1971; Firth, 1972; Wordsworth, 1976; McPherson, 1994; Simon, 1998; Hemara, 2000; Simon and Smith, 2001) agree that Māori sought to gain Pākehā skills, including the English language because many of them considered its acquisition necessary to function in their changing world. They believed that if they were "to survive, participate in, and engage with a rapidly changing socio-economic and political environment, there was a need to draw on what that education had to offer" (Hemara, 2000, p 50). McPherson (1994) confirms, "Māori saw education as a means to surviving in a Pākehā-dominated world" (p 13). In addition, there

was a desire among Māori to learn English so as to be able to resist colonial encroachment on their land, "Māori wanted their children to gain European 'knowledge' and fluency in English to help them deal with European demands for land" (Simon, 1998, p 8).

Another stipulation of the 1847 Education Ordinance was to provide industrial training, which impinged on time otherwise devoted to teaching literacy skills. Many Māori parents were dissatisfied with the way some schools allocated their time between the different tasks. In some schools only two and half-hours were spent in lessons and up to eight hours in labour on the land. According to Simon (1992), "the Government...saw education as a means of Europeanising Māori, and providing industrial and agricultural training to serve Pākehā interests" (cited in McPherson, 1994, p 13). In the mid 1850s, Paora Tuhaere, a parent from Orakei was annoyed at the labour component. He and others had sent their children to school to become literate, but instead they "were set to work as servants" (cited in Simon, 1998, p 9). In fact, "objections were frequently raised by parents in regard to the heavy labour demanded of their children" (Simon, 1990, p 77). Some Māori such as Paora Tuhaere were beginning to see that schools were not fulfilling the educational aspirations they had for their children.

### **The Early Native School Period: 1867 – early 1900s**

In 1858 the Native Schools Act was passed. It was similar to the 1847 Education Ordinance in that funds were allocated to schools connected with a religious body, allowed annual inspections, and insisted on English as the medium of instruction (Openshaw et al., 1993). An extra stipulation was that pupils had to board at school. Compelling board removed Māori children "from the demoralising influence of the villages" (Simon and Smith, 1990, p 2) and increased the likelihood of speedy assimilation. Educational policy which encouraged the removal of children from their homes to hasten assimilation was also commonplace with Native American children. Bull et al. (1992) explain that

children were in fact “often involuntarily removed from their tribal communities to be educated in English-only boarding schools” (p 2). Within Aotearoa-New Zealand, a common government view of the time was expressed by Carlton (1862), “One of the main objects in a native boarding school should be to wean the scholars from Māori habits and to substitute European” (cited in Simon, 1990, p 85). Many Māori children were removed from their homes to receive schooling, “not to return home until they had finished school. By then, many had forgotten their language and been alienated from their cultural customs and their own families” (Simon and Smith, 1990, p 8). Some time later in 1902, this policy was questioned by James Pope, the Organising Inspector of Native Schools,

No young Māori should stay away from their people...long enough to get out of touch with them ...the long absence of the young Māori from his people will have so estranged them, that only rarely will he be of much use to them or they to him...There is a very powerful and important reason why Māori boarding-school pupils should not be drawn from their homes entirely, unless when, from one cause or another, they have been so long and so completely severed from their people as to have become virtually pakehas rather than Māoris...Probably no surer means could be devised for bringing about the deterioration of the race, with eventual destruction

AJHR, 1902, Vol. 2, D-G, E-2, p 17-18.

The 1858 Native Schools Act was not fully implemented because of the outbreak of land wars between Māori and Pakeha in the 1860s, which were mainly due to illegal land acquisition, law and order, and cultural ignorance (Walker, 1990). Orange (1987) believes “the issues were land, authority and sovereignty” (p 3). One major result of the wars was land confiscations, which led to a breakdown in previous, overall peaceful relations between Māori and Pakeha. According to Stenson and Williams (1990), there were two perspectives regarding the wars. From a Pākehā perspective, their desire to buy land “was frustrated by tribal ownership”; they believed “only Pākehā law and the Queen’s authority was right for New Zealand; (and) they feared savagery of a culture they did not know”. From a Māori perspective, “They wanted to keep their taonga; uphold their mana, the authority of the chiefs; (and) they were angry at the way they were treated

as inferior" (p 29). Butchers (1930) says the land wars "were due solely to the Māoris growing belief that the Europeans were breaking faith with them in respect of the treaty by the terms of which they ceded to Queen Victoria. The sovereignty of their native land, and in return secured for themselves a guaranteed title to their ancestral soil" (p 118). The land wars affirmed the views of some Māori that the government's motivation to aid mission schools was "for Europeans to gain easier access to Māori land by teaching ideas such as individual ownership of land" (Simon, 1998, p 7). Simon (1990) maintains, "Policies on the education of the Māori...were intimately tied up with European acquisition of Māori land" (p 73). The following incident which occurred at Huiarau Native School, Ruatahuna, illustrates why many Māori were suspicious of Pākehā when land was involved. Even though the legal land requirement for a Native School stipulated not less than one acre, Māori offered five acres of land for the site of Huiarau Native School. However, the Inspector of Native Schools at that time, William Bird recommended, "Steps necessary to acquire the site of ten acres of Te Rangiora be put in hand at once" (Ruatahuna Research and Development Group, 1992, p 8). Another instance of underhandedness in acquiring Māori land in the name of education was given by Taate Wharekaua in 1884, "When these lands were given up it was on the understanding that they were to be for the school and Church (Church of England). During the fighting the schools and Churches were abandoned and have not been resumed since. Had the schools been re-established since the war, we would have availed ourselves of them and sent our children" (cited in Hemara, 2000, pp 53-4). Also, a letter to Public Works Department (1912) regarding a "site for Native School at Taheke, Rotorua", the Department of Education representative wrote, "It is proposed to acquire from the Native owners a title to the above mentioned land...In accordance with the usual practice the Natives are required to make the land a free gift to the Crown" (BAAA, 1001, 742a). One could propose that the government's reference to the land as a 'gift' was a means of appeasing consciences because the provision of land could be more accurately described as a requirement.

The land wars resulted in many Māori mistrusting Pakeha, resisting their initiatives and withdrawing their children from schools, "By 1865 the Māori had all but completely withdrawn from the schools" (Openshaw et al., 1993, p 39). Māori mistrust in Pākehā and their structures is evident in the following letter from Mr Thurston, Headmaster of Matata Native School to John Hislop Esquire, Education Department

*Matata School  
March 1 1886*

*14<sup>th</sup> February – a deputation of Te Umuhika natives called upon me stating census papers were not quite correct, and invited me to return to their settlement on the morrow – I went – unsaddled horse – at invitation entered house – this was about 2pm, was informed in a rude manner that my census papers were impounded – that they had held a "committee" and were resolved to seize the papers as they knew the Government meant them serious evil – to wit – kill them, tax them, rob them of their lands etc and much more. I spent about three and a half very anxious hours, amongst these anxious "Hau Haus"...*

*At last by the good will of one of their number (an old constable "Raimona") I managed to get back my census papers – I rode hard home over the hills, for fear of a whim again changing their opinion – I rode hard – lost three shoes from my horse – a spur – in the ti-tree – and arrived home late thoroughly knocked up – and felt very bad – insulted – I have received no remuneration for horse hire, loss of time, compiling census papers, besides the mental anxiety endured by me at Te Umuhika – and in conclusion I would respectfully ask the Education Department whether this work is part of a Native Teacher's work – because if so, I'm quite prepared to do it, but under different arrangements*

*I have the honour to be Sir  
Your obedient Servant  
H C Thurston. Teacher*

National Archives, BAAA, 1001, 334a.

During the land wars many Te Arawa men fought alongside Pākehā and against other iwi as a means of "settling old scores" (Koro Ben, personal communication, 2003). Although the land wars put an end to the system of Māori mission schools, "they did not put an end to the hunger for education; and the Māori elders mostly welcomed the new law of 1867" (Gurran, 1997, p 57).

Following the upheaval of the land wars, the passing of The 1867 Native Schools Act created the Native Schools system (Simon, 1998) and established a national, state-controlled system of primary education for Māori children, with an emphasis on the mastery of English. Through the Native Schools Act, a national, state-controlled system of primary education "for children of the aboriginal native race and half castes being orphans or the children of indigent parents" was established (Māori Schools Centennial, 1967, p 26). An annual grant of £50 was available to schools that fulfilled certain requirements, "No school shall receive any grant unless it is shown...that the English language and the ordinary subjects of primary English education are taught by a competent teacher and that the instruction is carried on in the English language as far as practicable" (Ritchie, 1993, p 1). In order for a school to be established, "initiative for a school was placed on the native inhabitants of a district" (Education Statutes of New Zealand, p 4). It was their responsibility to form a committee comprising of at least three members and no more than seven, with the majority being Māori, however, these committees had less authority than those of public schools, for example, "They were not given control of finances until the Education Amendment Act 1957 (Simon, 1998, p 23) almost one hundred years later. Responsibility to request the establishment of a school was placed in the hands of the committee, "A considerable number of male, adult, native inhabitants could ask for a school to be established" (Māori Schools Centennial, 1967, p 26). In turn, they were responsible for "supplying the land, half the cost of the buildings and ¼ of the teacher's salary" (Simon, 1998, p xvi). These stipulations placed tremendous financial strain on some Māori communities, and although they wanted a school established in their area, limited finances prevented them from meeting the high costs. Therefore, the 1867 Native Schools Act was not completely successful because of ambitious financial demands and consequences of the land wars.

In 1871 an Amendment Act was implemented. According to Openshaw et al. (1993) its aim was "to ease the financial burden placed on those Māori communities wanting schools" (p 42). It is noted in the Māori Schools Centennial

(1967) that the Act was passed to help those who could not raise enough money. Another view is that the concessions were implemented to rebuild Māori trust in Europeans by making it easier for them to establish schools in their area. Through the 1871 Native Schools Act financial concessions were made such as allowing the government "to finance Native schools without requiring any local contribution to buildings, maintenance, teacher's salaries or equipment. However, a piece of land was still required from the local inhabitants" (Education Statutes of New Zealand, p 4). "The governor could now require them to give land to school trusts as endowments, in lieu of money for buildings and salaries" (Gurran, 1997, p 51). In exchange for pupils cleaning the school buildings and tending the grounds they were provided with textbooks and stationery. After the implementation of the 1871 Amendment Act, a period of increased demand for Native Schools followed throughout most areas of the North Island. "The power of education was evident in the views expressed by no fewer than 922 Māori who petitioned Parliament in 1877" (Openshaw et al., 1993, p 43), requesting the establishment of schools in their areas. Lieutenant Colonel Russell noticed the demand for schools, "The natives everywhere are anxious for schools and willing to aid to the extent of their powers" (Māori Schools Centennial, 1967, p 26). Te Arawa was one such tribe who wanted schools established in their area because they viewed schooling "as the chief means by which to obtain social and economic parity with the Pākehā" (Barrington, 1971, p 25). Native Schools were their means of fulfilling their aspirations and accessing the benefits of their changing world, "Māori embraced schooling as a means to maintaining their sovereignty and enhancing their life-chances" (Simon and Smith, 1990, p 4). The assimilation policy had begun to take effect. "Many Māori were coming to the view that knowledge of the Pakeha was necessary for effective survival within a Pakeha dominated society" (p 12). Simon (1990) provides evidence from 1858 that Māori supported the teaching of English at school. At a meeting at Otaki in 1858, all of the parents who attended wanted their children to be taught English, "When seeking schooling, Māori parents made it abundantly clear that they wanted their children to learn English in order to avoid their being disadvantaged in their dealings with the Pakeha" (p 81).

The passing of the Education Act of 1877 was the first step taken by the government to establish a national system of free, compulsory, secular primary education. Native Schools however, "were specifically excluded from the provisions of the 1877 Education Act" (Openshaw et al., 1993, p 45). Native Schools operated separate from regional education boards, which administered the state primary schools. This two-tier education system was further entrenched in July 1879 when the administration of the 57 Native primary schools was transferred "from the Department of Native Affairs to the newly-created Education Department" (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974, p 122). Furthermore, regular inspections were mandatory for Native Schools. The 1877 Education Act allowed Māori to attend board schools if they desired, however, in spite of the law, in some districts Europeans would not allow Māori children access to the local public school (McKenzie, 1982). Soloman's (1996) account verifies claims of racism against Māori in board schools, "During the war I never went to school for about three years because we had no teacher. The Pākehā school down the road had teachers and my father tried to enrol us but we were turned away" (pp 24-5). Butchers (1930) confirms, "When Māori pupils did attend board schools, they often experienced 'inter-racial antipathies'...The new settlers and their children did not always treat the natives with respect. In short they made trouble where there was need for none" (p 128). Simon (1998) also noted that "Māori children within the board schools suffered a great deal of racial discrimination" (p 18). Simon and Smith (2001) suggest that Native Schools were significant sites for forming Māori-Pākehā relations, because two cultures were brought together in organised collision, and struggles between Māori and Pākehā occurred. An example of such a struggle occurred at Matata in the early 1920s when the growing feeling amongst the Pākehā community was that the school should become a Board/Public School. Needless to say, the Māori community wanted it to remain as a Native School like the people who gifted the land had intended, "Ko matou kaore rawa e whakaae kia whakarereketia tona ahuatanga...(kua) tuku motuhaketia te whenua hai tuunga mo taua Whare-Kura Māori mo ake tonu atu" (Raureti Mokonuiarangi, Hemana Pokiha, Harawira Hapimana, 1921, National Archives, BAAA, 1001, 333c). In 1921, the Native Schools' Inspector investigated

the matter. He concluded that since most of the Europeans pressing for Board control were railway employees, they could not be considered permanent inhabitants of Matata as their families would move from the school when their jobs took them out of the area. At last it was decided that, "The interest of the school and the children could be best served if the Department continued to control it" (Historical Review, 1962, p 32). In other words, the school maintained its Native School status.

### 1880 Native Schools Code

In 1880, James Pope was appointed as Organising Inspector of Native Schools. He was expected to devote "his whole attention to the supervision of the teachers and the inspection and organisation of the schools" (Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974, p 122). Upon appointment Pope declared his commitment to improving the organisation of schools through the 1880 Native Schools Code, which provided requisites regarding the establishment of new schools, conduct of the school, standards of education (up to standard four), school committees and teachers' duties. Pope's aim was "to bring Māori into line with European civilisation" (Harker and McConnochie, 1985, p 94). In other words, the goal was assimilation. Education Department officials predicted, "The Māoris will ultimately become Europeanised" (AJHR, 1880, H-1F). The following excerpt taken from an 1879 school textbook confirms the attitude of superiority

Whites form by far the most important race, for they  
have the best laws, the greatest amount of learning,  
and the most excellent knowledge of farming and trade.  
There are five great races of men, and of these the  
white race is the highest"

cited in Simon, 1990, p 103.

This notion of racial and cultural superiority was fundamental to the policy of assimilation because it was this foundation of ideas that gave those in power the justification for the policy of assimilation, "According to government policy, assimilation, not the imparting of knowledge of value to the Māori was the

primary objective in Māori education” (Simon, 1990, p 85). In reality, there was no account taken of Māori responses to the new knowledge being imparted. They had to accept it because it was good for them, because it came from a superior people who were from a superior race. Thus, assimilation can be seen as both the policy and process of replacing Māori ways with those of Pākehā. Selby (1999) describes assimilation as “the absorption of Māori into Pākehā society” (p 15). Marge (1985) defines cultural assimilation as the “cultural, structural, biological and psychological levels of dimensions which result in one ethnic group invariably taking on board dimensions of another” (p 81). Johnston and Pihama (1995) agree with Marge’s definition, whereby assimilation is “the adoption of another group’s cultural traits; that is, religion, language, diet etc” (p 81). Some Māori such as Awatere (1995) maintain the view that, “Assimilation is about the worst thing that happened to our culture” (p 33). Schools were to continue to be the agents of this transformation and “expected to assimilate Māori children into Pākehā culture by actively discarding Māori beliefs and practices by replacing them with Pākehā belief systems and ‘manners’ “as quickly as possible” (Jenkins and Matthews, 1995, p 24). Solomon (1996) concedes, “We had to become brown Pākehā. It was the right thing at that time” (p 23). Szaszy’s (2002) comment shows how difficult it was to resist the onslaught that Māori people faced in the early days, “We were conditioned to it, or brainwashed to it. I know I was, as far as education was concerned, because it influenced my thinking regarding my own teaching and the non-teaching of Māori to my own children when they were born” (cited in Webby and Misa, 2002, p 27).

Within the 1880 Native Schools Code, instruction in the Māori language was permitted in junior classes to help pupils master English, although the official aim of the teacher was to dispense entirely with the use of Māori as quickly as possible. In reality however, Māori was used in both the junior and senior classes, as Inspector Brabant’s (1874) report of Matata Native School indicates, “Spelling, translating into Māori, and writing very good...1896 - Senior pupils reading in English and Māori; spelling, dictation and translation into Māori”

(Historical Review Journal, 1964, p 129). In the early 1900s however, the use of the Māori language in schools was officially prohibited with a preference for using the 'Direct Method' to teach English. The philosophy of the 'Direct Method' was that "the second language (English) would be acquired quicker and more effectively if the first language (Māori) was not used at all" (Simon, 1998, p 17).

Pope had expected that Pākehā teachers would play a significant role in assimilating their Māori communities. They were expected to "exercise a beneficial influence on all the natives of the district" (Simon, 1998, p 14), and act as models for Māori to emulate. Married couples with children were preferred to teach at Native Schools to provide appropriate role models of family living and hasten assimilation. Dual appointments of husband and wife teachers were initiated in Native Schools "specifically to serve as models of European life" (Simon, 1990, p 93). Hemara (2000) reports that in 1884, education department officials said these teachers "may be regarded as missionaries of civilization...exercising much influence for good not only over their youthful scholars, but also over the elder members of the Native community" (p 51). The husband would teach reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and citizenship, while his wife taught sewing. "The forming of a homelike atmosphere with the principal and his wife representing the father and mother was an ideal arrangement according to the inspectors...to him it was such a sensible method of imparting European ideas of family life" (Gray, 1970, pp 144-5). According to Butchers (1930), teachers at Native Schools during this period "were more likely than those in the board schools to be motivated by strong humanitarian ideals to serve the interests of their Māori communities" (pp 506-15). However, in line with the Pākehā notion of superiority that was prevalent since the government's initial involvement with Māori education, teachers at Native Schools were paid on a lower scale than teachers in public schools. Assistant teachers in Native Schools were also paid far less than their counterparts in other schools, "In the 1890s, female assistants in Native Schools were not only paid less, on average, than

assistants in education board schools but actually paid less than pupil-teachers in those schools" (McGeorge, 2001, p 179).

Pope subscribed to a widely held belief that the Māori race was dying out and being replaced by a superior one. However, he believed that Māori could survive if they adopted Pākehā living standards which could be taught at school. Therefore, the survival of the Māori race depended largely on education (McKenzie et al., 1996). The 1880 Native Schools' Code also stipulated a focus on children's health and hygiene which saw the introduction of many health-focused initiatives such as fingernail and kutu (head lice) inspections, daily administering of medicines (such as cod liver oil and malt), and regular visits by District Nurses,

Each morning began with an assembly and a health inspection. This included inspection of fingernails to ensure they were clean. They also checked our arms, legs and feet as well as our clothing for cleanliness. Every Friday our heads were inspected for kutu

Selby, 1999, p 42.

Considerable emphasis was placed on personal and community hygiene in an attempt to improve the health and living standards in Māori communities. For example, the headmaster's wife "taught the use of disinfectants and ointments, and taught the girls how to make, to repair and to wash their clothes" (Māori Schools Centennial, 1967, p 27). Openshaw et al. (1993) suggest, "Much of Pope's thinking concerning native education focussed on providing skills that would assist the immediate survival of the villages threatened with diseases" (p 46). Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) report that the emphasis on hygiene contributed to a gradual but steady improvement in Māori standards of health. In 1897 the Māori population was only 43,927 compared with 63,670 in 1926. "During the early years of the twentieth century, Māori society and culture reached its lowest ebb. Introduced diseases had helped reduce the...numbers of Māori" (Royal, 2005). At a meeting in 1927, Maui Pomare pointed out that "physically there is evidence of a wonderful improvement" (cited in Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974, p 154).

The ultimate aim of the 1880 Native Schools Code "was to merge the education of Māori and Pakeha pupils as rapidly as possible" (Barrington and Beaglehole (1974, p 126). Simon (1998) emphasises the stipulation in the Code for Native Schools to be taken over by education boards "as soon as the children in it were sufficiently Europeanised" (p 12), which is reiterated in the New Zealand Official Year Book (1923), "As the district in which a Native school is established becomes populated and the Native population Europeanised in its mode of living, the school is handed over to the control of the Education Board for the district."

### New Policy

Throughout the early decades of the 1900s an emphasis on practical skills dominated efforts of teachers in Native Schools because instruction in vocationally relevant subjects "was held to be of far greater importance than instruction in 'academic' ones" (McKenzie et al., 1993, p 148). For example, boys were taught farming skills and girls were taught how to be the ideal farmer's wife (Harker and McConnochie, 1985). Older girls were trained in domestic arts, cooking, ironing, dressmaking, home craft and mother craft, while boys were taught woodwork, metalwork and horticulture (Māori Schools Centennial, 1967, p 28). However, many Māori "felt the vocational slant was an insult to Māori aspirations for better jobs and recognized status within New Zealand...Māori opposition to this form of education was an appropriate response to its limitations" (McKean, 1987, p iii). This emphasis on practical skills focused on preparing Māori for mainly labouring-class roles within society and restricting their life chances (Simon, 1998; Bishop and Glynn, 1998; Selby, 1999). Simon (1990) confirms, "Whereas Māori sought to increase their life-chances through schooling, the government's policy was to limit those life-chances" (p 104). Similarly, Solomon (1998) explains, "There were no opportunities to learn office skills through commercial courses or to enrol in professional courses" (p 42).

## **Middle Native School Period: 1930s – 1940s**

Information provided within this section pertains to educational developments and climates during the 1930s and 1940s. A thorough understanding of this period of Māori education is crucial since it is the period in which most of the kaumātua were schooled.

### New Regulations Relating to Native Schools

From 1931, the practical emphasis changed when new Regulations Relating to Native Schools were gazetted. The changes indicated that Native Schools were to follow the same syllabus as public schools "with some modification deemed appropriate for Māori schools" (Simon, 1998, p xvii). This change was significant because the Native School syllabus that had previously emphasised practical skills, and was criticised as limiting opportunities for Māori, was officially ended - Native Schools and Board Schools were to follow the same syllabus; however, vestiges of the restricted curriculum remained with continued value placed on manual work. King (1997) informs us that even "by 1950 there was still a lack of emphasis on academic education and on preparation for the professions. Consequently few Māori entered white-collar occupations in the post-war years" (p 83). During this time scholarships were provided to enable gifted Māori children "to gain secondary schooling at the denominational boarding schools. The idea was to develop an educated Māori elite who would eventually return to the villages and spread the gospel of assimilation, thus helping to fulfil the state's objective" (Simon, 1998, p 17). According to Uncle Nira (cited in Raureti, 2000), "For Māori pupils, the Proficiency exam and a scholarship to a boarding school was the ultimate goal" (p 91). These scholarships "which were the ticket to a secondary boarding school" allowed Māori pupils "the opportunity to enter the world of the Pākehā" (Selby, 1999, p 19). A secondary education was viewed as a means of liberation from the labour class, where Māori could access jobs that were previously restricted to Pākehā. The new regulations also gave teachers the freedom to alter the work in order to best meet the needs of their particular pupils. The Education Gazette (1934) confirms, "Teachers were expected to use

their originality in devising schemes of work suited to the needs of their districts” (cited in Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974, p 200). In this way the curriculum could be tailored according to the desires and aspirations of the community, for example, many of the stories of the kaumātua tell how their school activities reflected the fulfilment of community aspirations such as contributing to projects to improve the appearance of local marae.

During this period, a significant number of Native School teachers “developed...a strong commitment to Māori interests” (Simon and Smith, 2001, p 300). The editor of the Māori Schools Centennial (1967) says Native School teachers were people of integrity and character who developed sympathy, tact and understanding. His view is confirmed by ex-Native School pupil Kereopa, “I remember the principal was Mr Alexander, and his wife Mrs Alexander, they were so dedicated to the school, the wellbeing and education of the children” (cited in Stone, 2002, p 1). Szaszy (1993) credits the teachers at her Native School of Te Hapua as being exceptional people, “These teachers were special people who became our foster parents. They were responsible for what I achieved later” (Irwin and Ramsden, 1995, p 133). These statements suggest that teachers played an enormous role in the lives of Native School pupils, and support Durie’s (2004) statement that “kaumātua and kuia remembered their teachers with exceptional clarity” (p 5). During this era Māori influence over the daily operations of their Native Schools was becoming more firmly established. The schools were the focal point of the communities; Māori presence as staff employed as teachers or teaching assistants was frequent; members of the community were also regularly involved in teaching aspects of Māori art and craft; and while English was still officially the target language, teachers in some Native Schools encouraged their pupils to learn English and retain the Māori language (see Nan Nan’s story, Part two). Within this environment most of the pupils enjoyed success, and outperformed most Māori pupils in the Board schools (Simon, 1998).

### 'Cultural Adaptation'

From the mid 1930s the aim of 'assimilation' was replaced by the 'Cultural Adaptation' policy, whereby "Native Schools were encouraged to incorporate Māori arts, crafts and music into their school curricula" (Simon, 1998, p 106). McLaren (1993) states that the Department of Education introduced the notion and practice of adaptation having finally conceded that its policy of assimilation had failed. Simon (1998) attributes the change in policy partly to the Māori cultural renaissance, initiated by Sir Apirana Ngata. Mason (1945) a former Minister of Education, believed the change in policy was due to the realisation that in order for Māori "to be a fully developed person and a responsible member of society he needed as well to have his roots set deep in the life of his people and the traditions of his race" (p 55). According to the editor of the Māori Schools Centennial (1967), "The new (cultural adaptation) policy was designed to nurture the growing pride of the race" (p 28), whereby "the best of the Māori heritage and custom was incorporated into the curriculum, including poi dances and suitable Māori games and weaving, carving and taniko work" (Simon, 1998, p 73). However, perhaps predictably, one significant aspect of Māori culture not included in the new regulations was the Māori language. Strong (1931), the Director of Education argued, "A knowledge of the Māori language is unnecessary to natives who know only English. The Māori language has no literature and consequently in this direction too, the natural abandonment of the native tongue inflicts no loss on the Māori" (p 193). Te reo Māori was excluded from curriculum guidelines even though Native School teachers and Māori communities requested its inclusion. The following telegram from Mr Dansey (1941) to "The Right Honourable Peter Fraser" on behalf of "Chief Hatu Pirihi" and Tuhourangi in 1941, expressed their dissatisfaction that their children were unable to speak Māori. The children "cannot today speak their native tongue and this is very wrong where the impact of the Pākehā is so strong...We pray that you will do the best thing for us and not permit departmental idiosyncrasies to scrap indigenous culture of deep national value" (BAAA, 1001, 1081b). It is important to note that it was the Department of Education that decided what represented "the best of Māori heritage and custom" (Simon, 1998, p 73). Selby (1999) confirms, "It was

not Māori who decided what Māori should be included" (p 16). Blank (2000) says, "I was allowed to keep my Māori leg – the attractive part of it – action songs, the haka...They said that's what māoritanga was. It's no wonder my Māori leg is rather clumsy" (p 137).

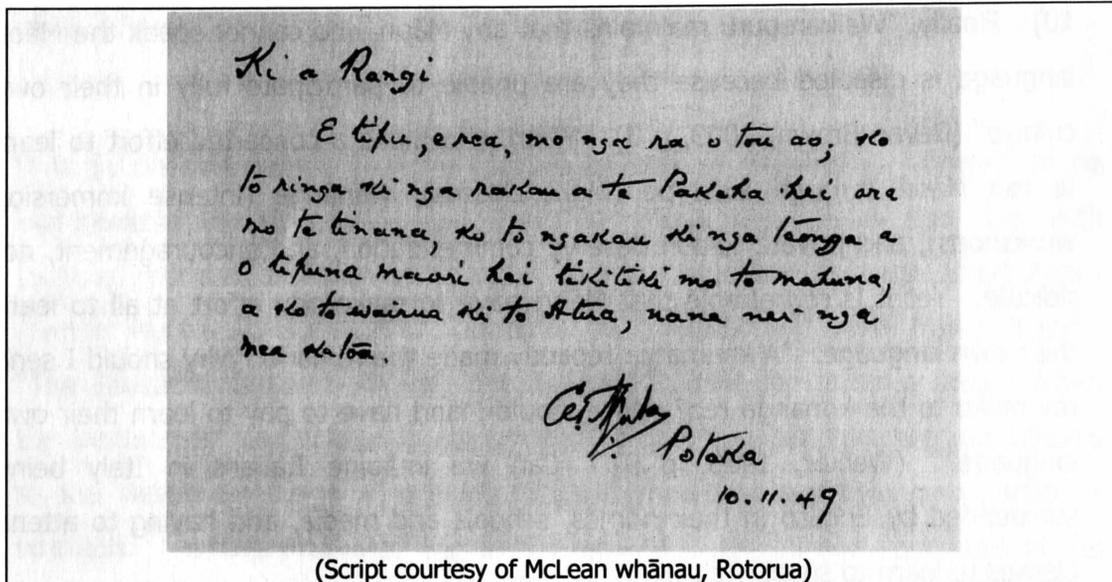
It is by no coincidence that the various aspects of Māoritanga 'allowed' to be incorporated into the curriculum from the 1930s were those that met with tourists' approval, and earned financial reward. According to Uncle Albert Anaru (former Native School teacher, principal, NZEI Fellow and close family friend), "The Education Department had 'Show Schools' within the Rotorua area. When the Department had overseas visitors they were 'shown' certain Rotorua schools to see 'Native Education' in action". Each show school had their own particular strength. Whakarewarewa School became a show school because of its environment and cultural aspects such as a carved Māori hall named after a well known Te Arawa ancestor, Hatupatu. The hall was decorated with Māori patterned leadlight windows...Whangamarino School was a show school because of its health programme. Horohoro was renowned for its farming programmes and operated a model farm. Apparently, the Show Schools were politically favoured by the Department of Education, "It was quite political, and they got anything they wanted" (personal communication, September 2002).

According to Benton (1978b), one way to hasten the extermination of a language is through an education system and schools that "reinforce the position of the dominant language, and directly weaken the minority language by excluding it from important domains of use – that is by excluding it from any active role in the formal education of the individual" (p 14). It is sad to read Strong's (1931) statement regarding the knowledge of Māori language as unnecessary when many of our people today are still suffering from the negative consequences of those devastating policies (Solomon, 1996; Selby, 1999; Bevan-Brown, 2003). Solomon (1996) confides, "I can understand part of the whaikōrero. But it annoys me that I can't understand all of it. Basically I think at the back of my

psyche I'm saying I wish I could do that. I feel resentful, of course I do" (pp 28-9). Selby (1999) tells us of another victim who still bares scars of hurtful policy, "He was beaten for speaking Māori and was suffering lifelong pain and effects" (p 10). Finally, "Waikarepuru maintains that any Māori who cannot speak the Māori language is disabled because they are unable to participate fully in their own culture" (Bevan-Brown, 2003, p 3). Māori who make a concerted effort to learn te reo Māori through kura pō (night classes), wānanga (intense immersion workshops), and private tuition deserve commendation, and encouragement, not ridicule. Yet it is regrettable that Māori have to make any effort at all to learn their own language. "A kaumatua recently made the remark...'Why should I send my moko to the kohanga reo? Why should Māori have to pay to learn their own language?'" (Walker, 1996, p 9). Can we imagine Italians in Italy being surrounded by English in their homes, schools and media, and having to attend classes to learn to speak Italian?

This type of policy and practice which sought to eradicate te reo Māori conflicted with Māori aspirations. Māori exerted great efforts to learn the tools of the Pākehā and expected to retain their Māori culture and identity (McPherson, 1994; Simon, 1998; Metge, 1999, 2000; Raureti, 2000; Simon and Smith, 2001). As well as ignoring Māori aspirations and voices, the government ignored a promise within Te Tiriti o Waitangi, to protect those things that Māori regarded as precious. McPherson (1994) confirms the government's responsibility to protect te reo Māori, "As the language of the tāngata whenua, as a language that is spoken only in Aotearoa-New Zealand, and as a taonga protected under the Treaty of Waitangi, it is clear that the responsibility for safeguarding the language must be shared by both Māori and the Government" (p 12). Instead, Pākehā continued to dictate educational policy that blatantly disregarded Māori aspirations in order to fulfil their own agenda.

In 1949, Sir Apirana Ngata summarised the aspiration that Māori people should learn the ways of the Pākehā while maintaining their Māoritanga (Maori culture, language, identity and pride).



E tipu, e rea, mo nga ra o tou ao,  
 Ko to ringa ki nga rakau a te Pakeha  
 Hei ora mo te tinana,  
 Ko to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tipuna Maori  
 Hei tikitiki mo to mahuna,  
 A ko to wairua ki to Atua,  
 Nana nei ngā mea katoa

A. Ngata  
 Potaka  
 10.11.49.

Grow up and thrive for the days destined to you  
 Your hand to the tools of the Pākehā  
 To provide physical sustenance  
 Your heart to the treasures of your Māori ancestors  
 As a diadem for your brow  
 Your soul to your God  
 To whom all things belong

Brougham et al., 1996, pp 89-90.

According to Solomon (1998), Apirana wanted us to “kōrero Pākehā for our own benefit in the years to come. When you look at his whakatauākī, it’s a part of our Māori heritage plus the Pākehā, it’s the balance, kōrero Pākehā, kōrero Māori anō, kia mau ki tō Māoritanga” (p 43).

Although the cultural adaptation policy allowed for the introduction of aspects of Māoritanga, “the curriculum emphasis, nevertheless, was still on developing Pākehā habits and competency in English” (Simon, 1998, p 105). Shuker (1996) is of the opinion that policies of assimilation, integration and adaptation were integral parts of a plan to bring Māori under the European umbrella, into the same structural and philosophical system. This view is shared by King (1997), “Assimilation and integration both required Māori to become Pākehā. The Māori had to learn everything about the English language and Western ways of living...As a result Māori values and institutions had a lower status in New Zealand life than their Western equivalents” (p 95). While the policy of assimilation had been replaced with that of cultural adaptation, the emphasis on the English language and Pākehā practices remained.

### Urbanisation

Throughout the 1940s, many Māori families shifted to towns and cities. During World War II, Aotearoa-New Zealand experienced a shortage of workers, and labouring and factory jobs opened to Māori (Harawira and Ilohia, 1996/1997). In the Post World War II period, rehabilitation programmes were also offered in the cities, so numerous Māori left the familiar surroundings of their kāinga (homes), and relocated themselves and their families in urban centres, “pursuing what King (1983) aptly described as the ‘fantasy contagion’, the dream for a better life in the city” (Henry, n.d.). Loans were made available for houses located in cities. Bishop and Glynn (1999) describe Māori urbanisation as “one of the most rapid urbanisations undergone by any people in the world” (p 36). Many Māori experienced great difficulty adapting to the new environment, without the support they were accustomed to from their families, “All the responsibilities which used to be shared by the whanau were borne by the individual woman...Urbanisation resulted in a loss of confidence and self-esteem, tribal identity and turangawaewae” (Kia Mataara, 1989, pp 28-29). Freire (1996) believes, “The more alienated people are, the easier it is to divide them and keep them divided. These focalized forms of action, by intensifying the focalized way

of life of the oppressed (especially in rural areas), hamper the oppressed from perceiving reality critically and keep them isolated from the problems of oppressed women and men in other areas" (p 123). It may be easy to agree with Simon and Smith's (1990) assertion that urbanisation was an effective tool in the closure of Native Schools, ("Urbanisation was seen as the instrument which would assist in the gradual passing away of the Māori Schools" [p 5]), when one considers the following words quoted during the opening ceremony of Turakina Māori Girls' College, "If this communal life could be destroyed Mr. Seddon thought the race would be saved" (1905, cited in Gray, 1970, p 2). It is likely that the government viewed urbanisation as an effective tool for breaking down Māori society because it would be difficult for Māori to maintain family ties and the traditions and values which formed the basis of their communities and hapū, if separated from their home communities because "the central commitment of a communitarian society... (is) to maintain the community's traditions" (Bull et al., 1992, p 86).

Urbanisation had a harmful effect on many Māori families who were accustomed to living with communal support, it also contributed to the decline of the Māori language, since "speakers of the minority language (were) removed from their own communities and brought into intense contact with the dominant majority group (Benton, 1978b, p 14; Henry, n.d.). For example, "When Aunty Ka first arrived at Te Teko School; Māori was every pupil's first language. That changed later when fathers began working at Tasman and travelling to towns...It became more common for Māori children to...become exposed to the English language" (Raureti, 2000, pp 64-65). Another way in which urbanisation had a negative effect on the continued existence of te reo Māori was that it increased "the likelihood of marriage between persons speaking the dominant and dominated language...Now...it is the Māori speaking partner who is likely to assimilate, and English will be the dominant language of the home" (Benton, 1978b, p 15). According to my father, "Although it was usually frowned upon when Māori married Pākehā...some Māori may have...encouraged mixed marriages since the

acquisition of Pākehā knowledge was regarded as a necessity to gain equal status with them" (Raureti, 2000, p 114). Within urban centres, Māori "were out of regular contact with their home societies and their elders, and where the norm was English. The children of these people went to city schools where Māori was unheard of in teaching programmes" (A Brief History of the Māori Language, 2001). Consequently, the academic results of many Māori children in Board Schools "lagged behind that of their Pakeha peers" (McLaren, 1993, p 2). Simon (1998) agrees, "Māori children attending the public schools did not succeed as well as those in the Native Schools...they failed to achieve results...comparable to those attained in Native schools" (p 76).

#### From 'Native' to 'Māori'

During this post-war period, Pakeha attitudes (on the surface) were changing and a wave of goodwill towards Māori was occurring (Simon, 1998). The experiences of the kaumātua in my previous thesis (Raureti, 2000) demonstrate the changing relationships between Māori and Pākehā and indeed the changes that had occurred in many Native Schools by this stage. All of the kaumātua participants stressed that they treasured life-long friendships formed between Māori and Pākehā pupils at Matata Native School. Pākehā brothers, Glen and Ming Burt believe "the main benefit to have come from being educated at Matata Native School is that they have made life-long friends, both Māori and Pākehā" (p 86). Subsequently, in 1947 the term 'Native' was replaced in all official usage by the word 'Māori' "to avoid connotations of racial inequality" (p 19) and Native Schools were called Māori Schools. According to Uncle Albert Anaru (personal communication, 2002), changing the names of Native Schools to Māori Schools led to a misunderstanding by Pākehā and Māori that the schools were solely for Māori children. During this climate of thinking, the Education Department was criticised for operating a separate system of schooling for Māori. "The committee resolved that the long-term policy of the government should be the development of a uniform system of administrative control (Education Board)" (Māori Schools Centennial, 1967, p 28). Since the 1880 Native Schools' Code, this suggestion

was the first to propose that Native (Māori) Schools should not be allowed to continue to operate separately from Public/Board (Pākehā dominated) Schools.

### **Later Native School Period: 1950s – 1969**

By the 1950s, it was evident that the Board Schools were failing Māori children. "In 1951 the Māori Women's Welfare League passed a resolution advocating that Māori should be taught in Māori schools" (Outreach, 2003, p 2). In 1955 the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education (N.A.C.M.E) was established in an attempt to devise practical solutions to address concerns regarding Māori achievement in Board Schools. The N.A.C.M.E was the Education Department's first official attempt to seek guidance from Māori, by inviting Māori leaders to provide their perspective on education. Its recommendations included an increased emphasis on Māori arts, crafts, history and Māori language in all primary schools, which was to result in Māori children having a greater understanding of their own culture, and Pākehā children gaining an appreciation of the culture of their peers. The importance of teaching local history had already been advocated in many Native Schools, more than twenty years before the 1955 recommendations, as William Bird's (1931) report on Rotokawa Native School indicates, "Notes for Teachers... In history take more local history" (BAAA, 1001, 1020a).

### **The Hunn Report 1960**

In 1960 the Report of the Department of Māori Affairs was completed by the Acting Secretary of Māori Affairs, Jack Hunn. It became known as the Hunn Report. After considering all aspects pertaining to Māori people, Hunn concluded that life chances of Māori could be improved through education, since "better education promotes better employment, which promotes better education and thus closes the circle" (Openshaw et al., 1993, p 72). He recommended a policy of 'integration' where Māori and Pākehā elements would combine to form one nation with the Māori culture remaining distinct; and he wholeheartedly supported

the full integration of Māori into mainstream New Zealand through education because "school is the nursery of integration" (Hunn, 1960, p 25). According to Irwin (1987), "When people 'integrate' there is a blending but not an absorption of one by the other" (cited in Historical Review, 1998, p 87). Thompson (1961) criticised several aspects of the Hunn Report including its assumption that 'Europeans' are responsible for saving the Māori, and that it was formulated as the "latest plan for 'raising' the Māoris" (p 8). According to Thompson, "The Hunn report about the Māoris is essentially a European document...It is hard to believe that any serious attempt was made to involve the Māori people in the drafting of this report" (p 9). Thompson's major criticism was Hunn's integration recommendation, "The term 'integration is a more acceptable label", yet Hunn's recommendations were "more akin to what is described as assimilation" (p 8). Thompson suggested that assimilation violates human rights

There is no general agreement that integration...is in the best interests of the Māoris...Undue pressure towards integration is as much a violation of human rights as undue pressure towards segregation. If a Māori wishes to discard the traditional way of life in favour of European ways, it is his privilege to do so. If he does not wish to change, that is also his privilege. It is the obligation of the European majority to see that the rights of Māori citizens to equality are unhampered

Thompson, 1961, p 9.

King (1997) believes, assimilation and integration both required Māori to become Pākehā...There was no serious pressure on Pākehā to reciprocate. At that time, being Māori was promulgated as disadvantageous (Adams, 1973). The notion was reinforced with comments such as the following from government officials like Hunn (1960), "The alarming increase in criminality goes hand in hand with the rapid growth in the Māori population and its redistribution through urbanisation" (p 32). However, Puaote-Ata-Tu (1986) explains that such overwhelming Māori representation in "every negative statistic in education, crime...health and employment" is evidence of "institutional racism" (p 26) rather than deficits on the part of Māori. Ausubel's (1970) comment also reflects those that were publicised by education officials and indeed many New Zealanders

during the 1960s and early 1970s, "The cultural level of the Māori home, the degree of Māori stimulation it offers Māori children, and the standard of English spoken by Māori parents must progressively improve until they approach or equal Pākehā standards" (p 61). This derogatory view was reinforced throughout Hunn's (1960) report which inferred that Māori pupils' abilities were inferior to those of Pākehā. He reported that the vocational future of Māori pupils "is more likely to lie more and more in the skilled trades" (p 26). It was reinforced by the "Native School curriculum which officially had the same syllabus as board schools but, in teaching, they place(ed) greater emphasis on arts and crafts and manual training" (p 26).

On the surface, Hunn's integration policy seemed virtuous, however, in line with an agenda of assimilation as opposed to integration, he supported earlier calls to merge the education of Māori and Pākehā children, "The cause of race relations would...be best served by absorbing as many Māori children as possible into board ('public') schools" (p 25). He also recommended the transfer of Māori schools to Board control after public school teachers had been given special training "to help them cope with the 'special needs' of Māori pupils" (Openshaw et al., 1993, p 73). Hunn's recommendations were implemented. "The Hunn Report signalled an end to what was seen as separate and therefore segregated development of Māori people" (Simon and Smith, 1990, p 4). Thoughts of separatism continued throughout the 1960s. The Whangamarino Māori School bulletin (1965) seemed to support calls to transfer Māori schools to Board control, "Because comparatively few Māoris are taught in Māori Schools (due to urbanisation), because separate 'Māori' schools hints of segregation and racial strife (like Negro Schools in U.S.A) and because it is awkward to administer Māori schools scattered all over the North Island from Auckland,...the Government is anxious to do away with 'Māori Schools'" (p 6). Subsequent bulletins also publicised support, "If you rely on the so-called-Māori-schools to keep Māori identity, it's a form of segregation (like South Africa)" (Whangamarino Māori School bulletin, 1966).

In 1967 Education Department announced "that all Māori Schools would be transferred to board control within the next few months" (Simon, 1998, p 19). McLaren (1993) reported their recommendation that Māori Schools be transferred "gradually, after full consultation...with the local Māori people and with compensation for land gifted (p 3). When the idea of transferring Māori schools to Board control was canvassed, Pakeha officials from Education Boards, primary school inspectors and Māori school staff were sent out by the education department to meet with parents and school committees to outline the significance of the changes and speak on the issue (Metge and Kinloch, 1978; Openshaw et al., 1993). In line with a facade of consultation, the "officials...reported back that there was general acceptance of the transfer, whereas in fact there was strong and widespread opposition to the idea" (Metge and Kinloch, 1978, p 27). Many Māori communities fought passionately to retain their Māori School status no matter how 'Europeanised' they were deemed to have become (Simon, 1998). Simon and Smith (1990) report, "The struggle to maintain the local school as a Native School was seen by many local communities as a struggle over the very relationship of the particular whanau or hapu with the land on which their school stood. This land had been donated often by significant local tupuna (ancestors) for the establishment of the school" (p 7). Because Māori communities had given land for their schools and contributed financially to establishing, operating and maintaining them, "The Māori people came to regard the schools as their own" (Māori Schools Centennial, 1967, p 27). The following example of Māori resistance to the transfer of Native Schools to Board of Education control, is given by Hemara (2000),

After school today there was a meeting of the School Committee and other Māoris in connection with the proposed transfer of this school to the Auckland Education Board. All present objected very strongly and stated that all the Māoris of the District were determined to oppose the transfer by every means in their power

p 49.

Nevertheless, the government ignored Māori communities, active Māori organisations and Māori educationalists. In spite of passionate opposition to the

Native Schools' closure (Simon, 1998), in spite of pupils' academic success and improved health within the Native Schools, and in spite of the obvious partnership and close involvement between community and school, the Native School system was forced by the government to end. The Native School system did not come to a natural end but were terminated by the state as they "had become a site of Māori resistance (and therefore) this resistance needed to be...brought under control" (Simon and Smith, 1990, p 2). After the remaining Māori Schools were transferred to Board control, the education system that was specifically focused on, and committed to meeting the needs of Māori children, officially ended. In February 1969 the Native School system was ended.

### **Post Native School Period: 1970s – 1990s**

Information provided within this section pertains to educational developments from the 1970s and throughout the 1990s. A thorough understanding of this period of Māori education is crucial since it is the period in which most of the mokopuna participants were schooled, and the context within which their stories may be more fully understood.

Being Māori continued to be promulgated as disadvantageous "either because of some built-in propensity for disadvantage or because certain factors in their way of life contrive it" (Adams, 1973, p 63). In response to the negativity and harmful impact of urbanisation on Māori people, their language and culture, there was resurgence in Māoritanga (Maori culture, language, identity and pride) during the 1970s, which was "increasingly recognised as the Maori Renaissance" (Walker, 1990). One feature of the renaissance was the development of overt resistance by Māori to the encroachment of the dominant hegemony in their lives, through the establishment of organisations such as Ngā Tama Toa, which was comprised mainly of Māori university students whose aim was to raise consciousness about Māori injustices. They "marched, demonstrated, picketed, petitioned Parliament and harried the media – all in a bid to have Māori concerns attended to" (Harawira and Ilolahia, 1996/1997, p 20).

One major Māori concern was the declining number of speakers of te reo Māori. According to Outreach (2003), "By the 1970s many Māori groups were worried about the state of the language. At this point only 18-20% of Māori were fluent, and most of them were over 65" (p 2). Benton (1978b) summarised their fear, "Like the Korotangi (a treasured image of a bird said to have been brought to New Zealand from Hawaiki' [Benton, 1979a, p 1]) the Māori language seems destined to vanish" (p 1). Grave concern about the survival of te reo Māori continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s. In November of 1979, Benton (1979b) reported, "The Māori language is now, for the first time in New Zealand history, seriously threatened with complete extinction as an everyday language" (p 1). Māori people's concern about the decline of te reo Māori generated a series of hui (meetings) in the early 1980s, out of which grew the Kōhanga Reo (literally, 'language nest') Māori- medium early childhood education movement. The first Kōhanga Reo was established at Wainuiomata in 1982. "Te Kōhanga Reo is a total immersion te reo Māori whānau (family) programme for mokopuna (young children) from birth to six years of age to be raised within its whānau Māori, where the language of communication will be Māori... to ensure the survival of te Reo Māori" (Te Kohanga Reo National Trust, 2003). The movement gained such momentum that by the early 1990s over 800 Kohanga Reo were operating throughout the country (Inwood, 1993). (This number was to drop during the 1990s when control of the Kohanga was vested in the Ministry of Education.) According to Executive Government (2005), Kōhanga Reo is "the most successful initiative in Māori education". During the late 1980s many parents realised that their children's competency in te reo Māori would deteriorate without the continued focus and fostering of the Māori language throughout their primary schooling. As it happened, "when children left the Kohanga Reo environment and entered mainstream education at the age of five, they lost their Maori language within three weeks" (Inwood, 1993).

Consequently, as a natural continuity of Kōhanga Reo, the first Kura Kaupapa Māori (primary school, operating according to tikanga Māori and through the medium of Māori language) was established in 1985 (Te Rūnanga Nui o ngā Kura

Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa, 1998). Kura Kaupapa Māori provided the only full immersion schooling option for parents who wanted their children "to retain and enhance their language and culture" (McKinley and Else, 2002, p 28). According to Te Rūnanga Nui o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa (1998) "Kura Kaupapa Māori provide a holistic Māori spiritual and cultural educational environment" (p 8). A central aim of Kura Kaupapa Māori is "to restore Māori Language and values" (Te Rūnanga Nui o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa, 1998, p 3). Jones, et al. (1990) contend, "Kura Kaupapa Māori are the hope for the future... (and have) the potential to break the cycle of social and cultural reproduction attached to Pākehā dominant schooling" (p 155). "As a natural progression from Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura (Māori medium Secondary Schools) were also established" (Smith, 1997). Support for Māori initiatives such as Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori has been given by the Māori Education Commission, which was established in 1997 to advise the Minister of Māori Affairs regarding education, "Although Kaupapa Māori programmes are still in their infancy and lack a comprehensive support infrastructure, they are achieving success" (Pihama et al., 2002, p 36). More importantly, they "are successful in the eyes of the Māori people" (Smith, 1992, p 1).

In 1987 the Waitangi Tribunal recommended that the government formally recognise and support te reo Māori. It was eventually accepted by the government in August 1987 the Māori Language Act was passed, with the preamble, "Whereas in the Treaty of Waitangi the Crown confirmed and guaranteed to the Māori people...all their tāonga: And whereas the Māori language is one such tāonga" (Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, 2005). "This made Māori an official language" (Stenson and Williams, 1990, p 38), albeit 147 years after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Although Māori were experiencing general success in Kura Kaupapa Māori, this situation was not the case for most Māori students in mainstream schools. Mainstream schools embraced values that differed greatly to those of Māori such as individual competition and individual achievement (Bishop and Glynn, 1999);

they reproduced, reinforced and affirmed the values and norms of Pākehā pupils (Bevan-Brown, 2003). "These values stood in sharp contrast to the experiences of many Māori children who had been socialised into family, community and peer groups where both group competition and cooperation were valued, where both group achievement and peer solidarity were dominant" (p 36). Macfarlane (2004) also believes that these schools ran "counter to important Māori cultural values" (pp 10-11). Furthermore, English is the main language of instruction in mainstream schools.

To Durie (2004), students "are more likely to make progress where there is a close alignment of cultural values within the classroom and across the school" (p 6). Bruner (1996) also believes that "a system of education must help those growing up in a culture find an identity within that culture... Schools must cultivate it, nurture it ...Without it, they stumble in their effort after meaning." (p 42). As a result of inconsistencies between values within Māori students' homes and mainstream schools, those Māori students educated in mainstream schools experienced a "systematic assault on (their) identity and wellbeing...(which) resulted in confusion which was often manifested as frustration, inadequacy and failure at school" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p 37).

"In response to the growing call among...educators for...recognition of the place of Māori as tangata whenua" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p 41), the taha Māori programme was introduced by the Ministry of Education during the 1980s. Taha Māori is literally translated as, 'the Māori side' and defined as "Māori perspectives being developed in all aspects of school organisation and curriculum" (Ministry of Education, 1994, p 37). As well as responding to pressure to promote a philosophy of biculturalism (Bishop and Glynn, 1999), taha Māori was developed in an effort to raise Māori students' achievement and raise non-Māori students' awareness and appreciation of Māori culture. Resources were produced to incorporate aspects of Māori culture and history into the curriculum and students received instruction on certain aspects of Māori culture such as hongi (pressing of noses and sharing of breath between two people). Criticism of the taha Māori

emphasis was that it slightly improved Pākehā students' knowledge of things Māori, but did very little to increase Māori children's abilities in te reo Māori (Smith, 1990a). A principal in an English-medium primary school summarises many teachers' views of the effectiveness of taha Māori programmes, "We're certainly not making any progress in terms of making the kids bilingual, because it's just not enough. A couple of hours a week is a waste of time" (McKinley and Else, 2002, p 57). In 1980, NACME 'He Huarahi' reported, "Overall, there was very little evidence in the research that the objectives of the NACME policy in regard to the implementation of...Māori studies programmes in the curriculum, were being fulfilled...In most cases...the...Policy's objectives...serve(d), not Māori but Pākehā interests" (Simon, 1986, p 37). Smith (1986) confirms, "Taha Māori is primarily concerned with the education of Pākehā" (p 15).

Some parents pursued a bilingual approach to schooling for their children in preference to Kura Kaupapa Māori out of concern that an environment bereft of English may be detrimental to their child's proficiency in English. For these parents, the levels of Māori language education they preferred for their children differed greatly, ranging from greetings and songs in Māori (similar to the Taha Māori approach described above), to Māori language as a subject, and both Māori and English. In 1992 a survey was conducted regarding the demand for bilingual and immersion education in Māori (McNair, 1992). Caregivers of 500 Māori children were questioned. Within that sample McNair found that "the single most popular option for Māori children is the bilingual model where children are taught both in Māori and English" (McNair, 1992, p 5), that is, 57% of respondents. The reasons those caregivers gave for preferring the inclusion of both Māori and English centred around "the importance of learning the language in the context of Māori values and Māori kaupapa" (p 12). For example, some caregivers felt it was important for their children to understand both Māori and English; others believed that it was important for their children to learn Māori values; and other caregivers wanted their children to gain an understanding of cultural differences.

### Tomorrow's Schools

During the 1990s the focus shifted from shortcomings of the Māori individual to questioning curriculum, pedagogy, the system and structures (Sexton, 1990). Because of growing concerns with the school system, the government established a group lead by Brian Picot to review education in New Zealand. Their report entitled "Administering for Excellence – Effective Administration in Education" became known as the Picot Report. It proposed "decentralising administration to the schools, greater consumer choice, better management practices, clear objectives and effective control over resources and accountability" (Sexton, 1990, p 15). The Picot Report was commented on by the public and educationalists. After considering those responses, Tomorrow's Schools was developed and presented as "a statement of the Government's intention" for New Zealand schools (Lange, 1988, p 1). It was published by David Lange, the Prime Minister and Minister of Education and took effect from 1<sup>st</sup> October 1989.

Some aims of the Tomorrow's Schools reform included "more parental and community involvement, greater teacher responsibility, and immediate delivery of resources to schools" (Lange, 1988, p iv). In order to achieve more parental and community involvement, every school was responsible for the operation of its own school through Boards of Trustees, which comprised of elected members of the community. By setting their own objectives (within state guidelines) according to the needs and desires of their community, the schools could be run by a partnership between education professionals and the community. These objectives were formalised by means of a charter, which was the contract between the school and community; and school and state. In order to achieve greater teacher responsibility, the Education Review Office through their officers, was responsible for reviewing the performance of teachers and schools; and monitoring schools' fulfilment of charter objectives. In order to achieve immediate delivery of resources to schools, they were given control over their resources to use how they chose (within state guidelines).

Lynch (1999) supported "elected parents running schools in conjunction with the professionals" because "those people who are capable and closest to where decisions can best be made, ought to be able to make them" (p 15). Making schools more autonomous was one of the main aims of Tomorrow's Schools to increase ownership, commitment and accountability of schools by and for their local communities. It was anticipated that the reforms would result in increased parental and community involvement in terms of management and governance. It is ironic that two of the main aims of Tomorrow's Schools, that is, high parental and community involvement and relative autonomy, were prominent and successful features of the Native School system. (Although Native Schools were not completely autonomous, many of their teachers still enjoyed the freedom to adapt policy and curriculum to meet the needs of their pupils and communities.) In 1991 Wylie reported that in reference to 'The impact of Tomorrow's schools in primary schools and Intermediates', "increased parental and community involvement has on the whole...not been achieved on a consistent basis" (p 2).

A significant statement within the Tomorrow's Schools document was that schools would be "sufficiently flexible and responsive to meet the particular needs of Māori education (Lange, 1988, p iv). It states further that "opportunities will be made available to parents who wish to have their children learn or be educated in the Māori language" (Lange, 1988, p 26), however, the following statement also included in the document is quite contradictory to that quoted previously and seems to expect or accept that although schools were to create opportunities to have children educated in Māori if that was the desire of their parents, "If the system is not sufficiently responsive to their needs...Māori parents...will be able to educate their children at home" (Lange, 1988, p 26). In spite of assurances that the "particular needs of Māori education" (Lange, 1988, p iv) will be addressed, according to Smith (1991), Tomorrow's Schools was not beneficial to Māori. Instead it was criticised as having been set up for the benefit of Pākehā students. For example, Wylie (1991) reported that the most positive responses to the reforms were from large schools in high income areas. Boards of Trustees'

“Confidence appeared to grow with urban location and school size, and decrease as Māori enrolment grew” (p 68).

More recently, the government has received strong submissions from Māori for Māori or stand-alone education authority (Pihama et al., 2002). These submissions are in line with drives for tino rangatiratanga with regards to education; that is, placing control for Māori educational development in the hands of Māori. Smith (1991) contends, “Educational reforms initiated by Māori people themselves will have a greater and more positive impact on Māori education...than Tomorrow’s Schools reforms” (p 1). Penetito (2004) lends support for the drive of Māori for authority over their own education. He recommends decisions about Māori education should be left in the hands of those who know best (implying ‘Māori’), thus empowering the continual Māori desire for tino rangatiratanga, the placing of control for Māori education in the hands of Māori people.

### Summary

This chapter showed dramatic differences in the contexts within which the participants were schooled, and identified the changing contexts for Māori education. It began and was dominated by Pākehā people and values; by the 1930s and 1940s Māori influence, control over and engagement within the Native Schools was high; in 1969 after considerable success of Māori pupils within Native Schools, the system was ended by the government; then by the 1990s, Pākehā dominance and control over mainstream education within Aotearoa-New Zealand was firmly restored. Chapter 5 focuses on Native Schools within Te Arawa and brings to the fore information and copies of documents pertaining to the establishment and early operations of those schools.

## **Chapter 5 – Native Schooling in Te Arawa**

A detailed account of Native Schooling within Te Arawa is given in this chapter by presenting historical information for each of the studied Native Schools' establishment, early operations and significant events. It is important to note that some of the information contained in the following historical accounts is available in various locations around Rotorua, such as the Rotorua Public Library, the schools' own archives, and personal collections. This chapter seeks to bring into the public domain summaries and copies of significant archival documents, some of them now only available from National Archives (Auckland). The archive file numbers are specified so that people who wish to refer to the documents directly can do so easily. The timeline below shows the dates the studied Native Schools were established and closed. Most of this information was sourced from the Don Stafford files, "Schools" Vol. 1 (Rotorua Public Library).

### Establishment of Studied Native Schools

1871	Rotoiti Native School opened at Te Akau
1872	Matata Native School already operating
1892	Rotoiti Native School 'officially closed'
1896	Rānana Native School at Te Ngae opened
1901	Tapuaeharuru Native School opened
1902	Whakarewarewa Native School opened
1904	Tapuaeharuru Native School closed, Wai-iti Native School opened
1926	Rānana School closed
1926 Aug	Rotokawa School opened
1926 Sep	Whangamarino School opened

Some of the material that appears in this chapter pertaining to Matata Native School consists of paraphrased information from my (Raureti, 2000). It could not be omitted from this thesis because it would have left noticeable gaps in the school's history. This information has a different emphasis by highlighting Māori

educational aspirations and the changing contexts of Māori education. In addition, it incorporates information from books that have become available since 2000 (such as Simon and Smith, 2001), and other sources of information not included in my previous thesis (for example, Native School log books, minutes of meetings [Te Arawa Trust Board, School committees] newspaper clippings, and Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives). National Archives' (Auckland) holdings of documents from relevant Native Schools were comprehensively examined by my supporters (family and friends) and me as we searched for and gained significant insights into the early schooling of Te Arawa via those primary sources. This additional material has enabled me to give a more in-depth historical account of early education within Aotearoa-New Zealand, and particularly within Te Arawa. I have included three of my journal entries about our visits to the Archives so readers might appreciate the value of such visits to this project and me personally. My and Walker's (1996) experiences were similar, "To actually touch the manuscripts was an emotional experience, a journey back into a real history" (p 11).

24 June 2002

Today I found the full translation of 'that' speech as well as the full speech as written by Koro himself! In his own handwriting! It was so moving to touch the paper that Koro's hand would have touched. I felt like I could understand what Koro was thinking at that time. He would never, in his wildest dreams have thought that his mokopuna would've been digesting his words in an archives room, far away from the place and time he'd written the letter – Matata, 16<sup>th</sup> November 1885.

28 August 2002

By including Mum and Dad throughout the entire archive process allows me to see and consider things through the eyes of their generation and with the same conservatism that may be deemed 'typical' of their generation. Also, they're linking me with my tūpuna... They support me and do real stuff, like reading at the Archives and libraries. Dad said, "We are doing everything we can to assist you because we believe firmly that this will be beneficial not only to you but other Māori - it's going to benefit them as well".

6<sup>th</sup> July 2004 (one month, three days after Dad passed away)

On our (mine and Sue's) way driving up here (perhaps our last

visit to the archives for this project) we were talking about the appropriateness of Mum and Dad coming with me for my first visits, especially handling letters written by Koro. It was tika that Dad should be here and go through those documents, like he was introducing me to Koro and also saying to Koro, "It's OK, this is my daughter, your mokopuna tuarua reading your letters". Mum and Dad also knew a lot of the people named in the documents first hand, or if not, Dad had heard of them. Also good having Mum because when we read files from later years she actually taught most of the pupils. It put a 'realness' to the files – it brings them to life and puts things in perspective –I'm not just reading words written on papers, I'm learning about real people, real lives, real concerns, real mamea, real aspirations, real sacrifices. They are not just names and events on paper. Researching these things has to be personal because you're dealing with such personal matters!

Nā reirā, tēnā kōutou ōku tūpuna, kōutou kua whetūrangitia. Nā kōutou i whakawātea te huarahi kia piki ai mātou, wā kōutou waihotanga, ki ngā taumata o te mātauranga, hei painga mā mātou, mā Te Arawa whānui, me te iwi Māori.

## **Matata Native School: Te Kura o Māori ō Matata**

**1871 - Present**

### **An Historical Account**

1872 is credited as the founding date of Matata Native School but it was first recorded by the Department of Education as Richmond Native School, named after the Honorable J. C. Richmond, Minister of Native Affairs, when he visited the settlement in 1869. Prior to 1865 the area was known as 'Te Awa o Te Atua' (The River of God). The original school site was located just outside the settlement of Matata in the eastern Bay of Plenty, near 'the cut'. Mr and Mrs Creeke were the first teachers who "tutored Maori children of the district in religion and the three Rs" (Gurran, 1997, p 57) from 1872 until 1880. According to Mrs. Elsie Locke "The first school at Matata conducted by Mr and Mrs Creeke was not a church school but was set up under the Native Schools Act of 1858" (cited in Historical Review, 1964, p 128). During this time the local children and adult members of the community were keen to become literate, "When school ended at 4 o'clock they begged permission to take their books home, even if they read the same things over and over...teenage boys and girls who could not read came to school with the little ones. Sometimes young married couples came" (Gurran, 1997, p 57). By 1877 the school was flourishing. Inspector Brabant (1877) reported, "Matata School maintains its reputation of being the best in the district" (Gurran, 1997, p 57). Support for the school and interest in schooling continued throughout the 1870s and into the 1880s, "Everybody in the district took immense pride in the school and they all wanted to be on the committee" (Historical Review Journal, 1962, p 25). In 1881 the school boasted 86 children on their register.

By the end of 1882, enthusiasm for schooling waned and the number of pupils dropped. Interest was expected to rise if the school was shifted nearer to the township, which eventuated in July 1883 when land near Rangitihi marae was secured by means of a 21-year lease to the Department of Education. Within a year the school's roll had once again reached the 80s. Native School inspectors'

reports from the early 1880s indicate that local hapū, Ngāti Rangitahi keenly supported their school, and the children enjoyed their schooling. For example, in 1883 the inspector reported, "The history of this school is that it is consistently successful"; and "1884: The children belonging to this school consider a holiday to be an evil" (BAAA, 1001, 332c). However, in the two years that followed the roll fluctuated. The school committee chairman, Paerau Mokonuiarangi was displeased with some parents' attitudes of indifference, so visited families within Matata in an attempt to revitalise interest. In 1885, various hapū of Ngāti Rangitahi met to resolve the matter. The speakers urged the people of Ngāti Rangitahi to send their children to school and support the school's endeavours. They cited benefits for the children such as gaining access to the same privileges as Pākehā. Mokonuiarangi summarised the meeting's proceedings in a letter (1885) to John Hislop, Department of Education (BAAA, 1001, 332c). He noted that Arama Karaka encouraged the people to send their children to school, "Kia whiwhi ai a tatou tamariki ki nga painga o te Pākehā" (So that our children may obtain all the privileges of the European people). Mokonuiarangi advocated, "Kia penei toku iwi me te Pākehā...Kia whakatupuria ko a te Pākehā" (That my tribe be like the Europeans and that Pākehā customs may be developed). "E Ngati Rangitahi hapainga tenei kura mo a tatou tamariki" ("Ngati Rangitahi, rouse yourselves, and exert your utmost to support this school for our children"). He stated further,

Whakarongo mai e Ngati Rangitahi kei te taha Pākehā nga  
huarahi tika e takoto marama ana, ko etahi iwi o te motu  
nei kei te noho ora i te mea kua mohio ki nga tikanga  
Pākehā, ko nga whare kura e ako nei nga mahita te  
maramatanga nui e whiti nei ki Aotearoa e rite tonu ana  
ki te ra e whiti iho nei

It was translated in the Historical Review (1962) as,

Listen to me Ngati Rangitahi, the Europeans possess the  
best means of acquiring knowledge. Some of the tribes  
in these islands are in a prosperous condition, simply  
because they have acquired European habits. The  
schools where masters are now teaching make up one  
source of great light which now shines over all parts of

Aotearoa like the sun shining above

BAAA, 1001, 332c; and  
Historical Review, 1962, p 27.

The meeting continued into the early hours of the morning, "Their enthusiasm was boundless while together, but when one after another they departed, that same enthusiasm was left behind round the fire as fuel for those who remained" (Historical Review, 1962, p 29). Finally, Matata Native School had renewed enthusiasm and support of Ngāti Rangitihī.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1886 a devastating disaster struck Te Arawa – te pahūtanga o Tarawera Maunga, Mount Tarawera erupted. While some people of Ngāti Rangitihī lived at Matata, others lived within pā (villages) around Mount Tarawera; they travelled between places depending on the season and availability of food. In the early hours of the 10<sup>th</sup> of June 1886, many people's lives were lost as villages were completely covered with rocks, lava, lahar and ash that were hurled from the mountain. Most Ngāti Rangitihī survivors relocated to Matata (some shifted elsewhere such as Whakarewarewa with their Tuhourangi relatives). The disaster was followed by weeks of mourning and reflected in the immediate drop in the school roll. During subsequent months stability gradually returned to the area and in February 1887, the roll increased to 76, then 86 in October 1887. In 1888 the Bishop of Auckland requested that Matata Native School be changed to a Catholic Mission School, but the Department of Education refused to alter the school's status. In 1889 suggestions were made to establish a Catholic School at Matata since it was estimated "that a great percentage of the Maori population was Roman Catholic" (Historical Review, 1962, p 29). By July 1889 its establishment at Matata was confirmed. A log book entry by the Head Master, reflects a pessimistic outlook of the future of the Native School,

As the Roman Catholic Fathers are about to build a school shortly and their nuns are coming to assist in the teaching, I really think it would be unwise to go to any unnecessary expense for school repairs etc. Three-fourths of the children at present in attendance are Roman Catholics and when they join their own school they will leave me with an average of about ten, and no doubt these few will

be induced to leave also – In twelve months from this date I am afraid this fine school will be closed

BAAA, 1001, 333a.

The inspection report (July 1889) by Mr Pope acknowledged the Native School's outstanding record and conceded that the children may not be as well educated at the Catholic school. However, he was willing to allow the non-Catholic Native School children to be educated at the new Catholic School because the Catholics were prepared to cover the costs of the school,

It is perhaps to be regretted that such a fine school will probably be broken up, as it is not quite certain that the efforts of the Catholics to educate the Maori children will be equally successful with those that have been made by this Department, but it seems to me that if the Catholics like to do the work at their own expense, no obstacle should be thrown in their way

BAAA, 1001, 333a.

Members of the Hāhi Mihinare ("Protestants" as translated by Mokonuiarangi, 1894 in BAAA, 1001, 334a) of Matata wrote to the Secretary of Native Schools in June 1890 expressing their concern about their Native School's possible closure and transfer of their children to the proposed Catholic School,

E Koro...Kua rongo matau i te tahi raruraru kua pa mai ki to matau kura ki Matata nei. Ko te raruraru...i rangona e matau kua mutu te kura ki Matata i runga i te kore tamariki ...Ko matau ko te Hahi Mihingare Maori, Pakeha, he nui noa atu a matau tamariki mo taua kura...30 nga mea e kura ana inaianei...Kaore e tika ana kia whakamuturia taua kura...Ka tino Inoi atu kia koe kua hai nukuhia tenei mahitara i tenei kura engari me waiho tonu ia hei whakaako mo a matau tamariki...e kii ana e te ture ki te noho te kaute 25 tamariki ka tu te kura...

BAAA, 1001, 333a.

It can be translated as I have below

We have been given to understand that it is your intention to close our school...we have heard that the school will be closed because there are so few children...we the Māori and Pākehā Protestants have many children for that school...there are 30 presently... Therefore, there are no grounds on which to close the school...We humbly pray that you do not shift our teacher to another school, but leave him here to teach our children...according to the law, if

there are 25 children the school will remain open...

In due course, the Catholic Mission School was opened in August 1891. Local Catholic children were withdrawn from the Native School and enrolled in the Catholic School because their families' spiritual beliefs mirrored those on which the Catholic School's teachings were based. Mr Walmsley, the Native School Head Master reported the new school's opening to the Education Department as well as his school roll numbers since their officials predicted low attendance after the opening of the Catholic School, "Our attendance thirty six morning and afternoon" (BAAA, 1001, 333a). It seemed that the attendance far exceeded the earlier (July 1889) prediction of 10 pupils.

Throughout 1892-1893 the community of Matata was affected by ill health and death caused by typhoid fever, measles and infantile paralysis. It caused several families to move away from the area. Telegraphs were sent from the Native School Head Master, Mr Walmsley to the Education Department from July to September 1893 keeping them informed about the effects of the illness on the community,

4 August 1893

Seventeen cases measles seven belong to our school seems to be going right through the settlement attacking children and adults assuming dangerous form with the latter.

4 September 1893

Regret to inform five deaths on Saturday and Sunday four children one adult maoris very much alarmed please inform native dept.

Mr Habens replied immediately to the above telegraph on behalf of the Education Department,

4 September 1893

Very sorry to hear the news. You had better keep school closed and advise by wire when you think it should be re-opened

BAAA, 1001, 334a.

Amalgamation of the two schools was suggested by closing the Native School and using the facilities of the Catholic School to serve all of the community's children, "If the natives could agree, it would be well to have one instead of two schools at Matata" (Historical Review, 1962, p 30). However, supporters of the Native School strongly opposed the idea and the Native School continued to operate separately from the Catholic School. In August 1894 the Education Department closed the Native School. The Native School committee chairman, Anaru Tamati sent a telegraph to the Minister of Education on the 1<sup>st</sup> of September asking, "He aha te take i kati ai te kura kei Matata?" (BAAA, 1001, 334a) (Why have you closed the school at Matata?). A reply was received the next day, "There are too few children attending and there is another school in the place" (BAAA, 1001, 334a). The Native School committee's surprise is understandable because according to stipulations, only 25 children were required for a school to operate - "E kii ana e te ture ki te noho te kaute 25 tamariki, ka tu te kura" (1890; BAAA, 1001, 333a). Another source stipulates "a minimum attendance of 10 was required to keep the school open" (Te Kura o Rotoiti, 1990). Yet according to Matata Native School's inspection on the 16<sup>th</sup> of August 1894, the inspector noted "29 children on the roll" (BAAA, 1001, 334a). In further protest, Raureti Paerau Mokonuiarangi wrote to the Minister of Education on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September 1894 on behalf of representatives of the Hāhi Mihinare, questioning the school's closure. A copy of the letter appears on the following page,

94/762  
260

Matatua, Bay of Plenty,  
Nepetema 3.1894

Ki te Minita  
mo  
nga Kura,  
Ponete.

E hoa Jema Kora  
Kua tae mai to waea kia "H.G. Walmsley"  
(Kaiwhakaaaro o te Kura Maori i Matatua nei)  
E kii mai ana kia Kaitia te Kura.

E hoa kua huihui matou nga mihihara  
(Protestants). Kuaui to matou poui mo te  
Kaitinga o te Kura, no te mea kaore matou i  
hiti i te lāke i Kaitia ai te Kura, i te mea  
kuaui rawa te pai o tenei Kura, mo te maha  
o nga tamariki e tae ana ki te 20 ki te 30  
kahore e hoki iho ana i te 15.

E hoa e inoi atu ana o hoa pitihana kia  
kuaui e Kaitia te Kura, no te mea mehemea ki te  
Kaitia, ka pai hei mate kia matou ki nga  
mihihara (Protestants) me a matou tamariki  
no te mea e kore rawa matou nga (Protestants)  
e pai kia tuku a matou tamariki ki te Kura  
o nga Katolika (Catholic Convent).

Na heia ka inoi atu matou o hoa kia  
waihō tōu tenei Kura mo a matou tamariki  
Heoi ano.

Ma o hoa. aroha.

- |                         |   |   |            |
|-------------------------|---|---|------------|
| Raueti P. Motomuiarangi | = | 3 | 3 tamariki |
| Raimona Pēora           |   | e | 2 "        |
| Hapimana Harawira       |   | e | 2 "        |
| Hone Ngakuku            |   | e | 4 "        |
| Korua Tanuti            |   | e | 4 "        |

74 / 762  
 260  
 ana ki te katoa māia nei. He maha a  
 matou tamariki naore ano kia uua ki te  
 kura, e mangi nei ki tae e haere mai nei, kia  
 tae o ratou tae ki te 5 da uua  
 Na mehemea ki te kaha te kura, ko e  
 matou tamariki o kore e tukua e matou ki te  
 kura o nga Katorika.  
 Hei ki tautotahi hoki nga Pataha katoa  
 nei puare tonu te kura

BAAA, 1001, 334a.

It was translated by a government translator as

Friend, Salutations. Your telegram has been received by Mr H Walmsley, Teacher of the Native School at Matata informing him that the school will be closed.

Friend, We, the Protestants have assembled and we are very down-cast at the closing of the school because we see no reason why it should, because it is very satisfactory and the number of the children ranges from 20 to 30, never as low as 15.

Friend, We your petitioners pray that the school be not closed, for should it be closed we the Protestants and our children will suffer because we the Protestants will never agree to allow our children to attend the Catholic School (Convent).

We therefore appeal to you to allow this school to continue for the benefit of our children.

BAAA, 1001, 334a.

That same day, a letter of support for Matata was sent to the Minister of Education from William Goodyear, Head Master of Maketu Native School, "Matata non roman Catholic natives ask for reconsideration re school they have always loyally supported government school" (BAAA, 1001, 334a). The day after (5<sup>th</sup> September 1894) Raureti Tanira sent a telegraph directly to James Pope asking for help,

We are all sorry school closed please use your influence have  
it reopened we Protestants will not send our children to  
Roman Catholic school 27 children attended our school last week  
BAAA, 1001, 334a.

No archival documents exist regarding the school's reopening, but the next inspection report is dated 6<sup>th</sup> June 1895, where the inspector reported, "27 children on the roll...the interest of the natives in their school is manifestly great" (BAAA, 1001, 334a). At last, Matata Native School was back on its feet.

In 1918 the influenza epidemic hit the township of Matata and the school buildings were used as a hospital. Miss Eileen Earle, a young teacher at the school recalled (1918),

Our greatest test and trial came in 1918 with the influenza epidemic. This swept through the country like a flame and the Maoris were particularly vulnerable. There was no hospital or medical help for them and they just went down to it: very many died. We teachers went down and were very ill and helpless, without food even...the school did not reopen that year and when it did reopen the following year many parents and pupils were sadly missed

cited in Gurran, 1997, p 23.

The roll number dropped due to fatalities caused by the epidemic. Some Pākehā did not send their children to school for fear of infection. Maori beliefs also contributed to the roll decline. Some parents would not send their children to school since many people had died in the building while it was used as a hospital. At a public meeting to decide the school's future, Hapimana, one of the oldest and most respected kaumātua in the district addressed the gathering, "During the epidemic the (school's) building was used as a hospital and I along with many of my people, believe that all who died and their ghosts are still in it, and as is our Maori belief, all houses where people die are tapu" (Historical Review, 1962, p 32). The community requested the Department of Education provide them with a new school building. As a result of investigating this matter, it was discovered that the original 21-year lease for the school land had expired in 1903. The

remaining two or three lessors agreed to donate the land for the school. On 19 August 1919, Raureti Mokonuiarangi provided a written statement saying, that at a meeting of owners of Lot 3 Parish of Matata (on part of which the school stood) it was decided to hand over the school site as a gift to the Government. The letter is shown on the following page (BAAA, 1001, 333c),

Matata  
Bay of Plenty  
Akihata 19<sup>th</sup> 1919

Ki Te Honore

Minita o nga kura,  
Ihoā

Wena Koe

Mo te take e paana ki te pihhi  
whenua e tūria nei e te Whare-Kura  
Maori I te tetahi hui a te hapu  
a nga tangata e pa ana ki te  
whenua e Karangatia ano ko Rota  
3, Purhi o Matata, he wahi nei  
tana pihhi e tūria nei e te kura no  
tana Rota 3.

Ka reira e kōa ana ahau ki te  
whakautu ki a koe. Ko te kupu tūria  
i oti i tana huinga, he whakau-  
tutuki i te oha-ki a o matou  
kaumatua. Kua mati atu ratou  
tuku ~~matuhake~~ ake i tana pihhi  
e tūria nei e te kura. Hai tūrang  
tūria mo Te Kura Maori.

Ka reira mo te taha ki te hapu kia  
Ngāwhangitahi no ratou nei te whenua  
a Rota 3, Ka tukua atu nei e au  
a ratou kupu, o ratou nei, to ratou  
kohā ki te Kawarātanga, ano ko  
ratou tinana e korero māngai atu a

Buturu-tūria tana pihhi mo

Te Kura Maori

Ka to kōa.

Kareti Mokomiarangi

It was translated by a government translator as,

Friend.

Greetings to you. With respect to the piece of land on which  
the Native School now stands a meeting was held of the tribe

of persons interested in the land known as Lot 3, Parish of Matata, of which the site of the present school is a part, and I am glad to inform you that at that meeting it was decided to give effect to the expressed wish (oha-ki) of our forbears, who have since died, to hand over this school site absolutely as a site for the Native School. I, therefore, on behalf of the tribe of Ngatirangitahi to whom Lot 3 belongs, hereby convey their decision, their consent and their gift to the Government as if they themselves are making the gift verbally. This site is given for all time as a site for the Native School.  
From your friend,  
Raureti Mokonuiarangi.

The land was taken by Proclamation in New Zealand Gazette no. 4 of 15 January 1920, (p 154). Plans were then drafted for new buildings, and the new school room and teacher's residence was opened in October 1921.

During the years leading up to 1924 there was growing feeling amongst the Pākehā community that the school should be transferred to Board of Education control. Needless to say, the Maori community wanted it to remain as a Native School as the people who gifted the land had intended, "The land on which the school stood was a free gift by the local Maoris and with the request that it be a native school for all time" (Historical Review, 1962, p 32). Māori members of the community wrote to the Education Department and reminded them that their forebears had originally offered the land as a site for a Native School for all time. Part of that letter said,

*Hepetema 3<sup>rd</sup> 1921*

*...Kō matou kōore rawa e whakāe kīa whakarerekētia tona ahuatanga he Kura Māori o mua iho kīa nukū atu i te 50 tau inaianei...*

*...Otira no te tau i mahue ake nei, kīa whakāiro matou nga uri o nga kaumatua Na ratou I tukū tuatahi. Kīa tino whakā pumautia, kīa tukūa motuhakētia te whenua hai tuunga mo taua Whare- Kura Māori mo ake tonu atu...*

*Na o hōa*

*Raureti Mokonuiarangi, Hemana Pokiha...Harawira Hapimana*

BAAA, 1001, 333c.

I have translated that letter as,

We do not agree with the suggestion to change the status of the school which has been a Māori School for more than 50 years ...Furthermore, last year, we the descendants of the elders who made the original gift are very firm that we will uphold the purpose for which the land was specifically gifted, as a Native School forever.

The Historical Review's (1962) account states, "The land on which the school stood was a free gift by the local Māoris and with the request that it be a native school for all time" (p 32). Miss Earle's account of that dispute is as follows

This was a Native School, administered by the Education Department (not Board) and with a wholly Māori school committee. Some of the local white people were not entirely happy with this. They would have liked their children to be somewhat segregated, as they had been until we came. Mrs. Dyer would have none of this. She maintained that Pakehas were only in the school by the courtesy of the Department and the Māoris and that all must share alike

cited in Gurran, 1997, p 23.

In 1921 the Native Schools' Inspector investigated the matter. He realised that most of the Pākehā who were pressing for Board control were railway employees, and could not be considered permanent inhabitants of Matata because they would move out of the area when their local railway work was finished. It was decided that, "the interest of the school and the children could be best served if the Department continued to control it" (Historical Review, 1962, p 32). On the 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1921 the Director of Education wrote,

With further reference to your memorandum of the 21<sup>st</sup> October relative to the suggested transfer of the abovementioned school to the Board, I am now directed by the Minister of Education to say that the matter has been fully gone into, and that, on well considered grounds, it has been decided that the school has not yet reached the stage at which any change in the direction suggested would be warranted. The school will therefore continue to be conducted for the present as a Native School

BAAA, 1001, 333c.

During the years that followed the school prospered, as several inspection reports verify,

23<sup>rd</sup> April 1934

(Inspection Report by D. G. Ball, Senior Inspector of Native Schools)

The school continues to maintain a fine standard of efficiency. Both teachers and children evince a pride and keenness in their school work, and it is a pleasure to notice such a happy working spirit.

24<sup>th</sup> April 1934

I wish to commend both you and Mrs. Ferguson upon the very favourable nature thereof and to express the Department's gratification at the consistently high standard of efficiency which is maintained at your school year after year.

5<sup>th</sup> November 1937

(Inspection Report by D. G. Ball, Senior Inspector of Native Schools)

The very natural, happy attitude of the children is the best reward you could have for your excellent work.

BAAA, 1001, 1024c.

Inspection reports also suggested that the school was flexible in its days of operation. For example, in 1936 the Head Master, Mr Ferguson received notification "that the Inspector of Native Schools will be visiting your school on Saturday the 13<sup>th</sup> June, and I shall be obliged if you will arrange to open school on that day, observing the usual holiday on the Monday" (BAAA, 1001, 1024c). The same flexibility with school days was reflected in a telegraph from the chairman of the school committee to the Education Department, requesting permission to close the school for two days for a very important event – rugby,

E hiahia nga tamariki ki te haere ki Maketu i nga ra 21, 22 mo te matakitaki i te purei football ki reira me te iwi katoa. Kua whakaae te komiti mo te kati te kura enei ra e rua pehea ki a koe. Utua mai

BAAA, 1001, 333a.

It can be translated as I have below

The children would like to go to Maketu on the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> to watch football with the rest of the tribe. The committee agrees to close the school for these two days, what do you think. Please reply.

The request was approved.

In 1944 the roll reached 90 pupils. The committee was dedicated to making Matata Native School "the finest on the Coast" (Historical Review, 1962, p 33). By 1945 the roll had climbed further to 105, conditions were cramped so army marquees were used as temporary classrooms to help ease the shortage of space. After considerable planning, new school buildings were ready for occupation on 20 October 1946. In 1949, 135 pupils were on the roll and in 1951 additional land was added to the school grounds.

Today Matata Public School is located at the top of Pollen Street. Its past and present stalwarts deserve thanks, for their efforts have laid to rest early (1889 and 1893) predictions that "the settlement is not large enough to keep two schools going and sooner or later one or the other must come to grief" (BAAA, 1001, 334a).

## **Rotoiti Native School: Te Kura o Māori ō Rotoiti**

**1871 - Present**

### **An Historical Account**

An early discussion by Ngāti Pikiao about the education of their children occurred with Captain Gilbert Mair, an ally of Te Arawa in mid 1868. On the 25<sup>th</sup> of August 1868 more members of Ngāti Pikiao met to discuss the matter fully. A summary of the meeting in Māori is given in the appendices, as well as a map showing the suggested school site, 'Te Kawakawa' (BAAA, 1001, 532b). My English translation summarising the meeting is given below.

*The following matters were agreed to at the hui of Ngāti Pikiao held at Pukeko- Te Mira, at Te Rotoiti, August 25<sup>th</sup> 1868.*

- 1. All of Ngāti Pikiao have agreed on a site for the school, it is called Te Kawakawa. This place has been agreed to because of the small number of fences, it is close to the water and to the food which the lake provides, it is a central location for the tribe.*
- 2. It has been agreed that we will set aside twenty acres for the school and other things that the school requires.*
- 3. It has been agreed that the dimensions of the school block will be erected as per usual by the government.*
- 4. The name of the school house is to be "Te Paenga Tau Maro".*
- 5. Ngāti Pikiao have chosen these people as the committee*
  - Te Karaka – Chairman*
  - Te Wata Taranui*
  - Auaha*
  - Wi Matene*
  - Te Mapu*
  - Te Pokiha*

*These people will set out the protocols for the school – the appropriate place for the committee's first meeting is Maketu, but Te Karaka will announce the day.*

- 6. The people who have agreed on behalf of the tribe to act as Crown Guarantees (Karauna Karāti<sup>5</sup>) for - the land that has been set aside solely for the purpose of the school are –*
  - Te Karaka*
  - Wi Matene*
  - Te Wata Taranui*

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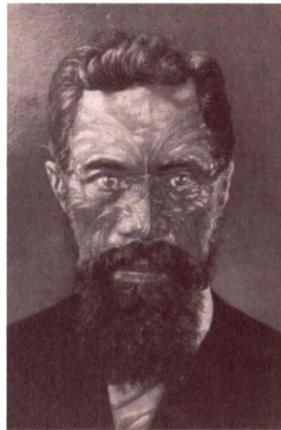
<sup>5</sup> "He Karauna Karāti. He whenua i tangohia e te Karauna, ā, kātahi ka tukuna ki tāna tangata Māori i pai ai. Whakamaua rawatia te ingoa o taua Māori ki taua whenua, kia mana ai te karāti" (land that was taken by the Government and allocated to favoured Māori) (Te Puni Kokiri, 1994, p 10).

7. *It has been decided that this school will be for Ngati Pikiao, Ngati Tarawhai, Te Tawera and Patuwai.*

8. *Te Karaka will send this entire summary to the Government.*

*From Te Pokiha  
Te Wata  
Te Mapu  
Auaha  
Wi Matene  
Hapeta  
In fact from all of Ngati Pikiao.*

Three years later, in 1871 the Rotoiti Native School (also known as Taheke Native School) was built on the present Te Akau road, "in the vicinity of a peninsula called Te Paenga Tau Maro" (Stafford, 1967, p 516). Te Waata Taranui, pictured below, is acknowledged as being instrumental in securing a school for Ngāti Pikiao and supporting the school's endeavours.



Te Waata Taranui  
(Picture courtesy of Rotokawa School Archives)

At Te Waata Taranui's request, Major John Joseph Wood, a 57 year old "Imperial serviceman of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Highlanders" (p 516) agreed to be their teacher. In 1873 a Native School inspector, noted the enthusiasm and commitment of Ngāti Pikiao,

The pupils come by canoe from Taheke, about a mile; from Mourea, two miles; from Kuharua, one mile, from Ruato, eight of ten miles, which takes three hours canoeing. They bring food with them from the long distances to last them the week, and live in small whares near the school. There is something very remarkable in this keen desire for schooling on

the part of the Natives who have to seek it under such difficulties

cited in Stafford, 1967, p 516.

The school closed in 1874 or 1875 because of low attendance "owing to the fact that the school building was in no way weather-proof" (p 517), during which time Major Wood left Rotoiti to teach elsewhere. The school reopened in 1875, and at the "special request by Te Waata Taranui and his tribe to the department" (p 517), Major Wood returned to teach at Rotoiti. Rotoiti Native School continued to operate with children's attendance occasionally affected by bad weather, bad crops and the eruption of Mount Tarawera in 1886 (which unsettled many people and caused them to leave the district). Just over a month after the eruption, on the 30<sup>th</sup> of July 1886 more adversity affected Rotoiti Native School when it burned to the ground. Major Wood wrote a chilling account of the disaster to the District Superintendent of Schools that day (BAAA, 1001, 532b),

*Rotoiti, 30<sup>th</sup> July 1886*

*Sir,*

*It is with much regret that I have to report, that the School house I have now occupied for about fifteen years, was this evening burnt down, the destruction was most rapid and complete. I may say not a stick left and most certainly not a book, slate or any article of school furniture. As near as I can tell. I was awoken some time before daylight, by what I supposed was a suffocating feeling caused by smoke. Trying to look about I could see nothing, but I heard the roar of fire. Getting up at once to ascertain further I saw that the fire was raging in the schoolroom. I then just had time to put on coat, trousers and pair of boots and with considerable difficulty made my way outside, flames had by this time burst into my dwelling room in which before that time I could see no signs of fire. Yesterday being a very cold day, there was a strong fire kept going in the schoolroom, the same has been done frequently before, and though I had occasion once or twice to go into the schoolroom about ten o'clock, when it was quite dark I could see no sign of fire whatever in or about the fireplace, most evenings I remove the ashes out of fireplace to sow into the garden. Yesterday evening there being an unusually large quantity I was most particular in so doing. I have been all day striving my utmost to account to myself for the origin of this fire. I find it utterly impossible to understand it or explain it. Having been unable to save my spectacles, nor anything else belonging to me I have had to ask Mr Fraser to write this letter which he has been kind enough to do and so enable me to forward it by an opportunity which has just offered. I regret this calamity all the more as a revival has just taken place in the direction of improved attendance of the school as well as the temper manifested in the progress of the pupils and interest shown by the parents. They have already been suggesting that I should go on with the school in the Court house on Monday. Should I be able to get together a few books and other necessaries I shall do all I can to meet their wishes.*

*I have the honour to be Sir*

*Your obedient servant*

*M Wood*

*Teacher*

In line with the parents' requests for school to continue, a temporary school operated from nearby Fraser's hall (part of Fraser's hotel). Shortly afterwards however, the hotel met the same fate as the school, and the school had to be relocated to another temporary location because the hall was needed to provide accommodation. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of October 1888, after a few years of deteriorating health, Major Wood passed away. He was recognised by Ngāti Pīkiao as a "matua mo Ngāti Pīkiao katoa" (a father figure for all of Ngāti Pīkiao). A copy of the letter in Māori sent to the Education Department from Ngāti Pīkiao regarding Major Wood's death and their request for replacement teacher is given in the appendices (BAAA, 1001, 532a) as well as other records pertaining to the passing of Major Wood, including a newspaper report, a letter from Pahemata Waata on behalf of "the women of Ngāti Pīkiao; and another letter from Doctor Ginders about Major Wood's physical condition leading up to his death (BAAA, 1001, 532a). A translation by a government translator of that letter is given below

*Te Taheke*  
*Rotoiti*  
*October 15<sup>th</sup> 1888*

*To the Education Department*

*Greetings to you all in the spirit of love of our Creator above. May love and peace abide with you all.*

*This is to inform you that Meiha Wuuru (Major Wood) passed away on the 11<sup>th</sup> day of this month at 7 o'clock in the morning. Because of his passing Ngāti Pīkiao men, women and children of his school congregated. Ngāti Pīkiao have great respect for that kaumātua, Meiha, for two main reasons- he is regarded as a father figure for all of Ngāti Pīkiao, and because of his teaching work in the school.*

*Because of the vested authority of the Colony to you who administer all of the schools of New Zealand, we request that you give us a replacement for Meiha Wuuru this month because the Crown Guarantee has already finalised 4 acres for the school in 1888 to be finalised by the Parliament.*

*Trusting that you will fulfil our request. Greetings.*

A letter from a local Doctor Ginders to the secretary of the Education Department about Major Wood's funeral is also given below (BAAA, 1001, 532a)

*October 25<sup>th</sup> 1888*

*Sir,*

*I have the honour to inform you that I attended the funeral of the late Major John Joseph Wood at Taheke on the 15<sup>th</sup> inst. The natives paid him every respect and conducted the ceremony in an orderly manner. The service was read in the Māori language by the Rev. Spencer. He is buried at the summit of Atuareretahi a mountain at the back of the spot where the old schoolhouse stood.*

*The Taheke natives desired me to profer these requests on their behalf to the Department.*

1. That they may have a new school house built on the old site. 2. That a new teacher may be appointed as soon as may be. 3. That government will give them a monument to erect to the memory of the late Major Wood.

I applied to Mr Moss, Solicitor of Tauranga for instructions re funeral expenses, which account to £19.12.0. I enclose his letter with the accounts, Perhaps you will kindly instruct me how to answer it.

I have the honour to remain, Sir

Your obedient servant

— Ginders

School ceased during the two months following the death of Major Woods, and then resumed when Mr Broderick was appointed as the new teacher. In 1890 a new school house and teacher's residence was built.

Waka (canoes) played a significant role in Rotoiti Native School (as well as subsequent Native Schools established around the lakes), in transporting children to and from school. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of November 1891 due to strong winds, a canoe returning children home from school capsized with near tragic consequences. The following letter gives an account of the terrible incident and requests the Education Department provide a boat to transport the children. Copies of the original letters (BAAA, 1001, 532b) are given in the appendices. The first letter is from Ratema Te Awekotuku, the parent of a child who nearly drowned; the second letter is the teacher's account of the event and his request for a boat.

Mrs Te Awekotuku's letter was translated by an official government translator as,

*Rotoiti, November 17<sup>th</sup>, 1891*

*Sir,*

*Greetings.*

*This is to let you know that on this day, after the close of the afternoon school the children were being crossed over to their homes on the other side, when owing to the strength of the wind, one of the canoes was upset with eight of the children on board, and my children were very nearly drowned. One of them Ruihi Ratema had a very narrow escape indeed, and it was only through the exertions of the Master that she came round. Hence it is through the sorrows of my heart that I appeal to you to expediting the providing of the boat to be used for crossing the children of this school. However the matter is in your hands.*

*Greetings to you in your mana.*

*From your humble servant*

*Ratema Te Awekotuku*

Although no official records were located, it would be hoped that a boat was provided because notes written in the margin of Mr Broderick's letter suggest that the point of discrepancy between the Rotoiti Native School and the Education Department was the cost of a purpose-built boat, rather than whether to have one at all.

Some time before August 1892, the school was again closed due to low attendance. A list of pupils' names from James Pope's 1892 inspection of the school is included on the following page since it is National Archives' earliest record of any type of roll at Rotoiti Native School

EXAMINATION SCHEDULE,

DEPARTMENT  
*P. O. Stewart*

NATIVE SCHOOL.

Teacher: *P. O. Stewart*

Examined by Inspector of Native Schools,

1892.

Children qualified to be examined and present at examination:

Children on the Roll. <small>(It is to be printed to the names of all children who have been less than two years at school, and all those to be printed to the names of those that have not been six months for the preceding six months—that is, of those that have not attended school for at least one-half of the year during which the school has been opened. It should be fixed to the names of all Europeans.)</small>	Number of Months since Pupil first attended Any School.	Standard Mark passed.	Marks obtainable.	Marks obtained in						Standard passed.	Marks obtained.
				English and Composition.	Reading and Oral Spelling.	Writing and Dictation.	Arithmetic.	Geography.	Sewing.		
<i>James Cook</i>	<i>36</i>										
<i>Raona Kingi</i>	<i>63</i>										
* <i>Kareoa Eructi</i>	<i>18</i>										
<i>Rini Kingi</i>	<i>51</i>										
<i>Piki Kerehi</i>	<i>57</i>										
* <i>Tuati Reimona</i>	<i>7</i>										
* <i>William Kameta</i>	<i>18</i>										
* <i>Tarewa Kameta</i>	<i>5</i>										
<i>Hukana Marahi</i>	<i>33</i>										
<i>Victoria Te Kura</i>	<i>36</i>										
<i>Tina Grace</i>	<i>69</i>										
<i>Katherine Whakatahi</i>	<i>36</i>										
<i>Eliza Katene</i>	<i>36</i>										
* <i>Porete Kameta</i>	<i>21</i>										
* <i>Tiakiawa Haukore</i>	<i>6</i>										
* <i>Mihirini Kingi</i>	<i>14</i>										
* <i>Annie Tokohihi</i>	<i>14</i>										
* <i>Tatai Brigham</i>	<i>4</i>										
* <i>Hana Pakihiri</i>	<i>0</i>										
Total Marks obtainable				Percentage :						Total Marks obtained	

It was deemed to be unnecessary to work this table in the ordinary way. It would be better to try that ordinary form has been the determination.

**Gross Expenditure.**  
 Scale of Marks: 10—Excellent; 8—Fair; 6—Very bad.  
 Condition of records and other school documents except the time-table  
 Organization of school, and condition of buildings, furniture, and appliances as far as this depends on the master  
 Discipline, including order, tone, nature of punishments, and punctuality  
 Methods, judged partly from inspection and partly from the kind of passes obtained  
 Extras—Singing, drawing, and drill  
 Half of percentage obtained at the examination

Numbers passed in Standards—  
 IV. \_\_\_\_\_; III. \_\_\_\_\_; II. \_\_\_\_\_; I. \_\_\_\_\_  
 children are qualified as having been more than two years at the school.  
 The school has passed in Standards \_\_\_\_\_  
*James M. Stewart*  
 Inspector of Native Schools.

BAAA, 1001, 532b.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 1892 Mr Kameta W R M Poihipi of Mourea wrote a letter to Mr Habens (Education Department) requesting the establishment of a new school.

*Kua whiriwhiria e te komiti nga eka mo te kura ki Te Mitimiti. E 4 nga eka ka tukuna atu mo te kura...*

*Engari e hoa, penei te whakaaro o te komiti, me whakakahoki mai e koe nga eka i te turanga o te kura i Te Akau, Taheke, Rotoiti, ki nga Maori...*

*The committee has come to a decision regarding the size of the school at Te Mitimiti. Four acres will be allocated for the school...*

*But friend, these are the thoughts of the committee, you should return the acres (land) of the previous school site at Te Akau, Taheke, Rotoiti to the Maori...*

BAAA, 1001, 532a.

A few months later on the 20<sup>th</sup> November Mr Kameta wrote to Mr Habens once again offering on behalf of Ngāti Pikiāo land for a school at Te Mitimiti. The land offers were declined by the Department of Education who instead decided to establish a school at Te Ngae. In April 1896 it was confirmed that the school buildings from the old Rotoiti Native School would be shifted to Te Ngae, which eventuated on the 29<sup>th</sup> of April 1896. The "buildings were removed to Matawera (Te Ngae) where the school once more opened, this time being known as the Rānana (London) school" (Stafford, 1967, p 518). Rānana provided a school for children from Mokoia Island, Owata, Hinemoa Point, Rotokawa, Te Ngae, Mourea, Okere Falls, Taheke and Otaramarae and Tikitere. "The late Mr. Dan Kingi of Ohinemutu said that when he was a small boy he lived on Mokoia with his grandparents, and went with several other island children, as many as eight or nine, mostly to Te Ngae School, by canoe. If the lake was rough, the passage could not be made" (Tapsell, 1972, p 113). A report from the Hot Lakes Chronicle on Wednesday the 5<sup>th</sup> of August 1896 provides an account of the opening of Rānana Native School

The native school (Rānana) at Te Ngae was duly opened on Monday last with much élat, the Māori from the neighbouring settlements mustering in strong force to do honour to the occasion. The teacher, the Rev. C.C.Brown, is much encouraged by the enthusiasm shown, and can count safely on an attendance of over 50 pupils. Over 70 children were present at the opening, and it is the intention of many of the natives along the Rotoiti shore to shift their whares nearer to the schoolhouse in order to ensure a good attendance

Don Stafford files, 'Schools', Vol. 1.

It is apparent that many Māori went to great measures to ensure their children accessed schooling, for example, the above account explains that many Māori relocated their families in order to live closer to the school. The account below gives another example of how some people within Te Arawa adjusted their living arrangements for the sake of their children's schooling

Children came by canoe from other small settlements around the lake also, bringing food and clothing to last them the week. They lived in huts adjacent to the school and were supervised by Rānana  
Tapsell, 1972, p 113.

Some recollections of Potaua Waaka, a "first day pupil at Rānana when it opened on 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 1896" were recorded in the Whangamarino Māori School Bulletin (November, 1967),

*The old Te Aka School was shifted to Te Ngae. We used to walk there from Mourea... the older ones... carried the smaller ones along the pumice main road. The pupils from Hinemoa Point came on horses (in those days if you had a horse you were well off... the children on Mokoia left early in the morning using big canoes which take 8-10. The older children paddled the smaller canoes, but if there were strong winds they couldn't come.*

*The boys and girls from Parua and Hinetap waded across the Ohau Channel which was very shallow then and along the beach.*

*Our 'school lunch' was potato and kumara (we lived on those) but there was heavy bush all around and we had a lot of pigeon and pig. At dinner time, we caught koura, lit a fire on the beach and cooked them.*

*Mr Brown, our Headmaster, was a great old fellow, a true gentleman... He dressed in pure English style with a black top hat. His wife was a good old lady...*

*All the boys wore long white pants – they were the cheapest our parents could get. That was a special feature of the Rānana boys – their white pants.*

*We wrote on slates, small ones for the small boys and girls, big slates for the big children. (They squeaked when we wrote on them). We didn't have paper in those days.*

*School always began and ended with prayers...*

*Whenever I pass Rānana, my mind goes back to my school days and I see it all so clearly.*

### Tapuaeharuru

In 1901, while Rānana Native School was functioning, a school on the south-eastern end of Lake Rotoiti was established at Tapuaeharuru. National Archival documents show records pertaining to this school filed under the names of Tapuaeharuru Native School and Tahuna Native School. Although archival records show 1901 as the establishment date, Te Kura o Rotoiti notes, "Rotoiti's second school, Tahuna, was opened...in 1899 to give the Ngati Pikiao to choice of

two schools, one at either end of the lake". While Tapuaeharuru Native School provided a school mainly for children from the south-eastern side of the lake, instead of walking to Rānana, some children from Mourea and Okere Falls travelled to Tapuaeharuru School by canoe. The school operated for a few years, however, its location was deemed inappropriate for a school because of lack of sunlight. It closed in 1904 and the buildings were moved to Wai-iti where a school operated under the name of Wai-iti Native School. The notice announcing that the land at Wai-iti was declared the site for Wai-iti Native School appeared in the New Zealand Gazette in 1903 (p 1400; BAAA, 1001, 532c). It is interesting to note that more than a month after the notice appeared in the Gazette a letter from Mr Hogben, Secretary for Education wrote to N. Waihi, Te Wao Pini, Waretini Wineti and Te Whiti Wineti (representatives of Tapuaeharuru) in acknowledgement of their letter which agreed "to the taking of the piece of land to which it is proposed to remove the Tapuaeharuru Native School buildings" (BAAA, 1001, 532c). For decades Wai-iti Native School operated under that name, however, as early as 1908 a request was made by the teacher, Mr Cummins to the Department of Education to change the school's name to Rotoiti. A copy of that letter is given on the following page

Wai-iti  
**NATIVE SCHOOLS.**

Memorandum.

To the Secretary for Education

Rotoiti

11<sup>th</sup> April, 1908.

Sir

I would like to suggest that some saving might be effected if this school were simply called "Rotoiti". I note that telegrams and letters are sent to Wai-iti Rotoiti Rotoma. There is a Postoffice here - the teacher being the Sub-Postmaster - "Rotoiti".

Thus (Native School) Rotoiti Rotoma is ample address, all mail matter coming straight to the hands of the Teacher.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant

H. Leumenei.

No action  
W. W. Birds  
5.5.08

BAAA, 1001, 533a.

The former Wai-iti Native School now functions as Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Rotoiti. It was also previously known as Rotoiti School.

The following waiata was composed by John Turi, Timi-te-pō Hōhepa and Huria Tawa to commemorate the first schools that educated the children of Ngāti Pikiao. A copy of the waiata was offered for inclusion here by John Turi,

Ka noho i te tihi o Matawhaura  
Ka titiro iho au ki te moana o Rotoiti  
E papaki mai nei  
Ka huri ra te titiro  
Ki te kongutu awa o Kaituna  
Ka hoki whakamuri nga mahara ki te kura  
Tuatahi o te Taheke i te Akau  
I wawatahia ai e toku tupuna, e Te Waata Taranui e  
Ka neke au ki Te Tuarahiwi-roa e ko Hohepa Te Rake  
Te tangata nana i tuku mai te whenua kia tu ai a Rānana  
Ka huri taku aro ki Te Ara-a-Hinehopu  
Ko te tunga tena o Te Tahuna  
Takahia atu te whenua tae rawa atu au ki Te Rerenga-a-Kupe  
Ko te kura o Te Waiiti e  
Ka hoki whakamuri ki Te Karaka  
Tau rawa atu au ki Te Tawa  
Ko te kura o Te Rotoiti e  
Ko Ngati Pikiao e tu atu nei e kokoia e ara e!

**Rotokawa Native School: Te Kura o Māori ō Rotokawa**  
**1926 - Present**  
**An Historical Account**

*Whakaaro nui ki etahi – Thoughtfulness to others*

**Establishment**

From 1896, many children from Mokoia Island, Owhata, Rotokawa, Te Ngae, Tikitere, Mourea, Okere, Taheke and Otaramarae were schooled at Rānana Native School. Great demand for schooling and support from those Māori communities lead to Rānana being overcrowded. According to Rotokawa (1968), "By 1920 the roll had increased to 70 ...in 1922 the district's population stabilised further with the opening of the timber mill at Mourea, and the school roll continued to grow until by 1923, with the roll at 90, a marquee was used as an auxiliary classroom". Eventually, it was decided that the educational needs of more children could be met if Rānana was closed and two separate schools established. One to serve the children of Mourea, Okere, Taheke and Otaramarae – Whangamarino Native School, and the other to serve children of Owhata, Rotokawa, Te Ngae and Tikitere – Rotokawa Native School. In 1926 Rānana Native School closed, Mr England transferred with 47 of the pupils to Whangamarino, and Mr Oulds opened the new Rotokawa Native School with 34 pupils who had also transferred from Rānana.

A letter from Mr Porteous, Inspector of Native Schools on 14<sup>th</sup> October 1919 summarises the situation

*Up to the year 1883 the present Rānana School buildings were situated on the shores of Lake Rotoiti, not far from the Okere Falls... the school buildings were eventually placed on the present site, about 8 miles from Rotorua. This site which is of 2 acres was also given by the Māoris... Thirty children from this part of the district (along the shores of Lake Rotorua between the 4 and 7 mile pegs) attend the present school, many of them having to walk four and five miles in order to do so. On the other side of the present school, that is remote from Rotorua, there are the Mourea settlement, 2 miles, and over distant from the school, Okere about 5 miles, Taheke pa some distance further away and Otaramarae between 6 and 7 miles distant... however... many other children, including some 7 or 8 Europeans, are debarred, on account of the distances, from attending. This school which is now overcrowded has to provide for the requirements of a stretch of country from 10 to 12 miles in length.*

*As the present buildings at Rānana are very old... and as the question of replacing them will have to be considered, I made it my business to investigate the requirements of this district in order to*

*ascertain whether a school in the present position really met the requirements... I am satisfied from my inquiries that there are between 80 and 90 children probably all of school age in this district... I accordingly recommend the establishment of two separate Native Schools (requests were made by some Pākehā in Okere Falls to establish a Board School in their area).*

*With regard to the sites, 5 acres are offered... to the Department by Wiremu Ransfield for the school on the Rotorua side of the present school... Ransfield offers this site out of his portion in exchange for the 3 acres acquired in 1883 and afterwards abandoned... which is part of the(?) Whakapoungakau Block, Pukepoto No 11... The Māoris here all approved of Ransfield's proposal...*

*With regard to Taheke... I understand that as the result of a meeting held after my visit the owner of the new ground agreed to give 5 acres in exchange for the site near Taheke acquired some years ago... A school in the position I indicated will meet the requirements of Mourea, Okere, Taheke and Otaramarae. The Māoris of these settlements have agreed to contribute £100 towards the cost of the buildings...*

*In the meantime the question to be decided is whether two schools are to be established to replace the present Rānana Native School*

BAAA, 1001, 742a.

Porteous attached a map showing the original site of Rānana School, current site, and proposed sites for the new schools – Whangamarino and Rotokawa. A copy of that map is given in the appendices. Seven years later, on 18/19<sup>th</sup> August 1926, Rotokawa Native School was opened. Lang (1967) describes, "Situated almost opposite the Rotorua Airport, the Rotokawa School is the sister school of Whangamarino Māori School. After Rānana School closed, the Rotokawa School was started in 1926. There were 24 pupils enrolled when the two-teacher school opened its doors on August 18" (p 39). The National Archives records show, "New School opened Aug 19. 1926 as "Rotokawa Native School" (Mr G. F Oulds, BAAA, 1001, 24b). The following document is a copy of their first register return (30<sup>th</sup> September 1926) listing the names of the first pupils,

New Zealand.—Education Department.



NATIVE SCHOOL, *Rotohawa*

(Quarters end on 31st March, 30th June, 30th September, and 31st December.)

Return of Attendance at Native School for the Quarter ending *30th September 1926.*

(N.B.—This return is to be sent to the Department within five days after the last school day in the quarter.)

<i>Rotohawa Native</i> SCHOOL.	BOYS.	GIRLS.	TOTAL.
I. Number of scholars belonging to the school at the end of last quarter. (Line IV of last return)	<i>New School</i>		
II. Number of these who left, not having attended at all this quarter	<i>opened Aug. 19. 1926</i>		
III. Number really belonging to the school at beginning of quarter. (Subtract II from I.)	<i>16</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>34</i>
IV. Number belonging at the end of the quarter	<i>25</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>49</i>
V. Average weekly number on the roll during the quarter	<i>22.1</i>	<i>22.1</i>	<i>44.2</i>
VI. Total attendances for quarter, excluding attendances on "excepted" half-days	<i>1068</i>	<i>1054</i>	<i>2122</i>
VII. Number of times the school has been open during the quarter, excluding "excepted" half-days	<i>50</i>		
VIII. Average attendance for the quarter	<i>21.36</i>	<i>21.08</i>	<i>42.4</i>

STATEMENT OF HOLIDAYS.

Number of Half-days in the Quarter (excluding Saturdays and Sundays): *62 (Aug. 19 - Sept 30)*

Dates.	Occasion of Closing.	Half-days.
<i>Sept. 6 - Sept 10</i>	<i>Term Holidays</i>	<i>10</i> ✓
<i>Sept 24.</i>	<i> Dominion Day</i>	<i>2</i> ✓
	Half-days on which school was closed for public holidays and other occasions, as specified below:—	
	Total number of half-days on which school was closed...	<i>12</i>
	Total number of half-days on which school was open ...	<i>50</i>
	Total number of half-days in the quarter, excluding Saturdays and Sundays (to agree with number given under heading) ...	<i>62</i> ✓

### Names of Pupils who have attended during the Quarter.

(In the column for Race, put "M." for Maori, between Maori and Half-maori, and Half-caste; and put "E." for European.)

No.	Name	Sex	Age			Race	Number of Half-days attended by each.	Total	Sex	Name	Sex	Age			Race	Number of Half-days attended by each.	Total
			Yrs.	Mo.	Da.							Yrs.	Mo.	Da.			
1	Maurice Reynolds		6	13	0	E	44	36									
2	Francis Colds		5	11	5	E	50	37									
3	Dick Taimona		3	12	4	M	50	38									
4	Frank Dallock		3	12	0	E	50	39									
5	Raniera Takata		3	12	6	M	50	40									
6	Mehaka Kipa		3	11	8	M	50	41									
7	Aubrey Reynolds		3	11	8	E	42	42									
8	Ernest Dawson		3	10	4	E	26	43									
9	Ewen Reynolds		2	9	8	E	42	44									
10	Whaiora Hoapeta		1	10	4	M	26	45									
11	Reihana Hiringi	P	10	4		M	26	46									
12	John Colds	P	4	2		E	50	47									
13	Henry Ramsfield	P	9	6		M	50	48									
14	William Cookson	P	8	4		M	48	49									
15	Bobbie Tekiri	P	9	3		M	26	50									
16	Tukumui Hiringi	P	4	2		M	48	51									
17	John Ramsfield	P	4	5		M	50	52									
18	Hako Ramsfield	P	6	1		M	50	53									
19	Amarama Tekiri	P	5	3		M	36	54									
20	Jimmy Cookson	P	6			M	50	55									
21	Sam. Isles	P	6	3		E	46	56									
22	Monte Paraone	P	5	6		M	50	57									
23	Jan Reynolds	P	4	6		E	44	58									
24	Pita Piten	P	12	8		M	32	59									
25	Kakopa Ture	P	6	0		M	32	60									
26								61									
27								62									

Names of Pupils who have attended during the Quarter.

and 1 over Half-caste and European. The names of Pupils who have left during the quarter to be marked x.]

	FEMALES.	Sch. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-caste attended by each.		FEMALES.	Sch. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-caste attended by each.
			Yrs.	Mo.						Yrs.	Mo.		
1	Christian Oisler	6	13	6	E	50	36						
2	Hilda Dawson	5	12	3	E	26	37						
3	Lusan Henare	4	14	0	M	48	38						
4	Matilda Ramsfield	4	12	3	M	50	39						
6	Mary Hapeta	4	12	8	M	26	40						
6	Rangi Hikingi	3	11	9	M	50	41						
7	Tihapeti Ma	3	13	10	M	50	43						
8	Florence Herewini	3	9	11	M	48	43						
9	Ellen Farrell	3	11	9	M	22	44						
10	Tira Henare	2	11	11	M	50	45						
11	Muri Fraser	2	9	10	M	60	46						
12	Mata Galvin	1	11	9	M	50	47						
13	Ina Clayton	1	11	2	M	18	48						
14	Fry Herewini	1	8	4	M	48	49						
15	Mary Williamson	1	4	9	E	50	50						
16	Isabella Hikingi	P	9	9	M	44	51						
17	Ani Tukere	P	8	0	M	50	52						
18	Pawa Galvin	P	9	8	M	50	53						
19	Martha Tokena	P	4	4	M	50	54						
20	Eliza Parane	P	6	9	M	50	55						
21	Muriel Simon	P	6		M	48	56						
22	Heine Ramsfield	P	5	9	M	6	57						
23	Rangi Hikingi	P	8	0	M	44	58						
24	Pepeta Rangi	P	5	3	M	32	59						
25	Sophie Rogers	P	8	4	M	22	60						
26	Ruby Meke	P	6	3	M	22	61						
27							62						

BAAA, 1001, 24b.

Bureaucracy

A criticism of the Native School system was that written requests from the Principal had to be lodged with the Department of Education for approval to purchase items or have them distributed by the department. The slow pace with

which requests were processed is evident in Principal, Mr Gracie's (1942) request for a room to make malted milk drinks,

4<sup>th</sup> June 1942

Sir,

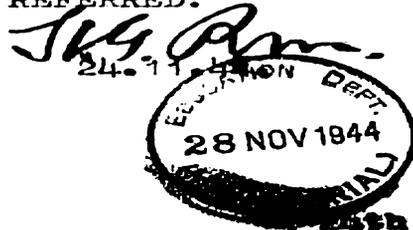
*I have to inform you that owing to the lack of conveniences for operating the malted milk scheme I have found it impossible to carry on through the winter months... In your memo of 18<sup>th</sup> February you informed me that consideration of providing a milk room had been deferred. I had carried on under trying conditions, but cannot proceed until a milk room with proper conveniences is provided...*

*I have the honour to remain,  
Your obedient servant,  
Thomas Gracie.*

Finally, almost 2½ years later, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of November 1944, H. G. R. Mason, Director of Education, reported Cabinet's approval

Director of Education.

REFERRED.



24<sup>th</sup> November, 1944.

Dear Mr. Singh,

**With reference to your personal representations on behalf of the Rotokawa School Committee, I have pleasure in informing you that Cabinet have approved of a grant for an additional classroom with the necessary additional auxiliary accommodation and a milk room at the Rotokawa Native School.**

**Yours faithfully,**

(Signed) H. G. R. MASON.

BAAA, 1001, 537b.

More than a decade earlier, on the 16<sup>th</sup> of July 1931, during a routine inspection by William Bird, the absence of the malted milk scheme was noticed and its instigation recommended,

*Head Teacher: Mr GF Oulds*

*I should like to see provision made for supplying cocoa at the lunch hour... Yours is the only non-cocoa school*

BAAA, 1001, 1020a.

Additional archival documents show however, that bureaucratic processes could be sidestepped if 'influential people' were informed. Ex-Native School Principal, Uncle Albert Anaru (former Native School Principal and close family friend) said that education was a highly political affair. "If a particular Headmaster had a good relationship with the Education Department officials they were given more resources" (personal communication, September 2002). Many Rotorua schools "fared well politically because one of the locals (and staunch National supporter) Te Reiwhiti (Rei) Vercoe was on a first name basis with Peter Fraser (Prime Minister and Minister of Education). Whenever any of the Rotorua schools wanted anything Rei would get on the telephone and speak directly to Peter Fraser. Sure enough, a week later the goods would arrive". Uncle Albert said that Peter Fraser had a "soft spot for Māori schools, and there was a great deal of progress under him". Archival documents (BAAA, 1001, 537b) revealed one occasion when Rotokawa Native School sidestepped time consuming bureaucratic processes. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1943, Mr P. A Rasmussen of Otorohanga wrote to Mr W. J. Broadfoot (House of New Zealand Representatives) about the cold conditions at Rotokawa Native School where his daughter taught,

*Dear Sir,*

*...I am hoping that you may be able to use your influence in the right quarter to get some means of heating for her classroom. All last winter (and the winter is cold over there) promises were made to provide some heating, but without any result... If you have an opportunity, show this to Sir Apirana Ngata as 2 of his grandchildren are in this classroom.*

*Trusting you will be able to spare a little time for this matter and wishing you success at the coming election*

BAAA, 1001, 537b.

Two days later, as requested, Mr Broadfoot forwarded Mr Rasmussen's letter to Sir Apirana Ngata. Less than two months after Mr Rasmussen lodged his request, on the 6<sup>th</sup> of July 1943, approval for heating at Rotokawa was given from Mr Mason,

*...Representations were recently made by the Hon. Sir Apirana Ngata concerning the lack of heating facilities in a room at Rotokawa Native School, Rotorua... In this regard I am pleased to inform you that the Public Works Department has been asked to make urgent arrangements for the installation of a suitable heater in the classroom.*

*With kind regards,  
Yours faithfully,  
P. Mason  
Minister of Education.*

BAAA, 1001, 537b.

### Support from Te Arawa Māori Trust Board

The Arawa Māori Trust Board supported Māori education and often gave financial assistance to Te Arawa schools (a table showing amounts given as education grants is given in Te Arawa Māori Trust Board, 1974, p 31). An example of the Trust Board supporting the efforts of Rotokawa Native School is evident in the Rotokawa Native School log book 1946-1955 (Rotokawa School Archives),

6<sup>th</sup> November 1947

A visit to Health Exhibition in Rotorua, 55 children taken, Te Arawa Trust Board paid the fares.

### Close Bond Between School and Community

The stories of many ex-Native School pupils indicate that the communities of Native Schools were closely involved with their schools; likewise, school staff were closely involved with community events. A log book entry from 1947 confirms the close bond between Rotokawa Native School and the community. On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1947 a former pupil, Dorothy Ransfield passed away. The Principal's entry on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of December 1947 says, "Teachers made wreath; attendance meeting house – all; Day given up to tangi: prominent family in district" (Rotokawa School Archives). As well as indicating the strong relationship that existed between Rotokawa Native School and their community, the above log book entry shows that the school staff members respected and observed practices from the children's culture (that is, tikanga Māori). Close involvement between school and community; and staff members' respect of tikanga Māori is substantiated by a later log book entry (Rotokawa Māori School Log Book, 1956 – 1976, Rotokawa School Archives)

4<sup>th</sup> August 1963

"Meeting at Owhata Marae with parents – Mrs S Reid to explain purposes etc of proposed camp for senior pupils at Port Waikato – decision made to attend.

### Swimming Pool

The 24<sup>th</sup> of November 1956 was an exciting day for Rotokawa Māori School – their swimming pool was opened. The pool was a source of great pride for the pupils, staff and community because it was the "largest primary school baths in the district – 60' x 20'" (Rotorua Post, 26-11-56, cited in Don Stafford files, 'Schools' Vol. 1). It seems that Rotokawa's pupils, staff and community still enjoy school-pool bragging rights, not because of the pool's size but because of their extended swimming season due to it being heated by geothermal energy.

### Show School

Uncle Albert claims that "the Education Department had 'Show Schools' within the Rotorua area, and when the Department had overseas visitors they were 'shown' certain Rotorua schools. It is substantiated by the following log book entry (Rotokawa School Archives), "12:3:58. Mr I. Edwards a teacher from Niue Island spent the day observing". Another log book entry (1958) and Waikato Times (1977) article (Rotokawa School Archives) suggest that one of Rotokawa's strengths was Māori Art and Craft, "15 August 1963. Visit from Mr P Matchitt – Art and Craft Specialist".

19<sup>th</sup> July 1977 (Waikato Times)

Teaching roles exchanged

The tables were turned at Hamilton Teachers' College yesterday when 50 Rotorua school children arrived to teach college students Māori arts and crafts. The children were from Rotokawa School, the only school in New Zealand to offer a complete programme of Māori language and culture.

### Other Interesting Log Book Entries

1<sup>st</sup> February 1961

"Many children arrayed in new school royal blue uniform."

7<sup>th</sup> December 1961

“Very successful concert held at Whakarewarewa Hall. Favourable comments by Guide Rangī and others.”

Saturday 7<sup>th</sup> December 1968

A school celebration and commemoration of this, the last year as Māori schools and commemorating the fact that it is 100 years since the negotiation for the first site for the school at Te Akau. The enclosed programme was curtailed by extremely wet weather. The Hangi and service were moved to Pikirangi marae and the social was still held in the school hall. Despite the weather the day was considered a success.

The concluding remarks in the booklet compiled to celebrate the centennial of Māori schooling in Rotorua are also appropriate to conclude this historical account of Rotokawa Native School,

“In February 1968 the Minister of Education announced that all Māori Schools would pass to Board control on February 1969. So 1968 has particular significance to us all. Teachers, pupils and particularly parents who, as old pupils have such a strong feeling for the school, this is an eventful year. With ‘this brief history’ we salute the past. The mana of the school will live on.

Noreira, e korero ana ahau ki a koutou, Kia kaha, Kia toa, Kia manawanui Arohanuiroa K.V.M” (Rotokawa, 1968).

**Whangamarino Native School: Te Kura o Māori ō Whangamarino**  
**1926 - Present**  
**An Historical Account**

*Kia Pono – Work well that you may reap the reward*

(Whangamarino School Bulletin, Final Issue, Vol. III, No. 2, February 1966, p 2).

Establishment

Prior to the establishment of Whangamarino Native School, children within Otaramarae, Taheke, Okere, Mourea and Ruato Bay (Stafford, 1967) travelled to Te Akau to be schooled at the original Rotoiti Native School (also known as Taheke Native School). Rotoiti Native School was established in 1871 and operated successfully under the tutelage of Major Wood. The school eventually closed in 1892 and shortly afterwards, representatives of Ngāti Pikiao sent letters requesting the establishment of a new school (BAAA, 1001, 532b). In 1896 the Rotoiti Native School building was moved to Matawera, Te Ngae where it became, Rānana Native School which served many children from the villages fore mentioned, as well as Hinemoa Point, Owata, Rotokawa, Te Ngae, Tikitere and Mokoia Island. In order to reach Rānana Native School the children had to traverse great distances, some "more than seven miles" (Kiriona, 1998, p 16). Keen to gain access to education for their children, people of Ngāti Pikiao made several written and verbal requests to the Department of Education to establish a school within their area; however, for almost twenty years department officials declined Māori requests. The Department of Education preferred to utilise Rānana Native School for as long as possible. Transcriptions of some of their requests for a school after the establishment of Rānana are given below (BAAA, 1001, 742a)

*26<sup>th</sup> August 1908*

*He inoi tenei na matou kia ata whakaaarohia mai e koe ta matou tono mo tetahi kura mo te katoa (Public School) ki Okere Falls i runga i te tokomaha rawa o a matou tamariki e noho mangere ana i te tawhiti rawa o nga kura i konei ko te tawhiti o te kura i o matou kainga e wha maero e ono etahi na e kore rawa e taea te haere e nga tamariki i a ra i a ra...*

The letter was translated by a government translator as

*This is a request from us that you will carefully consider our proposal for a Public School at Okere Falls since we have a large number of children who are laying idle due the great distance of schools from our homes (the children have to travel) four miles, and for some, six miles, which the children cannot travel day in, day out...*

The signatories were obviously concerned with their children's health because the final statement within that letter asks that the teacher for their school have medical knowledge ("te kaiwhakaako e mohio ana ki nga mahi Takuta"). A copy of the signatures of the people who made this request is given below

*E loa tonu matāu tino hiahia  
kia hohoretia mai te whakaae  
o te matāu tonu  
Heoi tena  
ko te kai-whakaaako me te matāu  
kua lei te kai-whakaaako a mohio  
ana ki nga mahi Takuta  
Heoi ano Na o loa roha  
Te Tamihiri Kingi  
Riri Tana  
Keepa Maata  
Hunuhunu Keepa  
Hone Hote  
Paora W. Pihipi  
Wi Whaitiri  
P. Haveli  
Rangiahua Paterson  
Te Mōrehu Kirikau  
Witika Rapua  
J. Bolton  
L. B. B. B.  
Chas. Stuart Laird*

*2 Te Mapu Te Mōrehu*

BAAA, 1001, 742a.

16<sup>th</sup> May 1909

*I te Kirihimete kua taha nei i whakahaere mai matau mo tetahi kura mo a matau tamariki kia tu ki te taheke nei a i rite rawa te waahi hei tuunga mo te kura...*

The letter was translated by a government translator as

*During Christmas just passed we agitated for a school for our children to be established here at Te Taheke where there is an ideal site for the school...*

The Māori version of the letter was signed by 14 supporters and concluded with, "Me matau katoa" (and the rest of us).

15<sup>th</sup> April 1911

*On the 29<sup>th</sup> March last we met at his (Mr Bird's) suggestion to set before him our request that a school should be established at the Taheke... He also stated that the Department would agree to our request that there should be returned to us the old site of the school on condition that the new piece should be transferred to the Crown...*

*Te Tauhu Kingi*

*Keepa Waata me etahi atu*

April 14<sup>th</sup> 1918

*We, the Natives of Okere, Taheke and Otaramarae have for several years petitioned for a School, but our prayer has not been granted. There are now over 30 children here growing up in ignorance and we feel, that under present conditions they will never be able to take their proper positions as intelligent citizens of our Empire... We earnestly trust that this petition will receive your favourable consideration  
Hikanui Mita + 24 others including Ramari Waretini, Erena Warahi, Hana Tanuora, Ani Te Warahi, Hinia Te Warahi*

Finally, on the 12<sup>th</sup> of September 1921, after numerous requests from local Māori and offers of land for sites for the school, the Department of Education confirmed the site to be utilised for a Native School in the New Zealand Gazette (No. 89, 6<sup>th</sup> October, 1921),

[Extract from *N.Z. Gazette* No. 80, 6th Oct., 1921.]

*Notice of Intention to take Land in Block VI, Rotoiti Survey District, for the Purposes of a Native School.*

NOTICE is hereby given that it is proposed, under the provisions of the Public Works Act, 1908, to execute a certain public work—to wit, the construction of a Native school in Block VI, Rotoiti Survey District; and for the purposes of such public work the land described in the Schedule hereto is required to be taken. And notice is hereby further given that the plan of the land so required to be taken is deposited in the post-office at Rotorua, and is there open for inspection; and that all persons affected by the execution of the said public work or by the taking of the said land should, if they have any well-grounded objections to the execution of the said public work or to the taking of such land, set forth the same in writing, and send such writing, within forty days from the first publication of this notice, to the Minister of Public Works at Wellington.

**SCHEDULE.**

APPROXIMATE area of the piece of land required to be taken :  
6 acres.

Being part of Okere No. 1c Block, situated in Block VI, Rotoiti Survey District (Auckland R.D.). (S.O. 21580.)

In the Auckland Land District; as the same is more particularly delineated on the plan marked P.W.D. 51461, deposited in the office of the Minister of Public Works at Wellington, in the Wellington Land District, and thereon edged pink.

As witness my hand, at Wellington, this 1st day of October, 1921.

J. G. COATES, Minister of Public Works.

BAAA, 1001, 742a.

In spite of Gazetted confirmation, rumours were apparent within the Mourea and Okere districts that the school was to be situated within Mourea. Okere Falls residents voiced their concern via a "New Zealand Post Office Telegraph" (10<sup>th</sup> February 1926)

*Sir James Parr Minister for Education Wellington*

*It is rumoured that school to be at twelve mile peg Okere is now suggested to be removed to Mourea to which we greatly object as it means further away from several pas Taheke Otaramarae Takapau and Tokerau. Kindly suspend decision await petition. Kia ora  
Morehu Kirikau Kahuitara Whariki Peeti Hareti families and tribes concerned.*

Morehu Kirikau received a speedy reply from Mr Parr

*Morehu Kirikau  
Okere Falls*

*I am in receipt of letter telegram from yourself and others regarding school site at Okere. As a result of representations to me I am sending Mr Porteous Inspector of Native Schools to visit the district and go into matter on the spot and report to me*

*C J Parr*

Morehu Kirikau also received a quick reply from Mr Porteous (11<sup>th</sup> February 1926)

*I have advised Kirikau that I shall visit the Okere site on Tuesday next. I have asked him to arrange for \_\_\_\_\_ (handwriting indecipherable) men to meet me.  
I Porteous.*

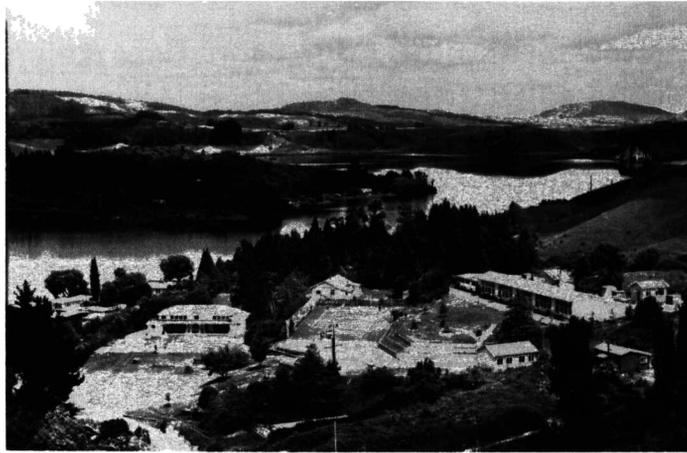
Eventually, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September 1926 following the closure of Rānana Native School and establishment of Rotokawa Native School, Whangamarino Native School opened. The school's location is referred to in a cheerful song about the school that has been sung by generations of Whangamarino's pupils. The words were provided by Nanny Tiki Thomas in 1996 when I was teaching at the school and requested permission for my class to include it in our performance at the annual Primary Schools' Māori festival. Koro Napi Waaka taught us the tune and how to "sing it with gusto",

There's a school on the hill by the roadside  
There's a little brown school on the hill  
No place is so dear to my childhood  
As the little brown school on the hill

How sweet on a bright sunny morning  
To listen to the clear ringing bell (ding dong!)  
There's nothing so dear to my childhood  
As the little brown school on the hill

Oh come come come come.....  
Come to the school on the roadside  
Oh come to the school on the hill  
No place is so dear to my childhood  
As the little brown school on the hill

Anne Moore (2001), who was a teacher at Whangamarino in 1940 describes, "The school is situated on a hillside above Lake Rotoiti, 16 km from Rotorua, between Mourea and Okere. The bulk of the children came from the three villages, Mourea, Okere and Otaramarae (p 42). Lang (1967) says, "Built with a fine view over Lake Rotoiti, Whangamarino Māori School opened in 1926 with its sister Rotokawa Māori School when the Rānana School at Te Ngae closed" (p 36).



**Whangamarino School**  
(Photo courtesy of Rotokawa School Archives)

Whangamarino Native School began with two staff members and 47 pupils who had transferred from Rānana (Lang, 1967, p 37). A copy of the first attendance register and return from Whangamarino Native School dated 31<sup>st</sup> December 1926 is given on the following page showing the names of their first pupils

# New Zealand—Education—Department.

## NATIVE SCHOOL, Whanganui, Mourea, Potoma

(Quarters end on 31st March, 30th June, 30th September, and 31st December.)

Return of Attendance at Native School for the Quarter ending 31 Dec., 1926

(N.B.—This return is to be sent to the Department within five days after the last school day in the quarter.)

<u>Whanganui Native</u> SCHOOL.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
I. Number of scholars belonging to the school at the end of last quarter. <i>[Line IV of last return]</i>	27	28	55
II. Number of those who left, not having attended at all this quarter	1	1	2
III. Number really belonging to the school at beginning of quarter. <i>[Subtract II from I]</i>	26	27	53
IV. Number belonging at the end of the quarter	27	28	55
V. Average weekly number on the roll during the quarter	17.5	17.5	35
VI. Total attendance for quarter, extending attendance on "excepted" half-days	52.50	52.50	105
VII. Number of times the school has been open during the quarter, excluding "excepted" half-days	110		
VIII. Average attendance for the quarter	4.77	4.77	9.54

### STATEMENT OF HOLIDAYS.

Number of Half-days in the Quarter (excluding Saturdays and Sundays): 110

Date.	Occasion of Closing.	Half-days.
	Half-days on which school was closed for prescribed school holidays	✓
	Half-days on which school was closed for public holidays and other occasions, as specified below:—	✓
	Total number of half-days on which school was closed	✓
	Total number of half-days on which school was open	✓
	Total number of half-days in the quarter, excluding Saturdays and Sundays (to agree with number given under heading)	✓

Names of Pupils who have attended during the Quarter.

(In the column for Race, put "M." for Maori, between Maori and Half-caste, and "E." for

	FEMALES.	Std. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		MALES.	Std. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
			Yr.	Mo.						Yr.	Mo.		
1	Crawford Brydon	6	15	7	E	84	86						
2	Crawford Corrie	6	15	7	E		87						
3	Harriet Ngaru	6	14	6	M		88						
4	Waaka Wirihana	4	13	8	M		89						
5	Raymond Wm	4	13	11	M		90						
6	Crawford Berthe	3	12	3	E		91						
7	Kepra Tamiti	3	12	1	M	0	92						
8	Pou Potama	3	12	6	M	106	93						
9	Walker David	3	11	4	M	102	94						
10	Sinclair Allan	3	8	8	E	81	95						
11	Ropere Te Mata	10	10	1	M	110	96						
12	Kaiatoka Rahoro	1	9	11	M		97						
13	meat David	1	10	8	E		98						
14	Teakiawa Rui	1	10	11	M	10	99						
15	Kingi Tauhau	1	12	10	M	7	100						
16	Sinclair Harold	1	9	8	E	7	101						
17	Motutapu Alec	1	8	9	M	7	102						
18	King John M. F	1	10	0	E	6	103						
19	King Edwin	1	8	11	E	6	104						
20	Maxwell Francis	P	7	8	E	1	105						
21	McKay Murray	-	10	8	E	7	106						
22	Ratu Kapana	-	8	0	M	81	107						
X 23	Mischewski A.	-	8	2	E	1	108						
24	Ipu Pumipi	-	6	6	M	101	109						
25	Kingi Nepi	-	6	2	M	7	110						
26	Hoko Dick	-	11	9	M	1	111						
27	Hoko Wm	-	9	0	M	1	112						
28	Rogers Rochester	-	5	10	M	1	113						
29	Morrison Toko	-	8	9	M	1	114						
30	Frank Kingawaru	-	5	5	M	6	115						
31	King Noel	-	6	0	E	6	116						
X 32	Simon H. Simon	-	1	1	M	1	117						
X 33	Atkins Emimi	-	1	1	M	2	118						
34						2836	119						
35							120						

Names of Pupils who have attended during the Quarter.

and 1. in Half-scale and European. The number of Pupils who have left during the quarter to be marked x.

	FEMALES.	Sch. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		FEMALES.	Sch. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
			Yrs.	Mn.						Yrs.	Mn.		
1	near Isabella	5	12	2	E	93	36						
2	Crawford Emma	5	12	3	E	74	37						
3	Tela Whangapona	5	13	9	M	51	38						
4	Ropere Sera	4	13	11	M	62	39						
5	Ipu Roha	4	14	4	M	72	40						
6	Tai Ineri	3	11	10	M	110	41						
7	Imatahi Betka	3	11	2	M	100	42						
8	Tewa Ida	3	14	6	M	7	43						
9	Tahuniorangi Mabel	3	13	9	M	30	44						
10	Phillips Mary	2	12	6	M	110	45						
11	Imatahi Leo	2	8	1	M	106	46						
X12	Clayton Eva	2	11	5	M	30	47						
13	Henny Lena	1	12	4	M	100	48						
14	Wickcliffe Raku	1	10	5	M	72	49						
15	Le Ipu Koha	1	10	0	M		50						
16	Walker Rita	1	9	7	M		51						
17	Moore Alice	1	11	7	M		52						
18	Rotohiko May	1	8	3	M		53						
19	Pallister Inez	P	9	1	M	30	54						
20	Walker Mihi	P	7	5	M	100	55						
21	Mearns Elizabeth	P	7	3	E		56						
22	Williams Iui	P	7	7	M		57						
23	Latini Pani	P	7	4	M		58						
24	Hobson Tiritita	P	7	7	M		59						
25	Maake Norma	P	7	5	M		60						
26	Waitai Emily	P	6	0	M		61						
27	Tai Lucy	P	7	5	M		62						
28	Pallister Annette	P	7	2	M		63						
29	Imatahi Mala	P	6	11	M		64						
X30	Simon Polly	P	11		M		65						
X31	Patene Manu	P			M		66						
X32	Patene Muriel	P			M		67						
33							68						
34							69						
35							70						

BAAA, 1001, 39b.

The Department of Education was notified of the school's name by Whangamarino's first Principal, Mr England before he transferred from Rānana Native School on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May 1926, "With reference to the name desired for the new school at Okere all I have asked favour 'Whangamarino'. No other name has been suggested" (BAAA, 1001, 742a).

Considering the complex history of Whangamarino it is understandable that the school was also known as Rotoiti Native School and Taheke Native School because it served children whose predecessors were schooled at Rotoiti Native School. A National Archive file (BAAA, 1001, 742a) confirms the school was known by more than one name. On the cover is written, "Whangamarino Native School, formerly known as Taheke Native School". Documentation from 20<sup>th</sup> October 1926 says, "Shelter sheds at Taheke Native School (now known as Whangamarino Native School)". Reference to a name change appears within a bulletin 'Whangamarino Māori School' (1965, Vol. 11, No. 2) when all former Native Schools were to transfer to Board of Education control and lose their status as Māori Schools, "Two problems facing this community are simply (a) when to 'transfer' to Board control and (b) deciding the name of the school...Whangamarino School or Whangamarino Māori School...Materially and financially you won't lose...and for that matter you won't gain (p 7). It seems that a compromise was reached because the school is known as Whangamarino School, yet the logo (shown below) incorporates the letters "WMS" (representing Whangamarino Māori School).



In 1941 a new infant block was opened by the Prime Minister, Peter Fraser. The room with its wide veranda was known as the 'Peter Fraser Design School'. "What a lot of preparation and excitement. Great piles of kumara and potatoes were laid on hot stones, water thrown on, and then covered with sacks. When it came time to open the hangi, the karakia started. A line of respected kuias chanted and danced then all were given

plates of steaming potatoes and Emma Williams and Mrs Morehu still chanting and dancing led the group forward to place the food on the plates (Moore, 2001, p 44). Principal, Mr McLeod's log book entries show, "21<sup>st</sup> April 1941, Official opening of New Infant Room by Prime Minister (BAAA, 1003, 10a), also, "22<sup>nd</sup> April 1941, Large attendance at opening ceremony of New Infant Room by Prime Minister".



*The Hon. Peter Fraser addressing the gathering at the opening of the Peter Fraser Design School. Mr McLeod is seated below him on the right.*

PHOTOS: Anne Moore





*Maori kuia performing the karakia dance and chant at the opening of the hangi*

PHOTOS: Anne Moore

### Flag

According to Lang (1967), Whangamarino "is one of the few schools in New Zealand to have its own flag (pictured below). The crest was designed by a pupil about 20 years ago" (p 36).



Whangamarino School Flag  
(Photo courtesy of Lang, 1967)

The following two entries from Whangamarino School bulletins pertain to the school flag and flagpole,

Pride of many American Schools and some exclusive English ones is the School Flag...if you wish to be technical, it's a House flag. We've looked into costs for one featuring our

school monogram which would become three feet in diameter. A flag the same size as our New Zealand Ensign, that is 9ft by 4ft. 6ins. would cost £13.10.6. Imagine it flying on Gala Day 1965

Whangamarino Māori School; Vol. 1, No. 3, p 10.

The War Memorial is one of which to be most proud...Do you know that the Memorial Flagpole is the only thing Māori in our Māori School? If it weren't for that, we'd look just like any other School – and that's another reason I'm especially proud of it

Whangamarino Māori School, News, First edition, Third Term, 1964, No. 1, p 3.

### Waka

As previously stated, waka (canoes) played a significant role in the histories of many Native Schools around the lakes of Rotorua including Rotoiti, Whangamarino, Rānana, Tapuaeharuru and Wai-iti Native Schools. According to Moore (2001),

Emma Williams was a leading kuia in the district...For many years her neat 16-foot dug out canoe, waka, lay in the reeds at the edge of the lake below her house. Last year the waka was restored and towed across the lake to Rotorua and took part in the Millennium celebrations...it has gone back to its bed in the reeds. Perhaps one day it will be given to the school

p 46.

Also, the following transcripts pertaining to the waka housed at Whangamarino School were located,

More than 100 years old. The largest canoe left on Lake Rotoiti, it was brought up to the school because of historical importance. Called Ngapihi (referred to as 'Ngapini' in other accounts given below) it is being restored by the pupils and will be used in the Māori schools centenary celebrations in Rotorua next month. Pupils from Taheke (just across the lake from the school) used to paddle the canoe to school

Lang, 1967, p 37.

NGAPINI, gracious old canoe of the Lake had retired. Now it lies beside the Flagpole slowly drying out and awaiting blocking, restoration and painting. Deeded to the school for safe-keeping, by Mr. Rota Taiatini, it was hauled from the lake shore by Messrs. M. Tamehana, B. Martin & B. Kingi on Saturday 17<sup>th</sup> June. Skidded

on to a grassy hump, to a point of balance, a trailer was slid under half the canoe which was chained down, and they transported without mishap to the school. The summer will come before Ngapini looks as she once looked but even so the canoe bears witness to the skill, good eye and sure hand of some master craftsman. Memories flooded back to neighbour, Mrs. C. Williams, 'That was the first canoe I rode in which I came here'

Whangamarino Māori School, Vol. IV, No. 5, June, 1967, p 7.

Other interesting information pertaining to Whangamarino Native School's past are included here because they may also prove interesting and entertaining to others

#### Health

"Every morning the infants lined up for their dessertspoon of cod-liver oil, malt and orange juice mixture...At lunch time the whole school was treated to a cup of malted milk made with full cream milk powder" (Moore, 2001, p 42).

"All children were bathed and showered once a week...Five little ones went into the bath at once, and washed one another" (Moore, 2001, p 42).p 44).

#### Swimming

"Once a week in summer we took swimming lessons in Lake Rotoiti below the school. We had to be very careful not to let the children go out too far as the lakebed dropped suddenly to a depth of 40 metres" (Moore, 2001, p 44).

#### Sports

Occasionally we had a sports day with two other Native Schools, Rotokawa and Rotoiti. At one stage I was coaching rugby. At one stage the tackling was very half hearted so I decided to demonstrate. I chased a big Form II Puni, took a flying leap, grabbed him round the legs and brought him down. Later he came up to me and said 'Beauty tackle Sir!'" (Moore, 2001, p 46)

#### Whangamarino School Log Books (BAAA, 1003, 10a)

17.7.42

Girls played Rotokawa Basketball at Rotokawa. Results A Team lost 9-15: B Team draw 4 all.

6-7-45

Girls won both basketball matches against Whakarewarewa and Te Wai-iti

The last three entries from 1960s Whangamarino School newsletters feature here to provide a light-hearted conclusion to this information about Whangamarino Native School. Imagine parents' reactions if those comments were included in school newsletters today.

(Regarding the signing of permission forms)

"If you don't sign and return the note, your child will miss out. We'll be sad but not half as sad as your child" (Whangamarino Māori School, 1965, p 13).

(Regarding girls' inappropriate behaviour at school)

"So if you think that you have a darling daughter, all sugar and spice, you just might be the only one that thinks so. On the other hand, you just might be one who has got a darling daughter; then our congrats. There's nothing nicer than a nice girl. And there's nothing much worse than a spoilt brat" (Whangamarino Māori School; Vol. II, No. 6, August 1965, p 15).

"Sorrow in the Infant Room. Yurtle the Turtle died an untoward death when the thermostat controlling the water temperature failed to work. For your information a turtle does not survive at a temperature of 110 degrees. You get turtle soup" (Whangamarino Māori School, Vol. III, No. 4, June, 1966, p 12).

**Whakarewarewa Native School: Te Kura o Māori o Te Whakarewarewa**  
**1902 - Present**  
**An Historical Account**

*Kia U kī te Pai – Hold fast to that which is good*

A great deal of information pertaining to Whakarewarewa Native School's past is already documented within the Whakarewarewa School 75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee Commemorative Magazine (1978). Logically, that magazine was consulted to compile this section, and it is inevitable that some of the information included here was previously given in that magazine. This section also incorporates summaries and copies of significant archival documents from National Archives (Auckland). It is important to note that the archival documents relate to requests for a school from Tuhourangi and Ngāti Wāhiao. However, the issue of which hapū has/have mana whenua (ancestral land rights) of the Whakarewarewa area is still debated today and is the subject of Waitangi claims by other hapū of Te Arawa including Ngāti Taetou, Ngāti Hurunga te rangi, Ngāti Kahu and Ngāti Whakaue. It is not the intention of this section to convey a preference, rather, to give an account of historical events pertaining to the establishment and early operations of Whakarewarewa Native School according to existing archival information. This section also seeks to document reasons Māori supported the school's establishment. Nevertheless, Whakarewarewa Native School has provided education for children of Tuhourangi, Ngāti Wāhiao, Ngāti Hurungaterangi, Ngāti Taetou, Ngāti Kahu, Ngāti Tama, Huarere, Hinganoa, Tukiterangi and others.

Requests for School

According to National Archives, the earliest request from the Māori community for a school at Whakarewarewa on the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 1889 (BAAA, 1001, 733b). A memorandum from H A Atkinson to the Honourable Leo Fisher says, "The natives at Whakarewarewa want a school built for them. They say that it is too far for their children to go into the township (Rotorua). About 60 children are at

Whakarewarewa". (A copy of that letter is given in the appendices.) Shortly afterwards, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of March 1889, a Government official proposed the idea of acquiring land for a school site. His letter shows that Māori had previously made several requests for a school,

*26<sup>th</sup> March 1889*

*I am directed to ask whether under section 6, sub-section 2 of the Thermal Springs Act 1881 it would be possible for this Department to obtain a site of say 5 acres of land in or about the locality of suburban section 29 Rotorua, for Native School Purposes.*

*The Natives in this district are very numerous and have on several occasions brought this wish for a school under the notice of Ministers.*

*E.A. Nitbes* (Uncertain of surname because handwriting difficult to decipher)

BAAA, 1001, 733b.

Mr Kirk contributed his opinion to the matter of whether to establish a school at Whakarewarewa. In a memorandum to The Inspector General of Schools on the 26<sup>th</sup> of April, 1889, Mr Kirk provided a negative estimation of "The Māoris of the Rotorua district"

*26<sup>th</sup> April 1889*

*The irregular attendance at the late Ohinemutu School was largely due to the children absenting themselves from school to dive for coins for the amusement of tourists, a kind of attraction that is difficult to strive against successfully. The practice is particularly objectionable when big girls take part in it. The Māoris of the Rotorua district are sinking, it seems to me, very low in demoralisation. This is, apparently, a necessary evil resulting from the tourist traffic... Of course one root evil is drink. While tourists continue to treat Natives to liquor, undesirable results will ensue, and many tourists will follow the present custom as long as the law allows them to do so*

BAAA, 1001, 733b.

It is debatable whether Mr Kirk was implying that it would be useless establishing a school because the influence of tourists was too strong for them to resist and it is therefore unlikely that the children would attend school anyway, or whether he thought that tourists had already had such a negative effect on Māori that the children were in dire need of 'saving'? An extract from James Pope's account (in approximately October 1889) shows his support for establishing a school within the tourism district (BAAA, 1001, 733b).

*As hundreds of tourists, coming from various parts of the world, visit this district every year, the Government might find it advantageous to exhaust every means of giving the Native children suitable*

*education, rather than incur the reproach of allowing such a large number of them to grow up totally illiterate...*

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May 1900 many Māori continued to agitate to have a school established, as shown in the following letter. It is the earliest written request for a school at Whakarewarewa within National Archives' holdings.

Whakarewareware.

Mei 22<sup>th</sup> 1900

Ki te Honore Tumuaki o nga Kura Maori  
E hoa, he Pitihana atu tena kia  
Ki te tangata maana e whakamana  
hiatia o nga Iwi Maori, o te Maori  
Iu he Kura mo a ratou Samariki, ki o rata  
kainga ake, eia he Inoi atu hoki tena wa  
matou ma enei Iwi ou ma Tukourangi,  
St. Wahiao, ki tetahi Kura mo a matou  
Samariki, kia Iu ki te Whakarewareware  
e te mea he Tawhiti atu no te Kura o  
Ohinemutu, ma raira i kore ai e kaha  
haere o a matou Samariki ki taua  
Kai nga rangi Haka, kai nga rangi  
kaore ano e tae i enei tu rangi ki taua  
ko tetahi o nga tino take, i kore ai e kaha  
te haere he mate no ratou i te haka.

Koti Kautē katōa o nga Sam  
O kima tekau tope, ko ia nei matou  
ka tino inoi atu kia koe, kia whakae  
mai e koe kia tu he Kura mo a matou  
Samariki ki konei, kia taba ai matou  
ki te whangai me te riri atu hoki i ng  
Samariki kia kaha ki te Kura.

Heoi ano a matou kupu.

Kia tūhia iho nei o matou ingoa ki ro  
iho nei. I a matou whakaeatanga k  
te tōno Kura mo a matou Samariki a  
tūhia nei o matou Ingoa ki raro iho

W. K. Te Rangipuwawe  
Tamati Paora  
Perema Te Puhau  
Ho-ori Tarawhio  
H. M. Heretaunga  
Hepirini Te tau-a-kura  
Helenaru Kacawha  
Hira Rangimatini.  
Te Pahi Tiaki.  
Pote Hori  
Hara Himiona  
Kapuawhako Hara.  
maikas Waaka  
Matiu te kurapa.  
Te Pae Te Whatinui  
Aporo Te Rauai  
W. W. Komeke.  
Huri Ho-ori  
Rukerangi Tamati  
Taramai Amohau  
Toure whititea  
Kipa Crepat  
Te Paata Sekoki  
Te Heremoro Kereanoana  
Iwikau Te Puhoro  
Kirihiti Kapōiere  
Rangawhema Eparaima  
Ranati maika  
Mika Aporo  
K. P. Kerei  
Rihari Heretaunga.  
Tuwhakewa Lepuki  
Matanahira Haputa  
Herare Eparaima  
Hira Honepa.

Wiari Ngatai

Yonihana Wiremu

Kapisiere Sipeni

Aemaki Maika

Maika Kepea

Se Maoti Maika

Taaki Hatu

Hamiora Heremai'a

Taraki Heremai'a

Hemi Heremai'a

Erana Heremai'a



Meremai'a Se Maromaru

Maria Kamo

Ani Kiritiki

Kiri Eparaima

Ngurua Se Hatu

Ye waowakoma Se Taranaki

Utgawaina Se Puke

Oriwa Se Puke

Pipi Poata

Matiana Se Poata

Hara Se Poata

Ngatai Wiari

Wirani Ngatai

Rangimauhi. Naaka

Emire Wardini

Waihi a Le Kapa  
 A. Porehaututu. Waaka.  
 Meri Lamati.  
 Ngana Rapani  
 Rapa a W. W. W.  
 Erenora Hiperini  
 Haurua Harata  
 Te Pakitawhiti Aperahama.  
 Pare Te Iwe.  
 Te Para Hori.  
 Mabereti Same.  
 Ema Manuwariki  
 Ngawara Hiperini  
 Rerūpa Kōhōra  
 Ngaharapa Kōhōra  
 Kapokape Te Rangitautini  
 Mherikutia Wikiriwhi  
 Ema Aporo.  
 Mere Lilia Kerei  
 anata Hohēpa  
 Arani Wira  
 Hera Mika.  
 Mauniko Mika  
 Mabereta Le Hei  
 Muiama Wikiriwhi  
 Aumina Wikiriwhi  
 Liaka Kawana.  
 Lupa Tamati  
 Mere Kana Itaraira  
 Kūmāta Lomihia  
 Kataraira Wāri  
 Herena Taupopoti.  
 Ngatupa Hīromu  
 Parahi Tamati  
 Kūmāta Wikiriwhi

The Under-Secretary for Justice  
 kindly furnish a translation

Received  
 29/10/2000  
 M. J. M.

I have translated the letter as

*Te Whakarewarewa*  
*May 22<sup>nd</sup> 1900*

*To the Honourable Chief of Native Schools,  
Friend, this is a petition to you, who has the authority to fulfil the desires of the Māori people throughout this island, of establishing schools for their children within their tribal areas. So, this is our request from your people of Tuhourangi and Ngati Wahiao, to establish a school here at Whakarewarewa for our children because the school at Ohinemutu is too far away, therefore, it is difficult for our children to go to that school on days when it is frosty and raining, they can't get to school on days like this. One of the main reasons they don't go is because they get hungry.*

*There are 50 children altogether. Each one of us are earnestly requesting that you will agree to establish a school for our children here, so that we will be nearby to feed them and encourage the children to try hard at school.*

*That is all we have to say. We have written our names below to show that we agree to this request for a school for our children.*

Debate continued about possible consequences of establishing a school at Whakarewarewa, within an area where the children would inevitably be influenced by tourists. During September 1900 Mr Kirk expressed his concerns,

*5<sup>th</sup> September 1900*

*As I passed through Whakarewarewa on 19<sup>th</sup> July, I went to see Kēpa te Rangipūawhē with respect to the proposal to establish a school. . . it is impossible to form an opinion as to the prospects of a school at Whakarewarewa without taking into account the tourist traffic and the effect that it has upon the Māoris. . . I'm taking even the most charitable view of what goes on, it is plain that the Māori children are encouraged by many tourists to follow them about, to dance haka, to dive for coins thrown into water, and to do many other things not conducive to industrious habits, but conducive to indolence, to a kind of nonchalant mendicancy, and to the prevention of habits of decorous independence. . . Yet it seems to be a plain duty to do all that lies in our power, and to establish the school that is again asked for. If the attractions held out to the children by tourists and others lead. . . to non-attendance and to the break-down of the school, there will be no great surprise: nor will there, I think, be cause for surprise if it is found that many of the children that pass through the school grow up with the moral distortion of their home surroundings, rather than with the moral shapeliness that the school should bring about.*

*H.B. Kirk*

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of September 1900 it was "decided to establish a Native School at Whakarewarewa if a site can be got...not less than 3 acres" (BAAA, 1001, 733b), and on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 1901, the land set aside for Whakarewarewa Native School was announced in the New Zealand Gazette (Vol. 1, p 988), "Town of Rotorua,

Section = Lot 1, Block = LXV. Purpose for which land reserved = Public School site. Date of warrant 13 March 1901" (BAAA, 1001, 735b).

A great deal of work was completed to build the new school but the opening was delayed because Headmaster, Reverend Burgoyne had not received all of the necessary material. In March 1902, on behalf of the department of education, Mr Hogben recommended he "borrow material meanwhile from Mr Brown of Rānana; balance of material being forwarded by Government Storekeeper this week". Mr Hogben further urged Reverend Burgoyne to open the school "at once" (BAAA, 1001, 733b). Finally, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of March 1902, Whakarewarewa Native School was opened on the southern end of Fenton Street where the Arikikapakapa Golf Course is currently located (the second green to be more precise) with 69 children enrolled. "The first committee was chaired by Maika Keepa and its members were Mika Aporo, Hatu Pirihi, Haira Himiona, Te Waaka and Te Rohu." (Daily Post, 25<sup>th</sup> February, 1978). Reverend Burgoyne reported the opening to the Education Department, "I have to report that the Whakarewarewa school was opened today with an attendance... of forty three...It was found impossible to open the school yesterday owing to unavoidable delay in procuring from the closed Tapuaeharuru schoolroom the material which Mr Pope...game me permission to use" (BAAA, 1001, 733b). Almost four months later, on the 5<sup>th</sup> of July, James Pope conducted the first inspection, which put to rest earlier suspicions of school failure, "The school has on a whole, made a good start and becomes very workable, and, I believe, there is not the slightest reason to expect failure" (BAAA 1001, 733b).

By the early 1930s discussions had begun about relocating the school. A meeting was held on the 13<sup>th</sup> of December 1932 between Mr Strong, Mr Chambers (golf club member and proprietor of Waiwera House), Mr Tai Mitchell and Mr Kingi. Mr Strong reported, "The Rotorua Golf Club...was very anxious to add the school site to their grounds in order that their course might be suitable for championship matches". The golf club was keen to purchase the school site, however, according to Mr Strong's estimation, the land on which the golf club was sited was owned by the government, "let to the club at a peppercorn rental". He

questioned their idea of purchasing the school land "when the rest of the course does not really belong to them, but is practically a gift from the government". Furthermore, Mr Chambers informed them "that one of the original conditions of the lease, if such it might be called, to the Golf Club was that the Natives should be allowed to use the course. He stated that the club will not allow a Native to join" (BAAA, 1001, 735b). In 1933, "Chief Mita Taupopoki told the Minister that he was opposed to the removal of the school and the giving away of the land. He had no time for the golf club which wanted to acquire the property. They should refuse to give the place away" (BAAA 1001, 735b). Instead, it was the school community and staff's preference to extend the school on its current site. It is interesting to note that in 1932 a department of education official, Mr Ball expressed his concern at the high number of Pākehā pupils who lived out of the area yet attended the already overcrowded Whakarewarewa Native School. Apparently pupils were recruited at the "Headmaster's invitation to raise grade of school". Mr Ball reported to Mr Strong (Director of Education), "I should like you to write and request him to refuse admission to European children as from this date and until such time as the accommodation would warrant it" (BAAA 1001, 735b).

By the late 1930s Whakarewarewa Native School had become overcrowded and in 1937 pupils were schooled in a marquee (BAAA, 1001, 735b). Overcrowding was still a dilemma in August, so Saint Chad's Church (also known as the Devon Street Church Hall) was rented as a classroom to relieve the pressure until a permanent solution was found. The dilemma of whether to extend the current school or build a new school in a different location was debated throughout the 1930s. A snippet from Te Aonui Dinnan's (secretary of the Whakarewarewa Native School Committee) letter in May 1938 to the Chief Inspector of Native Schools alludes to the lengthy period over which the school had pressed for a resolution, "We live in hope and its just as well that Patience is a virtue hereditary to the Māori people for this school has nearly got rebuilt this last 10 years" (BAAA 1001, 735b). Eventually, after much debate, a site on Sala Street was chosen (the school remains there today). Uncle Albert said, "The forestry community was upset

because the designated site was forestry land". The New Zealand Gazette notice appeared on the 27<sup>th</sup> of October 1938 (Vol. III, p 2272),

I, George Vere Arundell, Viscount Galway, Governor-General of the Dominion of New Zealand, do hereby revoke...the Proclamation of the thirteenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, whereby the said land...was set apart as a permanent State forest, and declare that the reservation thereby effected is... revoked accordingly...containing by admeasurement 7 acres 2 roods 29 perches, more or less, being part of Section 4, Block I, Tarawera Survey District

BAAA, 1001, 736a.

For the next few years schooling continued at the original Whakarewarewa Native School and their "side school" (St Chad's), as did preparation of buildings for the new school. A main feature of the new school was to be the "assembly hall built to resemble a Māori Meeting-House. The Māori design of this Hall would be sufficient architectural indication that the school was one for Māoris. One third the cost of which was to be borne by the people" (Dennan, 9<sup>th</sup> February 1939, BAAA 1001, 735b). Not all parties agreed that the school hall should reflect a Māori design. Native School Inspector, W. W. Bird wrote, "I do not think that the (building) should have its front elevation modelled after a Māori meeting house. If the committee want to put a special brand on their school gateway they might do so. The building itself however, should be similar to the ordinary European school" (BAAA 1001, 735b). In the end, the school had both, a Māori style assembly hall named after a well known ancestor, Hatupatu, and a carved school gateway. Finally, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 1941 the new school was opened by the Prime Minister, Peter Fraser. Although the people of Whakarewarewa were pleased that their new school was completed, trouble with the new hall's structure was noted,

Mr Fraser was particularly proud of the school, specially its Māori hall...the Minister for Māori Affairs, Sir Apirana Ngata, was not so impressed. He pointed out that if the hall were to follow (Māori) tradition, then the roof would have to be remodelled. According to tradition the rafters must always be in even numbers. The Māori hall had only

five on either side. Should this tradition not be followed then the Prime Minister would be plagued by bad luck.

Nothing further was done at that stage and Mr Fraser went overseas for a war time conference and to visit the troops. In each country he visited misfortune followed Mr Fraser till in England he became very ill. Remembering what Sir Apirana had said Mr Fraser cabled back to New Zealand that the roof of the Māori hall had to be lifted, and it now has an even number of rafters on either side of the main beam

Daily Post, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1978.

To celebrate the opening of the new school a competition was held to find a new motto to replace the previous, 'Aim High'. "Competition was fierce and the winner was Peggy Scott. Her inspiration, 'Kia U Ki Te Pai' – 'Hold fast to that which is good' had place of honour above the Māori Hall (Whakarewarewa 75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee Organising Committee, 1978, p 7).

Interest in the original Whakarewarewa School building had in the meantime been expressed by the golf club "to make room for golf course extensions"; Rotokawa Native School for a "domestic Science building"; and the District Commissioner for Boys Scouts for a "Boy Scout Hall. First priority was given for educational purposes (i.e. Rotokawa School) then to Scouts if it couldn't be converted to Science room" (BAAA, 1001, 737a). In the end the Director of Education recommended it be sold to the Scouts because of their contribution to the community (BAAA, 1001, 737a). On the 6<sup>th</sup> of July 1946 The Rotorua Morning Post reported, "Old Whakarewarewa School Buildings have been purchased by the Rotorua Scouting Association to be used as a hall on their Pererika Street site" (Don Stafford files, 'Schools' Vol. 1).

### Show School

A letter from the Minister of Education, Peter Fraser suggests that the idea of show schools were contemplated in 1936, "Hundreds of people interested in Education come to Rotorua every year, not only from our own country but from Great Britain, the United States of America and other countries and we would like

them to see one of the best schools in the Dominion" (BAAA, 1001, 736a). Whakarewarewa Native School was a show school because of its cultural aspects. The Māori-styled carved hall was a show piece with Māori patterned leadlight windows, and "it was not uncommon in these early days, for tourists to call in at the school and be entertained in the 'Māori Hall' by a well trained and competent Māori Club group" (Whakarewarewa 75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee Organising Committee, 1978, pp 8-9).

#### Request Māori-sympathetic teacher

Archival information suggests that Māoritanga was important to the community of Whakarewarewa and they were aware of potentially harmful effects of Pākehā influence on their children. In November 1941 Mr Dansey sent a telegram to the Prime Minister at the request of "Chief Hatu Pirihi on behalf (of the) Tuhourangi people" asking for a "Māori scholar sympathetic with Māori culture" to fill the vacancy of headmaster because the children "cannot today speak their native tongue and this is very wrong where the impact of the Pākehā is so strong...We pray that you will do the best thing for us and not permit departmental idiosyncrasies to scrap indigenous culture of deep national value" (BAAA, 1001, 1081b). It seems that Whakarewarewa Native School was acknowledged by other Rotorua Māori as a school whose pupils could "retain their Māoritanga", and for this reason, was also their school of choice. In a report of the school in May 1950, Mr Goodwin, Inspector of Māori Schools noted,

I again attended a meeting of the Whakarewarewa School Committee: In discussion afterwards, I enquired the reason why they (people from Koutu) were so determined to attend Whakarewarewa. The reply was that this school is the only one where they can learn to retain their 'Māoritanga'. This is readily understandable. They then told me that originally they gave the land on which the public primary is built, but it was taken over by the Auckland Board as a public school. I have not had the time to check on this, but if it is true it does make their attitude a little more reasonable in wanting further facilities to attend Whakarewarewa

BAAA, 1001, 1081b.

Another attribute of Whakarewarewa Native School was their model cottage. Uncle Albert explained that a couple of senior girls lived for a week at a time with one of the single, female teachers, which placed some strain on the teacher, however, the Principals could only persuade Māori female teachers to stay at the cottage, "This responsibility was never shared by a Pākehā teacher". Uncle Albert didn't like the idea of pupils and a teacher living in the cottage because it took the teachers away from their own families for a week at a time, which was very disruptive for those households. According to the Whakarewarewa 75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee Organising Committee (1978),

Senior girls...in pairs enjoyed a special 'live-in' domestic training programme...the girls gained valuable experience in the management of a modern home...Thursday lunchtime was always looked forward to as on this occasion the girls would invite a friend or relation to lunch...Each day, the class of girls attending the manual training centre would provide a hot meal of meat and vegetables (most of the vegetables being grown in the school's vegetable plot) for 30 pupils at 3 pence a meal

p 9.

At Christmas time the girls invited the boys into their room where they'd prepared a meal, afterwards "The boys would reciprocate by inviting the girls into the woodwork room for entertainment" (p 15).

### Swimming

Swimming has long been a forté of many Whakarewarewa children, partially due to their part-time 'employment' diving from the Whaka Bridge into the Puarenga stream. In order to develop children's swimming skills at school, funds were raised by the Hokowhitu-a-Tu concert party and a school pool was built by voluntary workers. It was opened during the 50<sup>th</sup> year celebrations in 1952 (Daily Post, 25<sup>th</sup> February 1978), although a small thermal bath built by the school committee was previously opened in 1949 (Whakarewarewa 75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee Organising Committee, 1978). The children competed for a shield at the school's first swimming sports on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November, 1952. The swimming shield had particular significance to Whakarewarewa because it "was carved in a German

prisoner-of-war camp for prisoner relay teams - the winners being almost all 'old boys' of the Whakarewarewa School" (Don Stafford files, 'Schools' Vol. 1).

#### Final Interesting Matters

A few other items of interesting information from Whakarewarewa Native School's past were discovered in various archives which could not be left out of this account. They act as an appropriate conclusion to this historical account. The first entry illustrates the generosity of Whakarewarewa Native School to support the local high school (now Rotorua Boys' High School); the second pertains to a very precious relic from Aotearoa-New Zealand's history which was presented to the school; and the third is a humorous report (although not humorous at the time) by Minister of Māori Affairs, Mr Corbett, to the Minister of Civil Aviation, informing him about recent dangerous flying incidences near the school.

#### Bay of Plenty Times, Friday 3<sup>rd</sup> of August 1917

The Rotorua District High School has decided to take practical steps to establish a manual and technical training school by making a systematic canvass for subscriptions. The first donation has been received and is 480 pennies from the children of the Whakarewarewa Native School (Don Stafford files, 'Schools' Vol. 1).

#### Rotorua Photo News, No. 50, 20 October 1967

In the library is an original page in Samuel Marsden's handwriting of his famous first New Zealand sermon preached on Christmas Day, 1814. It was presented to the school by Eric Ramsden (p 61).

'Careless Flying'

26th September, 1950.

MEMORANDUM for:

Honourable Minister of Civil Aviation,  
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS.

ROTORUA AERO CLUB - HIAKAREKARENA MAORI SCHOOL.

During a visit to Rotorua and the above School on 21st September, the Headmaster drew my attention to the fact that pilots of the Rotorua Aero Club at times appear to be careless in their flying over the School, which is adjacent to the flying field.

One aircraft crashed into the trees just off the playground recently. He asked me to make representations on behalf of his School Committee, requesting that the Aero Club be advised to be more careful as the lives of the children are being endangered by careless flying.

The matter is accordingly brought to your notice.

gd.) E. B. CORBETT

MINISTER OF MAORI AFFAIRS.

HONOURABLE MINISTER OF EDUCATION.

REFERRED FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

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BAAA, 1001, 1081b.

### Summary

Within chapter 5, archival documents, transcripts of speeches, and minutes of meetings have been consulted to provide histories of five Native Schools of Te Arawa – Matata, Rotoiti, Rotokawa, Whangamarino and Whakarewarewa. The information within chapter 5 confirmed that many hapū within Te Arawa went to great lengths to establish and support the operations of their Native Schools. Those Native Schools provide the setting for the kaumātua’s school experiences, which are discussed in the kaumātua’s stories in the following chapter. Chapter 6 also features the stories of the mokopuna.

## Chapter 6 – The Stories

Chapter 6 gives one of the main features of this thesis, The Stories. The stories are narratives developed from a series of interviews as conversations and are as varied as the participants' characters and personalities. While the main themes of educational aspirations and experiences were discussed with all participants, the conversations occurred according to participants' own interests, preferences and recollections, therefore, different information is given in the stories, and some topics discussed in some stories are not mentioned in others.

The stories are presented school by school with the story of each school's kaumātua appearing first, followed by the story of their mokopuna. The kaumātua explain what their parents wanted them to achieve from their schooling. They explain their Native School experiences and the aspirations they have for the education of their mokopuna. The mokopuna describe their own experiences within today's schools and reflect on the aspirations of their kaumātua. The stories consist of unique perspectives and voices of unique participants.

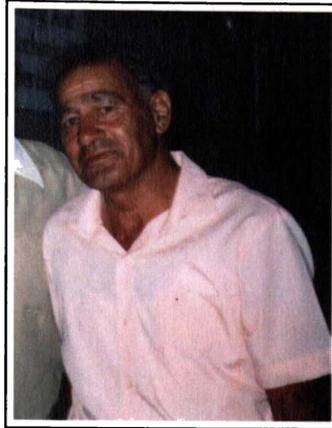
Stories pertaining to Matata Native School are given first since this project grew out of "Te Kura Māori o Matata - Matata Native School, Untold Stories" (Raureti, 2000). Wai-iti/Rotoiti Native School stories appear next because after Matata, the original Rotoiti Native School (located at Te Akau, Lake Rotoiti) is the next oldest school. Rotokawa and Whangamarino Native Schools' stories follow Rotoiti. Their histories are so closely interwoven, that they were affectionately known as sister schools of Wai-iti/Rotoiti Native School. Finally, stories about Whakarewarewa Native School are given.

Koinei e whai ake nei ngā kōrero a Kui mā, a Koro mā.  
Koinei hoki ngā kōrero a te hunga rangatahi.  
Mā pango, mā whero, ka oti te mahi.

We offer the stories of our elders.  
We also offer the stories of our youngsters.  
With this combination an inclusive account is given.

**NEIL RAURETI**

**Matata Native School: Te Kura o Māori ō Matata**



Neil Raureti

The following story is the result of several conversations that took place between my father, Neil Raureti and me, and sometimes with other family members. Some information about my father's school experiences was gained from interviews as conversations conducted for our Master of Education thesis; however, additional information specifically about educational aspirations and the realisation of those aspirations was gained from conversations focused on those topics.

My father started Matata Native School in 1934 when he was almost six years old, which, to him, seemed to be the norm. He estimates their school had approximately 50-60 children altogether, both Māori and Pākehā. A photograph of the school from 1937 is given on the next page. At that time, two classrooms catered for the whole school. One classroom was for the juniors (primer one to standard two) and another for the seniors (standard three to six), although pupils skipped classes throughout the year. Apparently, it wasn't uncommon for someone to go through the primers in one year, then go on to standard one the next year. Similarly, some children completed standard one and two in the same year. There never appeared to be any hard and fast rules dictating length of stay at each level. Their school seemed quite flexible in its operation. After visits by Native School inspectors the pupils were given the next day off, "One of the

bonuses was that we were rewarded with a day off for the way we presented ourselves." Once, during an inspection visit when it was almost home time the inspector noticed a pupil leaving the school grounds early. He asked why the pupil was leaving early; the pupil replied, "because I done my English good".



MATATA NATIVE SCHOOL - 1937

BACK: Jimmy Marks, Bill Fraser, Paddy Capper, Alfred Capper, Arthur Schick, Neil Gardiner, Peter Harmana, Laurie Raureti.  
 THIRD ROW: Betty Ansell, Lucy Marks, Beryl Marmor, Margaret Davis, Vida Gardiner, Isabel Fraser, Phyllis Webb, Madeline Capper.  
 SECOND ROW: Whiskey Riddell, Alice Mason, Val Riddell, Norma Mgee, Kum Raureti, Ina Pinker, June Riddell, Pat Burt, Peggy Jones, Shirley Mason, Jack Law, Iri Fraser, Tony Davis  
 FRONT ROW: Chummy Renala, Leith Fraser, Norman Fraser, Keith Magee, Neil Raureti, Tomi Davis, Clyde Amos (holding sign), Walter Law, Sonny Hawthorne, Bob Gardiner, Rota Elliot.

Mr and Mrs Ferguson were my father's first teachers. Mr Ferguson taught the seniors while his wife taught the junior children. According to my father, they were excellent teachers because they were totally committed to their jobs, "They well and truly put their students on the road to learning". Corporal punishment was allowed throughout my father's schooling, but its use depended on the teacher and headmaster. No cane or strap was ever used during Mr and Mrs Ferguson's time at Matata, although my father said the children were pretty well behaved. He realised that some form of mutual respect was shared between the Fergusons and their pupils.

My father and his friends played many games at school. Communal games were preferred. They made whatever toys they played with, such as blocks, kites, tops, marbles, stilts, hopscotch and always the favourite – football. Football was played anywhere, any time, with any type of ball. Sometimes tennis balls were

used; sometimes clothes were wrapped up and tied together. 'Puku mimi' (pigs' bladders) were the only "real footballs" they had. Whenever a pig was killed they'd have access to puku mimi which was blown up with a straw and then tied. At that time, they thought they had a good football, but they "couldn't kick it far because it'd float". Although puku mimi footballs were very much like balloons, they were tough. They'd last for ages. They certainly served their purpose.

Tops was the game that could sort out the mice from the men. The children who could make good tops and had perfect control would whip them from the beginning of playtime and when the bell rang to go back inside their tops would be still spinning. Useless tops were called 'tau wiriwiri' (wobbly bums). Tau wiriwiri caused their owners great embarrassment. Different tops were made for different purposes. Fighting tops were big, heavy and thick. They were made from manuka and very plain – not fancy at all. Two fighting tops would bump against each other. The best-balanced and often the biggest top would win. The children got really serious over that game, "As soon as you'd beat one top, another one would be waiting on the side to fight you". Jumping tops were also made to jump over obstacles. Humming tops were made from a dry wood like dry willow, with slots in the side to make the humming sound when they spun.

Marbles also kept my father and his mates occupied but they also caused a lot of fights. 'Toa' were the best marbles. "Sometimes you'd win a game and instead of the other person giving you a toa, they would try to give you 'tiwha-d' (chipped) marbles."

Sword fighting was another popular pastime. The swords were made from a stick and the lid from a milk powder tin. A hole was made in the centre of the lid then pushed up the stick for a handle. A nail was hammered through the stick on an angle to stop the handle from sliding up the sword, "You'd go for a leg or an arm; any touches to their body got them out". Playing these types of games made the children very quick.

My father made stilts out of long sticks and blocks of wood for foot rests. Stilts for the smaller children were made out of jam tins with string attached for handles.

The boys enjoyed play fighting. Pāpā (Dad's father) taught them to box properly. Pāpā had also been taught to box by his father. My father said it was likely that Koro (Pāpā's father, Raureti Mokonuiarangi) taught Pāpā to box since physical combat was part of our culture. Our old methods of fighting were no longer permissible, but boxing was an acceptable way of retaining that part of our culture.

Matata has always been a very staunch stronghold of Catholics. About 75% of the families in Matata were Catholic, however, our tūpuna were Anglican and therefore, so too are we. When the Catholics got their own school, it split the education in Matata to a certain extent, where two schools were operating in one village. The convent didn't come under the same education system as the Native School. The Catholic school was self-supporting and fees were imposed on pupils' families. From time to time, pupils were suspended when they hadn't paid their fees, so they went to the Native School. It was quite normal for a 'convent kid' to turn up at the Native School on a Monday, stay until their arrears were paid or the nuns became a bit worried that possibly they were learning too many heathen habits and were allowed back at their own school. My father and the other 'native' pupils loved asking the convent kids how they could learn anything at their school because whenever Dad and his mates passed the convent, the children would be singing their prayers. The Native School pupils were convinced the Catholics were heathens because they needed to pray so often. Rivalry between the Native and Catholic Schools has been apparent since the Catholic School's establishment. It was similar to previous inter-hapū rivalries and was supported by the teachers. One day after school, my father had a fight on the field with one of the big boys from the Convent School. Dad won. At school the next day my father's teacher, Mr. Nauman said to Dad, "I saw you fighting yesterday after school". My father braced himself for Mr Nauman's next sentence

because he thought he would be in trouble. Instead Mr. Nauman said, "You fought very well". This rivalry went on and on over the years, "Loyalty to your school continued throughout life". Out of school hours however, there were no Native or Catholic School divisions. The children just played with their mates - Anglicans, Catholics, and others of the same age group.

My father and his mates were proud to go to a Native School. In 1947, officials decided the name 'Native' was no longer appropriate and to avoid racial overtones, Native Schools should function under the title of 'Māori' Schools. Dad and his mates didn't view the name change too kindly. They were quite proud to be natives and didn't really want to be a Māori School. There was a certain amount of pride associated with the term 'native', whereas to them the name 'Māori' seemed derogatory. My father believed that our status as the native people of Aotearoa should be acknowledged, since we are the indigenous people of this land. Therefore, labelling was designed for the purposes of the controlling culture rather than the indigenous people who were trying to maintain their own integrity.

In line with a deficit view of Māori culture, officials decided that Māori children weren't getting the right types of food at home, so healthy food items were provided at school. My father remembered being given milk, apples and malt, as well as other 'goodies' from time to time. Left over milk was given to children to take home for their families. My father often took a billy to school to be filled. There was no such thing as being too proud to take things home. Apples were given to children daily but all of the children were pretty light-fingered. They'd go past the case of apples, pick one up and pocket it. No stigma was attached to those who helped themselves. They either took from the case at school or someone's tree.

In exchange for pupils maintaining the school grounds and buildings, the Education Department provided their stationery. Friday afternoon was big clean up time. Pupils formed a line and marched from one end of the school grounds to

the other, picking up rubbish as they went along. Their school was "spotlessly clean. It was spik and span". Pupils also swept the grounds. My father liked being chosen for that job because he was able to have a little run around outside of the school, where the manuka was and get raurau (bracken fern) to use as a broom. Another chore completed every Friday afternoon was floor scrubbing. All of the desks and chairs were moved to one side of the room. Allocated pupils had buckets, scrubbing brushes and soap, got on their hands and knees and scrubbed the floor of the classrooms and passage. I wondered if scrubbing duty was used as punishment but my father said that everyone received the free stationery so everyone - boys and girls, good kids, and the not so good, had to help with the cleaning. My father remembered checking the coat hangers in the corridor on a Friday afternoon to make sure no clothes were left at school over the weekend. When items were found, the duty person had to find the owner. The senior boys mowed the lawns regularly. Windows of the school buildings were kept sparkling with regular cleaning and polishing.

The pupils had not always been responsible for cleaning the school. A letter from the Headmaster, Mr King, to the Director of Education on the 27<sup>th</sup> January 1925 "in response to the most recent Inspector's report of Matata Native School" identified an earlier system,

The system of school cleaning is augurated by the school committee before I came, and still in use is far from satisfactory, and I would much prefer the system in use in most Native schools viz. school – cleaning by the children themselves, under the teachers' supervision. Under the present system money is raised locally and the money used to pay someone to do the cleaning, which is not always done to the satisfaction of the teachers.

I should be glad if the Department made a pronouncement and condemned any other method than that by which the children themselves do the school cleaning under proper supervision as it fosters better and tidier habits in the children

BAAA, 1001, 334c.

Winning a government scholarship enabled my father to attend Wesley College. Apparently, "if your teachers thought it was in you, they'd enter you as a candidate for the Proficiency Exam. If you did well you won a scholarship". Dad said, "It wasn't really a big achievement winning a scholarship" because it was expected. Expenses such as board at the school and some stationery were covered by the scholarships including £10 vouchers for stationery, but since my father received some books from his older brother (Uncle Laurie) and was conservative with their use, he was able to use the vouchers to purchase clothes from a particular storekeeper. It appears that this practise wasn't completely above-board. Students' families had to purchase their own uniforms which consisted of grey shorts, grey shirt, a black and white striped blazer, grey socks and black shoes. Dad recalled one occasion when he was about 13 years old, while staying with his Pākehā grandparents (his mother's parents) in Hamilton. Dad's grandfather took him to the H.B's (Hallenstein Brothers') store to buy his uniform and underclothes for Wesley College. Dad had never worn underclothes before; he didn't even know what underpants were until he went to College. Dad's grandfather was proud of Dad's achievement of attending secondary school and introduced my father to everyone in the store, telling them that this boy was his grandson and he was off to secondary school.

There were two streams at secondary school - the academic stream and the general stream. The academic stream taught mathematical subjects such as geometry and algebra, as well as languages such as English, Latin and French. The general stream included subjects such as English, practical mathematics and other subjects focused on developing practical skills. I found it interesting to learn that Māori language was offered to students in the general stream. It was taught by a Pākehā teacher, Mr Knobby Clarke (apparently, lots of people named 'Clarke' were nicknamed 'Knobby'.) My father doesn't remember any Māori teachers at Wesley College. In line with Māori thinking of utilising the school system to achieve educational aspirations, my father studied Latin because at that stage, he was interested in pursuing a career in medicine, and Latin would have increased his chances of entering that field. As it happened, Wesley College

closed during the Second World War and was used as a hospital for returned soldiers. My father returned to Matata and continued his education at Whakatane District High School. Unfortunately, Whakatane did not offer the same level of academic subjects as Wesley College, so he had to study Latin via correspondence. My father said he practically taught himself because the teacher who supervised his Latin studies did not actually know the language; consequently Dad only continued his Latin studies for another year. Religious studies were also completed via correspondence, and the students were known as "PSSM'ites", Postal Sunday School Movement.

My father believed the Native School System was beneficial to pupils for numerous reasons. Since their school was small compared with many present day schools, their teachers had fewer children to cater for so they got to know the children well and could give them more attention. In line with the Māori value of whanaungatanga (pride in relationships), and a propensity for acquiring knowledge audibly, my father considered the schooling of pupils of different ages and levels within the same room another benefit of the Native School system. While my father and his peers were working, they would hear and listen to lessons being taught to the older children, so as they progressed through the levels they were already prepared for the lessons. The work seemed easy and they were never stuck; they picked up concepts quickly because they had literally heard it before - they had already heard the questions; they had already heard the answers. The multi-level class organisation complemented the communal lifestyle to which the children were accustomed because children of the same age group mixed with each other in and out of school. The oral style of teaching was also practiced in Dad's home. At night, their mother read aloud to them, and when she couldn't their father did. My father remembered books like 'The Water Babies', 'Pilgrim's Progress' and 'The White Company'. As a result of my father's positive childhood experiences with books he developed a love for books and became a bookworm. My father said, "Our parents were very interested in our education and ensured that education was always a part of our upbringing". Both served on the school committee. At home they went to great pains to fully

explain certain aspects of their children's homework. Dad commented, "As a result we were being schooled at school and we were being schooled at home." Another good thing about my father's schooling was the absence of dunces. To him, they just didn't seem to exist. No one was singled out as being dumb, no one seemed to be lost or stuck. There was no embarrassment; everyone was able to do the work. Although some pupils didn't excel in school, they did in other areas like catching fish. "Everyone was good at something and because we were mixing with each other in all areas, their virtues were known."

To my father, today's children don't seem to learn as much at school as children from his era. They don't know their times tables whereas my father and his peers learnt them by heart, "That knowledge has stayed with us all our lives – even now that we're in our 70s, we still know them. It's like second nature to us – like our ABCs". My father was disappointed that the rote method of learning which proved effective for them is not common practice in today's classrooms, "Children today use calculators, which give accuracy, but not as much exercise for their minds". In my father's opinion, his generation were exposed to a much wider range of knowledge about how the world functioned. In line with an English focused curriculum they learned about The Great War and the politics of other countries such as America and Russia; they were taught to be inquisitive, ask themselves questions and were a lot closer to nature than children of today. Consequently they were continuously learning and developed a genuine interest in nature and finding out more about it, for instance, they learned through observation that birds prepare nests at certain times of the year.

The following is part of the Matata Native School roll, 1939, when Dad was an 11 year old student

NEW ZEALAND.—EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

ANNUAL CLASSIFICATION RETURN, 1937

*Matata Native* School. Class: *Five* - *Five*

(1) Classify No.	(2) Name in Alphabetical Order. Surname first. Boys and Girls separately.	(3) (For Classification on each level.)				(4) Present Class- rank.	(5) New Classification.	(6) Remarks on Pupils, when considered necessary.
		(a) Age on Determination Date.		(b) Time spent in previous Primary Schools.				
		Years.	Months.	Years.	Months.			
1.	<i>Frazer William</i>	15	11	8	11	FE	P. Primary School Certificate	
2.	<i>Gardner Neil</i>	13	14	8	11	FE	P.	
3.	<i>McCracken Donald</i>	10		8	11	FE	P.	
4.	<i>Rauwhi Lawrence</i>	15	1	7	9	FE	P.	
5.	<i>Ansell Betty</i>	11	9	9	8	FE	P. Primary School Certificate	
6.	<i>Graf Helene</i>	11	6	8		FE	P.	
7.	<i>Elliot Rona</i>	13	6	8	5	FE	FE	
8.	<i>Marks James</i>	11	1	5	7	FE	FE	
9.	<i>Paul John</i>	12	11	7	11	FE	FE	
10.	<i>Mairmont Berj</i>	13	2	8	2	FE	FE	
11.	<i>Schick Pearl</i>	13	9	8	9	FE	FE	
12.	<i>Adams John</i>	11	8	5	11	S4	FE	
13.	<i>Amos Clyde</i>	13		6	11	S4	FE	
14.	<i>Amos Gerald</i>	10		9	11	S4	FE	
15.	<i>Dally James</i>	10	10	5		S4	FE	
16.	<i>Haimona Peter</i>	12	6	5	5	S4	FE	
17.	<i>McCracken Kelvin</i>	13	8	7	11	S4	FE	
18.	<i>Rauwhi Neil</i>	11	8	5	11	S4	FE	
20.	<i>Schick Margaret</i>	13	6	8	6	S4	FE	

Signature: *[Handwritten Signature]* Head Teacher.  
Date: *December 10, 1937*

BAAA, 1001, 960d.

Dad's Parents' Educational Aspirations for their Children

According to my father, his parents' aspirations for the education of their children were the same as most other parents - for their children to end up with a better

education than they had the opportunity of having, and utilise that education to "rise above the status of our fathers". In those days the shovel, pick and axe were considered a working man's tools, but "if you could climb a bit higher you could get a pen. Anyone who rose above the pick and shovel could look forward to a pretty good future." Nana (Dad's mother), Margaret Catherine Thomas was a District Nurse. My father supposes Nana would have hoped that some of her daughters would follow in her footsteps; and they did – Aunty Wynel and Aunty Irene became nurses. His other sisters Kanui, Ena, Kura and Margaret became teachers. According to Dad, the girls were a different ilk to the boys. They worked hard at school and in their teacher or nursing training. Pāpā, Te Whainoa Raureti received a good education at Matata Native School and Saint Stephen's. Saint Stephen's and Te Aute were viewed by Maori as the epitome of higher learning, "We felt that if you went to Saint Stephen's or Te Aute you were receiving a very high standard of education. If you went to secondary school in those days then you were one of the fortunate ones". Pāpā "would never have anticipated the closing of Saint Stephen's or the decline of the schooling system in New Zealand that would allow it to get to that state".

For a short time, my father ended up in the work-force "and many times my job entailed the same as the old man's – loading a truck by hand. I had no worries about being on the shovel but I knew that he wanted better because when I came along there were different opportunities. I had the opportunity of going into the office. When I did, my father told me to stay in that line of work, that is, with the pen". My father's nickname amongst family and close friends was "Toodles". Toodles was a character in a radio show. Every morning you'd hear, "Good morning Mr. Greenhouse" then Mr. Greenhouse would reply, "Good morning Toodles, and how are you today?" Toodles was an office boy. Dad said, "In the finish Laurie (Dad's brother) must have been quite proud of me because I was doing quite well then. He must've thought, 'We've got a Toodles too' so they started calling me Toodles".

Dad and I discussed certain aspects of his schooling from the perspective of his parents. The aspects of schooling discussed were academic, practical skills, social skills, religion, sports, cultural and Māori language. My father rated each one on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being least important and 5 being most important), according to how he thought his parents would have rated those aspects.

**Academic Instruction** - My father rated this aspect a 5 because the purpose of going to school was to acquire academic knowledge and succeed in the academic field. While other aspects of school such as sports or religion could be learned elsewhere, school was the only place you could get the academic type of knowledge to equip you well for life.

**Practical Abilities** - My father explained that pupils of yesteryear learned manual subjects such as mother craft and carpentry as a normal part of the Native School curriculum, "We had a lot more manual work than other schools because it was part of the Native School system. We had to do jobs such as clean the school buildings and maintain the gardens." My father doesn't think his parents would have rated this aspect too highly because the children learned practical skills at home anyway. Since Nana tutored the senior girls in mother craft, my father is certain she would have ensured her own children learnt those skills. Dad rated this aspect a "3, barely above average".

**Social Skills** - My father likened their village to a large home where the residents were one large family who ate, played and lived together. He explained that they didn't have to be taught how to get along with others - they learnt skills of socialising as part of their natural lifestyle. In my father's opinion, while the village didn't seem to have a very high moral code in their everyday life, appropriate conduct was insisted upon at the pā. For example, before going inside the wharekai to be fed the children had to line up outside. My father believes social skills such as manners should be taught at home and reinforced at school. He believes his parents would have rated this aspect a 4 since correct conduct was of high importance to his parents. My father recalled when Pāpā

gave permission for him to frequent the hotel (pub), Pāpā told Dad that if he caused a disturbance, Pāpā would be the first to remove him from the pub.

Religious Instruction - Apart from some Bible readings in assembly, my father does not recall receiving any formal religious instruction at school. He gave this aspect a rating of 1, since his parents would probably have considered religious instruction the parents' responsibility.

Sports – Within this area the Native and Catholic Schools of Matata combined to play against neighbouring schools such as Otakiri, Te Teko, Awakeri, Edgecumbe and Paroa. My father rated this aspect a 3. He thinks his parents realised that the school would provide a certain amount of sport, but since his family was very active sports-wise, they would have participated in sporting pursuits out of school. Nana and Pāpā also encouraged their children to take full advantage of sporting aspects of schooling, although a lot of encouragement wasn't needed.

Cultural - This area was defined as Māori songs, art and craft, because they were aspects of Māoritanga deemed appropriate by the education department, to be included in the curriculum. My father explained that his parents were likely to have viewed these activities as part and parcel of a school that was closely involved with its Māori community. My father himself was involved in the making of the tukutuku panels that decorate the interior of Rangiaohia meeting house. He rated this aspect a 3 since the children's involvement in those activities may have been more incidental than planned, with a certain, unspoken expectation from the parents that their children would be involved.

Maori language - My father rated this aspect a 2. He regards it as an aspect of schooling where unfortunate judgements were made,

The language was not valued sufficiently by our parents. The old man did not seem to be the least bit interested in the place of Māori language in school. He was interested in our school achievements because he'd ask about our progress in school work and sports, but never Māori language. Our parents wanted us to learn English. They

thought that was the language that would help us in the future...They would not have envisaged that we were in danger of losing the language.

My father thinks that parents may have thought their children were being exposed to enough Maori language in the community even though it was not the language used at home. He attributed partial responsibility to the Education Department, but believes they weren't solely responsible because many of my father's relations and friends went to Native Schools in Paroa, Poroporo and Te Teko and retained the language. My father explained that people in those places were more isolated than those in Matata and lived more amongst themselves. They only had a limited time away from their home, so they were almost always in a Māori speaking environment. According to my father, our own people, our parents and rangatira were also responsible for the loss of the language because at that time many Māori believed their children would assimilate into the Pākehā world a lot quicker if they mastered English. The acquisition of Pākehā knowledge was regarded as a necessity to gain equal status with them. However, "they would not have envisaged that we were in danger of losing the language". My father felt the large Pākehā population contributed to the decline in the amount of Māori spoken at Matata. He considered the people of Matata to have been "a little unfortunate" because Pākehā seemed to dominate their lifestyle to a large extent. The Māori community still did things Māori but without the use of the Māori language. The paepae was the only place he heard Māori spoken on the marae. My father explained that mixed marriages, like that of his parents, would have contributed to the decline in Māori speakers at Matata. He said most Pākehā wouldn't have spoken Māori so English would be the language spoken around the home. Such was the case in Dad's family - Pāpā seldom spoke Māori around the house. When they received visitors Māori was spoken for a while, then they'd change to English, probably out of consideration for Nana.

Dad regarded his generation as very conservative. They "accepted the domination of the English language over Māori and were prepared not to rock the boat. This changed in the 1970s when it became fashionable again to become

Māori. Young Māori radicals challenged issues”, raised awareness about the Treaty of Waitangi and fought to have the Māori language recognised as an official language. This resurgence in cultural pride developed into Māori developments such as Kōhanga Reo.

Dad and I discussed whether the educational aspirations Nana and Pāpā had for their children developed into fruition. My father and his siblings gained sufficient academic knowledge that allowed them to pass the Proficiency examination and attend secondary school, but the boys were inclined to do the bare minimum, “While we never failed we could have done better a lot of times”. However, my father believes the jobs he and his siblings secured, and their living according to their family’s values was sufficient to make their parents proud.

### **My Father’s Aspirations for the Education of his Mokopuna**

Dad considered the same aspects of schooling previously discussed, and rated them on the same scale according to how important each aspect is for the schooling of his mokopuna.

My father rated academic instruction a 5 because it is the prime reason for sending children to school. That is, to send them to a place “where they can readily absorb knowledge”. Dad didn’t think the development of practical abilities should play a major role in schools since parents can teach these things to their own children at home. My father rated it a 2. Dad rated social skills a 3 since it’s important that people conduct themselves in a respectful manner, “There are certain behavioural standards that we have to abide by in all aspects of our life, and our children need to learn those standards. As well as teaching academic knowledge schools need to teach behaviour standards so children are able to differentiate between correct and incorrect behaviour”. My father rated the aspect of religious instruction a 2. He thinks it is the parents’, not the school’s responsibility to teach children about religion because the schools might teach a certain doctrine different to the child’s family who may advocate different or

conflicting principles. Dad rated sports as a 3-4. He doesn't consider this aspect too vital but believes that if a child shows special talent in sports then the school should assist them to achieve to the highest level, "Schools should provide students with the opportunity to fulfil their potential." Dad considers Māori art, craft and kapa haka important because the children come into contact with all three aspects and should be actively involved with such, "Participation in these aspects is vital to fulfil their education". He rated this aspect a 3-4.

My father considered learning Māori language at school to be of highest importance, and like academic instruction Dad rated Māori language 5. Dad deemed it the responsibility of Māori parents to ensure their children speak Māori and that they are given every opportunity to learn and use the language, "All Māori have got to make sure that their children learn and speak the language. To function in the Māori world today, you have to know the language. We have two societies - Māori and Pākehā. If you acknowledge you are Māori but cannot converse in the language, you would be inadequate". Dad understands that the Māori language may not be valued by Pākehā "but because it's our culture, it's imperative that we comprehend all of it". Dad was pleased that today's children have more opportunities to learn te reo Māori and that some of his mokopuna are learning the language. He wants his children and mokopuna to be fluent in both languages so they can take their rightful place in both worlds. He was pleased that the education system can help us achieve bilingualism, through Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. Although my father would like his mokopuna to be educated through the medium of Māori, he accepts that some of them don't place the same value on the reo, "I've accepted that it's the parents' right to choose what their children do. I have a preference, but I can't enforce that preference".

According to my father, schools should give children an academic grounding, teach them the basics and prepare them for life beyond schools. Schools are a source of knowledge and learning by virtue of how they are set up, that is, they exist to provide and promote learning opportunities; ultimately however, it is the parents' responsibility to be involved in their children's education, make sure they

receive a sound education and make the effort to tap the sources of those learning opportunities. It is of utmost importance that parents choose a school that will help their children gain maximum benefits. If it is not possible then it is up to the parents to agitate the school by playing a more active role in their children's schooling, since schools are to a certain extent at the mercy of the parents. Dad recommended parents observe and listen to their children, and take the time to explain things. He pointed out that they need to know when to explain things and when to let their children experience things for themselves at the risk of making mistakes, "It is the parents' job to point their children in the right direction before letting them go, and steer them back in the right direction should they deviate".

Dad wants his children and grandchildren to go as far as possible, achieve the ultimate education, use it to our advantage and to help our people. An education would be useless if it was only a qualification and not put to practical use, "We should use the education we've received to assist our own children with their studies. In this way, education can work for our children as well as our grandchildren". It's important to Dad that we impart our knowledge, he added, "Don't just sit on your knowledge". Dad hopes his mokopuna will take advantage of the benefits education offers.

**RAENOR AND ALLANA RAURETI**  
**Mokopuna of Neil Raureti**



Allana and Raenor Raureti

The first interview as a conversation with Raenor and Allana was conducted at my parents', their Nana and Koro's house in Rotorua. Participants in the conversation were Raenor, Allana, their Koro, Nana, Aunty Sue and I. Our second focused conversation took place a couple of weeks later. Raenor Brya Raureti was born on the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1990 at Rotorua Hospital. Allana Holly Raureti was also born at Rotorua Hospital on the 7<sup>th</sup> of July 1991. Our conversations reflected on their primary and intermediate school experiences, and were compared with those of their Nana and Koro.

Raenor and Allana attended Selwyn Primary School in Rotorua because it was the nearest primary school to their home. When Raenor finished standard 4 she went to Rotorua Intermediate School. A year later when Allana finished her standard 4 year, Rotorua Intermediate had introduced an enrolment scheme which prevented her from attending that school, so she enrolled at Rotorua Primary School as it caters for new entrants to form 2 (year 0 – 8) students. At the time of the conversations Raenor was in form 2 (year 8) and Allana in form 1 (year 7).

Games

Raenor and Allana's playmates are their two sisters, Callie (aged 16) and Stevee-Ray (aged 8). They were each others' school playmates until they attended

different schools. Raenor was without any of her sisters at school for the first time when she attended Rotorua Intermediate, "It was okay, but I would rather have a sister there because I didn't know anyone at first". When Allana first attended Rotorua Primary "it was dumb" because she "didn't have anyone to go to" like she did at Selwyn School. At school Raenor and Allana play games like skipping, elastics, and netball. Raenor sometimes plays soccer. Allana occasionally plays basketball and rugby. The boys play games like rugby, soccer, and bey blades (commercially made plastic spinning tops). Raenor and Allana have made quite a few of their own toys at home such as a wooden basketball backboard, a wooden "playshack" (within which they've hosted their 6 foot, 4 inch tall Uncle) as well as a tree house, made of wood, nails and a tarpaulin.

### Teachers

Raenor liked teachers who were "fun, sporty, cool, kind, and gave the right amount of work – not too much and not too little". They also gave chocolate treats from time to time. She "liked the way they didn't have any favourites and they treated us all the same". Methods employed by those teachers to explain new concepts appealed to Raenor because the information was explained "as a whole class first and then they'd break us up into groups. If we had trouble they'd explain it to us individually". Raenor's teachers were "caring, friendly, bubbly and exciting". Mrs Simpson was one of Allana's favourite teachers. She was a "cool teacher" because she "was funny, kind, wasn't grumpy, liked fishing" and gave her students free time when they complete their work, "It was fun skipping outside when all the other kids were inside working". Mrs Simpson's fishy tales appealed to Allana, herself a champion eeler who has her own hīnaki (eel trap). Mrs Simpson also allowed her students to "pick our own partners" and work in pairs. Allana likes working in pairs because she can work with her friends. Some students were allowed to work in the computer suite without teacher supervision, "We just had to get a computer suite pass". Neither of the girls see much of their teachers out of school, unless they happen upon them at Pak'n'Save or in town.

## Subjects

Raenor's favourite subjects are reading and spelling. She likes reading and spelling because she usually gets good results. Each week they are given a set of new words which are learnt throughout the week by completing activities such as breaking them into syllables and finding nouns. At the end of the week they are retested. Reading lessons involve answering questions about stories they've read. Reading is also one of Allana's favourite subjects. She likes reading because she is the only person in her class who has reached the highest level for their SRA (Science Research Associates) Reading Lab programme. The SRA programme involves students selecting a card (that is colour coded according to reading age), reading the story, answering questions about the story and then marking their own work with answer cards. The girls were happy that they don't read aloud in front of the class "because you don't have to worry about making a mistake in front of everyone". Physical Education (P.E) is another of Allana's favourite subjects. She likes high jump, long jump, cross country, sprints and the 800 meter run, in fact, all of the lessons because "you get to go outside and play around". Both Raenor and Allana enjoy their class swimming sessions. At Selwyn School each class was allocated a daily half an hour session to swim in the indoor pool they shared with Kea Street School. Now that Raenor is at Rotorua Intermediate they travel to the Aquatic Centre for a half hour swimming session every second day. They learn swimming programmes like Safe Swim which includes safe ways to get in and out of water, and how to improve their swimming style – "mainly over-arm". Other subjects the girls learn at school are maths, language (story writing and poetry), handwriting, topic studies, and technical arts (T.A) including food technology (cooking), sewing, electronics, art, science, and hard materials (woodwork and metalwork). Raenor participates in T.A twice a week. Allana's class travels to Mokoia Intermediate every second Wednesday to use those facilities. Mum and Dad told the girls that when they went to school, only the boys did woodwork while the girls took part in cooking lessons. I asked how Raenor and Allana would feel if such was the case today, they both chorused, "Dumb!" Allana pointed out that "heaps of boys like cooking and we like working with machines". They attribute their enjoyment and skill in the hard

materials subjects to their Dad's talent for working with machines, "Our Dad likes them (machines) and we learn from him. He likes them and we're used to it". Apparently a lot of the girls in their classes are "scared" to use the machines so they ask Raenor and Allana for help. Allana said, "They give me the wood to cut for them".

Te Reo Māori is included as Allana's 'Whakatangata' subject and incorporated into every pupil's learning programme at Rotorua Primary School. Activities for Whakatangata include the introduction of new Māori words which are separated into parts to help decipher meaning. They also learn chants and rehearse pōhiri procedures so the whole school is able to afford their visitors a "proper welcome".

### School Assemblies

Assemblies at Raenor's school are held every Friday before lunch. Each class takes turns at running the assemblies and performing an item. When Raenor's class was on duty they performed a modern dance. During assemblies the Principal, Mr Hourigan speaks for "quite a long time. He reminds us about the proper way to wear our uniform; gives notices and tells us about some good things that are happening in our school. He tells us to have a safe weekend." A Minister also takes part in the assembly, "He does a Bible reading and then we all sing a song and he plays his guitar". Allana's school-wide assemblies take place on Monday mornings. Three students from the senior classes take turns at running the assemblies. All of the students collectively greet every teacher individually. One of the senior teachers leads the school in Māori karakia (prayer) and hīmene (hymns). Notices, results from the school's weekend sports teams, and a summary of the whānau points are announced. All of the students are divided into whānau groups. They can earn points for their whānau group by completing schoolwork or homework to a high standard, as well as displaying good conduct within the classroom or playground. Allana's whānau is "Pukeroa". They won the competition last term and every student was rewarded with an ice block. At end of year prize giving ceremonies, "E Ihowa" and "God of Nations" are sung. Both girls understand that it is our country's National Anthem, "It is a

song that represents our country". Allana's school sung it during the last Netball World Cup when they watched some of the games live on a large screen television. They joined in singing the National Anthem at the beginning of the games.

### Uniforms

Uniforms are compulsory at both Raenor and Allana's schools. Uniforms weren't compulsory at Selwyn Primary but if desired, items such as polo shirts, tracksuit pants and sweatshirts were able to be purchased and worn by students. Raenor and Allana explained that one advantage of wearing a uniform is that they don't have to decide which clothes to wear each day. However, one disadvantage of having a uniform is the cost, "because they are really expensive", and sometimes Raenor gets bored "wearing the same thing everyday for a whole five days". From Allana's perspective, one disadvantage of wearing a uniform is that "we can't play rugby in our uniform. We have to bring mufti and get changed at lunchtime and then change back into our uniform before we go back into class". Given the choice of wearing a uniform or mufti both Raenor and Allana would choose a uniform "because we look tidier and the whole school looks good", said Raenor, and "It's easier for us getting organised in the morning" was Allana's reason. They said their Mum prefers a uniform "because she doesn't have to do a lot of washing". Occasionally Raenor and Allana's schools hold mufti days and the students pay a gold coin to wear their own clothes. Some teachers also get into the spirit and wear the school uniform for the day.

### Special Occasions

Some special school occasions that Raenor enjoys are interschool sports exchanges, school concerts, discos, performances by visiting groups, and school camps. When Raenor and the rest of her class arrived at their camp site at Tarawera on a Monday morning they saw Raenor's tent already standing and ready for occupation. Her father had erected Raenor's tent on Sunday. One special occasion that Allana looks forward to is the Rotorua Primary and Intermediate Schools' annual Māori Festival. Each school presents a twenty

minute kapa haka performance. This year will be the fourth year Allana has participated in the festival. Raenor performs in her school's kapa haka group and has performed in the Māori Festival three times. The girls agree that kapa haka is "fun". Raenor likes performing action songs the most, and Allana enjoys haka. Allana also looks forward to school camps, discos and sports days. Before school socials Raenor's school incorporates dancing lessons into the school programme. During these lessons students learn to line dance, waltz and fox trot. Barbara (Raenor and Allana's Mum) was a competitive ballroom dancer so Raenor rehearses in front of Barbara who says things like, "Swing your hips more" as she improves Raenor's movement.

### Lunches

Raenor and Allana take their lunch to school on most days. A typical lunch consists of sandwiches, a packet of chips, an apple or orange, muesli bar and lé snack (packet of crackers and cheese spread). Raenor's favourite sandwiches are tomato, lettuce and ham, Allana loves egg sandwiches without butter. Occasionally, Raenor buys a mince and cheese pie (which costs \$2.40), giant cookie (\$1) and fruit drink (\$1). Allana buys her lunch every fortnight when she goes to Mokoia Intermediate for T.A where she usually buys a potato top pie (\$2.50), two chocolate mousse (80 cents each), and a hot cup of milo (\$1.20). I told the girls that when Nana and Koro went to primary school, hot milo was given to them free, to help keep them healthy. Raenor thinks it would be a "good idea" for schools to provide milo for children today "because most kids love milo. Some people can't get the money to buy it, and it's freezing in winter and milo would warm us up on a cold day".

### Te Reo Māori

I asked Raenor and Allana whether Māori is spoken at their schools. Raenor replied, "Not really"; Allana said, "Yes". Raenor explained that "Mrs Morrison speaks Māori sometimes when we have visitors at school". Her school doesn't have any bilingual classes. Allana hears Māori on a daily basis, spoken by other pupils as well as teachers. Rotorua Primary School has thirteen classes, of which,

nine operate through the medium of Māori. Allana's class is one of the four English medium classes; however, she speaks Māori "sometimes". Māori is spoken in their home "sometimes by Dad and Callie and Mum", mainly to give commands such as "Haere mai ki te kai". Other places they hear Māori spoken is at the marae, their Nana and Koro's house and by some Aunties and Uncles at family gatherings. I informed the girls that Māori language wasn't taught when Nana and Koro went to primary school and many schools discouraged the children from speaking Māori because they wanted them to concentrate on learning English. Some people even wanted to get rid of the Māori language. Raenor and Allana don't agree that schools should stop children from speaking languages other than English because they have heard some Asian students at their schools speaking their own language. Raenor said it is important to learn Māori so that it is heard "as a normal thing around the place". They also thought it was a good idea for adults to know how to speak Māori so they can teach their children, which will "keep the language alive and keep it in the families".

#### Values and Discipline

We spoke about respect and whether their peers are respectful to teachers. Raenor and Allana agreed that most children are respectful towards their teachers but there are some students who are disrespectful and answer their teachers back. The girls said they could tell if someone had good manners by the way that they speak to other people. If a person had good manners they spoke to others in a "nice, friendly way". They say "please and thank you, and they kiss their Nana and Koro when they arrive and leave their house". Raenor and Allana think that parents and teachers "should teach kids manners so they are not rude to teachers and other people". When students are punished at Raenor and Allana's schools they are either given "time out", where they sit in a room during playtime or lunchtime, supervised by a teacher and are not allowed to speak to anyone. Sometimes students at Allana's school are given "detention" where they sit in a classroom, supervised by a teacher and have to write out the school rules. They might also "miss out on camps and trips". Allana said that occasionally, some children are "whacked", Raenor said, "They are not whacked at our school". If

children are caught chewing gum, they are given a knife and have to scrape 50 pieces of bubble gum off the concrete and then show the 50 pieces to the teacher. Allana confided that the trick is to scrape off a few pieces and then break them into smaller pieces. One day Allana saw a girl who was relatively new to their school obediently scraping bubble gum off the concrete. Feeling sorry for the new girl Allana approached her and passed on the time and energy saving bubble gum scraping tactic.

Nana and Koro explained that when they went to school, the children cleaned their own school, including the toilets. They said it made the children look after and take pride in their school's appearance, plus they didn't have to pay for their books. Children's cleaning duties at Raenor's school include putting their own rubbish in the correct bin (either plastic, paper or food) for recycling purposes since they are an "environmentally friendly school", and turning the class computers on before school and off afterwards. Students at Allana's school sometimes sweep the gymnasium floor and turn on their computers on a Monday morning and off on a Friday afternoon. Both girls' schools are typical of most today that employ professional cleaners. Raenor is "glad" they don't have to scrub the toilets but wouldn't mind vacuuming the floor and cleaning windows if it meant they could receive free books because it would save their parents a lot of money. Allana thinks that if children had to clean their own schools, it would stop graffiti because children wouldn't want to scrub off the graffiti. Raenor thinks that the problem could continue because the children wouldn't paint graffiti on their own school grounds but would probably vandalise the property of other schools instead.

### Education

I asked Raenor and Allana why their parents and grandparents thought it was important that they do their best at school and get a 'good' education. They explained that the purpose of going to school is to help kids "get brainy" so they "know a lot and can do well in tests" which will help them "get a job when we leave school". Allana added that their parents also want them to do well at sports

and “never give up”. Raenor wants to be an actress when she grows up. She thinks school could help her work towards her goal by providing and her “going to drama classes”. Allana wants to be a professional sportsperson (rugby, netball or basketball) or a vet. She believes that school can help her realise her dreams by allowing her to play a variety of sports at school, and teach her about animals.

### **Raenor and Allana’s Thoughts about their Nana and Koro’s Education**

Mum and Dad explained some aspects of their schooling so that Raenor and Allana could consider and discuss their experiences in relation to those of their grandparents. Koro told them about how he and his friends collected birds’ eggs and nests from around the school area, took them back to class and under the teacher’s guidance, studied them to help them learn about nature and science. I asked whether the girls had similar experiences of their teachers making use of their immediate natural environment to help with their studies. Allana’s class at Rotorua Primary walked to Ohinemutu and cooked their food in a steam box (colloquially referred to as a ‘hangi’) to help them learn about geothermal cooking. Raenor pointed out that many schools are situated in urban areas and “aren’t surrounded by forests and bush for studying nature”. Instead, the ‘immediate natural environment’ for most schools today is buildings and houses, so opportunities to learn about nature are “much less than when Koro was little”. Both girls think this situation is “stink, because we don’t get to learn as much and we just see buildings everywhere”. They would both prefer to have more classes conducted outside so that “we will know more about the environment”.

The girls were informed about the emphasis that Nana and Koro’s teachers placed on handwriting, and how they made sure that the children formed all of their letters correctly. Raenor’s past handwriting lessons have involved copying one page from a book every morning before continuing with other work from their language and reading programme. Now, Raenor’s class copies phrases which explain grammar rules, such as “i before e except after c”. Raenor likes handwriting because “we get to practice our handwriting and learn something

about grammar at the same time". Allana's handwriting programme is quite structured. Every morning they copy text and hand it in for their teacher to mark. She decides whether the students progress to the next step, or whether they need more practice at the same level. There are 6 steps. Students on steps 1, 2 and 3 complete their work in pencil; those on steps 4 and 5 qualify to work in pen; and students who reach step 6 are allowed to work in pen and receive a handwriting license.

We spoke about boys learning to carve when Nan and Koro were at school, and how the girls made bodices. Koro also explained that as a school project he helped make the tukutuku panels inside our meeting house, Rangiaohia. Raenor and Allana were happy to learn that their Koro had helped complete the tukutuku panels, "That's cool". Neither of the girls has experienced producing "real Māori art". Once, Raenor's class at primary school drew pictures of koru patterns to represent people in their family. Allana's Māori art experience was similar except they made wooden puzzles out of their family koru pictures. Both girls would like to participate in more Māori-focused art lessons at school because "we see it all around us, so it'd be good to know how to do it".

Nana explained that they learned to grow vegetables at school and during winter, vegetables were harvested and made into soup for the children. This idea appealed to the girls. They wished their schools had vegetable gardens so they could make soup to give out on cold days. Raenor thought it would be a "good idea to know how to have a garden" and Allana also liked the idea of maintaining a school garden because they would be able to "go outdoors and do school stuff". In the past the girls planted seeds with their other sisters at home and had a flower growing competition to see whose flowers lived the longest!

In line with the government implementing health initiatives at school, Nana and Koro were visited regularly by health nurses and doctors - the nurse that visited Koro's school most regularly was his mother. Raenor and Allana explained that nurses visit their schools regularly and "parents can phone the school to make an

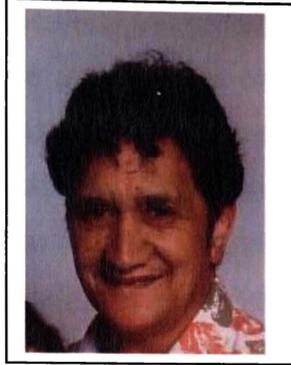
appointment for their child if they want them to have a check-up". They also have sick bay monitors who students can go to during playtimes if they're hurt and "the sick bay monitors clean their cuts and put a plaster on them".

We spoke about religious instruction being a normal part of Nana's schooling and compared it to Raenor and Allana's experiences. It is normal for karakia to be given at Raenor and Allana's school assemblies. Raenor's former teacher at Rotorua Intermediate led their class in karakia every morning and afternoon, however it ceased when that teacher left. Both girls also have weekly Christian focused sessions at school, called "Cool Bananas" which are facilitated by outside volunteers. At Cool Bananas "they teach us about God and Jesus and read stuff from the Bible". Raenor said, "Aunty Sue teaches us about Jesus too". Both girls agree that religious instruction should be included in their schooling. Allana said, "It's good for us", and Raenor simply stated, "It's good for us to learn about that sort of thing because it's...it's just...right".

There are many aspects of Nana and Koro's schooling that appeal to Raenor and Allana such as the collecting of birds' nests and eggs, and maintaining a school vegetable garden. However, the girls enjoy their own schooling and have spoken about many of their enjoyable experiences. They both consider that they are trying their best at school so that they can "do well at school and get a good job".

## WAI-ITI WHĀNAU

### Wai-iti Native School: Te Kura Māori o Wai-iti



Hilda Whata



Esme Sinclair

Conversations about ex-pupils' experiences at Wai-iti Native School were arranged by Hilda Sykes (nee Whata), ex-pupil and ex-teacher of Rotoiti School. The first conversation took place on Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> July 2003 in the wharekai, Kauiarangi at Tapuaeharuru Marae, Rotoiti. The second conversation took place at Aunty Hilda's daughter's house beside Tapuaeharuru Marae. Conversations were open for other interested people to join in, including cousins, nieces, nephews and mokopuna, and although many people participated casually in the conversations, two kuia were the main participants - Hilda Sykes and Esme Sinclair. Collectively, these people are referred to in this story as the 'Wai-iti whānau'. Some aspects of the conversations are attributed to Aunty Hilda or Aunty Esme; others are attributed to the Wai-iti whānau because the views were shared by several Wai-iti whānau members. With minimal involvement on my part, the conversations wove in and out of topics, amongst cups of tea and plates of kai. They transpired exactly how Aunty Hilda said, "We'll all just talk about things and you can take notes where you want". And so, I did.

Aunty Hilda was born at Otaramarae on the 21<sup>st</sup> of December 1932. Aunty Esme (nee Harrod) was born at Thames on the 5<sup>th</sup> of August 1932.

## Pupils

Wai-iti Native School comprised mainly of children from interconnecting families affiliated with Ngāti Tamateatutahi-Kawiti (made up of families from the Tapuaeharuru area), Ngāti Hinekura (Wai-iti area), Ngāti Ranginuiora (Taurua and Punawhakareia) and Ngāti Rongomai (Ruato and Hauparu Bays). Some families to attend Wai-iti connected with Ngāti Tamateatutahi-Kawiti included the Coffin, Curtis, Frances, Gardiner, Harrod, Hoani, Hoffman, Hohepa, Hughes, Malcolm, Manahi, Patterson, Sorenson, Tahana, Waerea, Waretini and Whata whānau. Families with links to Ngāti Hinekura included the Albert, Kameta, Kingi, McIsaac, Nirai, Waiti and Kappleby whānau. Ngāti Ranginuiora families included the Emery, Lawless, Nicholas and Kāmeta whānau. Ngāti Rongomai families included the Brown, Epapara, Heta, Katene, Keno, Raston, Taia and Te Rangi whānau. There were only a few Pākehā families - the Branches, Dodsons, Watts and Madders. There was a strong feeling of togetherness at Wai-iti Native School, "Not just between children who were related but also between Māori and Pākehā pupils. There was no division between Māori and Pākehā, we just all got along together".

## Teachers

Mr Len Morgan was the Principal when Aunty Hilda and Aunty Esme were pupils during the 1940s. He was a Pākehā of English and Welsh descent and had previously taught in Lautoka, Fiji. He and his wife fitted in well with the community. Mrs Morgan shared similar interests with the locals, "She was a keen hunter and fisherwoman". When the children were 'up to no good' and Mr Morgan was approaching, children would warn the others, "Mōkena coming, Mōkena coming" as they hurriedly returned to 'normal' duties Mr Morgan would reply, "Yes I am Mōkena, and I am coming". Prior to Mr Morgan's arrival, Wai-iti had a Pākehā female Principal, Miss Currie. She was a tall woman who like most teachers of that era, didn't tolerate nonsense. On one occasion a few of the senior boys stood up defiantly to Miss Currie, but she remained firm, stood her ground and eventually the boys stood down. Although a Pākehā female Principal, Miss Currie was accepted by the community for her professionalism. She, like other Principals before her "had strong Christian backgrounds". Aunty Hilda

commends the Pākehā teachers and Principals for teaching at Māori Schools and taking an interest in the Māori culture because Māori communities would have been a foreign environment for most of them, "They must have had humanitarian ideals to be totally involved in an environment that was so different to their own".

Other teachers at Wai-iti were Miss Bass, Miss Price, Miss Bobbie Dinsdale and Miss Jean Moke. Miss Bass married Boy Tunnicliffe; Miss Price was from Matamata and married one of the mill workers, Creighton Wallace; Misses Bass and Price were talented pianists; Bobbie Dinsdale's family is from Te Puke; Miss Jean Moke eventually married Monty Wickcliffe. Some of the Māori teachers were Mrs Marewa McConnell, Miss Walker, Miss Haronga and Kath Cookson. Mrs McConnell, the new entrant teacher was a favourite with all of the children. She was a South Island Māori who was always beautifully dressed. Aunty Hilda said, "I'm sure she knew some kids didn't have lunch because she always used to come with extra lunch. She was always giving it out". Mrs McConnell was also musically and artistically talented. Her husband Cliff McConnell was a Pākehā who worked at Tunnicliffe's Mill. When his shift allowed it, he came to school to eat lunch with his wife. Miss Walker was from Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, Te Kaha. Miss Haronga stayed with a local woman Nan Frances who looked after many other Māori teachers including Bobbie Dinsdale and Jean Moke. Kath Cookson was a teacher's assistant. She was a local, from Rotokawa and stayed with Aunty Ka Waretini. The teachers would have had their work cut out for them because they taught many students of different ages within the same classroom. The pupils they liked this type of organisation because their playtime friends were also their class friends. Aunty Esme liked Mr Morgan and believed he was a good teacher because "he was genuinely interested in his pupils' future and fair in his dealings". The community accepted the teachers for their contribution to their children's schooling. They were also accepted socially by the community because they often attended functions at the pā and visited pupils' homes out of school time. Māori teachers at Wai-iti Native School were treated as adopted members of Ngāti Pikiao. According to the Wai-iti whānau their Māori teachers were very kind, understanding, tolerant and "professionally skilled at their work". Aunty

Hilda pointed out that apart from Mr Morgan they had no other male teachers at Wai-iti, let alone Māori, male teachers. Aunty Hilda has dedicated her life to a career in teaching and recognises that there is still a shortage of male - especially Māori male teachers.

### Subjects

Maths, English, reading, music, art, swimming, gardening, cooking, carpentry and nature studies were taught at Wai-iti School, "The 3 Rs were very strong". For nature studies the children were taken to an area near the school that is known locally as "The Bull Ring". It is a clearing at the top of a hill, covered with manuka trees. There are a couple of stories as to why The Bull Ring is so named. According to one explanation "it was an area where wild bulls and stags used to fight". Another explanation is that the lease for that particular block of land changed numerous times and there were differences of opinion as to who had legal management of the block. While there are bound to be other stories that account for the colloquial name, its true name is 'Makatiti'. There, children collected various types of leaves, berries, bark and young plants; they also inspected a variety of plants, ferns and birds.

Some of the Wai-iti whānau read 'Progressive Readers' in the primers as a means of introducing children to reading and extending their vocabulary. "Those readers were so boring". On one page was a picture of a horse with the text, "The horse" written below. The next page would show a dog with the words, "The dog", followed by an equally exciting picture of "The cat". A copy of a page from a Native School reading book is shown on the following page.

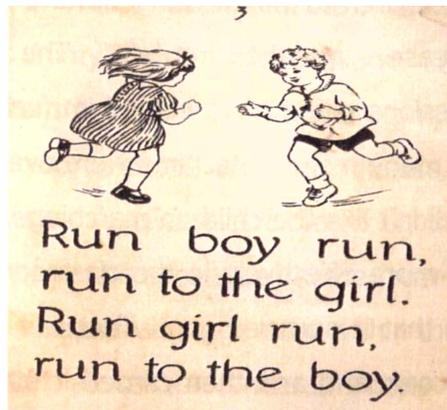


Photo courtesy of Mrs Powell's private collection

Aunty Esme was one of many Wai-iti pupils who developed commendable literacy skills. When she was about 10 years old she wrote a story about a haunted house and handed it in to Mr Morgan. He must have realised it was an outstanding composition because it was later published in the School Journal series.

Quite a lot of emphasis was placed on handwriting. They practised writing evenly sloping letters, "We used to practise capital L, capital L, capital L. Little l, little l, little l." Children were taught to take care with the presentation of their work because the overall presentation gives the first impression before the content. When essays were marked teachers commented on both the essay's content and its presentation.

Mr Morgan was a skilled painter. He taught the children to paint landscapes. Kiri Nirai (Aunty Napi) painted an exquisite picture of Te Ara a Hinehopu (also known as Hongi's Track). Suitably impressed, Mr Morgan had it professionally framed and then displayed in the Hinehopu tearooms for all to appreciate. The tearooms have long since closed and its contents removed. None of the Wai-iti whānau knew the whereabouts of the painting and agreed it would be wonderful to locate the painting and return it to Aunty Napi's family.

Mr Morgan taught the children to march with all of the proper commands such as, "Attention! Stand at ease. Wheel to the left!" The Wai-iti whānau suggested that their marching sessions might have made him feel as if he was contributing to the war effort since many men at that time were overseas fighting. Apparently the school committee didn't like the children marching because they felt that time could have been used more effectively in the classroom. However, a benefit of learning to march was that it nurtured good discipline in the pupils who listened carefully for the next command and then carried it out in time with the others, "We were very patriotic in those days". Mornings usually started by pupils and staff singing the national anthem and "God Save our King". The New Zealand flag was flown on special occasions and a large photo of Princesses Margaret and Elizabeth sitting on a piano stool hung in a classroom.

According to the Wai-iti whānau, although a Pākehā, Mr Morgan nurtured Māoritanga. A variety of Māori songs, poi, haka and stick games were learned, sung and played by the children. Junior pupils were taught skills for stick games, poi and action songs by the senior girls. Although Māori language wasn't taught as a subject, Māori lyrics were taught when learning new songs and the Wai-iti whānau still felt that their culture was valued. When singing Māori songs, Mr Morgan never allowed the use of guitars or musical instruments as he insisted that Māori didn't use those instruments in the past. Although official policy stipulated that Māori language was not to be spoken at school, it was used occasionally at Wai-iti School. The Wai-iti whānau find it "hard to believe that people were punished because that didn't happen to any of us". Although they weren't told to stop speaking Māori, they knew that English was definitely the language of communication for school. Māori was Aunty Hilda's first language, "Māori was spoken at home all the time. It was our first language and everyone conversed in our reo rangatira". Aunty Hilda's elders used to get the children to teach them English, "Ngā kōrero a te Pākehā, homai ki a mātou" ("Teach us English"). Aunty Hilda thinks her elders wanted to learn English because people within their community were beginning to use English more and more. Jobs required fluency in English. English and spelling became favourite subjects of

Aunty Hilda's, the "use of words fascinated me". In contrast to Aunty Hilda's experience, English was Aunty Esme's first language. Throughout Aunty Esme's childhood she sensed from people outside of her community that having Māori blood was not something to be proud of. Nevertheless, Aunty Esme is fervently proud of her Māori ancestry, "I always felt brown on the inside". Her mother's first language was Māori and she spoke it at home from time to time. Her father was Pākehā and English was the language used within their home. Therefore, the absence of te reo Māori at school hindered Aunty Esme's learning of the language. As a child Aunty Esme didn't give much thought about te reo Māori, "It never was an issue really as very little if any Māori was spoken at school. What words I did learn were from my mother", however, in hindsight "I sincerely wish the reo Māori was taught at school when I attended".

In line with Native Schools' practical focused curriculum and inclusion of teaching Māori art and craft, Mr Morgan facilitated carving workshops for the boys as part of their carpentry lessons, where they learned to carve tekoteko, trinket boxes, stools and tables. They also started the flag pole for Tapuaeharuru Marae. The Wai-iti whānau said, "Mr Morgan taught carving well. He gave the boys a good grounding in carving and they respected him". While the boys were carving, girls participated in cooking lessons. In pairs they cooked stews, fruit crumble and scones in a wood stove coal range. Once, when Aunty Esme was cooking scones she made the mixture, put the scones in the oven and left them to cook for 10 minutes before checking. Seeing the scones were not cooked she returned them to the oven. Another 10 minutes passed and the scones were rechecked. Still not cooked they were put back in. Aunty Esme concluded that the oven mustn't have been hot enough because although one batch of scones was only supposed to take about 10-15 minutes to cook, after her scones had been in and out, in and out of the oven, and were finally cooked after one hour! As part of the government's focus on improving the health of Māori children through schools, hygiene was a focus of the cooking classes. In line with an education agenda of utilising education to prepare Māori boys to be good farmers and Māori girls to be good farmers' wives, these classes "actually prepared girls for marriage.

Nowadays, many young girls can't even boil water nor have any domestic skills". The girls "learnt a lot from those classes". Aunty Esme and Aunty Hilda are grateful for their cooking lessons. When Aunty Esme was 15 years old she was taken out of school to keep house while her mother was being treated by Doctor Maaka, a highly respected and trusted Māori Doctor, especially by Māori within the Bay of Plenty. At Doctor Maaka's advice, Aunty Esme's mother stayed at Whakatane for three months for daily treatment. During this time, Aunty Esme carried out her mother's household duties.

At school, pupils' green fingers were nurtured by tending their school vegetable garden in teams. Once when pupils were supposed to be tending their crops, Aunty Esme threw a garden fork at fellow pupil, Lyndsay Branch. Although it was only meant as a joke Aunty Esme held her breath as the fork landed dangerously close to her friend. Everyone was relieved when they saw that the fork prongs had miraculously landed in between Lyndsay's toes! Gardening skills were also developed out of school because the Wai-iti people maintained a communal vegetable garden. Riwai were one of the main crops. When it was harvest time the children were kept home from school to help with the garden work.

Swimming sessions took place across the road from the school in Te Rotoiti-i-kitea-e-Ihenga (Lake Rotoiti). No formal swimming lessons were conducted, the children were allowed to swim and frolic in the water. The boys played to one side and girls on the other, partially out of respect for each other but mainly because "we were not even interested in what was happening on the other side. We were too busy having our own fun". Everyone swam naked, togs were unheard of; changing rooms were unnecessary because the children simply went behind a clump of trees, shed their clothes then jumped in the lake. A blow of the teacher's whistle signalled the end of swimming time and the children would get out of the water and get changed. Only a couple of children had towels, most of them just used some part of their clothing to dry themselves. Avoiding traffic and crossing the road for swimming was not the ordeal it would be today. In those days the roads were very quiet and traffic was minimal. "It was a big deal

when a car went past. You'd see the dust in the distance and knew a car was coming. We'd all stop playing and wave out to the car."

### Health

In a bid to keep the children healthy certain nourishing food items were provided at school. The senior girls made a large pot of malted milk by mixing milk powder and water. When the younger children tasted their drinks they weren't shy to give the chefs feedback. If the milk was lumpy they'd tell the girls they were "useless makers". To avoid complaints the girls resorted to putting their hands in the pot to get rid of the lumps. Apples were also shared out on playtimes. District Nurses visited Wai-iti School regularly. The Wai-iti whānau remembered being cared for by Nurses Horrell and Orbell who "really looked after the pupils". Some of the nurses' duties included giving the children doses of cod liver oil, castor oil, injections and taking the senior girls for separate lessons pertaining to womanhood. Dolls were used to teach the senior girls how to bathe and care for babies. Aunty Hilda hated the castor oil, "It made me sick before I had it." It was years before she was able to eat tītī (mutton birds) because the oil they're preserved in reminded her of castor oil. Injections were administered to help the children fend off diseases such as tuberculosis and diphtheria. As the children stood in a queue waiting for their turn, they grew more and more nervous as they drew nearer to the front of the line, because "while you were waiting you could hear everyone else at the front screaming". Some children brought a note from home to excuse them from getting the injections but although Aunty Hilda begged her parents they never did. They used to say, "No, it's good for you". During bouts of contagious school sores, pupils were showered at school to minimise spread of the infection. Kutu inspections were regular occurrences. When kutus were found, the child was sent home to have them treated with kerosene. There was no shame in being sent home because everyone was exposed to kutus and "everyone got them at some time". The Wai-iti whānau had regular fingernail and handkerchief inspections to ensure they were practicing healthy habits. Hardly anyone owned handkerchiefs so during inspections one was sneakily passed down the line so that all children passed. Children's health was also cared

for by Doctors who visited the school every Tuesday morning. The Wai-iti whānau remembers their teachers saying, "Put up your hand if you need to see the Doctor". Whether sick or well almost everyone put up their hand, and off they'd go to the Home Craft room to see Doctor Jew, Doctor Hetherington or Doctor Grant. Doctor Hetherington came from Thames and helped deliver many babies around Rotoiti. The adults nicknamed Doctor Grant "Doctor Malt" because he prescribed malt to treat almost every ailment. Prescriptions were delivered to the community on a service car. There was no charge for the consultations or medicines, "Our parents would've stopped us from going if we had to pay". Adult members of the community also visited the Doctors occasionally, and like the children, weren't charged for consultations, "The service was provided free of charge for the whole community."

The Wai-iti whānau believe that on the whole, they were strong, healthy children and attribute their good health in part, to the extra care provided at school. They are certain that the preventative medicine helped them develop healthily and build up immunity against common ailments. Consequently, Aunt Esme wasn't sick throughout her entire childhood and apart from the school visits, never saw a Doctor until she was 19 years old. Aunty Hilda never saw a Doctor until she went to Teachers' Training College and that was only because she needed a medical certificate to be accepted to the course. Their parents supported the school health care and took pride in having "clean and tidy" children. Many of the women in the Rotoiti community were members of the Women's Health League and concerned with improving Māori health. Aunty Hilda said the Health League was in operation before the Māori Women's Welfare League (M.W.W.L), and some people who were instrumental in the establishment of the M.W.W.L actually duplicated the aims and goals already formulated by the Women's Health League. The Women's Health League still functions today and is strongly supported, especially by women within Te Arawa and Ngāti Porou. Members of both the Women's Health League and the Māori Women's Welfare League continue to work tirelessly for the wellbeing of Māori.

### Lunches

Most lunches at Wai-iti were simple. Some children brought bread sop, a soupy mixture of bread, milk and sugar; but most brought sandwiches wrapped in newspaper, which when unwrapped contained the headlines from the newspaper that had transferred onto their bread. As "it was a long time between meals" the children often "tried different things" from their environment, such as rose shoots known as 'gum gars' and sorrel, a sour grass that are now sometimes used in salads. Aunty Esme's nephew was getting rid of some rose bushes near his cow paddock in case the cows ate it. Aunty Esme told him, "We used to eat those and we never died so it won't hurt the cows". Once, Aunty Esme saw one of the "part-Pākehā" pupils' lunch - thinly sliced bread with tomatoes inside. Aunty Esme asked, "Want to swap sandwiches?" The other pupil replied, "Yes". As Aunty Esme handed over her sandwich the other girl saw Aunt Esme's thick slices of home-made bread smeared heavily with marmite. Instinctively the girl's grip on her own lunch tightened and she reneged, "Oh, no thanks". Most lunch times however Aunty Esme and her siblings went home and ate bread and milk, bread and dripping and sometimes soup.

### Duties

In order to receive stationery items from the education department, pupils were responsible for cleaning the school. They picked up rubbish, tidied the shelter sheds, cleaned the ablution blocks and dusted and swept the rooms. The "end of term was always major cleaning up time". As a result their school was beautifully presented and the children took pride in their surroundings. A coveted duty was ringing the bell, "You had power if you were bell monitor". At first a hand held bell was used, but later a bell was secured to a low frame outside the classroom and struck. When the bell was struck "you'd hear 'k-ling, k-ling, k-ling, k-ling' and know school's in and run". The old bell within the frame is still used today.

### Games

The Wai-iti whānau made their own fun. The girls loved playing on the monkey bars but as they made their way across the bars they had to be careful that no

one would see up their dresses or they would hear, "Pakaru tarau" (raggedy undies). The girls would retort that at least they had tarau! Aunty Hilda and Aunty Esme said that their brothers never had undies until they went to college. They remember hanging out the washing and coming upon them for the first time and thinking, "Hello! What are these?"

School-wide sports were held on Friday afternoons. The two teams were made up of "The Pā Kids" and "The Bus Kids". Quite simply, The Pā Kids' team was made up of children who lived nearby and walked to school. The Bus Kids were those children who travelled to school by bus. Even during normal playtimes the two sides played against each another. The children seemed to thrive on this healthy competition but when they had sports trips out of school they formed one solid alliance against the opposition. Children also enjoyed playing games such as rounders; tunnel ball; rugby and basketball and athletic events. Marama Tuhoro (then Tahana) was a fast runner and Noeline Hoffman had long skinny legs that leapt easily over hurdles. Cat and Mouse was an outside game that the children adapted for in the shelter shed. The aim was to run along the seats from corner to corner without being caught. The shelter sheds were built to shelter children during wet playtimes, but Aunty Esme said "too bad for the other kids" if it was raining and they were playing Cat and Mouse - the other kids had to stand in the middle while their game was in progress. Many members of the Rotoiti community enjoyed playing tennis. Racquets were made from pieces of wood obtained from the woodpile at Tunnicliffe's Mill. On special occasions they caught the launch from Kokiri Te Wao to Otaramarae to play against their cousins of Ngāti Hinekura. During these games proper tennis racquets were used and many players wore traditional 'tennis whites'.

### Values

Mr Morgan continually nurtured good values in the children such as sharing. Aunty Hilda said that everyone shared, "even if you tried to hide something special, someone would see and then you'd end up sharing". Virtues of respect, aroha, caring, sense of community and helping each other in times of happiness

and sadness were commonplace in their school and community. Children also displayed a good standard of behaviour at school. Boys were taught to pull the chairs out for the girls and push them in gently behind them as they sat. The boys didn't like having to act in this manner so they'd push the chairs in roughly behind the girls' legs. If Mr Morgan saw he'd make them do it correctly, "like a gentleman". When walking with females, the boys were taught to stand on the roadside of walkway in case water was splashed from a puddle. According to the Wai-iti whānau, it was a different world back then. No one locked the doors of their houses; children had respect for kaumātua, they never answered back; didn't push themselves forward, and just stood back and waited. Learning and practicing good manners were very important. Aunty Hilda was taught "the most proper table manners" by Major Te Reiwhati Vercoe who always said, "Manners maketh the man". The Major ensured the children sat up properly at the table and ate politely. They didn't speak a word during the meal because, "The table is for eating not talking". Major Vercoe was a granduncle of Aunty Hilda's mother. He married the sister of Aunty Hilda's father - Rangi TereMoana. She was his second wife. The Wai-iti whānau agreed that growing up in a close-knit community and attending a school that reinforced "good, community values" helped build children's character. They have noticed a great difference with many children of today who seem to lack respect for their parents, teachers and elders. Also, many kaumātua of today are very different from those of the past who "exuded warmth and an āhua (presence) that is uncommon these days. Overall, they had great care and aroha for each other and the whole community. They were really interested in you and wanted to know all about you and your whakapapa. Then they'd dissect you and say, 'She looks like so-and-so...' or, 'She reminds me of so-and-so...' and make a link between the present and past".

### Special Occasions

Occasionally Wai-iti School pupils travelled to Rotorua to participate in sports days. It was quite exciting because they'd "all be dressed smartly in our uniforms – black gym with gold girdle and black and yellow tie". They mostly played against Rotokawa, Whangamarino and Rotoma Schools. Sometimes they played

Whakarewarewa. One day the whole school was taken to the Majestic Theatre in Rotorua to watch 'The Wizard of Oz' on the big screen. It was an exhilarating experience for most of the children, except Aunty Esme who was terrified by the huge elephants and lions on the enormous screen. She was also surprised at how dark it could be indoors yet so bright outside. Cyril Hawthorne, Rex Rondon and his son Len from Matata took films around to various communities within the Bay of Plenty. Every Tuesday night lots of people from the community turned up to Kauiarangi wharekai to watch the films, "All the adults were respectfully dressed". Aunty Hilda's Uncle Tata Whata sold the tickets; her father Pirimi Whata was the door-man, "He was the liaison person between the Rondons and the Hawthornes." Uncle Tū Waretini and his long stick ensured the children maintained a considerate a noise level. Kuia Hana Tahana sat near the front to help keep an eye on the children. The Rotoiti boys looked upon film stars like Ray Miland, Humphrey Bogart and James Cagney as their heroes and tried to imitate their cowboy stunts. Tally Williams and Pop Tahana performed their "very popular" cowboy routine at every end of year concert where they dressed up as cowboys and sang western songs. 'The Green Hornet' was one of the favourite films. It was a green car and every series ended with some dramatic event such as the car going over a bank, or heading for a crash. Everyone would be left waiting with anticipation for the next instalment, wondering if it was going to survive.

Another special occasion for Wai-iti School was the school fair. There were lots of stalls selling kai, sweets, ornaments and hand-me-down clothes and shoes, "It was so exciting". Aunty Esme remembers biking around the community collecting items for the white elephant stall. She was given lots of ornaments with little chips in them. When she returned home with the trinkets she didn't want to part with them. She tried hiding them in the inside pockets of her coat but her mother, Paea made her empty all of her pockets. The Gymkhana was another festival enjoyed by all. Wood chopping competitions were held, hangi were served in flax rourou, and cordial that was "so sweet, like nectar from Heaven" was sold.

Community dances were held from time to time at various marae. In preparation for the big night children sat on flour or sugar bags partially filled with sand and were pulled round and round the hall to polish the floor. "Everyone dressed up to the nines for the occasion" after the dance, supper was provided. They danced "proper" dances like the Waltz, Fox Trot, Gay Gordon and Maxina. When the boys asked the girls to dance they would say, "Excuse me, waltz?" Aunty Hilda and Aunty Esme said that if asked, "You had to oblige because if you refused you weren't likely to be asked again". It would have been considered the height of rudeness to decline the proposal. Bessie Hughes was the Queen of the Ball. "Everyone was envious of her because she could dance!" One amusing dance was "The Broom Dance". Everyone in the hall had a partner except for one person. That person's partner was a broom. The music played and everyone danced, including the leftover person and their broom. When the music stopped everyone quickly swapped partners and the person who was left without a partner had to dance with the broom, "You didn't want to be left without a partner because you just had to dance with that broom until the music stopped again".

### **Wai-iti Whānau Parents' Aspirations for their Children's Education**

The Wai-iti whānau said that their old people had vision "that we would do well at school. They had high expectations for the children's future and that was the reason we were sent to secondary school". Aunty Hilda's father Pirimi Whata went to Saint Stephen's College. Her mother, Tawhito Ariki went to Queen Victoria College. Aunty Hilda received her secondary education at Turakina Māori Girls' College. When she first sat tests at the end of the term her scores were not as good as they could have been. When her mother saw the results she helped Aunty Hilda with her studies throughout the holidays. The hard work paid off because Aunty Hilda's subsequent test scores improved. She eventually became a teacher and taught at Rotoiti (formerly Wai-iti School), Rotoma, Awakeri and Glenholme Schools. Aunty Hilda still voluntarily tutors students individually for reading at Kawerau College. Aunty Hilda married Jack Sykes from Taneatua.

They have two daughters and three grandchildren. Uncle Jack has two sons from his first marriage.

Aunty Esme went to the Convent at Rotorua for her secondary schooling because it was cheaper than going to boarding school. She didn't begin secondary school with a positive frame of mind because her brother Brick had told her about this awful thing 'detention'. Aunty Esme was frightened of that word and had imagined torture-like procedures involving dungeons. Although Aunty Esme wanted to be a teacher, she eventually became a businesswoman. Aunty Esme married Jim Sinclair from Australia. They have two children and three grandchildren. Many of Aunty Esme's offspring are involved in education. Her youngest daughter is an educator with Life Education Trust, one grandson is teaching at Aorangi Primary in Rotorua and another is teaching in Korea.

**Academic Instruction** - The Wai-iti whānau' agreed that their parents sent their children to school to receive a good standard of academic instruction. The three R's were the most important thing. The aims and goals of our parents were for us to pass Proficiency and go to secondary school.

**Practical Abilities** - According to the Wai-iti whānau, their parents liked the children learning practical skills such as cooking and woodwork at school. Aunty Hilda said that their parents agreed that "learning practical skills was an excellent thing to do at school as it taught the girls other culinary skills, exposed the boys to tools that they did not have at home, and taught them about processes involved in producing wood products". The children learned practical skills at home but their parents expected them to be further developed at school. In this way, skills learnt at home were reinforced at school. Aunty Esme remembered that home duties were allocated according to gender, for example, the girls set the table and washed and dried the dishes; the boys cut and collected firewood and fed the animals, "There was a distinct dividing line between the sexes that was seldom crossed".

**Social Skills** - According to Aunty Esme most families ranged in size from 6 to 15 children so “we sure learnt to get along with other children. We had to”. She doesn’t think her parents would have considered the development of social skills at school to be of particularly high priority because those skills were acquired naturally from growing up in large families. They had to get along with each other to be happy at home. Aunty Hilda explained that social skills taught at school “were continued in many homes in the community with the emphasis on sharing and caring”.

**Religious Instruction** - Regular religious instruction at school was accepted by the Rotoiti community, in fact, the parents of the Wai-iti whānau encouraged and lived by many Christian values such as caring for the wellbeing of their neighbours. Everyone ensured their children were baptised. Many Christian denominations were present within the Rotoiti community – Anglican, Catholic, Rātana and Mormon. Aunty Esme’s mother was Mormon and services were held in their sitting room for people of all denominations to attend. Aunty Esme’s father greeted people at the door by joking about the diverse mixture saying, “Welcome. I am a Calathampian but my wife is happy to have you”. The Wai-iti whānau have noticed that some people nowadays are very particular about the denominational influence of services they attend, for example, “If they are Catholic and hear that an Anglican service is to be delivered some people will have nothing to do with it”.

**Sports** - The Wai-iti whānau explained that their parents supported the inclusion of sports within the school programme probably because it helped keep their children healthy. Interschool sports exchanges were exciting events for the children and the parents always ensured correct uniforms were worn. Evidently the parents also enjoyed sporting pursuits because the Rotoiti Sports Club has been fielding competitive sports teams for many generations. Regular rugby and tennis matches were also held between the workers of various shifts at the mill. Today, the school’s former main classroom building stands in a prominent location in the community, beside the Rotoiti Sports clubroom. Aunty Hilda said, “The

Tapuaeharuru Marae trustees would dearly love to renovate and restore it but lack of funding may hinder this project”.

Cultural - The Wai-iti whānau agreed that their parents supported the inclusion of aspects of Māori culture at school, “Actually, very much so”. They believe that their parents would have expected Māori songs, art and craft to be taught at school since they were strongly entrenched in their everyday life. Including cultural aspects in their children’s schooling would have reinforced those aspects of the children’s home life. The Wai-iti whānau believe “it was important for us to continue to learn who we are through music, action songs and art and craft, and to be proud of who we are”.

Māori Language - According to the Wai-iti whānau, their parents would not have minded the exclusion of te reo Māori in their children’s schooling because “English was the language that was really pushed. Everyone knew that we needed it to get a job and the future work lay in the Pākehā world”. The Wai-iti whānau knew that the exclusion of te reo Māori from their curriculum was decided by “the powers that be” and not their own teachers, “The government of the day decided English was to be taught to everyone, hence te reo was not taught. At that time the Native School curriculum endeavoured to steer Māori towards a more Pākehā way of thinking”.

The Wai-iti whānau believe that they achieved that which their parents desired. They received a well-grounded education; gained some practical skills that helped them with their own families; have a good understanding of Christian values and played a range of sports. Above all, the academic knowledge they received enabled them to pass the Proficiency examination and secure good jobs that allowed them to contribute to their families’ well-being. The Wai-iti whānau believe they have done well in their chosen careers for themselves and their families.

## **Educational Aspirations for Mokopuna of the Wai-iti Whānau**

Aspirations the Wai-iti whānau have for the education of their mokopuna are almost identical to their parents' aspirations for their own education, that is, they want their mokopuna to receive a well-grounded education.

**Academic Instruction** - The Wai-iti whānau agreed that academic instruction is the main purpose of schooling so they all want their mokopuna to "learn the three R's". They also considered that the Māori language, Māori culture, arts, early New Zealand history, drama, story writing, poetry, computer studies, sciences and social studies should be included in the curriculum.

**Practical Abilities** - According to the Wai-iti whānau, youngsters today would benefit from learning practical skills such as gardening, cooking and woodwork to help them cope better with everyday living. The practical subjects should not be compulsory but students should be encouraged to participate in a wide range of subjects, "Even boys should be encouraged to take Home Craft (because) some of the best chefs are male". Aunty Hilda also believes that "volunteers with special skills like playing musical instruments, weaving and carving, should be encouraged to share them with the children".

**Social Skills** - The Wai-iti whānau consider the development of social skills very important for their mokopuna. They believe that children should be taught skills at home and reinforced at school, for example, they should be taught to use manners at home and teachers should insist on their use at school. They also believe that values such as helping and caring for one another should be started at home, and developed within the community and school.

**Religious Instruction** - Aunty Esme doesn't mind religious instruction being included in the education of her mokopuna. She deems a short Bible reading and karakia at school assemblies "quite acceptable" however she does not believe that allocated time for Bible studies should be compulsory. Aunty Hilda approves of

the inclusion of religious instruction at school because the general theme for religious instruction develops good qualities in children such as love, caring and helpfulness, "As young children we enjoyed the stories and hymns and simple prayers that we learnt during these sessions".

Sports - Aunty Esme believes that the inclusion and development of sporting skills at school is worthwhile for students who are sports minded or talented, however, involvement in competitive sports should not be compulsory because "some children are not that way inclined and suffer great anxieties when forced to participate". Aunty Hilda believes that sports activities are important for children's healthy development and favours its inclusion in the schooling of her mokopuna. She also encourages them to join after school sports clubs so that they mingle and play with children from other schools.

Cultural - The Wai-iti whānau are pleased that Māori culture is openly recognised and promoted today. They support opportunities for their mokopuna to learn Māori art and craft and be involved with kapa haka since these aspects build youngsters' self esteem and character. Aunty Hilda also believes that students' "whānau should make time to get involved in helping to teach their children cultural sporting activities (and) continue to encourage Manu Kōrero (National Secondary School Speech) competitions as well as cultural activities (haka and waiata).

Māori Language - The Wai-iti whānau consider it imperative that their mokopuna learn te reo Māori at school since it is "a precious part of our heritage, unique to our people". Aunty Hilda said, "Māori is important for Māori children. It teaches them who they are, where they come from. Te Reo reinforces who we are and all our tikanga". They consider it a "tragedy" that many of our people cannot speak te reo Māori, yet they are also encouraged that "positive steps have been taken for Māori to learn their language and many are making an effort to learn". Aunty Hilda believes that "inter-marriage played a significant part in Māori losing their language", and acknowledges that "employment made it necessary for Māori to

communicate in English". They believe that the Māori spoken by rangatahi today is quite different to the Māori they know. Today's Māori is more grammatically correct; however, words from other iwi are part of the everyday reo spoken within Te Arawa, "Vocabulary used in other areas like Tuhoe and Taranaki are now used in Te Arawa". The Wai-iti whānau do not think that te reo Māori should be compulsory at school, however, they believe that everybody living in Aotearoa-New Zealand, whatever their ethnicity should be encouraged to learn Māori before learning foreign languages such as Japanese, Spanish or French since this country is the home of te reo Māori, "It is the recognised language here in New Zealand and would help build understanding between people. It can only survive if we speak it here".

#### Aspirations versus Reality

Aunty Esme's grandchildren are all grown up, but Aunty Hilda's mokopuna, Ihaia and Hakarangi still go to school. She believes they are maintaining good, progress in academic subjects and is pleased overall, with their schooling. Hakarangi is a member of his school's first fifteen rugby team and volleyball team. He is also making excellent progress in Chemistry and Biology. Ihaia is the Head Boy of Kawerau College and excels in debating. One aspect of their schooling that Aunty Hilda finds confusing is the new National Certificate in Educational Achievement (N.C.E.A.), "We have difficulty understanding N.C.E.A and consequently there is some confusion with results that come home in reports".

#### Comparison of Schooling

There are aspects of today's schooling that the Wai-iti whānau consider superior to that which they received. Aunty Esme prefers the bright, warm, inviting classrooms of today. She also believes that on the whole, teachers are more approachable and the children have much more resources today for all subject areas, "Children today have access to calculators and computers and enjoy a great deal more school trips than their grandparents". There are also aspects of their own schooling that the Wai-iti whānau consider superior to today's education system. Aunty Esme believes that they had a better understanding of spelling

and grammar. One aspect of the Native School system that Aunty Hilda prefers was the teaching of important values such as caring and helping. She also pointed out that "teachers used a variety of methods such as working inside and outside, so we could understand maths, English, geography and natural sciences". Also, "general knowledge quizzes were informative and fun!"

According to the Wai-iti whānau, one of the biggest differences between the present education system and that which the Wai-iti whānau experienced as pupils is teachers' rights. The Wai-iti whānau believe that nowadays "teachers' hands are tied". If a teacher cuddles a child, they may be charged with sexual abuse whereas that was one special characteristic of their own teachers - they gave the children a cuddle when they needed it. Aunty Esme is convinced that children during her era were far better behaved than most children today because they were raised to respect people in authority, "But the children do not show respect to teachers and adults in general. Nowadays, teachers mainly discipline students by using their voices but they are certainly not allowed to smack a child". The children are aware of their rights and will openly threaten to contact the authorities if they are touched. The Wai-iti whānau believe that appropriate discipline can be taught to children "using modern methods of discipline but it is very stressful". They acknowledge that more discipline is now required at school because "people are very different today" and the core values such as whanaungatanga and respect have not been passed on to many people of the younger generation. The Wai-iti whānau also believe that many programmes shown on mainstream television reinforce substandard values that are prevalent today such as lack of respect for elders and promiscuity. According to the whānau, one difficulty encountered by many single parent families (normally, the mother) is having to fulfil responsibilities of working and caring for the children, which should be shared by a mother and father. Sometimes children are neglected as she endeavours to meet work commitments and the children are left without that important male role model. The lack of male teachers does not help the situation. If there were more male teachers they would be able to provide at least some male influence and guidance in the lives of children who do not have a

father figure. The Wai-iti whānau understand that today's world cannot be exactly the same as the world they were raised within, but believe there is still a place for the teaching of wholesome values which should begin in the home and then be reinforced in the school.

Of the many benefits from attending Wai-iti School, the Wai-iti whānau considers whanaungatanga, kinship and the sense of family to be the greatest. Each of them still has a strong sense of belonging and loyalty to their former primary school and classmates. Aunty Esme remembers the overwhelming feeling of homesickness when she shifted from Wai-iti Native School to Rotoma. Although the distance between the two schools is only a matter of seven kilometres, during her time at Rotoma Aunty Esme was very lonely for her "own people". The Wai-iti whānau agree that they had a "happy school life. We enjoyed going to school".

A copy of the register from Wai-iti Native School 1939 is given on the following page. It shows the names of Aunty Hilda and Aunty Esme, as well as the other pupils who attended that school.

37 <sup>A.</sup> <sup>B.</sup> <sub>M.</sub>

New Zealand.—Education Department.

NATIVE SCHOOL, Wasiti

Return of Attendance at Native School for the Term beginning Wed. Sept. 29, 1939 114  
and ending Wed. December, 1939

(N.B.—This return is to be sent to the Department within five days after the last school day in the term.)

<u>Wasiti Native</u> SCHOOL.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
I. Number of scholars belonging to the school at the end of last term. (Line IV of last return) .. .. .	38	40	78
II. Number of these who left, not having attended at all this term .. .. .	4	1	5
III. Number really belonging to the school at beginning of term. (Subtract II from I) ..	34	39	73
IV. Number belonging at the end of the term .. .. .	37	43	80
V. Average weekly number on the roll during the term .. .. .	36.2	44	80.7
VI. Total attendances for term, excluding attendances on "excepted" half-days ..	4108	5086	9194
VII. Number of times the school has been open during the term, excluding "excepted" half-days .. .. .	136		
VIII. Average attendance for the term .. .. .	30.2	37.4	67.6

STATEMENT OF HOLIDAYS.

Number of Half-days in the Term (excluding Saturdays and Sundays): 150

Dates.	Reason of Closing.	Half-days.
	Half-days on which school was closed during the term, as specified below:—	
	<u>Labour Day</u>	2 ✓
	Total number of half-days on which school was closed ... .. .	2
	Total number of half-days on which school was open ... .. .	148
	Total number of half-days in the term, excluding Saturdays and Sundays (to agree with number given under heading) ... .. .	150

ATTENDANCE REGISTERS AND RETURNS.

1. (1) The following attendance registers shall be kept by the head teacher of every school:—

**Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.**

(In the column for Race, put "M." for Maori, between Maori and Half-caste, and Half-caste; and put "E." for European.)

No.	MALES.	Eth. Classification	Age at last July.		Race.	Number of Days absent by days attended by		MALES.	Eth. Classification	Age at last July.		Race.	Number of Days absent by days attended by		
			Yrs.	Mths.						Yrs.	Mths.				
1	McQuade Christen	Fi	14	6	F	126	36	Williams Hapeta	Fi	6	1	12	12	1	C
2	Nepier Kamamu	Fi	16	9	M	140	37	Hapi Memhiko	Fi	6	4	1	128	2	H
3	Epurua Aata	Fi	17	5	M	98	38	Hamea Kama	Fi	4	6	1	100	3	N
4	Whaiti Tangana	Fi	14	10	M	142	39							4	N
5	Karaita William	Fi	14	10	M	142	40							5	T
6	Kaitane Sphay	Fi	11	1	M	138	41							6	T
7	Nora Lawson	Fi	11	6	M	106	42	57						7	H
8	McQuade Wiliam	Fi	11	1	F	134	43							8	Ep
9	Cartha Mura	Fi	10	1	M	144	44							9	J
10	Nicholas John	Fi	11	4	M	87	45							10	Al
11	Kare Sphay	Fi	11	1	M	140	46							11	H
12	Nora Heani	Fi	9			10	47							12	K
13	Eneta Kapanui	Fi	9	9		50	48							13	K
14	Ngatere Dudley	Fi	9	2		142	49							14	T
15	McKinnon James	Fi	10	1		16	50							15	W
16	Hoffman Thomas	Fi				54	51							16	H
17	Harold B.	Fi				144	52							17	
18	Hoffman William	Fi				136	53							18	C
19	Nicholas David	Fi				62	54							19	Ep
20	Stuart Thomas	Fi				116	55							20	Nich
21	Alfred William	Fi				132	56							21	Wh
22	Curto Mana	Fi	9	8	M	138	57							22	Tan
23	Finney John	Fi	5	2	M	52	58							23	Doc
24	Kamata Edward	Fi			M	146	59							24	H
25	Ngata	Fi			M	122	60							25	K
26	Finney James	Fi				132	61							26	Nir
27	Finney	Fi				146	62							27	Tat
28	Albert Robert	Fi				138	63							28	W
29	Kate	Fi				94	64							29	W
30	Stuart	Fi				140	65							30	H
31	Finney	Fi	6	1	M	120	66							31	H
32		Fi				20	67							32	K
33	Robert	Fi					68							33	Tat
34	Thomas	Fi				116	69							34	TJ
35	Walter	Fi				68	70							35	Al

**Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.**

and between Half-casts and European. The names of Pupils who have left during the term to be marked x.

	FEMALES.		Eth. Classification.	Age as at 1st JAN.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		FEMALES.		Eth. Classification.	Age as at 1st JAN.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
				Yrs.	Mos.				Yrs.	Mos.					
1	Curtis	Silva	M	12	1	M	118	36	Epapene	Meremae	S	6	2	M	84
2	Harriet	Fried	F	11	4	E	146	37	Ngahese	Hern	P	5	2	M	68
3	Nico	Kari	F	19	9	M	98	38	Doctson	Lola	B	9	2	E	126
4	Ngers	Garcias	F	12	9	M	70	39	Curtis	Romi	B	5	10	M	112
5	Jojo	Manning	F	9	10	M	132	40	Kawaka	Mapipi	P	9	9	M	102
6	Takina	Wahi	F	13	9	M	128	41	Macpherson	Hana	F	6	-	M	60
7	Harriet	Maria	S	12	5	E	144	42	Kosten	Eddie	F	-	-	E	-
8	Epapene	Harriet	S	10	9	M	134	43	James	Clara	B	6	6	M	-
9	Jane	Bessie	S	12	4	M	134	44	Tara	Makawana	S	8	2	M	16
10	Albert	Rosalson	F	10	8	E	138	45	Taiwani	Sue	F	-	-	M	-
11	Hanna	Polly	S	9	9	M	100	46							
12	Kumeta	Cono	S	9	9	M	138	47							
13	Kino	Bessie	S	9	7	M	142	48							
14	Tara	Quinn	S	10	6	M	144	49							
15	Whata	Cissy	S	9	7	M	138	50							
16	Hehepa	Kimari	S	9	7	M	132	51							
17	Bessie	Aggie	S	-	-	M	138	52							
18	Curtis	Fanny	S	9	8	M	132	53							
19	Epapene	Miki	S	8	8	M	136	54							
20	Nicholas	Lorraine	S	10	8	M	88	55							
21	Whata	Ho	S	9	9	M	140	56							
22	Tara	Mary	S	8	8	M	116	57							
23	Doctson	Dorothy	M	9	1	E	148	58							
24	Harriet	Fanny	S	6	6	E	144	59							
25	Kawaka	Honoka	M	7	9	M	126	60							
26	Nico	Lucy	F	9	9	M	120	61							
27	Tahana	Francis	F	6	9	M	134	62							
28	Whata	Augusta	F	9	6	M	136	63							
29	Whata	Hilda	F	6	1	M	142	64							
30	Hodge	Maria	B	6	5	M	134	65							
31	Hehepa	Bessie	F	6	2	M	140	66							
32	Kumeta	Hanna	F	6	5	M	138	67							
33	Tahana	Marianne	B	9	3	M	142	68							
34	Ethana	Epapene	B	8	9	M	132	69							
35	Albert	Conno	S	5	8	E	180	70							

43

**IHAIA TICHBORNE**  
**Mokopuna of Hilda Sykes**



Ihaia Tichborne

Ihaia Taikaha Tichborne is the mokopuna of ex-Wai-iti Native School pupil, Hilda Sykes. Ihaia's mother, Annette is Aunty Hilda and Uncle Jack's daughter. Ihaia's father is Thomas Tichborne, from Waima. Ihaia is the oldest of his mother's two children, and the second of his father's four children. Uncle Jack was the main caregiver for his mokopuna Ihaia since he was seven months old. Ihaia's parents and Aunty Hilda worked so Uncle Jack, who was 69 years old at the time, cared for his mokopuna. Ihaia was born on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1986 and is 17 years old. He continues to live with his grandparents, and is in his final year at Kawerau College. Understandably, grandfather and grandson have developed an intimate bond. Aunty Hilda 'interviewed' Ihaia to discuss and compare their school experiences and aspirations. This story is the result of their conversations.

Ihaia's pre-schooling began at Taurua Kohanga Reo, Rotoiti. From there he started primary school at Kawerau Central School. Two of his friends were Michael Colville and James Hope. Ihaia was in standard two when he was joined at primary school by his younger brother Hakarangi. Having his younger brother at school didn't have much of an effect on Ihaia's schooling because they were in separate classes. Ihaia received quite a balanced influence from both male and female teachers - he has had four female and three male teachers. He liked having male and female teachers because they all had their own strengths and

were able to identify and develop different strengths within the students. Ihaia believes he got on well with all of his teachers and apart from very minor incidences such as wrongfully reprimanding students, Ihaia credits them all as having an overall positive impact on his schooling.

Subjects Ihaia studied at school were maths, science, social studies, English, physical education, cooking, sewing, woodwork, metalwork and Māori language. Ihaia doesn't like to single out one particular subject as a favourite because he finds that each one demands an equal amount of effort and concentration on his part. He now realises that quite a lot of emphasis was placed on handwriting during his grandparents' schooling, yet for Ihaia, "A handwriting focus did not exist at all". The children were encouraged to take pride in the appearance of their work but were allowed to write without special tuition from the teacher.

Māori language has played a role in Ihaia's schooling and so, he has a basic understanding of Te Reo Māori. At Kawerau Central School teachers and students of the Māori immersion class spoke Māori. Ihaia was a member of that class in standard one and at high school he studied te reo Māori until the fifth form. Ihaia is fortunate that members of his family including his grandmother, mother, uncle and great uncle speak Māori, so te reo Māori is present in Ihaia's home environment as well as school. Ihaia is further exposed to Māori language when he attends marae gatherings and views Māori items on television. Ihaia considers it important to learn both Māori and English languages at school so that the language is preserved and does not become extinct. He disagrees strongly with educational policies that sought to discourage Māori children from speaking Māori at school, "This policy was wrong in every way, and was instrumental in the dramatic drop in the proliferation of te reo Māori". He believes that "better relationships between people" would exist if all people living in Aotearoa-New Zealand learnt about Māori language at school. He also believes that by learning te reo Māori, they would have a greater "appreciation of tikanga Māori" by learning about things that are important to Māori.

Ihaia's favourite school games were rugby, tiggy, bull rush and stuck in the mud. Some of the games that kept the girls occupied at school were marbles, hopscotch, elastics, netball, bull rush, stuck in the mud and skipping. While some students prefer to participate in pastimes of a less strenuous nature such as portable video games, Ihaia thinks it would be a good idea for physical exercise to be included in every school's daily programme to ensure that the students actually participate in some form of daily physical exercise which would improve their physical wellbeing.

Ihaia is of the opinion that the teaching and reinforcing of values should be taught and reinforced at both home and school. Values of caring, honesty, pride in being Māori and appearance, manners, cooperation, respect for self and authority, sense of humour, and tolerance are vital for developing into caring, competent people. Those values have been thoroughly absorbed because they were taught within Ihaia's home and reinforced at school. While Ihaia has been fortunate to have noteworthy values instilled within him at school and home, he has seen students act without concern for other students and act disrespectfully towards teachers. Ihaia considers that most students' behaviour on the whole, at secondary school is satisfactory but for those students whose behaviour may sometimes fall below par, Ihaia suggests they could "learn to behave more politely" by having contact with more positive role models at home and school. He considered role modelling to be important since children often re-enact behaviours they are exposed to in their everyday environments.

Some special school-based events that Ihaia took part in were annual prize giving ceremonies, interschool sports exchanges (his sport of choice during such sports exchanges was rugby), discos, community concerts and speech competitions. Ihaia first competed in speech competitions when he was at intermediate school. His talent for public speaking ensured he won the school competition both years he was at intermediate. Ihaia's speech making abilities continued to develop over the years to win honoured places in local and national competitions such as the Manu Kōrero speech competition.

Ihaia is aware that his grandparents have supported all of his school endeavours. Over the years both of his grandparents have been involved in various aspects of his schooling. His grandmother was occasionally called upon to do relief teaching and his grandfather often provided transport for school trips. Ihaia believes that the purpose of education is to learn as much as possible about people and the world in order "to better myself". He understands that his parents and grandparents want him and his brother to make the most of their schooling and achieve to their best abilities. Ihaia also considers schooling important so that he is adequately prepared for his life after secondary school, which he calls the "real world". He believes he is doing the best he can at school.

#### Ihaia's Thoughts about his Nan's Education

Ihaia reflected upon and commented on aspects of his Nan's schooling that he'd learned about through their conversations, such as the expectation that the boys would develop skills in woodwork and metalwork while the girls learned to cook and sew. Ihaia strongly opposed this type of practice, "This type of policy is discriminatory and inconsistent with most people's present day values of society". Asked what the public's reaction might be if schools today tried to reintroduce this type of instruction and Ihaia replied, "Were such a policy proposed today the public would be outraged and the person who proposed the policy sacked and disgraced". The practical focus of Ihaia's Nan's school experiences was markedly different from those of Ihaia, for example, when Aunty Hilda was at school, many of the boys learned to carve, but Ihaia had no Māori-focused art lessons included in his schooling. He thinks that schools should provide opportunities for students to learn about Māori art and receive tuition since it is "a part of the cultural identity of our country". Another practical skill that was taught and developed during Aunty Hilda's schooling was maintaining vegetable gardens. It is another example of how different the school experiences were for Ihaia and his grandmother because these types of lessons did not feature at all in his schooling. Ihaia believes there is a place for this type of instruction in today's schooling but, "Only to a limited degree. Although growing and gathering our own food is important in communal cultures such as the Māori and Pacific Island communities,

other groups do not feel the same way, and it would be unfair to try to make them change". He further cautions that "such instruction must not detract from the main academic areas of school life".

Like his Nan's nature studies and science lessons at The Bull Ring, sometimes Ihaia's teachers arranged out of classroom learning experiences for their students. On one such occasion Ihaia's class went on a trip to the beach at Ohope where they studied "the ecology of rock pools". Ihaia considers this and other out of classroom learning experiences valuable as they have the potential to enhance students' normal classroom programmes and experiences. Also, students who don't respond well to in-class tuition may well thrive in outdoor experiences.

Ihaia's swimming sessions were entirely different to those of his Nan for whom it was the norm to have school swimming sessions in the lake, and instead of wearing togs, they swam naked. As one might expect, Ihaia's school swimming sessions "were more formal and modest". Swimming sessions incorporated structured lessons including aspects of water safety conducted in a swimming pool, with all children wearing togs!

While Ihaia's school was occasionally visited by health nurses, health professionals played a far less prominent role in his school life than his Nan's. He thinks it would be a good idea for health professionals to visit schools more regularly and tend to students as it may partially improve Māori health. However, other factors also influenced children's health such as whether their home environments were healthy places for children.

Ihaia realises that it was the norm for his Nan and her peers to clean their school and while the physical environment of some schools could be improved, Ihaia does not consider it necessary for today's students to help with the cleaning because "caretakers are paid to do the cleaning". However, he doesn't mind contributing to improving his school's physical environment by "picking up rubbish on the school grounds".

As religious instruction was a part of Ihaia's Nan's schooling, so too was it for him. Throughout Ihaia's primary school years volunteers from the community went into the local primary schools to deliver Christian focused lessons for one hour every week. Ihaia is conscious of some people's reluctance to have their children participate in these types of lessons, because they do not share the religious beliefs taught in the religious studies programme, however Ihaia believes that a sound religious instruction is beneficial to students because it "teaches good values".

Ihaia is aware of differences between his Nan's and his own schooling, and while there are some aspects of his Nan's schooling that he considers preferable to the present system, such as the close involvement of health professionals in schools, there were also aspects that Ihaia strongly disagreed with, such as the segregation of pupils for certain classes based on gender and the exclusion of te reo Māori. However, on the whole Ihaia considers that the school system he participated in had improved since his Nan's schooling and he is satisfied with the education he has achieved.

## **THE GEE FAMILY**

### **Rotokawa Native School: Te Kura o Rotokawa**

#### Gee Family Introduction

Two respected kaumātua from Owhata recommended I contact Ted Gee to find out about his experiences at Rotokawa Native School. They knew that since Mr Gee was of a considerable age and his recollections of times gone by were significant, his stories would be particularly valuable. They provided me with contact details for Ted's younger brother Tom who still lives in Rotorua. Tom agreed that Ted would be an ideal participant, as well as their first cousin Betty (nee Gee, now Mrs Powell) who also attended Rotokawa. Tom thought that it would be good to record Ted and Betty's stories so that readers could compare the experiences and perspectives of a young boy and girl who attended the same school during the same era.

The Gees are a Pākehā family from Rotorua. Mrs Powell informed me that her grandfather, Charles Gee immigrated to New Zealand from England during World War One in approximately 1916-17. Mrs Powell's grandmother Isobel stayed at home in England for her sons when they returned home on leave from fighting at the front in Gallipoli and France. At the end of the war Isobel joined her husband in New Zealand along with their two sons Arthur and Stewart. Arthur is Ted's father; Stewart is Mrs Powell's father. By this time Charles had bought a 600 acre block of land ready for his wife and sons. A road that bordered the Gee's property is named Gee Road after their family. That block of land has since been sold and now includes the Eastgate Business Park and privately owned farms.

Mrs Powell and Ted's stories allow us the opportunity to consider the Native School system from the perspective of Pākehā children who lived and were schooled alongside Māori, and experienced the Native School system first-hand.

## **MRS POWELL**

### **Rotokawa Native School: Te Kura o Rotokawa**



Elizabeth Powell (nee Gee)

Mrs Powell's full name is Elizabeth Powell but she is more commonly known as Betty. Mrs Powell was born on the 16<sup>th</sup> of May 1924 at a Nursing Home in Ranolf Street, Rotorua. She is the eldest of Mr Stewart and Mrs Winifred Gee's three children. Mrs Powell was around 5½ years old when she began attending Rotokawa Native School. It made sense that Mrs Powell and her siblings would attend Rotokawa since it was the closest school to their home. The Principal at that time was Mr Ould, he taught the senior pupils, and his wife taught the juniors, which was in line with educational policy of Pākehā teachers and their families providing a model of family life for Māori to emulate. Mrs Ould was one of Mrs Powell's favourite teachers because she had a kind, gentle manner.

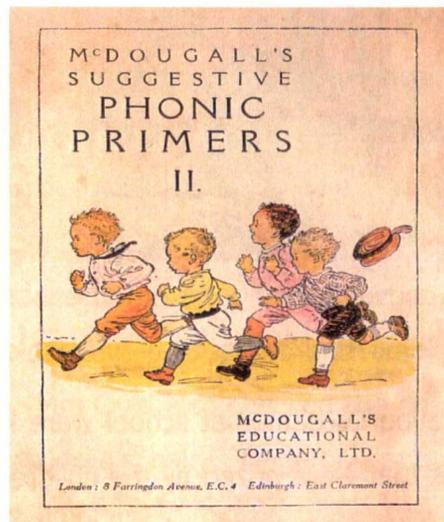
#### Other Pupils

As with all Native Schools, most of the pupils at Rotokawa Native School were Māori. According to Mrs Powell, the Gees and Burrows were the only Pākehā families although she remembers one other Pākehā girl who must have been about 12 or 13 years old when Mrs Powell first started school. The Burrow family came from Auckland and were sharemilkers for George Vaughn who owned the farm next to the Gees. Thora Burrows was six years old when they shifted to Rotorua. Thora and Mrs Powell began playing together from that age and formed a close friendship. I was amazed to learn that they have maintained their bond throughout their lives and remain best friends today. They are life-long friends.

Mrs Powell considers it to be one of the greatest benefits to have come from attending Rotokawa Native School. When Mrs Powell first started school she was often escorted home by one of the Māori boys. Upon arrival at the Gee's gate Mrs Powell would say, "I'm fine now thank you, I can go the rest of the way alone", but the boys insisted, "No, I'll see you safely to your door" - to ensure her safety (of course) and receive the lolly Mrs Powell's mother would give the boy upon her daughter's arrival.

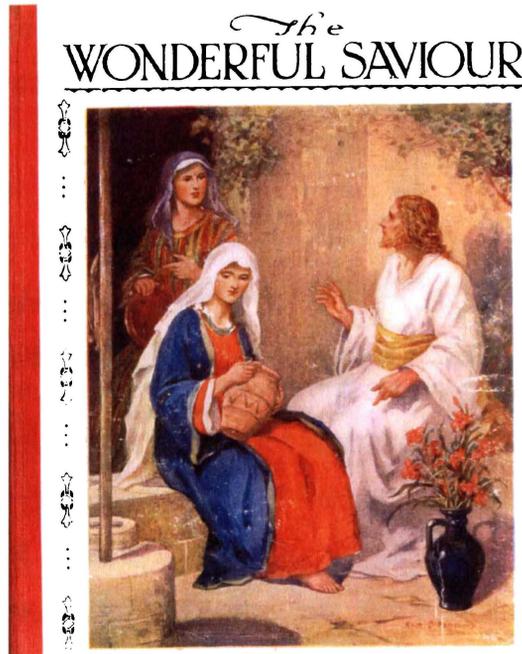
### Subjects

Some of the subjects Mrs Powell studied at Rotokawa were arithmetic, geography, history and English. Below is a copy of one of Mrs Powell's early reading books.



They participated in casual singing sessions and sung songs such as '*Gliding Through the Meadow*' and '*Hear the Echoes*', and in line with the Native School practical focus, had craft lessons taught by Mrs Ould about once a week and learned weaving and knitting. Mrs Powell enjoyed the craft sessions, such as weaving coloured strips of paper together to make an attractive woven mat-like picture. Everyone participated in Bible studies facilitated by 'The Missionary Ladies', Miss Balstrode and Miss Emily (who Mrs Powell believes were sisters). They travelled to Rotokawa Native School from the mission house at Whakarewarewa every week. According to Mrs Powell although they were sisters their stature was quite different. Miss Balstrode was rather stocky, while Miss

Emily was tall and thin. Prize giving was held at the end of every year and children were given Christian based story books as rewards. Mrs Powell still has the books she was given in 1930 - 1933, "I loved these books...and the pictures were so nice". The photo below shows Mrs Powell's first book prize.



### Games

Some of Mrs Powell's favourite games at school were knuckle bones played with smooth, polished stones that were prized by the children, "When I look back, you looked upon them as really precious; they meant a lot to you those simple, little stones". Spinning tops whipped with flax was a fun pastime. They also played hopscotch with tins, skipping, and hide and seek. Marbles was played by girls and boys; football was a favourite game of the boys, as well as terrorising the girls by chasing them around the school grounds. These games were all part of the fun. No malice was intended because they were used to playing together and "everyone mingled", although Mrs Powell and Thora mainly played with each other.

Sometimes during lunchtimes as the children settled down to eat, a couple of the senior girls would walk around inspecting the lunches, "If there was anything they liked they helped themselves to it." Mrs Powell said that the girls wouldn't take

your lunch if you only had one sandwich so Mrs Powell's mother wisely just sent enough lunch for her daughter, normally a cheese and lettuce (from lettuce grown at home) or jam (home made) sandwich. In line with the government's health focus and children's regular exposure to fresh air, shelter sheds were built for students to eat their lunch within on wet days. They were made from wood with an iron roof, and dirt floors with wooden seats around the inside.

### District Nurses

District Nurses visited Rotokawa Native School regularly to inoculate the children against typhoid fever, check their ears and listen to their chests to detect any signs of ill health. During playtime the children would see the District Nurse's little car coming around the corner and heading up the lane for the school, "You'd see the children hanging over the fence and then a wail would start up, 'Oh...the nurses are coming....we're gonna get the needle'. Then the bell would ring and we'd stand in line and wait for the nurse to give your injection. After we'd had the injection we were given half a day off". Mrs Powell remembers one occasion when she and Thora headed home after their injection, her mother made them each a sling from an old sheet to support and cradle their arms "because it actually was quite sore". Mrs Ould also checked the children's hair for kutu using two rulers to part the children's hair. Fingernail and handkerchief inspections were also conducted regularly.

### Duties

There were no flushing toilets in those days, just outside toilets with cans inside. On Friday afternoons the boys dug holes at the back of the school into which the cans from the toilets were emptied. One hole was dug for the contents of the girls' toilet and another for the boys'. Normally the cans were carried by a couple of senior girls, "To us little things the girls seemed to be very big". One day the senior girls must have thought, "It was time the little Pākehā girls learnt to carry the can" so they made Thora and Mrs Powell carry a side each. As Thora and Mrs Powell were staggering about, Mrs Ould came around the corner. She growled the senior girls and sent Thora and Mrs Powell to the school house to tidy

themselves as some of the heavy can's contents had splashed out around their legs. That was the first and last time Mrs Powell carried the toilet can.

### Māori Language

Māori language was not spoken in the Gee's home; however, Mrs Powell heard Māori spoken regularly at school by other pupils, "We didn't have a clue what they were saying" but guessed she or Thora were the topic of the discussion when they heard the word "Pākehā". Although Māori language was purposely excluded from the curriculum, Mrs Powell managed to "pick up a few words from other the children". The exclusion of te reo Māori from the curriculum didn't seem to affect the Māori children negatively because they continued to speak it regularly in the playground.

### **The Aspirations of Mr Stewart and Mrs Winifred Gee for their Children's Education**

Mrs Powell considered what her parents wanted their children to receive from their schooling. She concluded that academic instruction would have fared very high on their list of educational aspirations because her parents wanted all of their children to receive a "good academic education" focused on the 3 R's. They would have liked the idea of their children being instructed in other less academic focused subjects such as practical and religious studies to provide a break from the academic subjects and develop other skills. Anyway, these subjects were enjoyed by Mrs Powell. She was also of the opinion that her parents would have liked their children to participate in some sport and Māori cultural art and craft because they needed to understand the people they lived amongst.

### Aspirations versus Reality

Mrs Powell said that her parents seemed satisfied with the education she received at Rotokawa but when she was about 10½ years old they decided that she would benefit from attending a bigger school, Rotorua Primary where there were other Pākehā children of a similar age. She and Thora biked to and from Rotorua

Primary School. The distance one way was five miles so they biked 10 miles each day to and from school on roads made of white pumice, so it was a difficult ride. When they reached the present site of Lynmore School they were relieved because there was a tar sealed section of road that measured about two miles, "It was heaven biking along that particular section". About twice a year fresh loads of pumice were laid and occasionally Mrs Powell or Thora fell off their bikes because of the loose pumice. Thora still has two scars on her knee from the falls.

According to Mrs Powell, one of the most obvious differences between Rotokawa Native and Rotorua Primary School was size. Rotokawa had only two classrooms while Rotorua Primary had approximately 20. The total number of children at Rotokawa was about 60, yet there were 555 children at Rotorua Primary in 1936 (according to the school jubilee booklet). Mrs Powell confirmed, Rotorua Primary "was a huge school". Having a lot more Pākehā children helped her settle into the new environment, she also enjoyed their company. Mrs Powell loved the flush toilets at Rotorua Primary as opposed to the can toilets. Since Rotorua Primary is located within the Rotorua city centre, students were occasionally allowed to buy lunch from town. Mrs Powell bought "something like a pie which was a real treat". In summer playtimes, tiny bottles of icy cold milk that "tasted so much better than any milk we had" were given to children. During winter they could purchase hot cocoa at playtime for 3d (thruppence).

Mrs Powell enjoyed her time at Rotorua Primary but there were aspects of her schooling at Rotokawa Native School that she preferred. Mainly, the distance from home was minimal, so she could walk; also, the casual approach to schooling at Rotokawa appealed to Mrs Powell because they were allowed to go to school barefoot in the summer and she liked wearing sun hats to school.

### **Mrs Powell's Aspirations for the Education of her Grandchildren**

Mrs Powell wanted her grandchildren to receive an education that would give them a "good academic grounding that will hopefully set them up for later in life"

so that they can work in the area that interests them. She considers it "quite important" that children learn and develop social skills at school and receive religious instruction. She also believes that they should be exposed to a mixture of academic subjects such as science, maths, English and biology and practical subjects like cooking, sewing and woodwork because some people's talents may lie in using their hands. Mrs Powell believes everyone must have the freedom to choose between an academic and practical career, and in order to make an informed decision, they need to try a variety of subjects. Some sport should also be included in the school curriculum as well as aspects of Māori culture and Māori language, "It's nice if they can learn about Māori culture and some of the language because after all, we are living amongst Māori people".

#### Aspirations versus Reality

Four out of Mrs Powell's seven grandchildren have completed their primary and secondary schooling. Her eldest grandson has his PhD and works at New South Wales University; her eldest granddaughter is a trained nurse, two grandsons are studying chemical engineering, one in Singapore and the other at Auckland University. Mrs Powell believes that her grandchildren did in fact receive a 'good' education and that "they have worked hard and are doing very well". The remaining three grandchildren still attend school in Australia.

#### Comparison of Schooling

Mrs Powell considers some aspects of her schooling to be superior to today's education, such as free inoculations, and the practical subjects like gardening. She believes that children today would benefit from the reintroduction of the above aspects. She also considers it a pity that all children don't learn about New Zealand history at school because it is a real part of our past, "It is imperative that the children know what happened in the past and about sacrifices made in War". Mrs Powell acknowledged that children of today have far greater opportunities to broaden their education through the internet since the invention and wide use of computers in most New Zealand schools. Mrs Powell appreciated the experiences she had as a Pākehā girl growing up in a Māori community and

acknowledged that being educated at Rotokawa Native School impacted her life in a unique way, for example, she remembered with fondness one of the local women, Mrs Kowhai (nee Fraser, pictured below) who occasionally helped Mrs Powell's mother with household duties. Mrs Kowhai came to be held in high regard by the Gee family. When she passed away Mrs Powell and her mother attended her tangi which was held at Owhata Marae, Hinemoa Point.



Mrs Gee (Mrs Powell's mother) and Mrs Kowhai.

The photos below show members of the Rotokawa community waiting to wave to members of the Royal Family when they visited in 1954. Mrs Powell said the pictures show that "everyone was very patriotic in those days". Reverend Fraser (wearing his military uniform) was the Chaplain at the Rotorua Hospital; he travelled to and from the hospital by bicycle and modified his bike by putting a motor on it to make the journey easier since he had a damaged hip.



Members of Rotokawa community



Mr Fraser, Mr Gee, Mrs Fraser.



Reverend Fraser.

(Photos courtesy of Mrs Powell.)

Because Mrs Powell was raised in a Māori community where almost all of the children who attended Rotokawa School were Māori, she “had quite a good understanding of Māori ways”. She acknowledged that as a Pākehā ex-Native School pupil she has had experiences that were very different to most Pākehā children of her era. Mrs Powell understands that she would not have had those experiences or the understanding of aspects of Māori culture and language had she not lived at Rotokawa and attended Rotokawa Native School.

A copy of Rotokawa Native School’s 1934 register with Mrs Powell’s name listed, features on the following page.

## New Zealand.—Education Department.

NATIVE SCHOOL, RotohianaReturn of Attendance at Native School for the Term beginning May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1934,  
and ending August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1934.

(N.B.—This return is to be sent to the Department within five days after the last school day in the term.)

<u>Rotohiana Native SCHOOL.</u>		Boys.	Girls.	Total.
I. Number of scholars belonging to the school at the end of last term. [Line IV of last return]		32	23	54
II. Number of these who left, not having attended at all this term		1		1
III. Number really belonging to the school at beginning of term. [Subtract II from I.]		31	23	54
IV. Number belonging at the end of the term		33	22	55
V. Average weekly number on the roll during the term		32.84	23.69	56.5
VI. Total attendances for term, excluding attendances on "excused" half-days		3679	2628	6307
VII. Number of times the school has been open during the term, excluding "excused" half-days	118			
VIII. Average attendance for the term		30.83	22.27	53.1

## STATEMENT OF HOLIDAYS.

Number of Half-days in the Term (excluding Saturdays and Sundays): 130.

Date.	Occasion of Closing.	Half-days.
	Half-days on which school was closed during the term, as specified below:—	
<u>June 3<sup>rd</sup></u>	<u>The King's Birthday</u>	2
	Total number of half-days on which school was closed ...	2
	Total number of half-days on which school was open ...	128
	Total number of half-days in the term, excluding Saturdays and Sundays (to agree with number given under heading) ...	130

ATTENDANCE REGISTER AND RETURN.

Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.

*ages are shown*  
*Return a*

(In the column for Race, put "M." for Maori, between Maori and Half-caste, and Half-caste; and put "E." for European.)

	MALIB.	Srl. Classification	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		MALIB.	Srl. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
			Yrs.	Ms.						Yrs.	Ms.		
1	Cookson James	6	13	8	M	128	36						
2	Stemming Eru		16		M	36	37						
3	Ransfield Wahanu		15	9	M	111	38						
4	Te Kiri Amara		12	8	M	120	39						
5	Karawana John	3	12	6	M	116	40						
6	Ngawhika Hapeta		11	11	M	122	41						
7	Ralf Clement		9	2	E	100	42						
8	Conroy Frank	2	12	9	M	104	43						
9	Merewini Turiri		11	8	M	46	44						
10	Hori Leroro		11	8	M	116	45						
11	Karawana Ichema		11	6	M	116	46						
12	Karawana Kimita		10	10	M	128	47						
13	Te Kiri Paki.		11	7	M	114	48						
14	Furnell Percy	1	9	10	M	116	49						
15	Hollis Vernon		9	4	E	126	50						
16	Henece Eru		10	2	M	128	51						
17	Te Kiri Satu		9	8	M	110	52						
18	Te Kuru Uikoro		9	3	M	110	53						
19	Hikingi Whata		10	7	M	128	54						
20	Hiringi Eru		11	-	M	102	55						
21	Ua Fred		8	6	M	116	56						
22	Kowhai Tamati	P	6	2	M	126	57						
23	Ransfield Donald		8	7	M	128	58						
24	Burrows Ronald		4	10	E	128	59						
25	Taepe Huitakahu		11	8	M	118	60						
26	Ransfield Mann		8	8	M	128	61						
27	Crawshaw Douglas		6	6	E	100	62						
28	Salvin Watene		8	1	M	82	63						
29	Hinaki Hina		4	9	M	104	64						
30	Kowhai Hauki		4	3	M	128	65						
31	Ratana Ngahan		4	9	M	118	66						
32	Ransfield Bob		6	6	M	128	67						
33	Hiringi Robert		8	7	M	58	68						
34	Williamson Ramsey		6	6	E	128	69						
35	Hamilton Hina		8	6	M	14	70						

Names of Pupils who have attended during the Quarter.

(In the column for Race, put "M." for Maori, between Maori and Half-caste, and Half-caste; and put "E." for European.)

	MALES	Sch. Classification	Age		Race	Number of Half-days attended by each.		MALES	Sch. Classification	Age		Race	Number of Half-days attended by each.
			Yrs.	Mo.						Yrs.	Mo.		
1	Mhairona Haketai	4	13	11	M	126	36						
2	Mr. Ranapira	3	13	1	M	124	37						
3	Mr. Courtson	3	11	2	M	128	38						
4	Mr. Ranapira	3	11		M	128	39						
5	Mr. Thorley	3	13		E.	122	40						
6	Robert T. Aini	2	12	11	M	108	41						
7	Mr. Ranapira	2	7	7	M	128	42						
8	Tutu Kiringi	2	10	9	M	126	43						
9	Mr. Courtson	2	9	6	M	128	44						
10	Amarama T. Aini	2	8	3	M	116	45						
11	Mr. Courroy	1	10		M	96	46						
12	Mr. Hooper	1	8	6	E.	112	47						
13	Edw. Whimwhee	1	7	11	E.	128	48						
14	Mapia Ngahika	F	7	7	M	128	49						
15	Kati T. Aini	F	7	5	M	116	50						
16	Tikona Karawana	F	7	4	M	118	51						
17	Leroy Hori	F	7	3	M	120	52						
18	Billy Farrell	F	6	11	M	122	53						
19	Frank Courroy	F	8	7	M	120	54						
20	Mr. Karawana	F	8	4	M	120	55						
21	Lu Ngawhika	F	6	7	M	122	56						
22	Robert Kiringi	F	6	5	M	126	57						
23	Tom Kiringi	F	6	10	M	120	58						
24	Kiela Karawana	F	6	8	M	122	59						
25	Robson Baylis	F	7	6	E.	126	60						
26	Rich Kinita	F	10	4	M	120	61						
27	Robert Hooper	F	6	8	E.	110	62						
28	Edw. Luocombe	F	6	9	E.	120	63						
29	Percy Farrell	F	5	8	M	110	64						
30	Mr. Baylis	F	5	6	E.	126	65						
31	Sam Hamilton	F	6	8	M	106	66						
32	Mr. Menare	F	6	-	M	56	67						
33	Lincoln T. Aini	F	5	1	M	54	68						
34	Tapu T. Aini	F	5	6	M	106	69						
35	Lula Kinita	F	5	-	M	22	70						

in 1916  
 on July 1st. Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.  
 and between Half-terms and Holidays. The names of Pupils who have left during the term to be marked X.]

	PUPILS.	Sex.		Age.	Sex.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		FEMALES.	Sex.		Age.	Sex.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
		Yr.	Mo.						Yr.	Mo.			
X 1	Crawshaw Marjory	5	14	-	E	106	36						
2	Farnell Mary	11	12	2	M	124	37						
3	Ranffield Antope		12	10	M	120	38						
4	Ranffield Iwanga		11	1	M	126	39						
5	Ranffield Pera		12	5	M	128	40						
6	Hikurangi Pessie		13	-	M	128	41						
7	Farnell Alice		13	2	M	126	42						
8	Burrows Thora	3	10	3	E	128	43						
9	Edwards Julia		13	-	M	98	44						
10	Cookson Kathleen	2	10	9	M	128	45						
11	See Elizabeth		10	1	E	118	46						
12	Hapeta Hine		11	8	M	116	47						
13	LeRangi Pipeta		13	-	M	128	48						
14	Hirangi Emma		12	1	M	44	49						
15	Graham Hinemou	1	9	6	M	110	50						
16	Ngawhita Daphne		9	5	M	124	51						
17	Ranffield Turata		9	10	M	110	52						
X 18	Loye Shirley		10	7	E	40	53						
19	Korohai Pina	P	8	6	M	128	54						
20	Ranffield Putei		7	5	M	126	55						
21	Ratana Rangia		7	11	M	118	56						
22	Ranffield Charlotte		7	8	M	128	57						
23	LeKiri Aneta		6	9	M	98	58						
24	Hikurangi Janie		5	6	M	120	59						
X 25	Loye Jane		7	-	E	40	60						
26							61						

Names of Pupils who have attended during the Quarter.

and between Half-caste and European. The names of Pupils who have left during the quarter to be marked x.)

	FEMALE.	Std. Classification.	AGE.		Sex.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		FEMALE.	Std. Classification.	AGE.		Sex.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
			Yr.	Mo.						Yr.	Mo.		
1	Joy Mosewin	A	13	-	M	128	36						
2	Mary Williamson	A	11	8	F	124	37						
3	Ira Hittingi	S	13	1	M	122	38						
4	Martha Lottena	S	10	11	M	128	39						
6	Sophie Rogers	S	12	2	M	128	40						
6	Rangi Hittingi	2	11	3	M	128	41						
X7	Bessie Hittingi	2	8	10	M	18	42						
8	Maryon Crawford	2	9	10	F	124	43						
9	Hatepe Kumpua	2	8	8	M	122	44						
10	Mina Lascombe	1	8	6	F	124	45						
11	Alice Jarrill	1	9	2	M	122	46						
12	Mary Jarrill	1	8	-	M	112	47						
13	Lina Kumpua	1	8	3	M	128	48						
14	Mary Lottena	1	8	1	M	128	49						
15	Luranga Kumpua	1	6	11	M	128	50						
16	Rae Kumpua	P	8	4	M	122	51						
17	Kathleen Cothran	P	6	7	M	128	52						
18	Mema Haringi	P	8	9	M	120	53						
19	Mine Hapua	P	7	6	M	112	54						
20	Luriana Kumpua	P	5	8	M	128	55						
21	Mary Kumpua	P	9	3	M	124	56						
22	Elizabeth Lee	P	5	11	F	110	57						
23	Rebecca Tirangi	P	7	-	M	20	58						
24	Rose Karawana	P	5	8	M	80	59						
25	Daphne Whitaker	P	5	3	M	80	60						
26							61						

BAAA, 1001, 24b.

## **TED GEE**

### **Rotokawa Native School - Te Kura Māori o Rotokawa**



Edward (Ted) Gee

Ted was born at the Gee Homestead at Rotokawa on the 30<sup>th</sup> of December 1930. His given names are Edward Arthur Gee but he is known by most people as Ted. The name Edward was given by his father in remembrance of his brother (Ted's uncle) who fought as part of the Australian forces and fell in Gallipoli during World War One, his middle name was from his father.

Ted started school when he was approximately six years old. At that time Rotokawa Native School had two classrooms with approximately 40 pupils in total. The Headmaster was Mr Gracie, who according to Ted was fair, consistent and pleasant. Mr Gracie lived in the school house at the back of the school with his wife and two young children. At one time his first assistant was Miss Winnie Mitchell. Another teacher that Ted remembers fondly was Miss Snow, a softly spoken elderly woman who visited the school regularly to teach Bible studies. Apparently the younger school children loved her lessons and held onto her every word. The children automatically respected the teachers and didn't dare question any of their instructions. Ted pointed out that nowadays, many children are actually taught by their parents to question everything. Some parents defend their children vehemently without even considering whether their child's actions were appropriate or deserved reprimand. Ted would never have told his father if

he was caned at school because "you'd probably get another one at home...you'd keep it quiet and hope the teacher didn't mention it to your parents".

It was commonplace for Ted's teachers to mix with members of the community in and out of school. Teachers at Rotokawa were totally dedicated to their jobs, however, he didn't particularly like 'teachers' because they always seemed to be right. It is quite ironic that Ted eventually married a teacher, Margaret Gibson from Te Akau (near Raglan). Ted and Margaret met when Ted's sister Pauline brought her home for a holiday from Ardmore Teachers' College, "She was a bosom mate of my sister, but instead of playing with my sister, she started playing with me". Ted's wife Margaret relieved at Rotoiti School in 1970 when Peter Anaru was the Principal. Margaret said that her time at Rotoiti was one of her "best relieving experiences. The children were so polite and friendly". Ted and Margaret eventually bought the old Rotoiti School house for about £25 to use as a wool shed on their Rotoiti farm. When Ted and his work partners started demolishing the building, people approached them to purchase various parts such as the toilet and lead floor. Consequently, they were able to get the money back they'd originally paid for the building.

Rotokawa Native School was visited regularly by a District Nurse. One of her duties was checking the children's hair for nits. When found, the child's hair and scalp were rubbed with kerosene to kill the nits. The District Nurse also checked the children's bodies for sores and treated them by "liberally painting" a purple lotion called Jensen Violet. No one was embarrassed walking around with purple knees or having a head that smelled of kerosene because everyone required treatment at some time. In fact, nits and scraped knees were part of childhood initiation. In line with improving Māori children's health through schools, hot malted milk was provided during winter playtimes. The senior boys were responsible for lighting the copper to heat the water so the milky beverage could be prepared then served in enamel mugs. Afterwards the mugs were put in a netting basket, washed in hot water and stored on trays in a cabinet ready for use the next day. Regularly, the children lined up to receive a table spoon full of cod

liver oil from the Headmaster. A spoon was dipped into a gallon tin of cod liver oil and put into the mouth of every child. That procedure was repeated over and over until every child in the line had received the medicine. Occasionally, candlestick-like stalactites protruded from children's nostrils, which the Headmaster seemed to ignore and just "slide the spoon over that and into the mouth".

Some of the other pupils that attended Rotokawa School at the same time as Ted were Big Dick Morgan, Don Te Moni, Shacko Morgan, Mary Wiringi, Nellie, Tom and Jim Henry, the Burrows family, and Tom and Ray Coulter. Tom and Ray "used to run from Owhata to Rotokawa School barefoot in winter and summer." Coulter Road was named after Tom and Ray's predecessors who owned a large block of land in Owhata. The Coulters and Burrows were the only other Pākehā children when Ted attended, but everyone accepted each other and got along together whether Māori or Pākehā. Ted was "bosom mates" with the Māori boys, "I always feel my Māori mates from Rotokawa School were true mates". When they've seen each other in later years "they were so pleased to see you, whereas your Pākehā mates would just say, 'Giddy' and that'd be it. My Māori mates I went to school with were really true mates". There was never any racial disharmony, "We were accepted, we were one of them, there was never any racial business, we were all together".

Ted biked to school with his younger sister Pauline. One day as they were making their way down Gee Road (a metal road) Ted fell from his bike. He hit his head on the ground and was knocked unconscious. Pauline paused for a second but not wanting to be late, continued her journey to school. Ted said, "I lay unconscious on the road and Pauline carried on to school". Later that morning at school, Mr Gracie thought it strange that Pauline was present while her older brother was absent, so he asked her, "Where's Ted?" Pauline bluntly replied, "Oh, he's dead back on the road". Shocked, Mr Gracie hurried into his car and drove up Gee Road. When Ted eventually gained consciousness he pushed his bike back up the road and passed a neighbour who asked him, "Why aren't you at

school?" His only other recollection of the event is waking up at the kitchen table with the Doctor and Headmaster at his house.

Some of the games that Ted enjoyed were skonks, tops, marbles and tennis. Skonks was played by tossing bottle tops into a circle that was drawn on the ground. Ted remembers that sometimes he'd be all depressed because he'd lost all of his bottle tops and other days he'd go home delighted because he'd won a bag full. Skonks was played for keeps. Children made spinning tops by cutting off the tops of pinecones. A strip of flax was attached to the end of a stick and used to "thrash the pinecones". They made a lot of their own toys because they were "children of the Depression and money was not squandered on toys". Rotokawa Native School had a dirt tennis court that provided children with hours of fun. A net divided the two sides and the boundaries were marked with trench-like lines. The children made their own racquets from pieces of firewood, "There were never any proper tennis racquets. The big kids dominated the tennis court. You didn't get a chance until you were a big boy". Occasionally, some big boys and girls "took leave" from school during lunchtime to have a dip in Lake Rotokawa which was next to the school grounds. Sometimes however, the entire school was taken across the road and through the tī trees and lupins to swim in Lake Rotorua, "Of course nobody had togs. There'd be boys at one end of the beach and girls at the other end". Swimming was a considered a wonderful treat by the pupils.

The three R's dominated classroom instruction so reading, writing and arithmetic were the focus of teachers' and pupils' classroom attention. When Ted attended Rotorua High School he was placed in the academic stream and studied Latin as it was required for his chosen vocation as a veterinary practitioner. The class was extremely small with only seven pupils. Hiwi (Hiwinui) Heke was one of his classmates, he eventually became a Pharmacist. Peter Ludgate was another, he too became a Pharmacist. His remaining classmates were "four brainy girls". Since the class was so small the pupils couldn't get away with not doing their homework and their teacher, Mr Harry Craig easily kept close tabs on all of them.

The small class size also ensured pupils received a great deal of individual tuition. Ted dreaded class time because he had trouble remembering the verbs "peto, peterei, peturi, petitum – to seek, look for". They form the basis for the word 'petition' ("a request or supplication" [Fowler and Fowler, 1924, p 593]). Recently Ted was helping arrange furniture in a local hall for an education department course, where he encountered Harry Craig. Ted approached his ex-teacher, shook his hand and greeted him. Ted recalled how he was able to recite "peto, peterei, peturi, petitum – to seek, look for" with ease. Suitably impressed that Ted still remembered the phrase after all those years, Harry commented that repetition must have been an effective method of learning. Ted agreed that repetition was also an effective method for learning timetables which the children recited like a poem. He stated that nowadays children learn about the significance of timetables, such as how they represent repeated groups of a given quantity, rather than simply learning the timetables poem. Although Ted did not enjoy his Latin classes he admits that his knowledge of Latin was helpful, for example, if he comes across an unfamiliar word sometimes he recognises a Latin base and has a good enough understanding to decipher the word's meaning. His knowledge of Latin was especially useful when he travelled through Europe as part of a world trip.

In accordance with educational policy, te reo Māori wasn't included in the curriculum, but according to Ted, it still had a place in their school. He was surrounded by other children who used Māori phrases "every now and then" such as "e hoa" in their everyday English in the playground, but never in class. Consequently, Ted acquired many Māori sayings and incorporated them into his normal speech patterns. Ted's way of speaking set him apart as different from other pupils at Rotorua High School. His vernacular could be described as a type of Māori-English where he incorporated phrases like "e hoa" into his normal everyday speech, which impeded his ability to settle at the new school as he "got quite a hard time about it" from other pupils. When Ted went to Rotorua High School he experienced a "huge culture shock". At Rotokawa there were approximately 40 children in the entire school, but at Rotorua High School there

were about 30-35 pupils in a typical class and 500-600 pupils school wide. Most of Rotokawa's pupils were Māori, and most of the Rotorua High School pupils were Pākehā. Rotokawa Native School only had two classrooms yet there were dozens at the high school. The teachers at Rotokawa were always well presented but the 30 odd teachers at Rotorua High School wore formal academic attire of black gowns and mortar boards on a daily basis. Ted "had never seen anything like that before". Ted was unaccustomed to wearing a uniform but the staff at Rotorua High School enforced strict adherence to the uniform. The uniform consisted of dark shorts and shirt, a cap worn straight and square, socks pulled up with the tops folded over so they stayed at four finger widths below the knee, shoes and a jersey. Ted likes the idea of school children wearing uniforms because they are tidy and "everybody is the same". He added that while some schools dictate that uniforms are worn, staff don't seem to ensure that they are worn correctly. Ted has seen numerous local high school pupils wearing their school uniforms but looking very untidy because they are worn incorrectly, for example, some "boys wear their pants half way down their backsides".

Ted remembers a traumatic event that took place on his third day at the new school. During a morning school assembly the pupils were standing in front of the main building and staff members were on the front entrance. "A boy was brought out, two masters held him over a table and the Headmaster caned him in front of the whole school. Apparently he'd been caught playing snooker in a billiard room in town while wearing his school uniform. That was his crime. He was publicly caned in front of the whole school and expelled". Ted remembers thinking, "What the devil have I come to?" He was evidently disturbed by the incident as he had never previously witnessed such cruel punishment.

Ted finished school at the age of 16 to work on the family farm which brought relief to his father who was over 61 years of age by that time (he was 45 years old when Ted was born). In spite of living an active, healthy lifestyle Ted's father "had a bad heart". He remembers his father "lying down sucking heart pills" when he over exerted himself. Although Ted aspired to become a vet, in reality

as the eldest child he had no option but to return to the farm. He never resented working the farm because he "always loved the different types of farm work. It varied with the seasons".

Although Rotokawa does not seem very far away from the Rotorua Township by today's standards, in Ted's era it seemed a world away. Occasionally, his parents travelled into town but before high school the children seldom had cause to venture outside of Rotokawa. Consequently, the rural surroundings of Rotokawa were their world and the urban environment of the Rotorua Township was a distant, foreign environment.

### **The Aspirations of Mr Arthur and Mrs Minnie Pauline Gee for their Children's Education**

Ted's parents wanted their children to "learn the basics". They regarded academic instruction as the main purpose for being at school, and the 3 R's were the most important aspect of schooling. Ted believes his parents would have thought that practical skills such as carpentry could have been learned at home, besides there were no facilities to teach the children such subjects at school during Ted's time. Ted thinks that his parents would have wanted their children to develop social skills at school and home since it's vital that children are able to cooperate with others. He doesn't think they would have wanted religious instruction incorporated into the school curriculum since their family "wasn't religious at all". At one stage though, Ted's mother wanted the children to have some religious instruction because she arranged for them to attend Sunday school which required travel into Rotorua by car. They only had one car to service two families, so the Sunday school sessions ceased after a short while as "the problem was getting into town".

While sporting pursuits is a popular aspect of today's schooling that Ted's grandchildren enjoy, he believes his parents would have considered those skills best acquired at home. He and his siblings were always active at home, and

active pastimes were part of their natural home environment and lifestyle. During the school holidays Ted and his mates packed their pīkau (sugar bag) with an old army blanket and tins of rations and trekked over the back of the farm to Okataina to camp out for 2-3 nights. During this time they caught rabbits, shot deer and pigs, tickled trout and generally lived off the land. Ted loved the outdoors and much preferred outdoor pursuits to school work. In spite of this preference however he maintained a disciplined attitude towards his school work, "I always tried hard at school and tried to be well-behaved". Ted attributes his discipline to "being the eldest of the family. I felt this was expected of me, to set an example".

Ted thinks his parents would have accepted the inclusion of Māori culture and language into their school, "They didn't have the hang ups that people seem to have today and they lived together as friends and neighbours". Ted remembered some of his father's great Māori friends such as Tom Ransfield, Henry Farrell and Rangi Hapeta. Rangi Hapeta was a good shearer, his wife worked as a rousie. She continued working after their first baby was born and took the baby to the shearing shed with her and her husband. When the baby's cries continued for some duration Rangi Hapeta would yell across the floor to his wife, "Give baby tittie!" Ted said, "It always seemed to do the trick". Henry Farrell had hardly any teeth yet was always grinning and smiling. Tom Ransfield was also a good shearer who went everywhere on his champion horse. Ted said, "All those chaps were real characters – amiable, lovely people". Ted's father made home brew which he shared and enjoyed with friends. At the end of an imbibing session, all Tom Ransfield had to do was sit on his horse, hold on to the saddle and his horse would take him home. Ted also remembers Mrs Kowhai who lived opposite the school. When Ted's mother was unwell she helped with household chores. Mrs Kowhai was held in the highest esteem by Ted and his siblings, "She was a second mother to us. We loved her and would give her a big hug and kiss...She was lovely".

### Aspirations versus Reality

Ted believes he and his siblings achieved what his parents had hoped for their education, that is, they learned "the basics", furthermore, he learned aspects of Māori culture that enabled him to live happily alongside Māori, and more importantly develop "real, true friendships". Ted spent his life farming; his sister Pauline (who left him to die on the roadside) became a teacher; brothers Tom and Don also worked on the farm until the partnership was dissolved, then Tom worked for the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and Don owned and operated a gift shop in Rotorua.

### **Ted's Aspirations for the Education of his Grandchildren**

Ted would like his grandchildren to receive a well balanced education. He believes that academic instruction by means of the 3 R's should be the main purpose of schooling. He wonders whether enough emphasis is placed on academic instruction today because children seem to spend so much time out of school on trips, or "half a day paddling canoes or running". Ted enjoyed playing sports at school and was a competent rugby and cricket player; however team practices were held after school because "most of the day was spent on the three R's". Ted thinks that practical skills such as carpentry and cooking should be taught at school so that pupils learn a wide variety of skills and knowledge. Exposure to an array of activities can later help them decide on career options. Ted believes it is "very important" for his grandchildren to develop good social skills at school so that they learn to get along with other children of the same and different races. He does not consider the teaching of religious beliefs to be the responsibility of the school since some children may come from families who do not share or practise Christian values. He thinks it should be left to the families to educate their children in religious beliefs.

The involvement of Ted's grandchildren in sporting pursuits "is a good thing", but he believes it is important that they maintain a balance between their sporting interests and the 3 R's. Ted's grandson who is about 15 years old and his

granddaughter who is 13 participate in triathlons and dedicate a lot of their time to the sport so that they can train seriously. However, their parents insist that their school work is not compromised and that homework is the main priority when they get home. Ted supports his son and daughter-in-law's stance with regard to balancing their children's academic and sporting interests.

Ted supports the inclusion of Māori culture and language in schools because "we have to live in this country with one another and things will be a lot more pleasant if people of different races could live in harmony, like we did at Rotokawa". He believes that children should be taught to understand other cultures because it makes them more tolerant and gives them a broader outlook on life. Ted's granddaughter chose to learn Māori language at school which she enjoyed, "She loved it. It was her decision to do it. She was able to come home and give a talk in Māori. Now she has a basic knowledge which will probably stand her in good stead for the future since careers like nursing require some understanding of Māori".

#### Aspirations versus Reality

Ted believes that his grandchildren have been able to maintain a good balance between their sporting interests and academic requirements through support from their parents. They have some exposure to practical subjects although their exposure to aspects of Māori culture is minimal compared to that which Ted received living and being schooled alongside Māori. Ted believes that his grandchildren are receiving a good education; however he thinks the current education system should give more attention to the 3 R's.

#### Comparison of Schooling

There are some aspects of today's schooling that Ted considers superior to his, for example, he thinks that his grandchildren are a couple of years ahead of children schooled during his era because "now they do algebra and geometry at intermediate" whereas the restricted Native School curriculum meant that Ted wasn't introduced to those subjects until he reached high school. He believes that

children of today are exposed to more than just a basic education. Ted is convinced that the "basic education we received at Rotokawa School was of a higher standard than the Pākehā schools of our time" because when Ted reached High School, he found concepts taught in subjects such as arithmetic and English easy to grasp while many other pupils from the Pākehā schools struggled. He believes that being educated at Rotokawa School impacted positively on the rest of his life, "It has given me a better understanding of other people. I've had experiences a lot of Pākehā children haven't had and I know what it is like to live in harmony with the other race".

A copy of Rotokawa Native School's 1936 register with Ted's name listed is given on the following pages.

1 A. 2

New Zealand.—Education Department

NATIVE SCHOOL, Rotokawa

Return of Attendance at Native School for the Term beginning 7<sup>th</sup> September, 1936  
and ending 18<sup>th</sup> December, 1936

(K. B.—This return is to be sent to the Department within five days after the last school day in the term.)

SCHOOL.	Born.	Gross.	Total.
I. Number of scholars belonging to the school at the end of last term. (Line IV of last return)	49	28	77
II. Number of those who left, not having attended at all this term	26	26	26
III. Number really belonging to the school at beginning of term. (Subtract II from I.)	49	28	77
IV. Number belonging at the end of the term	58	32	90
V. Average weekly number on the roll during the term	57.52	32.23	89.75
VI. Total attendances for term, excluding attendances on "excepted" half-days	7386	3858	11244
VII. Number of times the school has been open during the term, excluding "excepted" half-days <u>136</u>			
VIII. Average attendance for the term	53.56	28.57	82.07

STATEMENT OF HOLIDAYS.

Number of Half-days in the Term (excluding Saturdays and Sundays): 150/110

Date.	Occasion of Closing.	Half-days.
Half-days on which school was closed during the term, as specified below:—		
26 <sup>th</sup> October	Labour Day	2
27 Nov.	Proficiency Examination	2
<del>14<sup>th</sup> Dec</del>	<del>King's Birthday</del>	<del>2</del>
<del>15<sup>th</sup> &amp; 18<sup>th</sup> Dec</del>	<del>Days on account of influenza epidemic</del>	<del>8</del>
	<del>instead of influenza epidemic</del>	
	Total number of half-days on which school was closed...	44
	Total number of half-days on which school was open	136
	Total number of half-days in the term, excluding Saturdays and Sundays (to agree with number given under heading)	180 <del>140</del>

ATTENDANCE REGISTERS AND RETURNS.

**Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.**

(In the column for Race, put "M." for Maori, between Maori and Half-maori, and Half-caste; and put "E." for European.)

	NAME.	Sch. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		NAME.	Sch. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
			Yrs.	Mo.						Yrs.	Mo.		
1	Kravis, Archie	74	12	8	E	136	96	Hinaki Hina	P4	9	2	M	124
2	Karawana John	71	15	0	M	136	97	Crawshaw Douglas	P2	9	.	E	114
3	Ngawhika Haseki	71	14	7	M	128	98	Ransfield Ned	P2	8	1	M	116
4	H. Sewini Teriri	71	13	10	M	128	80	Karawana Jeketu	P3	8	3	M	122
5	Coulter Thomas	44	11	9	E	136	40	Hicks Ian	P3	8	4	M	132
6	Hicks Percy	82	9	5	M	132	41	De White Spent.	P3	7	3	M	128
7	Hosi, Teroro	44	13	11	M	122	42	Jawhai John	P3	1	6	M	134
8	Hurivai Wallace	44	13	3	M	130	43	Wholow James	P2	6	5	E	134
9	Karawana, Ilona	44	14	.	M	134	44	Morgan James	P2	7	2	M	118
10	De Kiri Paki	44	14	1	M	136	45	Reamana Ernest	P2	7	1	M	136
11	F. Vell, Percy	3	12	4	M	134	46	Rogers Billy	P2	0	6	M	130
12	Henare Eui	3	12	9	M	120	47	Cookson Albert	P2	6	4	M	124
13	Karawana Kareki	3	12	4	M	134	48	Katana Aute	P2	7	.	M	124
14	De Kiri Tahu	3	12	2	M	130	49	Katana Renata	P2	6	8	M	132
15	H. A. Fred	3	11	.	M	136	50	Whiting Harry	P2	6	4	M	134
16	Whitingi Whetu	3	13	1	M	134	51	Woods Erifan	P2	6	11	M	124
17	Whitingi Bertie	3	13	6	M	120	52	Wauwhiro Amos	P2	6	5	M	74
18	Smuros, Ronald	2	10	4	E	136	53	Henry James	P2	6	2	E	126
19	Coulter Raymond	2	10	2	E	136	54	Morgan John	P1	5	6	M	130
20	Hurivai Pina	2	11	11	M	124	55	James, Natalie	P2	5	.	M	126
21	De Kiri Hekore	2	11	7	M	118	56	James Edward	P1	6	.	E	60
22	De White Hinui	2	10	4	M	128	57	Kirikiri Raymond	P1	6	4	M	72
23	Ransfield Donald	2	11	1	M	104	58	Katana De Kiri	P1	5	4	M	102
24	Ransfield Ivan	2	11	2	M	134	59						
25	Waiti William	2	13	4	M	136	60						
26	Hicks, Kenai	1	10	4	M	128	61						
27	Kowhai Aute	1	9	7	M	126	62						
28	Kowhai Tamaki	1	8	7	M	126	63						
29	Kiri George	1	12	8	M	134	64						
30	Katana Ngahau	1	10	3	M	134	65						
31	Williamson Lousay	1	9	.	E	134	66						
32	Waiti Aramona	1	10	10	M	134	67						
33	Salvon Watene	P4	10	7	M	128	68						
34	Whitingi Robt	P4	11	1	M	130	69						
35	Ransfield Bob	P2	9	.	M	136	70						

**Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.**

and between Half-term and Exemption. The names of Pupils who have left during the term to be marked X.]

	FEMALES.	Ed. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		FEMALES.	Ed. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
			Yrs.	Mn.						Yrs.	Mn.		
1	Darrell Alice	F6	15	10	M	106	86						
2	Darrell Mary	F11	14	8	M	136	87						
3	Ransfeld Inanga	F11	13	7	M	136	88						
4	Hicks Gwen	F1	14	1	M	108	89						
5	Cookson Kathleen	H	13	3	M	124	40						
6	Hapeta Aine	H	14	2	M	124	41						
X7	Fowler Lillian	H	12		E	144	42						
8	Ransfield Sumata	B	12	4	M	106	43						
9	Gracie Christina	2	9	8	E	136	44						
10	Lowlai Pini	2	11	0	M	126	45						
11	Lowlai Piti	2	7	11	M	121	46						
12	Katana Rangit	2	10	5	M	122	47						
13	Lowlai Babe	3	10	10	M	132	48						
14	Fowler Margaret	1	7	10	E	110	49						
15	Ransford Charlotte	1			M	100	50						
16	Macfarlane Vera	1		3	E	122	51						
17	De Witte Agnes	P4			M	128	52						
18	De Klerk Anita	P4		3	M	128	53						
19	Willingi Annie	P4			M	136	54						
20	Cookson Whangana	P3			M	130	55						
21	Mecke Kahakura	P3	7	1	M	122	56						
22	Rogers Mabel	P3	7		M	122	57						
23	Lowlai Ysion	P3	8	1	M	134	58						
24	Willingi Vera	P2	7	6	M	122	59						
25	Hart's Frances	P2	6	8	M	110	60						
26	Ransfeld Polly	P2	6	4	M	132	61						
27	Fisher De Papa	P2	6	1	M	126	62						
28	De Klerk Lura	P2	6	3	M	130	63						
29	Edwards Edie	P1	6	1	M	118	64						
X30	Saloon Lorraine	P1	6	7	M	74	65						
31	Fowler Evelyn	P1	6	9	E	16	66						
32	Macfarlane Lorna	P2	6	5	E	126	67						
33	De Klerk Hilina	P1	8	4	M	70	68						
34	Wain De Rangit	P2	8	4	M	74	69						
35							70						

**MIKAYLA LIDDALL**  
**Current Pupil of Rotokawa School**



Mikayla Liddall

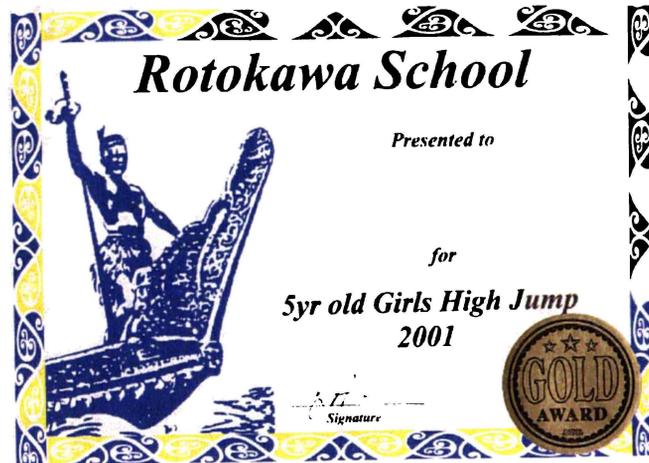
The way in which Mikayla came to be involved with this project is different from the other young participants. Although the kaumātua who participated as ex-pupils of Rotokawa Native School, Betty Powell and Ted Gee are unknown to Mikayla, and while they both have grandchildren, due to a variety of reasons their own mokopuna were unable to participate in this project. As an alternative, Mrs Powell, Ted and I agreed that their experiences would be best compared with those of a current pupil of Rotokawa School. We also agreed that it was appropriate for Mikayla to participate because like Mrs Powell and Ted, she is Pākehā and readers would therefore be able to compare past and present experiences for past and present Pākehā pupils of Rotokawa School. Mikayla's parents, Alison and Allan were welcome to sit in on our conversations and join in, but Mikayla didn't want either of them present.

Mikayla's full name is Mikayla Alison Liddell. She was born on the 5<sup>th</sup> of March 1996 and is seven years old. She is the youngest of three children; is in standard 1 (year 3) at Rotokawa School; her teacher is Mrs (Carol) Fields. Mikayla likes Mrs Fields because she "never growls. If you make a mistake she just tells you to go and check it". Mikayla also loves receiving treats which Mrs Fields uses to reward good behaviour. Throughout the week, chance cards are given to students for "being good, trying hard and sitting up". Their names are written on

the backs of the cards and at the end of the week cards are drawn out of the box. Children whose name is written on the back choose something from the lucky dip. Mikayla has received prizes like note pads, lollipops and puzzles. Every so often Mrs Fields arranges surprise shared lunches. While the students are completing activities she sets up big tables for everyone to place the food upon. She brings treats like strawberries, lollipops, lamingtons and cheesecake, "The kids put their normal lunch on the tables". Before eating, they sit with their hands together and say karakia to bless their food, then the children go up to the table in groups to get food.

Mikayla loves "Choosing Days". Every Friday the students of Rooms 10 and 5 (younger students) are put into groups, "but all Room 5 kids stay together and all Room 10 kids stay together". The groups go to different activities and "when the teacher claps we change activities". Some of the activities include playing with play dough, clay, on moon hoppers and in the playground. Mikayla enjoys sculpting little cars, snails and houses out of clay. Playing in the playground is her favourite activity.

Subjects that Mikayla learns at school are story writing, spelling, handwriting, P.E, art, maths and swimming. Mikayla said that they write stories everyday except Fridays which is Choosing Day. Mikayla likes story writing because "I get to write about my day", on Mondays she writes about the weekend. Sometimes she writes "scary stories". They also "do heaps of spelling. The teacher says a word and we write it down, and we've got to hide it so no-one else sees it". Mikayla likes spelling because she's "one of the top ten spellers". They "hardly ever" do handwriting, "only sometimes". For P.E they learn how to do roly pollies and practise "running, long jump and high jump". They also play hockey with plastic sticks. Last year Mikayla won the junior girls' high jump with and without the trampoline "because I've got long legs". A copy of Mikayla's high jump certificate is shown on the next page.



Art is Mikayla's favourite subject. She loves painting and making things like toy robots and dinosaurs out of toilet rolls, and a miniature playground out of paper and cardboard. During maths, Mikayla's class learns "takeaways, pluses and timetables. I sort of don't like maths because sometimes the takeaways are hard but the plusses are the easiest". She also knows her "0, 1 and 10 times tables". Mikayla learned those tables with ease because her teacher wrote them on a chart that tells you the answers and the class said the times tables together, "The teacher covers the chart and writes one (an equation) on the board and we have to write the answer".

Mikayla loves swimming. Rotokawa School's pool complex includes a swimming pool and two changing sheds. Because the pool is heated by geothermal energy, their swimming season lasts longer than most Rotorua schools. Other schools empty their pools when the hot, summer weather ceases, but Rotokawa's warm water allows the children to swim comfortably well into March. Even rain doesn't deter Rotokawa students from swimming because their pool has a canvas cover. Mikayla enjoys "practising gliding, handstands and dolphin dives". She hasn't yet mastered backstroke because she "keeps flipping over the other way".

### Games

Mikayla's favourite game is playing on the adventure playground, especially the slide and flying fox. Sometimes Mrs Fields takes the class outside for a game of

"Duck, Duck, Goose". It's a type of cat and mouse game where the children are seated in a circle, the teacher touches someone on the head and either says, "Duck" or "Goose". When she eventually chooses the goose all of the ducks run around the circle and try to get back to where they were sitting before getting tagged by the goose. Most of the boys in Mikayla's class play soccer or rugby. Some of them "chase us around the school and tell us they're going to put us in jail, but we're too fast for them". According to Mikayla the boys in her class are naughty, "but not Sam. He talks to the teacher and he's nice. He uses manners and has pretty hair". On wet days the children stay inside and Mikayla plays with toys like dolls or the model dinosaur, robot or playground she made. Sometimes children from the Rotokawa Kōhanga Reo play in the school playground. On these occasions Mikayla plays with Kenneth (her neighbour and my nephew) who gets excited to see her, "Every time he looks at me he trips over his feet and goes, 'Oopsie'. He comes running up to me and hugs me".

### Special Occasions

Earlier this year when Mikayla's class were studying Dinosaurs, they went to Leisure World to see the display of a variety of huge concrete dinosaurs. Mikayla's mum Alison went as an adult supervisor, "She went with Aroha's mum and afterwards we went to Putt Putt" (mini golf). Alison goes on most of the school trips and helps out in Mikayla's class every Tuesday. Mikayla likes having her mum in her class because, "If I get stuck with a word I can get it from my mum and don't have to go all the way up to the teacher and wait in line". Alison also relieves for the school's teacher aides. Mikayla's class has also been on a trip to the Redwood Forest, "to walk around and look at the trees" and to the museum to see dinosaur skeletons. Earlier this year a group of travelling circus performers visited Rotokawa School. Mikayla loved the performance, especially when "all of these balls kept coming out of this man's mouth". Sometimes the Kōhanga children join with the school children to watch shows and performances. Most recently the Kōhanga children joined those of Rotokawa and their parents to watch the school's kapa haka group's dress rehearsal for the upcoming Māori festival. Mikayla "might go in kapa haka next year". Currently the school's kapa

haka group is made up of students from the two bilingual classes, or "you can go in if you have a Māori brother". In a few weeks Rotokawa School will hold their annual Christmas concert. Mikayla's class has been rehearsing their play, "The Lemonade Kid". There are "goodies and baddies" in this play, including a baddie called 'One-eyed Jack'. Mikayla wants to play the part of a goodie, but Mrs Fields hasn't yet decided which parts children will play.

### Lunches

Mikayla usually takes her lunch to school which normally consists of peanut butter sandwiches, an orange or apple, muesli bar and a little biscuit. Sometimes Mikayla buys a pie, sausage sizzle, sausage roll or fizzy drink. Bought lunches are normally distributed by the school's senior pupils, but when the senior students were involved in "a sports day at Rotoma School", Mikayla's class was allowed to take over their duties for the day. Mikayla helped give out the lunches and took the absentee book around to all of the classes. Mrs Rolleston, the school secretary gave them a lolly afterwards to thank them for their help. When I used to relieve as a teacher at Rotokawa School they operated a system whereby the children put food they weren't going to eat into a large bowl. The food from the bowl could then be eaten by other children who were still hungry. Mikayla informed me that the kai bowl hasn't been used since she has been at Rotokawa.

### Assemblies

Every Friday morning the whole of Rotokawa School meets for assembly. It starts with one of the students leading a karakia, then all of the children join in. They sing a hīmene and "E Ihowa Atua and God of Nations" in English and Māori. Mikayla was unsure of the significance of that song. The Principal of Rotokawa, Mr Thornton then talks to the children about games that the school's sports teams (hockey, netball, rugby and soccer) will play over the weekend; he wishes them luck; "gives out trophies and talks about kapa haka". At 2 o'clock on Friday afternoons all of the junior classes have a combined assembly where they get certificates and watch films. Mikayla has received certificates for high jump and

getting 100% in spelling tests. Children can also earn certificates by "sitting nicely, folding your legs and arms and for doing good paintings".

### Te Reo Māori

Mikayla is exposed to te reo Māori on a daily basis. They recite karakia everyday at school. She hears teachers and students of their school's two bilingual classes speaking Māori to each other, "They never speak in English". She sometimes hears those children speaking English and Māori in the playground. When the Kōhanga children come to their school Mikayla hears "all of them speak in Māori – even the teachers. Even if we talk to them we wouldn't be able to understand - they need to talk in English to us...So we have to *try* and make out words. Sometimes we understand". Another place Mikayla hears Māori spoken is at my sister Sue's house where she and Kenneth speak in Māori from time to time. Mikayla also learns Māori songs and stick games from Sue and Kenneth. I asked Mikayla whether she speaks Māori apart from karakia at school, she said, "We try to make up words like 'kei te pai' and 'āe'. We sing heaps of Māori songs like 'Māhunga, pakahiwi, hope, puku waewae'". Mikayla thinks that she should learn Māori at school so that when she wants to sing Māori songs and perform the actions she will be able to and she will "know what the words mean".

### Purpose of School

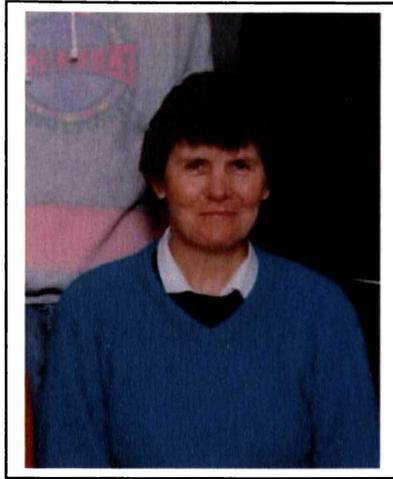
I asked Mikayla why school is important and why her parents want her to try hard at school. She said, "So we can learn and we will know things when we grow up. Like, we will know what words mean and how to spell them. If you want to be a doctor that writes up heaps of stuff, you'll be able to know what the words say". When Mikayla grows up she wants to be a "hairdresser and a primary school teacher and a kindergarten teacher". Going to school can help her become a good teacher because she can look at what her teachers are doing in order to learn what to do; and going to school can help her become a good hairdresser because she can see all of the different hairstyles to get ideas. Mikayla thinks that children should learn and use their manners at school so they will know how to be polite when they grow up. She thinks that children should learn how to

make things like tables and chairs so they will be able to make furniture for their own houses when they grow up and not have to get them delivered by someone else. She also thinks it's a good idea to learn how to cook "in case someone wants to be a chef". Mikayla is already developing her cooking skills. She regularly helps her Mum prepare tea by peeling potatoes and carrots and mashing potatoes. With her Mum's help Mikayla has also made cupcakes. Mikayla also helps her Dad when he works on their hovercraft by passing him tools and putting the cover on the hovercraft when they're finished. Mikayla enjoys Bible study classes at school. Her teacher is Mrs Tulloch; she visits every Tuesday for half an hour. Next week Mrs Tulloch is going to give everyone "our own Bible that we can keep and take home, but we have to bring it to school every Tuesday". Mikayla thinks children should learn about God at school because "God is very important. He made this world and us, and food". Mikayla learns about God from Mrs Tulloch and "Aunty Sue".

Mikayla enjoys going to Rotokawa School because she has a "nice teacher", plays "sports like high jump" and "does art". Although Mikayla adores Mrs Fields, she is looking forward to next week when "Aunty Sue is going to be our teacher when Mrs Fields is away".

## **NANNY TIKI**

### **Whangamarino Native School - Te Kura Māori o Whangamarino**

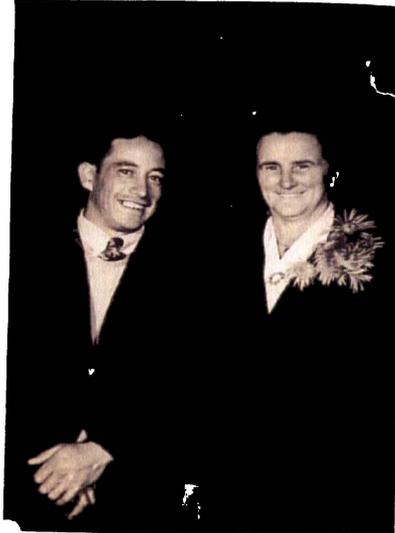


Tiki Thomas

Tiki Thomas was born on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July 1937; her maiden name was Tiki Woods. The eldest child of Peggy Woods and Major Kingi, she was raised at Te Wairoa by her maternal grandparents. When she was 5 years old she was sent to live with her parents at Okere Falls to attend Whangamarino Native School - the same school her father attended as a boy. Mr Palmer was the Principal; he was replaced by Mr Shutt, whose wife also taught at the school. Other teachers were Miss Kay, Miss Ahipene, Miss Wickson, Mrs McLeod and Mr (Albert) Anaru. Nanny Tiki's memories of Miss Kay are particularly fond because she was a "warm and caring person. One you could talk to and wouldn't be brushed aside. We were all sad when she left our school". If a teacher was absent from school then "we'd all go into the next teacher's room and all just bunk in together. It was no big deal".

Mrs McLeod lived next to Rangitihī marae at Taheke. In spite of her advanced years she travelled to school every day by push bike, weather wet or fine. Mrs McLeod taught the primer one to four pupils. She, like other teachers were often involved in community events as the photo on the next page shows her and Nanny Tiki's father at a marae function. Nanny Tiki explained that their teachers were completely dedicated to their pupils; they were teachers both in and out of the classroom, "Your teacher did everything, it was their whole life and they put

everything into it. It was so different in those days". Some teachers also became pupils' confidantes, "If you got on well with your teacher and they got on well with you, they became your really close friend".



Nanny Tiki's father, Major Kingi and Mrs McLeod  
(Photo courtesy of Nanny Tiki)

Nanny Tiki believes it was easier for teachers of her time to be dedicated to their professions because "in those days doctors, nurses and teachers were held in the highest esteem by our country. We respected our teachers so much, and the whole community respected them". Accordingly the pupils wanted to please their teachers. Nanny Tiki said that if they happened to have a nice, big, shiny apple or a big orange they would take pleasure in giving it to their teacher, "We wanted to give them something because they were giving us so much". Another quality of an excellent teacher according to Nanny Tiki is the ability to bring the best talents and abilities out of the children rather than simply going through the motions of teaching. Excellent teachers also have "contagious enthusiasm to inspire and motivate the children so that they actually want to learn". Many of the pupils held their teachers in above human status. Nanny Tiki remembers when she was very young; a teacher must have mentioned that she was going to the toilet. Nanny Tiki thought, "But you're a teacher. Teachers don't go to the toilet!"

During Nanny Tiki's time, Whangamarino School comprised of four classrooms. The juniors (primers one to four) were taught in "the primer block", a large building on the lowest level of the school grounds. The senior school comprised of three classrooms and was located on the (now) middle level of the school, the same level as the netball courts and flagpole. Standard one and two pupils were taught in one classroom, standards three and four pupils were taught in another, and the standard five and six pupils had their own room. According to Nanny Tiki, the level where the administration block and most of the classrooms are currently located did not house any buildings when she was at school. Instead, it was covered with gum trees.

The flagpole was carved by standard 6 boys (probably under the guidance of an elder), and is dedicated to the memory of men from local families who lost their lives in the Boer and First World Wars. The flagpole, pictured below, still remains in its original location.



Whangamarino School Flag Pole

A waka that transported pupils to school from Taheke was displayed near the flagpole. In recent years it was moved to the top level of the school beside the main administration block where it occupies a more prominent position. Other buildings on the middle level were shelter sheds - one each for the boys and girls. A teacher supervised the children's activities in each shelter shed.

Routines were an integral part of Nanny Tiki's schooling, which she liked because the pupils knew what to expect throughout the day. Each day began by marching around the playing field in their class lines (where the Kōhanga Reo is now situated) in time to a record playing on the gramophone. "The big ones used to come down to the bottom to join us and we all used to march around". Nanny Tiki remembers having to walk into the classroom, sit down at her desk, stay there and get on with the work. When they weren't writing, they had to sit with their arms folded and resting on their desks so they couldn't fidget with anything. Nanny Tiki liked this strict, structured approach to schooling. The teachers insisted that all pupils learnt to form letters properly. They began with the letter 'A' and practiced and practiced until all aspects of its formation were perfected, then they were allowed to practice the letter 'B' and so on until all letters of the alphabet were mastered.

Health and hygiene was a priority when Nanny Tiki was at school. During winter months pupils lined up and Mrs McLeod gave them each a spoonful of cod liver oil to help keep the colds away. They also had regular handkerchief, hand and nail inspections. Senior pupils made malted milk by mixing malt flavoured milk powder with water over heat, to give to the pupils. Nanny Tiki loved this milk because it was hot with a taste that was "similar to milo, but sweeter", and it warmed them up on cold days.

As children they were taught to be thrift-wise with the way they used their books, for example, they had to fill every line of every page. Only when the entire book was full would the teacher give them a replacement book. Books were only used in the standards. Juniors in the primers wrote on slates with chalk.

Swimming sessions took place across the main road, in Lake Rotoiti. Nanny Tiki remembers lining up with the other junior pupils in the afternoons and walking down the driveway to the lake. The children took great pleasure in these swimming sessions because to them "it was like an extra play time". The favourite game for Nanny Tiki and her friends was basketball. It is similar to the

modern game of netball except they had nine players instead of seven – “three defenders, three centres and three goalies”. It allowed three players in each third. Nanny Tiki also enjoyed gymnastics (except for the forward rolls), hopscotch, skipping and marbles. The boys’ number one game was football (rugby). All of the sports teams were coached by the teachers. Occasionally Whangamarino School had sports exchanges to play basketball and football against Rotokawa, Whakarewarewa and Rotorua Primary Schools, “When we went to the other schools and when other schools came to us it was a big, exciting day for the children”. Special lunches were made and people from the community came to watch. Apart from sports exchanges, visits to the dental nurse were the only time that the pupils went out of school. For pupils of Whangamarino School, dental visits meant a trip by bus to Rotorua Primary School.

Every year Whangamarino School celebrated special occasions and involved the entire community. At the end of the year a Christmas concert was organised and pupils performed songs and plays. The children were dressed in their costumes and each class performed to their best ability so they would leave a better impression on their community than the other classes. Local marae were the concert venues. Each year a different marae took their turn at hosting the concerts. Another special occasion that pupils looked forward to was the fancy dress balls. While the school no longer has fancy dress balls they were still celebrated when Nanny Tiki’s children attended Whangamarino School. For annual flower shows the children made special flower arrangements then displayed them on tables for viewing.

In line with Native Schools’ practical focus, some of the subjects that Nanny Tiki studied at Whangamarino Native School were spelling, writing, English, English comprehension, poetry, arithmetic, social studies, cooking, sewing and nature studies. Poetry involved pupils standing beside their desks and reading aloud a poem to the teacher and class, “We had to be careful and speak in our best voice”. The teacher also read aloud to the class to provide the children with a

correct model of how to use their voices and read with expression and emotion. According to Nanny Tiki the teacher's voice sounded so lovely that it made the children want to emulate it, so they paid careful attention and tried to reproduce that quality of expression. Nanny Tiki considers this practise to be another example of the different society that we have today. When she was young the children were encouraged to speak with expression in everyday conversation and say things like, '*Hello, and how are you?*' Whereas, today many people speak without expression, in monotone and say, "he-llo-how-are-you?" Spelling and English were Nanny Tiki's favourite subjects; but she wasn't particularly keen on arithmetic. If a spelling mistake was made when writing stories the teacher corrected the mistake and ensured the pupil learnt the word's correct spelling. Nanny Tiki has noticed many adults today who cannot spell correctly and she realises that this aspect of schooling must not have been enforced as it was in her time. Although Nanny Tiki didn't enjoy arithmetic, her mokopuna can ask her a timetable and she is still able to give the correct answer immediately. Nanny Tiki attributes this skill to the repetitive method with which timetables were taught and learnt. Every morning as a class, the children recited the one to twelve timetables. Nanny Tiki believes this was an extremely effective learning method for her.

Nature studies involved the study of insects and flowers found outside. The children also maintained the school flower and vegetable gardens. The hillside between the middle and lower layers at school was covered entirely with flowers. The gardens were weeded on Friday afternoons by half of the pupils, while the others cleaned the school buildings. Since most Native Schools did not employ cleaners (Matata Native School did in 1925), the pupils cared for the cleanliness of their schools under the guidance of teachers. Some pupils cleaned the floors, others dusted and cleaned windows. Nanny Tiki remembers that they had beautiful shiny floors and windows. She believes that they developed great pride in their school because they were responsible for its presentation. When Nanny Tiki became a senior pupil she participated in cooking lessons. One of the first dishes that Nanny Tiki baked was jam roly polies and scones. Nanny Tiki liked

these lessons because she learned useful skills that she was able to use in her own home life. Hygiene was a major priority during the cooking lessons so the girls had to wear white aprons. While the girls cooked, the boys received instruction in carving and other types of woodwork. Nanny Tiki said that it was no big deal that the boys and girls received separate instruction in different subjects; it was simply acceptable practice in those days.

Māori language was excluded from the curriculum. Nanny Tiki didn't hear it spoken at school by teachers or pupils because the emphasis was placed on the English language which the children were encouraged to master because it was the language of the workforce. Nanny Tiki learnt English easily because it was the only language she heard at school and home, and most of the people in the community spoke English to one another. It is one aspect of schooling that has "turned around completely"; today people are choosing bilingualism for their own children. They take them to schools that have Māori as the main language of instruction, so that eventually the children will be able to converse in both English and Māori. Nanny Tiki has noticed that the place of Māori language in the homes has also changed. One of Nanny Tiki's sons and his wife only speak Māori to their children.

A copy of the 1944 attendance register from Whangamarino Native School is given on the following pages showing Nanny Tiki's name (nee Woods) and other pupils' names who also attended that year.



### Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.

(In the column for Race, put "M." for Maori, between Maori and Half-caste, and put "E." for European,

	MALES.	Sch. Classification.	Age at last JANU.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		MALES.	Sch. Classification.	Age at last JANU.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
			Yr.	Mo.						Yr.	Mo.		
1	Morehu Mapu	6	13	10	M	120	86	Rapana Bobby	I	7	10	M	118
2	Park Colin	"	II	5	E	124	87	Paul Wituterangi	"	9	6	M	108
3	Waaka Tewi	"	I4	I	M	130	88	Tamati Nana	"	8	7	M	126
4	Ruka Hobson	5	I2	.	M	120	89	Williams Kuku	"	7	II	M	130
5	Simon Haki	"	II	4	M	120	40	Bradley Trevor	"	7	.	E	130
6	Tibble Harry	"	I2	3	M	130	41	Mathews Jimmie	"	7	8	M	128
7	Kadarua Mitai	4	II	4	M	118	42	Morehu Darkey	"	8	4	M	110
8	Kingi Lennie	"	I2	.	M	102	43	Rogers Tainui	"	7	5	M	124
9	Maaka Sonny	"	I2	.	M	126	44	Te Pua Matiu	"	8	.	M	88
10	Tibble Tommy	"	IO	7	M	130	45	Whata Whetu	"	7	7	M	124
11	Whata Dan	"	IO	IO	M	130	46	Waaka Hapi	"	8	I	M	128
12	Maaka Tute	3	II	6	M	130	47	Kadar Mia Rasool	P.	8	3	M	128
13	Mathews Barry	"	IO	.	M	130	48	Rikiti Boyly	"	8	.	M	118
14	Morehu Derek	"	I2	IO	M	126	49	Morehu Tawhiri	"	6	2	M	130
15	Morehu Pita	"	9	II	M	120	50	Morehu Kipa	"	6	3	M	116
16	Patu Bobe	"	9	8	M	106	51	Park Peter	"	6	2	M	130
17	Paul Wiki	"	II	II	M	118	52	Rapana Thompson	"	6	3	M	130
18	Rapana Tahī	"	IO	.	M	128	53	Mihaka Tama	"	6	I	M	70
19	Rapana Wikau	"	9	IO	M	130	54	Tea Tumatahi	"	6	3	M	126
20	Taiatini Hau	"	IO	2	M	122	55	Whata Ken	"	5	II	M	122
21	Tibble Tui	"	9	7	M	130	56	Kingi Kingi	"	6	.	M	130
22	Waata Jim	"	IO	4	M	130	57	Morehu Rex	"	5	.	M	126
23	Waata Piki	"	II	II	M	130	58	Furu Wi	"	6	8	M	118
24	Whata Tabu	"	9	II	M	122	59	Paul Willie	"	2	4	M	86
25	Williams Panoke	"	9	I	M	130	60	Himiona Tiski	"	6	6	M	112
26	Hamiona Johnny	"	IO	3	M	4	61						
27	Bradley Billy	2	8	4	E	126	62						
28	Inia Jackie	"	8	4	M	118	63						
29	Maaka Ruki	"	IO	6	M	124	64						
30	Makiha Ranginui	"	8	7	M	128	65						
31	Tibble Bo	"	7	II	M	130	66						
32	Thomas Witaka	"	8	II	M	110	67						
33	Hawira Heke	"	8	4	M	22	68						
34	Grant Edward	I	8	4	M	130	69						
35	Kingi Sobart	"	7	II	M	130	70						

Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.

and between Half-year and European. The names of Pupils who have left during the term to be marked x.]

	FEMALES.	Std. Classification	Age at last July.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		FEMALES.	Std. Classification	Age at last July.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
			Yr.	Mo.						Yr.	Mo.		
1	Merehu Topsy	6	12	.	M	124	86	Glyna Violet	I	7	6	E	88
2	Kennedy Emma	5	12	3	M	130	87	Gillman Rene	"	10	.	M	122
3	Kanahi Rangl	"	12	10	M	101	88	Simon Emire	"	6	1	M	104
4	Martin Mai	"	12	7	M	118	89	Woods Tiki	P	6	5	M	124
5	Mathews Doreen	"	12	9	M	116	40	Waaka Hine	"	6	3	M	124
6	Rogers Emma	"	12	10	M	112	41	Newton Bea	"	6	9	M	130
7	Te Puia Mere	"	14	1	M	130	42	Paul Meengarau	"	6	3	M	120
8	Tunatahi Hinetau.	"	12	3	M	130	43	Fabling Niwa	"	5	7	M	118
9	Mihaka Maggie	"	12	2	M	82	44	Makiha Kara	"	5	9	M	122
10	Bradley Patsy	4	11	11	E	118	45	Te Puia Hika	"	5	11	M	124
11	Grant Winnie	"	10	3	M	120	46	Kakau/Mia	"	5	11	M	124
12	Kingi Takaia	"	10	8	M	82	47	Takuira Winnie	"	6	11	M	90
13	Nicholas Nan	"	12	8	M	124	48	Rapana Sinda	"	4	11	M	124
14	Rogers Dolly	"	10	2	M	126	49	Thomas Mere	"	7	4	M	118
15	Takuira Hera	"	11	4	M	100	50	Tea Alice	"	4	8	M	18
16	Te Puia Gracie	"	11	10	M	100	51	Paul Moana	"	7	6	M	100
17	Bradley Peggy	3	10	7	E	116	52						
18	Makiha Mariana	"	10	7	M	126	53						
19	Paul Nuki	"	12	2	M	118	54						
20	Simon Merenia	"	9	6	M	96	55						
21	Wirihana Tapu	"	10	8	M	120	56						
22	Woods Bib	"	11	6	M	123	57						
23	Woods Bub	"	11	6	M	121	58						
24	Glyna Heather	"	6	11	E	20	59						
25	Hunuhunu Heeni	2	9	2	M	30	60						
26	Merehu Charlotte	"	7	10	M	124	61						
27	Leighton Anne	"	9	4	E	118	62						
28	Palmer Anne	"	7	8	E	112	63						
29	Poihipi Bessie	"	9	7	M	96	64						
30	Te Puia Rinaha	"	9	2	M	126	65						
31	Mahia Kahu	"	8	8	M	96	66						
32	Wi Takerau	"	13	7	M	44	67						
33	Maaka Te Pera	I	8	3	M	120	68						
34	Paul Kiriwai	"	8	4	M	122	69						
35	Keneti Ada	"	7	4	M	138	70						

## **Nanny Tiki's Parents' Aspirations for their Children's Education**

Nanny Tiki's parents were directly involved with Whangamarino School. They attended school concerts and helped with fundraising ventures. Nanny Tiki believes her parents would have rated academic instruction as the most important aspect of schooling. It was the main reason for sending their children to school - to receive a good, academic education that would prepare them for secondary school and eventually adulthood. Nanny Tiki believes that her parents would have wanted some practical skills taught at school such as gardening and cooking, however, her parents, like others of that time, taught their children those skills themselves, therefore, they wouldn't have minded if this aspect of schooling was given less of a priority. Nanny Tiki said that her parents would have placed considerable emphasis on being respectful and relating well to others, however, they would have realised that these values could also have been learnt in situations away from school, for example, at home and the pā. Nanny Tiki pointed out that the children she went to school with were the same children she played with after school and at the pā. Nanny Tiki believes her parents would have rated religious instruction highly because Christianity was important to her parents and in their home. Nanny Tiki received no religious instruction at Whangamarino Native School. Her mother sent her to the convent school (Saint Michael's Catholic School, Ranolf Street) to receive religious instruction and secondary schooling. The convent is now called Saint Mary's Primary School. According to Nanny Tiki her parents would have rated sports at school to be another important aspect because they were keen sportspeople who enjoyed tennis, running and most other outdoor pursuits. Her father was an enthusiastic footballer, fisherman and pig hunter.

Nanny Tiki thinks her parents would have deemed the teaching of Māori songs, art and craft as being of medium importance because children would only have been able to learn Māori craft to an introductory level, and "anything more than an introduction to the craft would probably have been better undertaken by adults". Nanny Tiki believes they were sent to school to learn the three Rs -

Reading, writing and arithmetic and her parents would not have expected or wanted the Māori language to be included in the school curriculum. She pointed out that even if her parents had wanted Māori language included in their children's schooling it would not have been possible since Māori language was not an option during that time.

### Aspirations versus Reality

Nanny Tiki believes she achieved that which her parents hoped because she treats other people with respect, participated in a range of sports and learned some practical skills at school, some were also learnt at home, and others were developed later in life (like cooking). She gained a thorough understanding of the academic curriculum and lives by Christian values.

### **Nanny Tiki's Aspirations for the Education of her Mokopuna**

When considering the education of her mokopuna, Nanny Tiki considered an academic focus to be the main reason children are sent to school, therefore, she would like her mokopuna to participate in an education system that emphasises academic knowledge. Nanny Tiki believes that students today should be taught cooking, sewing, building, gardening skills and how to look after themselves. When Nanny Tiki was young, she was supported by her parents and elders to learn practical skills, but youngsters these days don't seem to be receiving this type of instruction at home. Therefore Nanny Tiki thinks "it would be a good idea for the schools to step in and take on that role". It is very important for Nanny Tiki that her mokopuna learn to get along with others and are respectful; however, she believes parents are responsible for developing their own children's social skills. When Nanny Tiki was secretary at Whangamarino School she sometimes noticed children who at 5 years of age were taken to school unaccustomed to sitting still on the mat, or they would go to the toilet wherever they pleased. She believes children should arrive at school ready to learn so that the teacher's job and other children's learning should not be delayed by having to teach those basic social skills. Nanny Tiki explained that when she was young

they had to have manners. They always knocked on the door then waited for a reply before entering. Also, if someone asked how Nanny Tiki was she was taught to say, "Good thank you". Nowadays, when young ones are asked and simply answer, "Good". Without the polite "thank you", it sounds incomplete to Nanny Tiki's ears. Nanny Tiki believes religious instruction is vital to the education of her mokopuna, "I would like them to grow up knowing there is a God and that we did not put ourselves on this earth. He wishes us to know, love and serve Him in this world and to be happy with Him forever in the next. God also gave us free will. It is our choice whether we do right or wrong. This is why I think that children should be taught about their spiritual life when they are young and they will have something to hold on to in later life." Nanny Tiki also rates sports at school highly because participation in sports can be very character building. In her opinion, team sports in particular help the children learn how to cooperate and mix with others. Involvement in sports helps children keep their bodies and minds active, and "they learn to support others in their team and how to deal with pressure. The feelings experienced from winning cannot be created artificially, so playing sports is a way of providing a natural high".

According to Nanny Tiki, it is of utmost importance that her mokopuna become bilingual and not only learn Māori and English but know and understand both languages very well. She considers it highly important that they are just as competent in both languages so that their choices are not limited to an English or Māori speaking context, and are comfortable and won't find themselves in an embarrassing situation where they are out of their depth. Nanny Tiki also believes her mokopuna need to know who they are and where they are from, and that they should learn "waiata-a-ringa, poi, haka and other things which have been passed down from their tūpuna".

#### Aspirations versus Reality

When considering whether her mokopuna are getting the type of education Nanny Tiki hoped, she thought that in some cases her mokopuna are receiving 'good' aspects of schooling, such as those mokopuna who are already, or

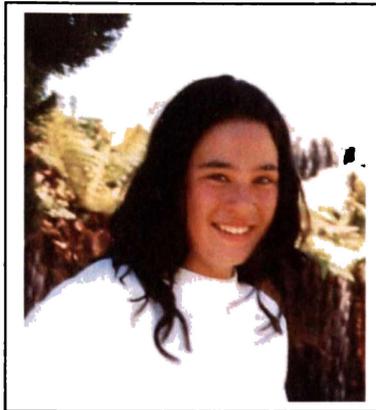
becoming fluent in both Māori and English. Socially they have learnt to cooperate with others and have played different sports. However, Nanny Tiki also believes that students aren't exposed to as wide a range of subjects as they could be (such as practical subjects like gardening), nor are gifted children extended enough.

### Comparison of Schooling

To Nanny Tiki the highly structured and focused way of learning practiced at Whangamarino Native School (such as well established routines, insistence to sit at their desks, and spell words correctly) is more beneficial for children than the freer style of schooling practiced in most classrooms today. Nanny Tiki considers the "free-teaching-style" to be very time wasting. Nanny Tiki's teachers were completely focused on the children and their learning, and in turn were able to keep the children focused on their schooling. Nanny Tiki prefers the quiet working environment that they learnt within as opposed to the noisy and sometimes chaotic classrooms of today, also, "A tidy book with nicely formed letters is rarely seen today and children are allowed to fill their pages with untidy work". On the other hand, an aspect of today's schooling that Nanny Tiki thinks is a major improvement on the past is the parents' choice of whether to include the Māori language in their children's education.

Nanny Tiki believes that school years are crucial since our future is shaped by our experiences at school. Furthermore, those early experiences greatly affect the type of people we become. In Nanny Tiki's opinion, a person's school years are the greatest of their life because they are "learning, learning, learning all the time".

**CAROL GRANT**  
**Mokopuna of Nanny Tiki**



Carol Grant

The first interview as a conversation with Carol took place at an inner city café in Rotorua. She had just completed her seventh form year at Rotorua Lakes High School and was 18 years old. Our second conversation took place in the playground at Te Kohanga Reo o Rotokawa (where Carol currently works) after most of the children had gone home. Carol Ngaroma Grant is the granddaughter of Nanny Tiki. Carol's mother, Mala (Ngaroma) is Nanny Tiki's daughter. Carol is the fourth generation of their family to attend Whangamarino School. She was born on the 21<sup>st</sup> of November 1984, attended Whangamarino from 1989 to 1995 and is the youngest of Mala and Peri's three children. Both Peri and Mala attended Whangamarino School; Peri's mother Doreen Grant was the reading recovery teacher there for many years. Part of Carol's preschool education took place at the community Playcentre situated on the school grounds near the bottom of the drive. Having the Playcentre on the school grounds helped new entrants ease into school life without too much disruption, "Sometimes we would walk up to the school and have a look around".

When Carol started school Mrs (Tuari) Tiopira was the Principal, Carol's Nan (Nanny Tiki) was the secretary and Mrs (Maxine) Newton was her first teacher. Carol liked having her Nan at school because she felt reassured knowing that her Nan was just down the corridor. When Carol forgot her lunch her Nan was able

to buy her a pie. Once, when Carol was involved in a game of skipping she fell and broke her arm. Fortunately, her Nan was on hand to comfort Carol and drive her to Korowai Aroha (Māori Health Centre) for medical assistance. Nanny Tiki further alleviated the pain by buying Carol a pie to eat on the way. Carol's Mum, a qualified nurse was also closely involved with the school. She visited regularly to provide health services for students such as kutu and ear checks and puberty talks for the seniors. Carol's Dad served as a member of the Board of Trustees. Carol's close friends included Meretaka Brown, Ngatai Schuster, Pirihiira Nepia and Selina McKain. Her cousins such as Adam and Hillary Haimona were also favourite playmates.

When addressing the topic of qualities of favourite teachers, without hesitation Carol named "Koro Whata" (Joe Whata). Koro Whata was the school's kaiarahi reo (expert in te reo Māori, who assisted staff and students develop Māori language skills). Most of Koro Whata's time was spent in Carol's class. Carol loved Koro Whata so much because he was friendly to all of the children and helped them with their work. He also had a cheeky sense of humour that raised everyone's spirits. Koro Whata was Carol's first Māori language teacher who incorporated te reo Māori into their normal classroom environment, and taught an array of Māori songs. A special memory Carol has of Koro Whata was when she broke her leg. Instead of catching the bus to school as normal, Mala drove Carol, and Koro Whata carried her from the car to class. On another occasion, the school speech finals, Carol delivered her speech about her mother's service as a member of the medical team in Bosnia, to the whole school and members of the community. With pride, Carol remembered the pleasure that Koro Whata expressed because her speech was entirely in Māori.

Whangamarino functioned as a bilingual school when Carol attended. She remembers a notice being sent home to gauge the community's view on whether the school should become total immersion. The results couldn't have been significant enough to effect change, because no changes to the school's operation occurred. Carol's parents were an example of the majority of parents who

preferred the school to remain bilingual so that students were exposed to English and Māori, rather than Māori only. Carol doesn't remember any students speaking Māori at school but some teachers did, especially Koro Whata. Carol liked his way of using te reo Māori because he was "encouraging, but not in your face". He used it in a way that seemed quite natural and unthreatening to Carol. Te Reo Māori is now a part of Carol's everyday life. It is the focus of her professional life since she works at the Rotokawa Kohanga Reo as a kaiawhina (childcare assistant). Te reo Māori is also present in her home life. Carol lives with her sister Marleina, partner Rangī Nelson and their child Maakarini. To ensure fluency in both languages, Marleina and Carol speak to Maakarini in Māori, and Rangī speaks English.

Subjects Carol studied at Whangamarino were creative writing, reading, language, singing, kapa haka, writing and a modest amount of maths. There seemed to be an emphasis on language-type subjects. Carol had a flair for creative writing, but didn't particularly enjoy maths. During Carol's intermediate years she was introduced to other subjects such as cooking, sewing, woodwork and metalwork. Carol liked cooking and woodwork where she learnt to make a pencil case, chopping board, foot stool, clicking toy and wind rods. I explained to Carol that during her Nan's schooling only the boys learned woodwork, and the girls learnt cooking and sewing. Carol is pleased that times have changed and she was able to participate in subjects previously reserved for boys - woodwork and metalwork. She believes this change is fair, "Girls should continue to be allowed to learn these subjects because there are probably some girls who are more gifted in these areas than boys; and boys who are more gifted in 'girl' subjects", for example, her cousin Joe Thomas was "better at cooking than the girls". Carol explained that schools wouldn't be allowed to offer subjects to only one gender because people would not tolerate that situation. People who had chosen careers that would have been deemed unacceptable in the past such as female fire fighters, police women, male nurses and male chefs would be especially angry. Carol believes it is important that students choose their own subjects based on personal interest. While their Home Economics class comprised mainly of girls,

some boys also elected to study that subject throughout her secondary schooling. By the time Carol reached the 7<sup>th</sup> form catering class, the boys outnumbered the girls by 6 to 5. Cooking became Carol's favourite subject which she studied throughout secondary school. Considerable emphasis was placed on table setting and food storage as well as personal hygiene such as hair and nail care. Students also had to wear a uniform which consisted of a jacket and apron. As an opportunity to display their skills, Carol's class catered for the school's sports prize giving function. Carol's earliest school-based food preparation experiences were at Whangamarino. Her class organised a healthy food day and at lunchtime all of the pupils filled a bread bun with healthy ingredients such as ham, lettuce, tomato, cheese and carrots. Fruit was also supplied. Carol also remembers participating in "Apple Crunch Day" at Whangamarino to promote healthy eating and support KZ7, New Zealand's yacht in the America's Cup Yacht Race. At lunchtime on a particular day, schools throughout the country counted down from 10 to 1 and then bit their apples at the same time. When Carol was in standard one or two, another effort was made to promote healthy eating - small cartons of milk were distributed at lunch times by school counsellors (responsible senior students) to every student. Carol found it quite amusing that milk was also provided at Whangamarino Native School when her Nan was a pupil and agreed that milk was a much healthier alternative to the sweet cordial and fizzy drinks that people often took to school.

Carol's favourite games at Whangamarino School were hopscotch, marbles, knucklebones, skipping and netball. Every year "marble mania" hit Whangamarino and several holes were scooped out of the ground to flick the "māpere" (marbles) into. The obsession held students' interest for weeks. After a fair amount of warnings the game was eventually banned because of playground altercations as well as differences of opinion regarding marble ownership. Nevertheless, everyone enjoyed the craze while it lasted. Another game Carol enjoyed was netball. She played during lunchtimes, on Saturdays and during interschool sports exchanges. Her first coach was "Aunty Bongo"

(Parekura Cribb). Outside games ceased on wet days and students had to remain inside their classrooms where they were supervised by the counsellors.

Some special occasions during Carol's time at Whangamarino were pet days, flower shows and sports days. When Carol was in standard one she was looking forward to taking her pet lamb, Cathy to school to show the new entrant class who were studying the season 'spring'. Sadly, on the morning Cathy was supposed to go to school, Carol went to get her, only to discover that she'd died during the night. Carol's Dad buried Cathy in the paddock next to Marleina's horse, Solly. Carol's brother gave her another lamb a couple of days later "to make me feel better. His name was Louie but he died two weeks later". Carol remembers when the school had a new filtration system installed in the swimming pool. While the caretaker experimented with perfecting the new system the children swam in "coca cola" coloured water. Far from being deterred from swimming, the children were actually excited about "swimming in coca cola".

Inter-house sports days were enjoyed by students, teachers and parents. It was a competition within the school to vie for the school sports shield. Family members belonged to the same house so quite a lot of pride was involved, especially when past pupils gathered to support their old house and cheer for their children, nieces and nephews. Carol and her whānau were members of where house. Everyone would gather at school and applaud as the students marched around the rugby field behind their house banner. Events such as swimming, athletics and tabloids were included in the inter-house sports competition. Every so often Whangamarino invited other schools to play against. As well as the games themselves, Carol enjoyed the action songs each school performed at the end of the day.

Flower shows were special days where students brought flowers to school and created various show pieces. Categories included weed collection (flower arrangement made from wild growing plants), sand saucers (petals arranged in a saucer filled with sand), landscapes (flowers etc used to recreate a landscape

scene, usually presented in a cardboard box or on trays), bouquet and a creative section (an arrangement that doesn't fit into any of the other categories). One year Carol won the creative category. She collected climbing flowers from home and arranged them so that they actually climbed the classroom wall. Needless to say, flower gardens within the Mourea, Whangamarino, Okere Falls and Otaramarae areas looked quite sparse during this time and young children became particularly adept at running fast while crouched.

Carol is glad she attended Whangamarino School and is certain she would not be the person she is, had she attended a different school. She is pleased to have been schooled in the area where she lived, alongside whānau and people she grew up with. She is grateful to have learned songs and whakapapa of her people - Ngāti Pīkiao because it made her proud to learn about her tūpuna. Most of all Carol acknowledges the role that Whangamarino School played in her overall education which helped her become the person she is today – “someone who has the confidence to try things without being inhibited by what others may think”.

### **Carol's Thoughts about her Nan's Aspirations for Carol's Education**

Carol knows that Nanny Tiki wants her mokopuna to “do well, achieve and do the best we can”. Carol understands that her Nan would rate academic instruction as most important. She would want her children and mokopuna to do well in life and be able to support themselves when they leave school. Carol agreed with her Nan's judgement that it would be worthwhile learning practical skills such as gardening so people could save money by growing their own vegetables and cooking for themselves. Carol commented that most people nowadays don't grow vegetables - they buy them instead, eat out and buy take-aways rather than cooking their own meals. Practical skills in this area would better equip people to support and look after themselves. Like Nanny Tiki, Carol believes that it is essential to learn acceptable social skills at school. She pointed out that we need to learn to tolerate different people's views at school and in adulthood, for

example, if we have a boss whose ideas we don't agree with, we still have to be able to get along with that person "and respect them for who they are". Carol is also of the opinion that we should afford kaumātua the special respect they deserve "because some young people can be quite rude". She understands that her Nan would want religious instruction to play a prominent role in the education of her mokopuna because "Nan is really religious". Nanny Tiki attends Saint Joseph's Catholic Church; their services are conducted by Father Timmerman, a Catholic Priest who also taught Nanny Tiki at secondary school. When I asked Carol why she thinks her Nan considers religion to be a vital part of children's education she replied, "I suppose she just wants us to live a better life". Carol deems religious instruction to be of medium importance and doesn't mind it included in today's schooling, she "believes it is important to believe in God, but not in an 'in your face way'". Carol explained that her Nan may have wanted sports to feature significantly in the school experiences of her mokopuna because it would provide a balance for students. Carol agrees with her Nan's judgement, "It would not be good for people to focus too much on the academic side and sports would provide more of a healthy balance".

Carol agrees with her Nan prioritising te reo Māori in the education of her mokopuna. Carol has learned from the experiences of family members that many opportunities are available to those who speak Māori, for example, Carol's sister and brother have travelled overseas with groups promoting Māori culture because of their abilities in Māori language and the performing arts. Her sister is also a teacher at a Kura Kaupapa Māori and brother works in Māori Television. Carol also believes te reo Māori is necessary because Māori are the only people in the world who speak te reo Māori, "We have to keep it because it's part of who we are". Carol agrees with her Nan's belief that Māori art, craft and songs should be included in today's schooling to provide exposure to a wide range of skills and tasks. Carol pointed out that these may develop into hobbies and employment for some students like carving has for her Uncle Lionel Grant (Peri's brother) and weaving for her Aunty Leilani Rickard (Peri's sister), "Because they have developed their skills they are able to make a living from their hobbies". Carol

recognised the value and security of being able to generate ones own income rather than relying on others to provide employment.

#### Aspiration versus Reality

I asked Carol whether she felt she had achieved that which her Nan hoped she would from her schooling. Carol explained that she has become bilingual and participated in a wide variety of subjects that have given her good academic and practical skills. She has played a range of sports and is still physically active. Learning waiata and history of Ngāti Pikiao further developed Carol's pride in belonging to Ngāti Pikiao, "I've worked hard and tried my best. I think I've done pretty well over all. I think Nan would be proud of me".

**NINI NIKORA**  
**Te Kura Māori o Whakarewarewa: Whakarewarewa Native School**



Nini Nikora

Nan Nan's full name is Nini Ngapune Waaka Nikora. She was born on the 25<sup>th</sup> of September 1928 at the Rotorua Hospital to Te Wiremu Waaka and Irihapeti Hohepa. Nan Nan is their only daughter; she has two full brothers and three half brothers. Nan Nan is also the maternal grandmother of my husband Kihote (Booby) Mikaere.

Nan Nan began Whakarewarewa Native School when she was about 6 years old. At that time the school comprised of two buildings and was located in the eastern corner of the Arikikapakapa golf course, on the southern end of Fenton Street. It was moved to the Nursery (Forest Research Institute) and is now situated on Sala Street, Whakarewarewa. Mr McOwen was Nan's first Principal and Mr Burkby was the Assistant-Principal. Two of Nan's favourite teachers were Mrs Wright and Miss Hayward. Mrs Wright was a Pākehā and "rather sympathetic ki a mātou, ki te Māori" (to us, the Māori). She realised that English was a second language for many of the Māori pupils so took more time to provide them with careful explanations. Nan Nan also attended Whangamarino Native School for a while and was influenced by Miss Maxine Hayward (later Mrs Maxine Tamahori), who encouraged the pupils "kia mau tonu te reo" (to maintain their own language - Māori). She also emphasised the need for them to master English and learn as much from the Pākehā world as possible, but according to Nan Nan, pupils of

Whangamarino spoke Māori at school more often than those at Whakarewarewa, probably due to Whangamarino's isolation because it is located approximately 25 kilometres from Rotorua city and unlike the people of Whakarewarewa who interacted with Pākehā on a daily basis, interactions between the Whangamarino people and Pākehā were far less frequent.

Nan Nan said that they were raised with the belief that mastery of the English language was needed to progress in the world, so the children never resented the banning of Māori in schools, "Te reo was discouraged. The emphasis was English". Māori was occasionally spoken at school when someone would answer "āe" or "kāo" instead of "yes" or "no". Other than slips of the tongue Māori wasn't generally spoken at school, if it was, it was done out of teachers' hearing since any infringement of school rules were punished by completing after school cleaning duties. Although their "schooling was entirely European" it did not desecrate Māori beliefs, for example Whakarewarewa Native School was decorated with Māori carvings, kōwhaiwhai patterns and even Māori styled leadlight windows. The absence of Māori at school did not prevent Nan from learning the language; Nan Nan was raised immersed in te reo Māori. It was her first language. Nan says she was fortunate that "i te ora tonu ōku kaumātua", (her elders were still living when she was a girl) and they had a great influence on her upbringing. The children spoke English at school and when they returned home they switched to Māori. In this way, Nan was provided with a balance of both languages. Since Nan was raised in the Whakarewarewa village, regular interaction with tourists in English was an ordinary part of her life. Nan remembers surprising a few of the tourists when she opened her mouth and spoke with a fine, English accent. Apparently some tourists didn't believe Māori people could even speak English let alone with such a polished accent, "The Pākehā couldn't believe that we were speaking English so well". During Nan's career as a guide at Whakarewarewa, if she noticed her group was a little distracted she would sometimes ask, "Can you not understand me? Am I not speaking your English properly?" A visitor once replied, "Lady, you're speaking it better than us". Nan believes she was able to perform her guiding job well

because of her confidence in her knowledge and command of the English language. Nan Nan explained that many people are resentful towards their teachers for stopping them from speaking Māori but she points out that it was the accepted practice at that time. Most people were of the opinion that English had to be mastered in order to cope with their world. In Nan's case she is certain that her education was well suited to her professions as an international cultural performer, guide and ambassador for her people and country.

Nan believes that the Māori language is more expressive than English, for example, "E ai ki te Pākehā, (Pākehā say) 'It's dark'. Tā te Māori, (Māori say) 'Te Pō Uriuri, Te Pō Kerikeri, Te Pō Tangotango'. Within that darkness there are different shades of darkness. That's the way the Māori see it". Even today when Nan is writing assignments for her theology studies she writes in Māori because it is the language which truly expresses her thoughts and feelings. It is interesting to note how the tables have now turned whereby, when Nan enters the gates of 'Te Tāpapa ki te Manawa o te Wheke' (Māori Anglican School of Theology) the English language is banned and they have to speak Māori. Although Māori was Nan's first language, later in life she had to make a concerted effort to only speak Māori since she had spoken English for most of her adult life, "I had to go back and revitalise and reenergise te reo, because I was losing te reo".

Nan Nan believes that children of her era at Whakarewarewa Native School "received an absolutely thorough education. The teaching in my day was a lot more thorough than it is today". As well as learning facts they were also given explanations so they understood the facts, for example, when encouraged to eat 'an apple a day' they were also told that apples were a nutritious, healthy food that could help stave off disease. Another example of the thorough education that Nan Nan received was 'arithmetic'. In Nan's opinion, so effective were teachers' methods (having students 'sing' the time tables) that although she didn't like the subject, she learnt the 1 to 20 timetables thoroughly.

Nan Nan is often complimented on her handwriting style which she attributes to the careful instruction received at school. Pupils were told sit right up close to the desk, maintain an upright posture, hold the paper with the left hand, ensure the pen is held correctly with the other and then copy the letter formation as demonstrated by the teacher on the blackboard. This attention to detail ensured the development of an attractive, fluent style that Nan says is typical of her generation.

History was another subject studied by Nan and her peers, however the history of our country was not studied, instead they learned about England's past. Nan is certain that she and her peers know more about England's history and its monarchs than many English citizens. Later in life Nan questioned the relevance of such studies but she was also grateful for that aspect of her schooling because when she finished school and travelled overseas as a member of Guide Rangi's concert party, Nan Nan was well-informed about many 'English topics', which made conversing with their hosts effortless because she already knew a great deal about England and its history. When they returned home Nan wished her teachers were alive so she could have thanked them for their efforts, "My school teaching was such that we benefited...I was ever so grateful to my first teachers and Headmasters".

Religious instruction was part of Nan's education. Misses Balstrode, Emily and Snoad of the Anglican Mission Whakarewarewa, known by the children as 'The Missionary Ladies', visited local schools and taught the Christian beliefs through stories and scriptures. A religious perspective was insisted upon by Mr McOwen. It was viewed as another aspect of school that pupils were naturally fully involved with. It was unheard of for pupils to be excused from such lessons as they are today. Like other aspects of the curriculum the pupils were expected to learn the scriptures thoroughly and follow the doctrines, "There was very little about Christ that we did not know". Two local Māori women who actively supported religious instruction were Nini Waaka (Nan Nan's namesake) and her cousin Miria Potaka. They were known as 'The Māori Mission Ladies'. Nan Nan has followed in her

namesake's footsteps because she now works as a kaumātua Minister for the Anglican Church, which involves conducting services at various Te Arawa marae as well as performing burial ceremonies. Nan realises she is able to hold this position and fulfil her duties because of "taku mōhio ki te reo" (her knowledge of Māori language) and familiarity with local marae. Another skill that helps Nan in this role is her public speaking abilities. Addressing huge crowds is a daunting task to many people, but years of guiding experience means Nan is completely comfortable in this situation. Nan acknowledges that her mastery of English allowed her to access work opportunities during her earlier days, and now her fluency in te reo Māori has allowed her to work as a kaumātua Minister.

Another subject that Nan studied was geography. They also had dressmaking and cooking lessons. Nan said she wasn't particularly skilled in those subjects and to this day, doesn't enjoy her own cooking, yet appreciates bread baked by another person. However, I can attest to Nan's excellent cooking abilities. My husband Booby and I both enjoy Nan's delicious meals and delicacies. Her steamed pudding cooked in the hāngi (steam boxes) at Whakarewarewa is a favourite! While cooking sessions at Whakarewarewa Native School involved the preparation of dishes and meals, considerable emphasis was also placed on wider aspects of food preparation such as hygiene and the correct way to set a table. Before lessons began the girls had to wash their hands thoroughly, and if a pupil was slightly unwell she wore a mask which fitted around the nose and mouth to avoid the spread of germs. Nan didn't enjoy dressmaking or cooking but she excelled at working with harakeke. By observing her aunts she learned to make rourou, kete, piupiu, whāriki and kākahu, as well as the tikanga that surrounds mahi raranga and its tāonga, for example, Nan appreciates the role that kākahu fulfil in adorning tupāpaku (deceased body), she refers to tikanga to determine which kākahu should cloak which people as well as the appropriate laying of the kākahu over caskets.

Gardening was a manual aspect of school that Nan enjoyed. At Whangamarino School Mrs McLeod brought a variety of vegetable seeds for the children to grow.

In the winter the vegetables were harvested and made into soup for staff and pupils' consumption. Nan would like to have studied Latin. Although Latin is almost never heard in Aotearoa-New Zealand today, Nan was exposed to that vernacular on a weekly basis when she was growing up. Certain aspects of their Church services at the Whakarewarewa village were conducted in Latin. Nan says she would like to have understood what was being said.

Principals of Whakarewarewa and Whangamarino Native Schools repeatedly told the children that they had natural musical talents. Both Mr McOwen (Whakarewarewa) and Mr McLeod (Whangamarino) said their pupils had beautiful singing voices and rhythm. Nan considers this a gift of the Māori. She remembers Mr McLeod tapping a tuning fork on the side of a table that would make a 'tinggggggggg' sound, and the children would then hum the same note. "Then he'd pick up a different fork and go, 'tinggggggg' and we'd have to go 'himmmmmmmmmm'". Eventually, they learned to sing "Silent Night" in seven different notes! Nan believes this is an example of the work of a great teacher. In her opinion, teachers are charged with finding the natural abilities and inner-pride of Māori children and "bringing it out". Nan Nan remembers that Towsa Rikihana, Bubby Rikihana and Lionel Skipwith "had fantastic voices. The Head Master brought out their talents."

Nan Nan believes that her teachers had higher expectations of their students than teachers today. Likewise, they expected pupils to participate in everything - every aspect of school was compulsory. Nowadays children bring notes from home or act sick to avoid participating in certain aspects of their schooling, such as sports events. Nan Nan informed me that they didn't even have a sick bay at school. Nan also believes that a much higher standard of behaviour was expected by teachers of the past, "Teachers expected us to jump when we were told to jump". To Nan Nan, the rules that govern the discipline methods practiced in schools today are "ridiculous". This change in acceptable discipline methods is one reason Nan suspects children of today display a lower standard of behaviour. During Nan Nan's schooling if pupils 'misbehaved' they were smacked "and they

never repeated it. Nowadays children aren't punished. When they are naughty they take advantage of their teacher because they know they can't be touched. Then they grow up with the attitude that they can report on adults and have some power over adults' actions." Corporal punishment wasn't the only type of discipline used by Nan's teachers. Sometimes pupils had to stay behind after school for a couple of hours and perform cleaning duties. Ordinarily, all pupils were on a roster to help with the cleaning of the school buildings and grounds during school time, but punishment cleaning meant the pupils cleaned during their own free time. "As a result, the school rooms of Whakarewarewa were beautiful and children were well-behaved".

Lunchtimes developed pupils' bartering skills. Nan's lunch often comprised of home made bread, spread with home made butter. She much preferred "shop bread" and frequently negotiated swaps. Sometimes on Nan's way Whangamarino School, she and her 'accomplices' would dip their bread into kuia Ema Morehu's tin of cream at the bottom of her driveway. Some 'witnesses' told on them at school and they were made to apologise to the kuia. Mrs Morehu told the children that if they dipped their bread in her cream tin again they would all get a puku (stomach) ache. During lunch and play times Nan and her friends played jacks (knuckle bones), top spinning and basketball (nine-a-side). They had no spare money to buy toys so Nan made her tops out of pine cones and whips from flax. The boys most often played football (rugby) and rounders (softball). According to Nan the interschool sports competitions were very competitive because of the "village make up" of the schools. When one school played another it was like one hapū of Te Arawa playing another hapū, for example, when Whakarewarewa played Whangamarino it was like Tuhourangi playing Ngāti Pikiao. Pupils of Rotokawa and the Catholic Schools provided tough competition. Nan says she was "koretake" at sports "but I could spin two coins" which she learnt by playing "Two Up", a gambling game learnt from my Uncles at Whaka behind the Te Arawa Church". Everyone participated in the sports days. Even the pupils who "weren't flash – bad luck - they were still expected to play in the teams and support the event".

Another special event that Nan remembers was an exposition at the "Ritz Hall". The Ritz Hall was like a big convention centre that occupied the present Pak 'n' Save site, on the corner of Fenton and Te Ngae roads. During pupils' standard six (form two) year, samples of their best work from throughout the year was kept by the teachers and taken to the Ritz Hall and displayed for all of the parents and other members of the Rotorua community to view. Many local schools contributed to this exposition so it was quite a special occasion.

Nan Nan summarises her primary schooling favourably, "I think we received the best education that no other school has achieved today". Nan is the only participant who attended two of the studied Native Schools – Whakarewarewa and Whangamarino. The following document is a copy of the Whakarewarewa Native School attendance register showing Nan Nan's name (Nini Waaka) as well as other pupils who also attended Whakarewarewa in 1937.

New Zealand.—Education Department.  
 NATIVE SCHOOL, Whakamarewa

Return of Attendance at Native School for the Term beginning 6th Sept., 1937  
 and ending 17th Dec., 1937

(N.B.—This return is to be sent to the Department within five days after the last school day in the term.)

<u>Whakamarewa</u> SCHOOL.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
I. Number of scholars belonging to the school at the end of last term. (Line IV of last return)			
II. Number of those who left, not having attended at all this term			
III. Number really belonging to the school at beginning of term. (Subtract II from I.)			
IV. Number belonging at the end of the term			
V. Average weekly number on the roll during the term			
VI. Total attendances for term, excluding attendances on "excepted" half-days			
VII. Number of times the school has been open during the term, excluding "excepted" half-days			
VIII. Average attendance for the term			

STATEMENT OF HOLIDAYS.

Number of Half-days in the Term (excluding Saturdays and Sundays): \_\_\_\_\_

Date.	Occasion of Closing.	Half-days.
	Half-days on which school was closed during the term, as specified below:—	
		
	Total number of half-days on which school was closed ..	
	Total number of half-days on which school was open	
	Total number of half-days in the term, excluding Saturdays and Sundays (to agree with number given under heading) ... ..	

Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.

and between Half-term and European. The names of Pupils who have left during the term to be marked X.)

	FEMALES.	Sd. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of High-days attended by each.		FEMALES.	Sd. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of High-days attended by each.
			Yrs.	Mo.						Yrs.	Mo.		
71	Cene May	P4	9	9	M	146	186	Davis Edna	P	5	11	E	115
72	Phillips Vola		9		E	147	187	Haga Joan		5	4	E	142
73	Rikihana Lena		7	9	M	140	188	Erin Mererun		6	2	M	66
74	Rogers Malal		8	8	M	142	X	Walker Joan		6		E	-6
75	Tambai Lydia		10		M	148	180	Uke Maria		5	6	M	112
76	Waska Bim		9	3	M	125	181	Kanya Wacra		5	3	M	108
77	Rikihana Rara		7	4	M	132	182	Rikihana Mary		5	3	M	80
78	Shepherd Joan	P3	8	6	E	148	183	Riakana Tabu		6	10	M	72
79	Uke Elysa		9		M	84	184	Watt Joan		5	1	E	14
80	Mihaka Hakomaji		7	10	M	140	185	Habit Barbara		6	1	M	20
81	Kempe Beatrice	P3	7	4	M	148	48						
82	Gellan Vola	P2	7	1	E	136	47						
83	Epapara Miki		7	6	M	130	48						
84	Morrison Rangy		7	3	M	146	49						
85	Dunlop Jewel		7	7	M	104	50						
86	Lilly Kay		7		E	146	51						
87	Phillips Collyer		7	4	E	114	52						
88	Waska Niini		9	3	M	148	53						
89	Miimi Miki		6	8	M	148	54						
90	Rikihana Emma		6	8	M	134	55						
91	Cene Ida		7	4	M	148	56						
92	Middleton June		8	7	E	130	57						
93	Daines Kathleen		8	1	E	111	58						
94	Nelson Helen	P2	7	7	M	144	59						
95	Newton Mary		7	8	E	58	60						
96	Hage Margaret		6	8	E	142	61						
97	Hunt Rachael		6	7	M	138	62						
98	Mretanga Miki		6	4	M	148	63						
99	Riakana Emma		7	5	M	140	64						
100	Watt Isabel		6	4	E	144	65						
101	Bevanby Mary		6	1	E	144	66						
102	Langdon Marg.		7	11	E	142	67						
103	Manafiale Kate		6	1	E	147	68						
104	Wenop Betty		6	4	M	148	69						
105	Horgan Rangy		5	7	M	142	70						

Below is a copy of the Whangamarino Native School attendance register showing Nan Nan's name (Nini Waaka) as well as other pupils who also attended Whangamarino in 1935.

New Zealand.—Education Department.

[A. H.]

NATIVE SCHOOL, *Whangamarino, Okeo Falls, 13*

Return of Attendance at Native School for the Term beginning *9th Sept*, 1935  
and ending *19th Dec*, 1935

(N.B.—This return is to be sent to the Department within five days after the last school day in the term.)

<i>Whangamarino</i> SCHOOL.	Boys.	Girls.	Total.
I. Number of scholars belonging to the school at the end of last term. [Line IV of last return]	26	49	75
II. Number of those who left, not having attended at all this term	1	7	2
III. Number really belonging to the school at beginning of term. (Subtract II from I)	25	42	67
IV. Number belonging at the end of the term	25	47	72
V. Average weekly number on the roll during the term	36.9	49.6	86.5
VI. Total attendance for term, excluding attendances on "accepted" half-days	2296	4726	7022
VII. Number of times the school has been open during the term, excluding "accepted" half-days	<i>116</i>		
VIII. Average attendance for the term	26.96	35.72	62.68

STATEMENT OF HOLIDAYS.

Number of Half-days in the Term (excluding Saturdays and Sundays): *148*

Dates.	Occasion of Closing.	Half-days.
Half-days on which school was closed during the term, as specified below:—		
<i>21st Dec.</i>	<i>Labour Day.</i>	<i>2 ✓</i>
<i>23rd Nov.</i>	<i>General Election.</i>	<i>1 ✓</i>
<i>29th "</i>	<i>Proficiency Exam.</i>	<i>2 ✓</i>
Total number of half-days on which school was closed...		<i>5</i>
Total number of half-days on which school was open ...		<i>143</i>
Total number of half-days in the term, excluding Saturdays and Sundays (to agree with number given under heading)		<i>148</i>

ATTENDANCE REGISTERS AND RETURNS.

Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.

(In the column for Race, put "M." for Maori, between Maori and Half-caste, and Half-caste; and put "E." for European.)

	NAME	Sex. Classification		Age	Race	Number of Days attended by each.		NAME	Sex. Classification		Age	Race	Number of Days attended by each.
		Yr.	Mo.						Yr.	Mo.			
1	Grant, Robt. O.	6	13	1	M.	133.	86	Maunakea, William	6	1	M.	96	
2	Rogers, Paul W.	6	13	6	E.	120.	87	Peehi, Te Hōtatahi	6	2	M.	61	
3	Moira, Pahi	4	16		M.	132.	88						
4	Luscombe, Es.		12	5	E.	135.	89						
5	Luscombe, W.		10	9	E.	122.	40						
6	Tamata, Albin		11	5	M.	10.	41						
7	Humbura, Paul					120.	42						
8	Paul, Es.		14	7		89	43						
9	Peter, Albin		12	5		115	44						
10	Rogers, Clemens		11	3	E.	135	45						
11	Rikiti, Jack		12	2	M.	93.	46						
12	Tairāni, Es.		12	8		121.	47						
13	Warata, Thomas		10	11		133.	48						
14	Walker, William		11	5		143.	49						
15	Jacobs, Edward	1	13	0		56.	50						
16	Luscombe, James		8	9	E.	127.	51						
17	Manihi, Sam		9	7	M.	121.	52						
18	Williams, Thos.		10	7	E.	113	53						
19	Waitai, Willie		12	4	M.	89.	54						
20	Kings, Benjamin		8	3		126.	55						
21	Pakeha, Es.		8	2		106.	56						
22	Rikiti, Es.		10	5		107.	57						
23	Tuwahaka, Tutakina		9	0		111.	58						
24	Wairi, Sonny		9	11		137.	59						
25	Humbura, Lohi		7	5		66.	60						
26	Whanekiekie, Waki		7	2		135.	61						
27	Mea, William		6	9	E.	129.	62						
28	Manihi, Sam		6	10	M.	125.	63						
29	Peter, Albin		6	11		108.	64						
30	Pakeha, Kiriopora		6	11		91	65						
31	Rapana, Pahi		8	6		118	66						
32	Rapana, Thompson		6	7		77.	67						
33	Tairāni, Samuel		7	2		137.	68						
34	Tairāni, Paul		8	2		96.	69						
35	Rata, Pinitawana		6	1		137.	70						

Names of Pupils who have attended during the Term.

and between Half-caste and European. The names of Pupils who have left during the term to be marked x.]

	FEMALE.	Ed. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.		FEMALE.	Ed. Classification.	Age.		Race.	Number of Half-days attended by each.
			Yrs.	Mo.						Yrs.	Mo.		
1	Lawson, Min.				E.	111.	36	William, White.	P2	7	7		120
2	Anna, Ruby.		12	11	M.	143.	37	Wainona, Betty	P1	6	4	E.	107.
3	Mahine, Susan.		13	11		137.	38	Eyemona, Alice.	T	6	7	M.	141.
4	Mahine, Ruth.		12	11		141.	39	Anna, Tiwa.		7	2		121.
5	Riki.		10	9		92.	40	Reginald, Nellie.		6	4	E.	78.
6	Patine.		11	9		123.	41	Langson, Wai.		7	2	M.	129.
7	Walter, Peggy.		13	2		139.	42	Tamati, Iri.		7	11		123.
8	Maria.		11	1		139.	43	Tairatini, Paene.		3	10		117.
9	William, Harold.		10	5		117.	44	Tamati, Pahi.		9	7		90.
x 10	Haney, Piri.		2	11	7	20.	45	Wairi, Rang.		11	6		133.
11	Regina, Amelia.		9	0	E.	135.	46	Waima, Blunkie.		4	1		99.
12	Raka, Pahi.		11	0		57.	47	Whakohu, Aho.		4	2		135.
13	Tamati, Mary.		10	7		137.	48	Pacha, Yini.		4	3		111.
x 14	Simon, Milton.		1	2		18.	49	Henry, Nellie.		7	1		110.
x 15	Kahi, I. (unintelligible)		1	1		0.	50	La Puna, Mercedes.		0	1		139.
16	Lawson, Kiri.	T	10	5		129.	51						
17	Lawson, Nita.		11	6		131.	52						
18	McLeod, Patricia.		7	10	E.	134.	53						
19	Rikihi, Kura.		11	2	M.	97.	54						
20	Tairatini, Pahi.		11	4		96.	55						
21	Wairi, Aho.		11	3		137.	56						
22	Morihau, Hene.	P1	9	2		82.	57						
23	Pahihi, Ngawan.		9	1		12.	58						
24	Pahihi, Lucy.		8	9		119.	59						
25	Skinner, Nancy.		11	+		118.	60						
26	Tairatini, Hinako.		9	9		98.	61						
27	William, Iva.		11	2		115.	62						
28	Paul, Linna.		11	2		91.	63						
29	Lawson, Rena.	P1	5	5		135.	64						
30	Rogerson, Penelope.		7	8	E.	131.	65						
31	Tairatini, Lucy.		8	8	M.	123.	66						
32	Lawson, Zhe.	P2	7	10		121.	67						
33	Whakohu, Mercedes.		7	7		120.	68						
34	Wairi, Grace.		6	10		126.	69						
35	Wairi, Hilda.		5	11		105.	70						

## **Nan Nan's Parents' Aspirations for their Children's Education**

According to Nan her parents were very supportive of her schooling. They wanted and expected their children "to learn Pākehā" and retain their "taha Māori" by continuous exposure to te reo me ngā tikanga Māori at home. Nan Nan is grateful because she has been able to participate fully in both the Pākehā and Māori worlds. Nan Nan considered various aspects of schooling - academic, practical skills, social skills, religion, sports, cultural (songs, art and craft etc) and Māori language from the perspective of her parents. She said that her parents would have rated all of the aspects of schooling very highly apart from Māori language, because they wanted her to be exposed to as much knowledge as possible and te reo Māori was available at home. While her parents believed in the "ancient methods and ideas, they realised they had to make a change and that the children needed to be equipped with ngā taputapu ā te Pākehā" (the tools of the Pakeha). Education was very much supported by Tuhourangi during Nan's time and "they were known for their desire to have their children educated. They had great faith in the education system". Instruction in practical pursuits was "part and parcel of the curriculum and our parents expected us to participate in every aspect". Nan Nan explained that most of the Māori children who attended Whakarewarewa Native School were related to one another and raised as a whānau. They were used to getting along with each other out of school so had no problem cooperating at school. Although they had the occasional 'problem' they were jealously protective of each other at school. Being raised in a close-knit community meant the children developed social skills that enabled them to get along easily with pupils from other schools as well as the Pākehā pupils at their own school. According to Nan, religious instruction at school was "a must". They had religious instruction about once a week which catered for all denominations. Nan's parents supported the religious component because they and other Whakarewarewa villagers attended weekly services at the marae. Like Nan said earlier, sports were just another part of their schooling and they were expected by their teachers, parents and kaumātua to participate in all aspects of their schooling.

Nan does not believe that her parents or kaumātua would have wanted Māori language included in the school curriculum because the children were “sent to school to learn te reo tauwiwi” (English). Nan’s Kuia and Koro made sure she attended school so that she could learn “the ways of the Pākehā. The old people wanted us to be educated” however, they also made sure that Nan retained her Māoritanga by speaking te reo Māori at home and making Māori craft within their home environment. “Many Māori between the ages of 30-50 don’t know te reo or tikanga Māori because they moved away from their ūkaipō (place of birth and nurturing) to avoid kaumātua authority and discipline”. Nan considers education to be a solution for these people such as “Kura Tautoko i te Reo” (Māori language classes) whereby they have the opportunity to learn Māori language and customs and “build their pride and confidence in being Māori. The parents (of our mokopuna) must go to these places of learning because their kiddies are becoming conversant in Te Reo, through Kohanga Reo etcetera...Aue! Ka whakamā ngā pakeke” (alas, it can be embarrassing for the adults). Nan believes she can help others learn Māori by assisting with tangihanga (funerals) and weekly Church services, “I have noticed the appreciation among my people to hear Te Reo spoken”. Nan also views these services as “my way of saying thank you to my many kaumātua of Tuhourangi and Ngāti Hinerangi for all the knowledge and unique experiences my generation received”. However, Nan believes that her parents would have supported the inclusion of Māori waiata, haka and the like in their schooling but would have expected the teaching and learning of Māori craft to take place at home. Nan doubts anyway whether her teachers would have had the ability to teach Māori art and craft such as mahi raranga (weaving).

#### Aspirations versus Reality

Nan Nan believes she achieved that which her parents hoped she would from her schooling, because she learned English, knowledge, history and habits and retained her Māoritanga. While Nan Nan acquired fluency in te reo Māori as a part of her everyday life, she was encouraged by her elders to attend and participate in marae gatherings to enhance her knowledge and understanding.

The "kaumātua were strict, firm and fair. I heard and learnt from the best orators and kuia". Nan believes that her parents would have been pleased with the outcome of her schooling.

### **Nan Nan's Aspirations for the Education of her Mokopuna**

I asked Nan Nan to consider how important each aspect of education (discussed above) is for her grandchildren's schooling. Nan believes that "all these should be included in today's curriculum", furthermore, she expects her mokos to participate fully in all aspects of their schooling. Nan wants her mokopuna to receive a thorough, well-balanced education where both academic and practical subjects are taught. She also considers it vital that both te reo Māori me te reo Pākehā are included in the curriculum. She would like her mokos' behaviour to be more in line with the behaviour of yesteryear's children so they will be more respectful towards their teachers and able to cooperate fully with them to maximise their learning.

#### Aspirations versus Reality

At the moment Nan doesn't believe that her aspirations for the education of her mokopuna are being fulfilled since she considers many aspects of today's schooling as inferior to that of her own. Nan also says that there is "too much red tape" within the education system that makes it difficult for teachers to discipline the children and do their job, "It's a wonder there are any teachers today". She also says that the education system expects a great deal from its teachers yet they are not given the respect they deserve by the children and public in general, "The children must respect their mentors – otherwise there is very little co-operation."

#### Comparison of Schooling

Nan prefers her schooling to that which is offered today, for example, discipline. Nan Nan believes they were better behaved than children today because of the discipline they received (smacks and loss of free time to clean school buildings).

According to Nan, "It works!!" Nan also believes that the Native School system cared for the physical well-being of the children. They were given spoons full of malt and cod liver oil as well as small bottles of milk for morning tea. Apparently some schools only received milk powder and had to mix their own milk drinks but Nan said "at Whakarewarewa we got the real thing". They had regular visits from the District Nurse who conducted kutu checks and gave immunisation injections to all children. Nowadays the children's health is the responsibility of their own parents and some choose not to immunise their children at all. Nan explains that all of these initiatives were performed with the children's best interests at heart, to help keep the children healthy, "We were really well cared for. We had better treatment than kids today". According to Nan Nan, children got more out of their schooling when she was a pupil because they knew they were going for a reason. They knew they had to go and "learn the ways of the Pākehā" so they had a purpose for being there. Nowadays children are just sent to school because they turn five years of age. Their parents aren't really focused on what they want their children to get out of school, "They have a blasé attitude towards their children's education". Nan Nan recommends we "take a leaf out of our tūpuna Sir Apirana Ngata's book, 'Whaia te mātauranga o te Pākehā, engari, kia mau ki tō Māoritanga'. My role is to help and support where I can".

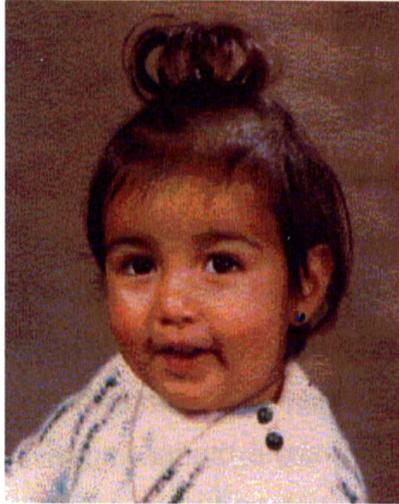
**CHANZ MIKAERE**  
**Mokopuna of Nan Nan**



Chanz Mikaere

The first interview as a conversation with Chanz took place at a local café. We anticipated that our conversation would last approximately one and a half hours, however, four hours later we were forced to end the conversation when we'd filled both of the two hour tape cassettes I had taken to record our conversation. Our second conversation took place at another café and part way through we were joined by Chanz's mother, Laurel.

Chanz Aroha Mikaere is the mokopuna of Nan Nan (Nini Nikora). She is also the sister of my husband Booby. Chanz was born in Tauranga on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November 1980 to Aroha and Clinton (Blinky) Ellis. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of January 1981 she was fostered into the care of Laurel and Alec Mikaere who officially adopted her just over a year later. The name Chanz was given by Laurel because when she was born she had a chance of being born deaf and a chance of being adopted. Chanz confesses that she has selective hearing so confirms that both possibilities eventuated. The name Aroha was chosen since it is the first name of Chanz's birth mother; also "Aroha" was considered appropriate since she was welcomed into a house of love.



Chanz as an infant

The first school that Chanz attended was Maketu Primary. Her teacher who became one of her favourites was Mrs Kate Denny, a Pākehā woman who according to Chanz was "quite mature, exuberant, happy, loving and gave us lots of love and cuddles". Mrs Denny also taught Chanz's brothers, "She loved all of us for our individual personalities and learning styles". Mrs Denny introduced Chanz to a paintbrush, developed her skill in art and initiated her love of books, "She was always throwing books in my direction and extending me. She was fantastic." Mrs Judy Tapsell was another great teacher from Maketu School, "I could get away with quite a lot from other teachers, but not with Mrs Tapsell".

Chanz didn't have girl friends. To her they seemed "catty and irritating". Instead, she preferred spending time with boys. After all, both her siblings were boys, and while there were 13 children who lived on Te Awhe Road in Maketu, she was the only girl. Their favourite school games were bull rush, rugby and sheep riding. Sheep grazed in the paddock next to Maketu School, so when teachers were out of sight Chanz and her friends jumped the fence to ride the sheep. Sometimes they slid down Pukemaire hill (where Maketu School is situated) on pieces of cardboard. One of Chanz's best friends was Jeremy Gibson. He was the mokopuna of Maketu School Principal, Ian Gibson. Chanz and Jeremy were "inseparable". They were both considered intelligent. After completing all of their school work they'd read backwards so they wouldn't become bored, "It was neat

having someone to compete with, but it was healthy competition". Favourite after school games included "Cowboys and Indians with real arrows that were made from bamboo with a nail at the end". Living so near the beach, many hours were spent playing in the water and on the sand. Sometimes they re-enacted the arrival of Te Arawa waka at Maketu, with Daly Rogers assuming the role of Tamatekapua and Daniel Daniels guiding Tamatekapua's actions by taking on the role of Ngatoroirangi. After re-enacting the landing the children pretended to explore the new environment and find somewhere to build a marae. They had learned "the very basic story about the landing of Te Arawa waka at both home and school". Girls at school preferred games like elastics, hopscotch and netball. Chanz "hated netball with a passion" simply because it was a popular girl's game.

Swimming sessions for children of Maketu School took place in the sea. Supervised by teachers the children walked down to the beach in their classes, swam, frolicked, and then returned to school "with a crutch full of sand". Contending with the current made them strong swimmers. Annual swimming competitions were held at Te Puke Intermediate for local schools such as Maketu, Paengaroa, Pukehina, Pongakawa and Te Puke. Swimmers from Maketu were easily recognised because they swam "diagonally or in a zig zag" down the pool instead of in a straight line having become accustomed to adjusting their strokes to counteract a current, "No one cared who won. We had more important things to think about, like what was for lunch" because for these special occasions she took treats such as sally luns and frozen drinks. Chanz's mum normally attended these events and her Dad made a drink of cordial and put it in the freezer when he went to work in the early hours of the morning so that it would still be cold and refreshing in the middle of the day. Chanz said her parents gave their full support to her school endeavours.

Chanz's family shifted to Rotorua at the end of 1990 when her parents managed the contract for Māori cultural concerts at the Quality Hotel. Chanz attended Whakarewarewa School for three weeks before completing her primary schooling at Westbrook Primary. Most classes at Westbrook Primary were very Pākehā

focused; however, Chanz's mother was employed as the Māori and kapa haka instructor so she ensured Chanz received a Māori perspective to every aspect of her education while at Westbrook. Towards the end of Chanz's standard 4 year, teachers from Rotorua Intermediate visited contributing primary schools to test students for the first accelerate class the following year. Chanz's test scores qualified her for acceptance but she wanted to be enrolled in the bilingual unit instead. Her parents encouraged her to go in the accelerate class since they said they could provide her with Māori language at home, "But I did not get the reo at home". Chanz's parents made it clear that the pursuit of academic excellence was of utmost importance. The positive side was that Chanz felt supported by her parents; on the negative side she was aware of pressure to achieve top-of-the-class results. In retrospect, Chanz is grateful for being in the accelerate class because she was challenged academically, surrounded by people who understood her intellectually, and was tutored by two "awesome teachers - Mrs Wai Morrison and Shane Walsh". Mrs Morrison "was very supportive of bright, young Māori girls". Shane Walsh gave Chanz her "first exposure to alternative education" - students were allowed to call him "Walsh" as opposed to "Mr Walsh". Exceptions to calling him "Walsh" were when he insisted they greet him with, "Morena Matua Eruera ātaahua" (Good morning handsome Mr/Uncle Edward). Chanz is not sure where the name "Eruera" comes from, "Perhaps it was his middle name?" "Walsh was a Pākehā teacher who was very compassionate towards things Māori", in fact he "forced" Chanz to research Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Prior to being in Walsh's class, the significance of Waitangi Day for Chanz was merely a day off school. Walsh also encouraged Chanz to find out about women's suffrage. His influence is significant to Chanz's development since she now considers herself an extremely politically minded artist. Instead of dictating a seating plan, students were allowed to sit with their friends. Chanz also said that he never yelled, "Even when he growled us he just spoke in a slow, calm, controlled manner. It was scarier than being growled by other teachers. It was bloody terrifying". Walsh's teaching style was unique. "Every Wednesday he'd say 'We're going to the races' and we'd be given \$1,000 play money. He'd describe the track and horses' form and we'd place bets like trifectas, quinellas and then calculate our winnings or

losses". Walsh also encouraged his students to invent languages and codes, which he had to decipher in order to mark their work. In this respect, that learning environment was stimulating for both students and teacher. Another teacher who had a positive influence on Chanz at Rotorua Intermediate was the art teacher, Miss McDonald. She immediately recognised Chanz's abilities and took her under her wing to nurture that talent. While Chanz's artistic gifts were nurtured at school they were also developed at home. Her father Alec is a highly skilled carver whose artistic vision according to Chanz is "simply brilliant", and her mother Laurel is a skilled weaver "who provided Dad with inspiration". Chanz said it was "incredibly cool" to be raised in a home "surrounded by fantastic whakairo on the walls and earthy smells of paru" from her mother's piupiu, and woodchips from her father's carving, "I soon learnt to wash my hands after a tutu with harakeke – it is not the tastiest of plants". Because of her natural ability, the art-rich home environment, "and because my parents were very good (artists), Dad had high expectations of my art".

Chanz's parents separated during her form two year. When she told her classmates she expected to receive a sombre response. Instead they said, "N'mind. You're like the rest of us now". Their response helped Chanz deal with the new situation because she was surrounded by others who had been through similar ordeals "and mine were paled by comparison". It was another commonality for Chanz and her classmates because most of them "came from broken homes". Chanz's secondary schooling started at Te Kura o Kokohuia in Wanganui. Her Uncle William (Alec's brother) and his wife Jo were establishing a secondary school for "extending the natural abilities of tāngata whenua". Chanz's parents sent Chanz to live with her Uncle and Aunty in Wanganui so that she could attend Kokohuia, where she remained for two years; however her time there was not always pleasant as she felt that excessive levels of competition between students was encouraged and often resulted in "unhealthy" relationships. Chanz said the school's teachings were mainly Pākehā focused. Subjects such as economics and Mandarin were compulsory, and students were taught through the medium of English, but during the last month of every term

Māori was the only permitted language. Chanz is grateful for having attended Kokohuia because she learnt the "Atihaunui-a-Paparangi mita (dialect). That was the first time I was forced to use te reo because every other avenue of expression was taken away from me. I was forced to learn their mita, their tikanga, their kawa, and every way that they did things". Chanz was able to use the "Atihaunui-a-Paparangi mita when she recently taught at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngāti Rangi in Ohakune, whose mita is the same, "but when I got wild with them I spoke in Te Arawa mita". When Chanz was in the fifth form she returned to Rotorua to live with her father and attended Western Heights High School for a term. Chanz only stayed in the Akoranga (bilingual) unit for three days because she wasn't being extended academically so asked to be transferred to the accelerate stream. Later that year she moved to Wellington to live with her mother. When Chanz was deciding which secondary school to attend in Wellington she visited various schools and met with staff. She remembers her first meeting with the Principal of Taita College being extremely negative, because when he saw Chanz, a young Māori girl, looking to enrol in his school, he assumed she must've been expelled from her previous school, and asked which school had she been expelled from and for what reason. Chanz was taken aback by his prejudice and decided "to prove him wrong". After Chanz enrolled at Taita College she was tested and placed in the fifth form accelerate class. During her first encounter with her English teacher Mr Trevor Williams, a Welshman in his 50s, he gave her the books "Never Ending Story" by Michael Ende and "Night" by Elie Wiesel, and told Chanz that in order to catch up with the other students she had two days to read the books and two weeks to write four essays. Chanz was motivated by the challenge and fulfilled her teacher's requirements to a high standard before the deadline. Mr Williams had high expectations of Chanz which she thrived on because she constantly had high standards to work towards. According to Chanz Mr Williams applied unique and "highly effective methods of teaching" such as using acronyms. For example, to remember the main parts of the novel "Night" for their School Certificate examination, Mr Williams taught his students "J.E.W.S". "J stood for the 'Jews', around whom the novel was focused, E stood for 'Extermination', W was for 'Work is liberty', S was for 'Separation and

selection'. Chanz learned early on that Mr Williams had a sense of humour. In the first essay she'd submitted, instead of writing the word "analyse" Chanz wrote "anal-ise". Mr Williams made that mistake the 'butt' of a few private jokes between him and Chanz from time to time. Chanz enjoyed the extra curricular activities that Taita College encouraged such as kapa haka and Manu Kōrero speech competitions. When Chanz was in the sixth form she was chosen to represent her school in the regional Manu Kōrero competitions. She eventually won the English section in seventh form.

Chanz is a full time artist and student. She is awaiting the arrival of course material from Massey University so she can complete the requirements to begin her Master of Māori Visual Arts degree.

### **Chanz's Overall Opinions about her Schooling**

Chanz believes that her schools provided her with a well balanced education and she received professional tuition in all subjects, however, she confesses that she never excelled in mathematics. She "didn't see the purpose" of many mathematical functions such as simultaneous equations since they couldn't be applied to real, practical, everyday situations, and when the teacher was explaining how to complete them she thought, "Why?" She enjoyed learning about geometry though because of its visual appeal. Chanz is pleased that she was placed in accelerate streams because although many outsiders assume that students of those classes are "whakahīhī" (conceited), she enjoyed the interaction with other students and teachers who understood her and were "on the same level". Had her parents not chosen accelerate classes for Chanz, she believes she would have become stagnant and unchallenged academically, and therefore not have developed to her fullest potential. Another reason she is pleased to have been a part of the gifted stream is because other Māori and Pākehā people saw Māori students represented in those classes. She provided an example Māori students performing and achieving within Pākehā and Māori aspects of schooling. Chanz is grateful for her parents and teachers. Her parents "did not have the

material means by which to spoil me, but they spoilt me with love and attention and fostered the brains that they knew I had. It was really awesome". Chanz also thrived under the guidance of some "brilliant" teachers who had high expectations, could see through to the real Chanz, constantly stimulated and challenged her, and had a sense of humour.

### **Chanz's Thoughts about Nan Nan's Aspirations for the Education of her Mokopuna**

We spoke about Nan Nan's aspirations for her mokopuna to receive a balanced education and become bilingual and bicultural. Chanz believes she has fulfilled her Nan's aspiration of becoming bilingual and bicultural because she is comfortable and competent in Māori and Pākehā situations. For example, sometimes she exhibits in Māori venues such as 'Pātaka' in Porirua, which is patronised by many Māori people and operated by accomplished Māori artist Darcy Nicholas. During the opening ceremonies Chanz explains her art in terms that are easily understood by Māori which sometimes require explanations in te reo Māori. According to Chanz, Māori audiences understand when Chanz explains the emotions involved with creating certain pieces; "They understand the spiritual dimensions". Chanz also exhibits in Pākehā environments such as the Corning Glass Museum in New York. Opening ceremony formalities require Chanz to explain and discuss certain pieces with prospective buyers. Chanz has to be able to explain potentially controversial issues such as The Declaration of Independence, or Te Tiriti o Waitangi to people of different cultures and backgrounds. Chanz explained that "Pākehā understand facts and you have to speak to them logically, in a way they can follow. If you say 'this legislation plus this legislation resulted in this situation', then they understand where you're coming from".

## **Chanz's Thoughts about Nan Nan's Education**

Chanz understands that the focus on academic subjects would have been paramount during Nan Nan's schooling since their parents wanted their children to gain access to the knowledge of the Pākehā. Chanz also understands that most parents these days would have similar aspirations. While Chanz appreciates the role that her schools have played in developing her academic knowledge, she recognises the importance of a balanced education by providing instruction in practical subjects and developing youngsters' social skills, "It's important that schools develop children's intellectual maturity, but it's equally important to develop their emotional maturity". Like Nan Nan's schooling, while Chanz was at Maketu School the 3 Rs dominated their instruction for example; children practised handwriting and concentrated on careful letter formation for approximately half an hour every day, "We practised Aa, Aa, Aa and then copied a sentence that mainly used that letter". They also placed great emphasis on reading comprehension and homonyms like "threw and through". Chanz believes that the 3 R emphasis was due to the teachers like Mrs Denny being "from the old school". According to Laurel, Maketu School's emphasis on handwriting waned when computers were introduced in approximately 1986. Many parents resisted their inclusion because they believed that "handwriting was important" and were concerned that their children would no longer learn how to write correctly since a perfectly formed letter appeared on the screen at the touch of a button.

Chanz is pleased that a practical focus was provided during her Nan's schooling since it provided a balanced education rather than focusing solely on children's academic development, and in Chanz's opinion, "Practical subjects are just as important as academic ones". She believes that people have a very narrow definition of 'intelligence' which is normally the amount of academic knowledge a person can regurgitate, "They don't equate intelligence with creative intelligence". With regards to carving lessons being restricted to boys and cooking to girls, Chanz's response was, "I think that whole idea sucks" because she enjoyed participating in subjects like home economics (cooking), sewing, metalwork and

woodwork. Chanz was good at home economics, "not good" at sewing, and loved metal work and woodwork since they enabled her to manipulate materials and present them artistically. Also, she appreciated woodwork "because in terms of tikanga and being a wahine (female) not allowed to carve, woodwork was the closest thing I got to it at the time". Chanz understands that this sort of policy would have been more acceptable during Nan's schooling because "Nan's generation could relate easily to it because of the balance of gender roles around the marae at that time".

We spoke in-depth about restrictions in some tribes that prevent/'protect' women from carving and whether access based on gender is similar to the art and craft curriculum guidelines in Native Schools preventing girls from learning woodwork and boys from learning to cook. In Chanz's opinion knowledge should be given to "whoever is able to best maintain the integrity of the craft, so that the knowledge may be protected and passed on to the next generation". She firmly believes that wānanga (higher Māori schools of learning) "should be open to either sex and not based on gender or whakapapa, for example, if someone from an ariki (chiefly) line does not respect the knowledge, or is quite frankly, koretake (useless), then it should go to the person who has the talent and understanding to maintain the integrity of the knowledge, even if they're from a taurekareka (lower) line. We are no longer in a strictly marae based society". Chanz believes that now, many "Māori men are just as bad as Pākehā men" as they have become so colonised that they impose gender oppressive practices, "They are a salutary part of the colonisation of our women", for example, many Te Arawa men wear their shoes inside whare tūpuna, "the body of their ancestor" while women are expected to remove their shoes. Furthermore, some men claim that certain marae protocols mustn't change because they would defy practices of the past, yet it is now acceptable on many marae for a male to speak even if his father is still alive, or for the teina (younger brother) to speak if his tuakana (older brother) is alive. Chanz understands that in the past, if things (including knowledge) were not fully understood, they were deemed tapu (restricted) in order to protect the people. If we now understand things that were not understood in the past Chanz believes it

is no longer appropriate for the tapu restrictions to remain simply because they were once tapu.

Chanz advocates values of mana wahine (pride in womanhood, "womanhood being wharetangata, warrior hood and tohungatanga"), "As Māori women, we have a huge amount of responsibility to our tamariki (children) and no matter what anyone else says, Māori women hold it together". In spite of her strong mana wahine stance Chanz is certainly not anti-male. She accepts that "equal status" between women and men existed in the past. "You cannot have tapu (protected, restricted) without noa (unrestricted), celestial without earthly. Everything was about balance. They always complemented each other". Chanz looks forward to the time when we once again achieve the balance where mana wāhine and mana tāne complement each other, and when Māori enjoy the benefits of the co-strength of the warrior and the wharetangata, "I can't wait for our men to join us there; when they are strong, healthy, robust, intelligent, spiritual, compassionate, courageous and wise. Until then, I'll abstain from sex".

Chanz is aware that religious instruction was an ordinary part of Nan Nan's schooling; likewise it was a normal part of Nan Nan's home life. Chanz cannot remember participating in religious instruction at school, however, when Chanz was at Maketu School at her mother's instigation she recited karakia everyday for the school before eating at lunchtimes. Chanz is critical of some Christian beliefs but admits "there are some benefits" she's gained from being raised with religious influences, such as the acquisition of table manners and courtesies like waiting for everyone to be served before beginning to eat. Additionally, in order to fully participate and comprehend themes discussed in Chanz's English lessons with Mr Williams, understanding of Biblical-based and Shakespearean-based concepts were essential, for example, "instead of referring to a character in terms of disloyalty or dishonesty, he would mention 'Judas' or '30 pieces of silver'". Chanz disagrees with the inclusion of Christianity doctrines in schooling, "Our school system is designed to colonise". In fact, if there was one aspect of colonisation that she could change it would be the embracing of Christianity by Māori. One of

the main reasons Chanz maintains this position is because the missionaries had no right to declare some of our practices such as tōhungatanga “ungodly”, which according to Chanz resulted in the loss of important aspects of Māoritanga including valuable health practices and “the near loss of our reo”. Chanz insists that while she is categorically pro-Māori she is not anti-Pākehā. Because of her exposure to tourism she has had countless positive interactions with people of different ethnicities and cultures.

With regards to tourism and how it has affected Te Arawa, Chanz said, “Tourism is our reality and our dilemma”. She realises that Te Arawa have made certain compromises of our Te Arawatanga, for example when there is a tangi at Wāhiao (the main whare tūpuna in the Whakarewarewa Village) instead of closing the village to tourists they are allowed access to the marae. Chanz is also well aware of criticisms from other iwi that compromises have been made by Te Arawa for the sake of tourism. Chanz is of the opinion that “it’s okay to compromise, as long as we don’t compromise our cultural integrity”. She also retorted that if other iwi are critical of aspects of Te Arawatanga, why do they continue to imitate some of our Māori national kapa haka winning groups such as Te Mataarae-i-o-rehu, Tuhourangi and Ngāti Rangiwewehi? In doing so, aren’t they compromising their own tikanga and identity?

Chanz is pleased that children in Native Schools learned about Māori art and craft and believes it should be reintroduced to improve people’s understanding of Māori art and culture. Chanz realises that many students today don’t have much exposure to Māori art apart from learning to draw a koru, “Then they think they’ve done Māori art”. I asked Chanz to share her thoughts about educational policy that was in place during Nan Nan’s schooling, which prohibited the use of Māori language. Chanz said, “At that time it was necessary to learn English but not to the detriment of Māori”. She understood that Nan Nan was surrounded by her kaumātua who only spoke te reo Māori at home so there was no threat of losing her reo “and they still had a lot of native speakers at that point”. However, Chanz attributes responsibility for the decline in native Māori speakers to that type

of educational policy since it encouraged the replacement of Māori language by English. She claims it resulted in neither of her parents being native speakers of Māori and is something that she will always regret since "no matter how many wānanga I attend, I will never be a native speaker of Māori, and that will always be a chip on my shoulder that my reo will never be as good as it should have been". Chanz is of the opinion that Māori language should be compulsory in schools because it's important that all Māori know how to speak the language as part of their whakapapa, "It distinguishes us from every other race. There is an ethos behind the reo" that Māori need to understand in order to fully understand their culture. Chanz also believes it's important for Pākehā to learn Māori so they have a better understanding of Māori culture, "We have to learn Pākehā so they should have at least a basic understanding of Māori". Chanz is of the opinion that everyone living in our country, "including immigrants" should have a thorough understanding of the Declaration of Independence and Te Tiriti o Waitangi "so that they understand the joint history of Māori and Pākehā, and plight of the tāngata whenua" (indigenous people). Chanz realises that her suggestion is highly unlikely to occur within our democratic society where "the majority rules". She believes that these teachings are far more important than some subjects taught in school such as French and Latin which are "irrelevant to New Zealand society". Although millions of people throughout the world are multilingual, Chanz believes that many New Zealanders are opposed to becoming bilingual "because they are lazy, complacent and not prepared to learn. If they are bilingual they will be able to think from two perspectives. It will be like using your left hand and your right hand to help accomplish a task. Being monolingual restricts you to using only one hand to complete that task". Chanz believes that learning te reo Māori should be a natural part of our lifestyle here in Aotearoa whereby we would acquire fluency in both languages simply by being exposed to both languages.

### Summary

Chapter 6 has given the stories of the kaumātua and mokopuna. The stories of the kaumātua have provided an insight into the aspirations their parents had for them during the middle Native School period such as the importance of mastering the 3 Rs. Through their stories we learned that the 3 Rs were also a main aspiration of the kaumātua for the education of their mokopuna within today's schools. The stories of the mokopuna have informed us about their actual experiences at their respective schools. Information presented in the stories is reflected upon in chapter 7 in order to summarise, compare and analyse their aspirations and experiences.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>PART THREE</b> <b>Analyses and Conclusions</b></p>
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Introduction

Part three is organised into three sections. Firstly, educational aspirations and experiences for the kaumātua and mokopuna are summarised, compared and then analysed according to some Māori frameworks which embody Kaupapa Māori theory's central ingredient, tino rangatiratanga - Smith's (1990b) fundamental features of Kaupapa Māori; Durie's (2001a) framework for considering Māori educational advancement and Durie's (2001b) principles for education. Some of Glynn's (1985) characteristics of responsive social contexts are also utilised because of their suitability for analysing Native School pedagogy. Secondly this project's methodology is analysed using some existing Māori proposed models, specifically Bishop's (1996) model for addressing Māori research concerns and power issues, 'IBRLA'; Smith's (1992) five intervention elements; Mead's (1996) ethical framework and Soutar's (2000) Seven-point Māori Oral History Framework. Thirdly, thesis conclusions are clarified, including the relationship between Māori control over education, and the realisation of Māori aspirations. Thesis implications suggest the usefulness of thesis conclusions to other kaumātua, students, parents, teachers, iwi and researchers. Practical ideas are also offered for utilising thesis conclusions within school and research contexts.

## Chapter 7 - Analysis of Results

### **Educational Aspirations**

When considering the educational aspirations and experiences within this chapter, it is important to remember that the worlds of the kaumātua and mokopuna cross three generations - grandparent, child, and grandchild. It is also important to bear in mind that the worlds of the kaumātua and mokopuna were markedly different, their ability to function effectively within those different worlds required different skills, therefore, while the aspirations are more or less the same for the two groups, there are some differences. For example, during the 1920s, the Pākehā population had increased within Te Arawa, which resulted in increased interactions between Māori and Pākehā. The parents of the kaumātua foresaw continued increased interactions and decided that their children would be able to function most effectively if they were proficient in utilising the tools of the Pākehā, including their language. Therefore, one of the main aspirations for the kaumātua was to master English. At that time they could not and did not anticipate that in coming years the survival of te reo Māori would be threatened.

The aspirations of the kaumātua for their mokopuna further reflect the different social contexts of the generations. The kaumātua have felt and lived with the effects of colonisation; and have experienced first-hand a school system that actively sought to replace Māori customs and language with those of Pākehā. As a result, all of the kaumātua gained fluency in English, some became bilingual; but others lived in the Māori and Pākehā worlds with limited proficiency in te reo Māori. Therefore, it is understandable that the main aspiration of the Māori kaumātua was that their mokopuna would become bilingual.

Due to the small size of the group (seven kaumātua and six mokopuna), and scope (focusing on educational aspirations and experiences within Te Arawa), it is beyond the capacity of this project to suggest universal generalisations; to expect

that generalisations made in Part three will apply to all ex-pupils of Te Arawa Native Schools, or to all ex-pupils of Native Schools within Aotearoa-New Zealand. Instead, “the stories are particular to the people of that place and time. The stories are idiosyncratic and are specific to that iwi or hapū” (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p 179). The generalisations record legitimate experiences of individuals that help us to understand the phenomenon of Māori educational aspirations, Native School experiences, and modern schooling. The tino rangatiratanga of every reader is taken for granted in that they may reflect on information within this thesis as it pertains to their particular situation and make their own comparisons and generalisations.

### Educational Aspirations for the Kaumātua

This section focuses on the educational aspirations that the parents of the kaumātua had for the education of their children – the kaumātua. The main aspirations for the kaumātua were to

- Learn the 3 Rs thoroughly so that they can
  - Gain a scholarship to attend secondary school
  - Get better jobs than their parents
  - Work for the betterment of their own people and eventually, society
- Master English
- Cooperate with others

All of the parents of the kaumātua wanted their children to receive a ‘good’, academic education, which the kaumātua defined as a thorough understanding of the 3 R’s - reading, writing and arithmetic in English. A good academic education was the main aspiration so that they could eventually access employment opportunities that would allow them to ‘do better’ than their parents. For example, my father said (that most parents) “wanted their children to end up with a better education than they had the opportunity of having and to utilise that education so that we would be able to get better jobs than our fathers... (and) rise above the status of our fathers”. Parents of the kaumātua placed great

emphasis on passing the Proficiency examination, gaining a scholarship to attend secondary school, getting jobs to help their own people, and eventually contributing “significantly” to society.

The next most common aspiration for the kaumātua was to master English. For example, Nanny Tiki said, “The emphasis was placed on the English language, and the children were encouraged to master that language because it was the language of the workforce”. According to the kaumātua, their parents wanted them to master English because more people were speaking it in their communities and it was considered necessary to gain employment opportunities (Nanny Tiki), and progress in the world (Nan Nan). Conversely, parents of the Gee (Pākehā) families expected their children to acquire some understanding of Māori language and culture by attending Rotokawa Native School.

The final common aspiration for the kaumātua was that they would cooperate with others. Many of the kaumātua said that as members of large families and close communities, cooperation was expected; nevertheless, it was their parents’ desire that appropriate social skills such as cooperation be practiced at school. For example, Aunty Hilda said that social skills taught at school “were continued in many homes and in the community with the emphasis on sharing and caring”.

#### Educational Aspirations for the Mokopuna

This section summarises the main educational aspirations the kaumātua had for their mokopuna. The main aspirations for the mokopuna were to

- Become bilingual
- Learn the 3 Rs thoroughly so that they can
  - Achieve at whatever academic level they choose
  - Enter a career that aligns with their interests and skills
  - Work for the betterment of their own people and eventually, society

An extremely important aspiration for the Māori kaumātua was that their mokopuna become bilingual, which they defined as, proficient in te reo Māori and

English, so that they can function effectively and take their rightful place in both worlds (Dad); to give them a solid understanding of who they are as Māori (Nan Nan and Nanny Tiki), and reinforce tikanga Māori (Aunty Hilda).

Another common aspiration for the mokopuna was to receive a strong academic education and become well grounded in the 3 Rs. The kaumātua also wanted their mokopuna to be capable in other subjects, however, their choices of supporting subjects varied. Some placed high value on sporting endeavours and religious teachings, while others preferred their mokopuna to learn about our country's histories.

All of the kaumātua encouraged their mokopuna to make the most of opportunities the education system offers so that they can advance to whatever academic level they choose; pursue a career that suits their interests and skills; and contribute significantly to the wellbeing and development of their own people, and in turn, society.

## **Comparisons of Educational Aspirations**

### Commonalities

A common aspiration across the generations was to participate effectively in society. It was envisaged that through schooling, the kaumātua and mokopuna would be able to secure appropriate employment, and function effectively in both worlds. Another aspiration apparent throughout the generations pertained to contributing to the positive development of others. The parents of the kaumātua wanted their children to receive a secondary education and get jobs so they could contribute significantly to society and help their own people; similarly, the kaumātua wanted their mokopuna to utilise education to contribute significantly to the wellbeing and development of their own people, and in turn, society. The last common aspiration was that through their schooling the kaumātua and mokopuna would receive a 'good' academic education and a thorough understanding of the 3 Rs.

### Differences

The most noticeable difference in educational aspirations between the kaumātua and mokopuna was the language focus. In accounts pertaining to education within Te Arawa it is clear that the parents of the kaumātua wanted their children to learn English as a means of full and effective participation within a society whose transactions were increasingly English-based (such as accessing employment opportunities). For example, according to Nanny Tiki, the emphasis was placed on the English language, and the children were encouraged to master English because it was the language of the workforce. The mastery of English was such a focus that in some homes, English was the main and sometimes only language spoken even though at least one of the parents' first language was Māori (for example, my father, Nanny Tiki and Aunty Esme). On the other hand, Nan Nan and Aunty Hilda were surrounded by English at school and te reo Māori at home. It is important to note that some people such as Hatu Pirihi and H. Dansey (1941) were greatly concerned that Māori children were not speaking in Māori (BAAA, 1001, 108b). It adds substance to the claim that it was the desire of a number of Māori for their children to learn English and retain te reo Māori. All of the kaumātua agreed that the target language within today's schools should be te reo Māori. They also agreed that bilingualism can be achieved through Māori educational initiatives such as Kura Kaupapa Māori and total immersion classes. Another difference in educational aspirations was the desire for the kaumātua to cooperate with other children at school. This aspiration was expressed by only some of the kaumātua for their mokopuna.

### Summary of Compared Aspirations

The table below shows the most common educational aspirations for the kaumātua and mokopuna. The highlighted area identifies consistencies between educational aspirations for the two generations.

Table Summarising Educational Aspirations	
Aspirations for the education of the <b>Kaumātua</b>	Aspirations for the education of the <b>Mokopuna</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Master English (Bilingualism was expected as they didn't foresee Māori language would be threatened)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Become bilingual (By this time Māori people needed to revive te reo Māori)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Master 3 Rs to...</li> <li>• Access secondary school</li> <li>• Get better jobs than parents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Master 3 Rs to...</li> <li>• Achieve at desired academic level</li> <li>• Enter career suited to their interests and skills</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work for the betterment of their people and eventually society</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work for the betterment of their people and eventually society</li> </ul>

The table shows that across the two generations, the aspirations are largely consistent in that education was viewed as a means of increasing opportunities such as employment, and providing the necessary skills and knowledge to eventually help their own people. In essence, aspirations for the kaumātua and in turn over half a century later for their mokopuna were the same, apart from the specific language focus.

### **School Experiences**

The most common experiences of the kaumātua that occurred over 50 years ago are compared with those of their mokopuna that occurred within recent years. In many instances, policies and practices prevalent during the schooling of the two generations were poles apart. For example, the Native Schools' Code states, "The Māoris will ultimately become Europeanised" (AJHR, 1880, H-1F); whereas, the Ministry of Education's National Curriculum Framework (1993) states, "The school curriculum...will ensure that the experiences, cultural traditions, histories, and languages of all New Zealanders are recognised and valued" (p 7). In order to compare the most common educational experiences between the kaumātua and mokopuna, topics from participants' stories have been organised into themes – pedagogy, curriculum and social climate.

## **Pedagogy**

### Multi-level Classes

One aspect of schooling that appealed to the kaumātua was the multi-level organisation of their classes, that is, children of different ages shared the same classroom and teacher. Multi-level class organisation meant that siblings and cousins participated in lessons together. Within this context, Māori preferred pedagogy such as tuakana-teina thrived. According to my father, the multi-level organisation also prepared younger children for future lessons by exposing them to lessons as they were being taught to the older pupils. When it came time for their lessons in that area, there was a tone of familiarity, and some information from lessons previously overheard was actually retained.

Multi-level organisation differed greatly to the experiences of most of the mokopuna whose classes were organised according to age, whereby children of the same age were grouped together (although multi-level classes exist today in the form of whānau classes). Also different from the experiences of their kaumātua was the more individualised lessons, for example, new concepts were first introduced and explained in groups, followed by students' completion of individual work. The mokopuna also had learning programmes focused solely on individual instruction such as the SRA reading programme.

### Learning Close to Nature

According to the kaumātua, many of their learning experiences were strongly focused on nature and occurred within their natural surroundings. For example, swimming sessions took place in nearby lakes (for pupils of Wai-iti, Whangamarino and Rotokawa Native Schools). At Wai-iti Native School, nature studies were taught in the bush near the school, at 'The Bull Ring'; and at Matata Native School the children studied birds' nests and eggs from a glass case at school and then located and identified those species living in their surrounding environment. According to the kaumātua, learning about, and within their natural surroundings made the curriculum highly relevant to them, and nurtured their

understanding of their surroundings because they literally studied that which was in their back yard.

On the whole, nature experiences of the kaumātua were different from those of the mokopuna. According to Raenor, opportunities for them to participate in these types of learning experiences near their schools and homes were "much less than when Koro was little because our schools and houses have buildings all around them". Almost all of the mokopuna participated in swimming sessions in pools rather than nearby waterways, and their lessons focused on developing specific skills, decided by the teacher, rather than skills the children wanted to develop or swimming in nearby waterways.

### Rote Learning

Another feature of schooling for the kaumātua was committing information to memory through rote learning. Nan Nan, Ted, Nanny Tiki and my father considered the rote method successful because they learned their times tables thoroughly, "like the 3Rs", and were able to recall them when required through the times tables "song" (Nan Nan) or "poem" (Ted). It is interesting to note that even pupils who didn't like mathematics (for example, Nan Nan and Nanny Tiki), retained the information throughout their lives, "That knowledge has stayed with us all our lives – even now that we're in our 70s, we still know them. It's like second nature to us – like our ABCs" (Dad). Kaumātua were already successful at learning by rote, for example they learned waiata by rote.

Of the mokopuna, only Mikayla and Chanz had experiences that were similar to rote learning. Mikayla's teacher wrote the times tables on a chart and collectively the children read them aloud. Chanz committed information to memory by using acronyms which can be likened to rote because the desired information was attributed to a certain letter then repeatedly read aloud and memorised. This method is also used by some second language learners preparing to learn tauparapara (formal speech introduction).

## Teachers

The kaumātua spoke very highly of almost all of their teachers and described them with complimentary adjectives such as “warm, dedicated, respected, genuinely interested, fair, kind, understanding, caring, tolerant and skilled”. Their teachers were accepted as members of the local community because of their contribution to the education of the children, and involvement in other aspects of communal life. Aunty Hilda said Māori teachers at Wai-iti Native School were regarded as “adopted members of Ngāti Pīkiao”. The kaumātua respected their teachers and didn’t dare question any of their instructions. It seems that the boundaries between their roles of teaching the pupils at school, and caring for, and being involved with them and their families out of school, were closely merged.

The mokopuna liked “teachers who gave treats, were fun and sporty, had a sense of humour and gave us lots of love and cuddles”. Due to the current ‘no touching’ policy within today’s schools it is unlikely that many teachers would give lots of love and cuddles. Aunty Hilda and Aunty Esme criticised the policy, “If a teacher cuddles a child then they can be charged with sexual abuse whereas that was one characteristic of our own special teachers, that is, they gave the children a cuddle when we needed it”.

## **Curriculum**

### The 3 Rs

When teaching writing to the kaumātua the teachers ensured pupils formed all of their letters correctly; hence handwriting as a subject was given a considerable amount of attention and close attention was paid to all facets of handwriting, that is, posture, pen grip, letter formation and overall appearance. To develop literacy skills the teachers ensured pupils spelt and pronounced words correctly. According to Nanny Tiki, during reading time, the children stood beside their desks and read passages aloud with particular attention paid to voice expression.

Within the whole language method of teaching language, teachers model correct spelling and amend children's spelling mistakes when they have finished writing the first draft, rather than focusing on spelling or handwriting as separate subjects. The experiences of most of the mokopuna indicate that whole language is the predominant method by which their language skills were taught, because in their writing, many words were spelt incorrectly (according to Nanny Tiki) and they almost never read aloud in front of the class unless they volunteered. Perhaps the Maketu community's apprehension that computer use in schools would dominate communication, replace hand-formed letters, and prevent their children from learning to write is coming to pass since handwriting "wasn't a focus at all" during Ihaia's schooling, and it "hardly ever" featured in Mikayla's schooling. (The whole language approach encompasses a wider scope for language development and today's official curriculum is a great deal wider than that experienced by their grandparents.)

### Practical Subjects

Another major feature of schooling for the kaumātua was their participation in practical subjects. The girls learnt cooking, sewing and general home care; while the boys learnt carpentry skills. An aspect of the practical component enjoyed by many of the kaumātua was gardening, especially eating the soup made from vegetables they'd grown. While many of the kaumātua agreed that practical skills were also learnt at home, there were some aspects they only practised at school, such as carving and wearing face masks when cooking if they were slightly unwell. It is interesting to note that their teachers often taught the practical subjects, for example, Mr Morgan taught carving to boys at Wai-iti. As well as practical instruction from teachers, the kaumātua also received instruction from members of the local community, for example, at Whakarewarewa Native School, Bible studies were taught by two local Māori women, Nini Waaka and Miria Potaka; at Matata Native School, tukutuku work was taught by a local man, Pat Savage; carving by Eremiha Kapua; and Mothercraft by my grandmother, 'Nurse Raureti'; and at Whangamarino Native School, in August 1942, "flax weaving

sessions" were taught by local kuia, 'Mrs Morehu" (Whangamarino School Log Book, BAAA, 1003, 10a).

During their secondary schooling the kaumātua were divided into the academic or general stream. The academic stream included subjects such as Latin and geography, while the general stream's curriculum was broader. Ted and my father liked the subjects they participated in, especially Latin. However, for others, ability-based streaming prevented them from learning subjects of interest, for example, Nan Nan would have liked to have studied Latin.

In some respects the experiences of the mokopuna were similar to those of the kaumātua. For example, cooking, sewing, woodwork and metalwork (although now known by different names) featured in the school experiences of the mokopuna. The main way in which the youngsters' experiences differed to those of the kaumātua was that participation in practical subjects was not determined by gender. Both boys and girls participated in all of the practical subjects mentioned above. All of the mokopuna thought it was unfair to be prevented from learning certain skills because of gender. Carol pointed out that many skilled chefs are male and exclusion from cooking classes could limit career opportunities. Experiences of the mokopuna further differed from those of the kaumātua because tuition in practical subjects was provided by specialist teachers (rather than their 'usual' teacher or skilled locals), and items made by the students were theirs to keep whereas the kaumātua's craft efforts contributed to the improvement of community facilities. None of the mokopuna learned gardening skills at school but some of them believed it would be useful to know how to grow their own food and make their own clothes so that they are not reliant on shops to provide those goods for them and they could save money by growing their own food and making their own clothes.

### Religious Component

Nan Nan, Mrs Powell and Ted participated in weekly religious instruction at their respective Native Schools. Nan Nan believed these sessions were worthwhile

because they reinforced values and beliefs taught at home. For other kaumātua such as my father a religious component at school was minimal and unnecessary for children raised in Christian homes because they'd receive those teachings at home.

Weekly religious instruction featured for many of the mokopuna. None of the mokopuna felt negatively about the lessons. Raenor and Allana were pleased they participated in these lessons because "it's just right", although Carol preferred those doctrines to be taught in a relaxed manner rather than an "in your face" way. The experiences of the mokopuna varied to those of the kaumātua in that some students were excused from participating due to parental preference for non-secular schooling.

### Te Reo Māori

Educational policy prior to and throughout the schooling of the kaumātua focused on eradicating te reo Māori. Their stories reflect that the degree to which te reo Māori featured in the schooling of every kaumātua ranged from being completely absent, to its limited use. According to Aunty Hilda, a limited amount of Māori language was used at Wai-iti Native School although officially it was not to be spoken. Apart from Nan Nan, no one recalled children being reprimanded for speaking Māori. Aunty Hilda said, "It's hard to believe that people were punished because that didn't happen to any of us". However, according to Nan Nan, pupils had to complete extra cleaning duties as punishment for speaking Māori. Another teacher at Whangamarino Native School encouraged the pupils 'kia mau tonu te reo' (to maintain their own language - Māori), and emphasised the need to master English and learn as much from the Pākehā world as possible. According to Ted, te reo Māori wasn't taught at Rotokawa Native School, but he was surrounded by other children who incorporated Māori words into their everyday language, which Ted subsequently incorporated into his normal speech. Nan Nan and Aunty Hilda both felt that abolishing te reo Māori and focusing on English at school did not impact negatively on them because they were surrounded by te reo Māori at home. Their continuous exposure to both languages and meaningful

participation within both contexts provided the crucial ingredients which enabled them to become bilingual. In this way, they fulfilled the educational aspirations of their forebears of gaining fluency in English and Māori. For others however, such as my father, Aunty Esme and Nanny Tiki, the abolition of te reo Māori within the education system and the absence of its meaningful use within their homes, meant that they only acquired fluency in English, and not te reo Māori. However, for pupils whose first and home language was Māori, participating in an academic environment which functioned solely with the use of another language (English) would have limited and made comprehending concepts more difficult than pupils for whom their first and home language was English. This issue is still relevant today for children who are learning a second language by attending schools whose language of instruction differs to their first language.

The place of te reo Māori within the schooling of the mokopuna differed greatly to the kaumātua because all of them were exposed to both Māori (to some degree) and English. Exposure for some of the mokopuna was very limited and not purposeful (for example, singing Māori songs and hearing it used in the playground), while other mokopuna were at some stage of their schooling, members of bilingual and total immersion classes. The mokopuna considered the survival of te reo Māori imperative because it distinguishes us from other cultures. They also supported its inclusions in today's schooling, for example, Raenor thought it should be "a normal thing around the place (and) kept alive in the families". Her statement aligns with justifications of Kaupapa Māori research, that it should be accepted as a 'normal thing around the place' within Aotearoa-New Zealand.

### Māori Art and Craft

All of the kaumātua participated in Māori art and craft lessons such as Māori action songs, poi, haka, carving and tukutuku. School projects teaching Māori art and crafts made worthwhile contributions to the local community, for example, at Matata Native School the senior boys helped complete the school flagpole, after which the Principal confirmed, "Their knowledge of Māori carving lore has been

increased as a result" (1941, Matata Native School Logbook). According to Nan Nan, learning various aspects of Māori art and craft was beneficial because Māori art and craft was also part of their everyday surroundings at home, and their presence in the school environment helped pupils feel comfortable.

The stories of the mokopuna suggest that the basket-weaving approach whereby only aesthetically pleasing parts of a culture are accepted (Metge, 1990), was also evident within their education but perhaps to a lesser extent than that of the kaumātua because although they participated in 'aesthetically pleasing' Māori art activities, te reo Māori was apparent in all of their school experiences and for some it was the main language of instruction. In the case of Māori performing arts, the experiences of the mokopuna were similar to those of the kaumātua in that they too participated regularly in lessons where action songs, poi and haka were taught. One difference between their experiences was that all of the children at Allana's school also rehearsed pōhiri; and other mokopuna participated in annual kapa haka festivals.

## **Social Climate**

### School Pride

All of the kaumātua expressed great pride in their involvement with, and attachment to their respective schools. Most of the kaumātua attended the school affiliated to their own hapū. Nanny Tiki, of Ngāti Pīkiao descent attended Whangamarino, a school of Ngāti Pīkiao; Aunty Hilda and Aunty Esme, also of Ngāti Pīkiao descent attended another school of Ngāti Pīkiao, Wai-iti; Nan Nan of Tuhourangi, Ngāti Wāhiao descent attended Whakarewarewa, one of the hapū affiliated to Whakarewarewa School (she also attended Whangamarino and is affiliated to Ngāti Hinekura); and my father of Ngāti Rangitīhi descent attended Matata Native School. Most of the kaumātua descend from tūpuna who strongly supported their schools, and in some cases the parents of the kaumātua also attended the schools as children. Attending the school most closely affiliated with their hapū helped the kaumātua develop their understanding of, and pride in

whakapapa. For example, they recognised that most of the pupils at their schools were whanaunga (relatives), and they took pride in attending the school previously attended by their predecessors. Pride in hapū was also nurtured because every Native School was closely affiliated to and supported by at least one hapū of Te Arawa from which the kaumātua descended. When the kaumātua talked about interschool sports challenges, they expressed great pride in their schools as they told of their engagement in the activities to their best abilities. According to Nan Nan, interschool sports competitions were very competitive because of the "village make up" of the schools. When one school played another it was like one hapū of Te Arawa playing another. The kaumātua also derived great pride from the "immaculate" appearance of their school buildings, grounds and gardens. They attributed their pride in the appearance of their schools to their direct responsibility for their schools' appearance.

Contrary to the experiences of the kaumātua who lived and were schooled within the realms of their hapū, almost all of the mokopuna lived and were schooled in areas outside of their hapū matua (main hapū). Undoubtedly, it is a result of urbanisation where Māori families who once lived in rural areas amongst their own hapū, have moved away to towns and cities for employment. Although most of the mokopuna participated competitively and with enthusiasm in interschool sports, they competed as members of schools rather than as members of hapū. Carol was the only mokopuna whose school sporting experiences can be likened to intertribal sporting warfare because at Whangamarino School the children were organised into houses based on family groups. In this way, inter-house sports were like families or hapū playing against each other. While the kaumātua expressed great pride in their school environment, not a single youngster did. They did not seem to have developed the same care for, and pride in their surroundings. Nowadays schools employ cleaners, and students are responsible for much 'softer' duties, such as turning the class computers on at the start of the day, and off at the end, and sorting their own rubbish into the correct recycling bins.

## Health

As pupils of Native Schools, all of the kaumātua 'enjoyed' regular visits from health professionals. The word 'enjoyed' is used loosely because one of the tasks performed by the district nurses was inoculations which many children tried desperately to avoid. The district nurses also instructed senior girls in female health and Mother Craft and performed a wide range of other health-related tasks; teachers carried out regular fingernail and handkerchief inspections; and Doctors visited Wai-iti School regularly and consulted free of charge with adult members of the community. All of the kaumātua were grateful for receiving healthy food items throughout their primary schooling such as apples, milk and milo. It made them feel cared for by the teachers. The government's commitment to improving the health of Māori children is evident by the provision of medical professionals, medicines and food items free of charge to children in Native Schools. School lunches for the kaumātua comprised almost entirely of home made goods. Sandwiches were made from home made bread spread with home made butter and jam; and fruit and vegetables were usually home grown.

The experiences of the mokopuna differed to the kaumātua in that only some children were seen by health professionals at school and none of them received free medicines. Carol was the only mokopuna who had kutu and ear inspections. Nowadays parents seek and pay for consultations with health professionals for their children. Also, today's schools assign senior students as sick bay monitors to tend to children who encounter minor injuries during play times. For lunch the mokopuna often ate purchased food items rather than home made goods. Although the mokopuna often took sandwiches and fruit for lunch, the bread and fruit were almost always purchased from a shop, and accompanied by other bought items such as chips, yoghurt, muesli bars, pies, biscuits and drinks even though most of these items could be made relatively easily at home (although making home made foodstuffs is often not a priority for many busy parents).

### Games

According to the kaumātua, hopscotch was the most popular game played by girls at school. Other games they played were basketball, jacks, skipping, hide and seek, and swinging on monkey bars. The main game for boys was football. Both boys and girls played with tops, marbles, stilts, blocks and kites. They also played rounders and tunnel ball. On wet days, the children played in specially made 'shelter sheds'. All of the schools except for Matata had shelter sheds. Whangamarino had one each for the boys and girls. Children were supervised in the shelter sheds by teachers.

The choice of games for the mokopuna showed that the most favoured games for girls and boys are unchanged. The most popular game for most of the girls is still netball, and rugby is still the boys' favourite. The gender gap that existed within the Native School system's curriculum (for example, cooking classes for girls only) seems not to exist within the context of games, because it is almost commonplace nowadays, for girls such as Allana to play games that were previously regarded as 'boys' games', like rugby and bull rush. Youngsters today also enjoyed playing other games from the kaumātua's era such as marbles, hopscotch and tops. A significant difference between the two generations' experiences is highlighted by the recent use of 'bey blades' – commercially made spinning tops. In the past the kaumātua made their own toys because "there was no spare money to buy toys", whereas, today's children often relied on bought toys.

### Patriotism

According to the kaumātua, patriotic practices were commonplace in their schools, for example, pupils at Wai-iti, Whangamarino and Matata Native Schools marched around the school grounds most mornings; sung the National Anthems, 'God of Nations' and 'God Save Our King', and some of their schools flew the New Zealand flag. Aunty Hilda also remembered a portrait of Princesses Margaret and Elizabeth hung in one of their classrooms. The 1954 photograph of the Rotokawa community, waiting for the Royal procession of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall to pass (shown in Mrs Powell's story), suggests patriotism to the monarchy.

Perhaps some Te Arawa Māori were patriotic during this era because they descended from tūpuna who fought alongside Pākehā during the land wars of the 1860s, and remained loyal to the alliances of their tūpuna.

The nurturing of patriotism was almost non-existent in the experiences of the mokopuna. None of them have learnt marching of any kind (Raenor's line dancing lessons is the only activity that most closely resembles marching). The National Anthem 'God of Nations' is only sung at some schools on special occasions such as prize giving ceremonies and international sports tests. Herein lays a major difference between the experiences of the kaumātua and mokopuna - the kaumātua sung the National Anthem only in English, whereas those mokopuna who have sung the National Anthem, have done so in English and Māori. Although both versions are sung at the beginning of most sports test matches today, it did not occur immediately following the passing of Māori Language Act 1987 which recognised te reo Māori as an official language of Aotearoa-New Zealand. Only in recent years has this practice been more readily accepted, almost 20 years after its legalised recognition.

## **Comparison of School Experiences**

### Commonalities

Although some experiences of one or two mokopuna were similar to those of most of the kaumātua, on the whole, the experiences of the two generations were very different. Most of the experiences of most of the kaumātua differed markedly to most of the experiences of most of the mokopuna. Some commonalities between the two generations' school experiences were identified in three aspects – practical subjects, religious instruction and games, whereby most of the kaumātua and mokopuna participated in practical subjects, religious instruction and played similar games.

### Differences

The participants' stories suggest that nearly all of the school experiences of the kaumātua were different to those of their mokopuna. Of the 12 aspects of schooling discussed, 9 main differences were obvious.

### Pedagogy

Multi-level schooling was a main feature of schooling for the kaumātua and one which they favoured, but more individualised forms of instruction were commonplace for the mokopuna. While the kaumātua regularly merged playing with learning as they learnt about and within their local surroundings, the experiences of the mokopuna showed that they mainly learned about the environment from inside their classrooms. The kaumātua identified rote learning as an extremely effective method of learning. Variations of this method of learning were only experienced by two of the mokopuna. Teachers of the kaumātua were highly respected members of their schools and communities, and regularly involved with pupils and their families in and out of school time. Most activities for the teachers of the mokopuna seem to have been restricted to school events.

### Curriculum

While the 3 Rs were the main reason the kaumātua were sent to school, the mokopuna seem to have been exposed to schooling that encouraged the gradual development of a wide range of language skills rather than the reading and writing lessons of the kaumātua that were focused on skill mastery. The main difference between the curriculum-based school experiences for the two generations was te reo Māori. The kaumātua had no formal Māori lessons at school, but daily exposure to te reo Māori was ordinary for the mokopuna (yet overall, not always purposeful or effective exposure). Many of the mokopuna also have participated in activities that nurtured their understanding of, and proficiency in te reo Māori. Māori art and craft featured throughout the schooling of the kaumātua, yet on the whole, the mokopuna's exposure to Māori art seems to have been dominated by kapa haka.

### Social Climate

Most of the kaumātua attended the school that was affiliated with their own hapū and were fiercely proud of their school and its appearance, whereas most of the mokopuna attended schools that were also attended by students of a variety of hapū, iwi and ethnicities. Litter and graffiti were typically found in school grounds today but not at the schools attended by the kaumātua. All of the kaumātua benefited from school-based health initiatives; only one of the mokopuna participated in such initiatives. Patriotism was emphasised during all of the schooling era of the kaumātua; whereas apart from singing the national anthem very seldom, it barely featured in the schooling of the mokopuna.

### Summary of Compared School Experiences

The table below summarises information explained above - the most common school experiences for the kaumātua and mokopuna. The highlighted area identifies consistencies between the two generations' school experiences.

Table Summarising School Experiences			
Theme	School Experience	Prevalent in <b>Schooling of the Kaumātua</b>	Prevalent in <b>Schooling of the Mokopuna</b>
Pedagogy	Multi-level	✓	•
	Learning Close to Nature	✓	•
	Rote Learning	✓	•
	Close Involvement of Teachers in Community	✓	•
Curriculum	3 Rs	✓	•
	<b>Practical Subjects</b>	✓	✓
	<b>Religious Component</b>	✓	✓
	Te Reo Māori	•	✓
	Māori Art and Craft	✓	•
Social Climate	School Pride	✓	•
	Health	✓	•
	<b>Games</b>	✓	✓
	Patriotism	✓	•

The table shows that across the two generations, the school experiences are largely very different. In essence, the experiences of the kaumātua and mokopuna, over half a decade, have changed dramatically.

## Summary

This chapter has substantiated that within Te Arawa education was something to be valued and regarded as a tool which, with instruction and guidance, Māori students could master and utilise to participate effectively within their ever-changing world. The value that was placed on schooling is reflected in the Māori word for school - 'kura', which according to Best (1923), "The word *kura* was employed to denote anything highly prized" (p 7). Williams (1971) also defines 'kura' as something "precious". Commonalities resonated through the words of each generation, and their faith in the education system remained. Both parents of the kaumātua and the kaumātua themselves envisaged that through education their descendants would receive the proper preparation so that in adulthood they could make full use of opportunities to participate and prosper within their society. In spite of overall similarities in aspirations, apart from a few similarities, most of the school experiences of the kaumātua and mokopuna were markedly different. Chapter 8 clarifies the different contexts within which the two generations were schooled and explains reasons for similarities in aspirations, and differences in experiences.

## Chapter 8 – Changing Contexts of Māori Education

Summaries and comparisons of educational aspirations and experiences of the kaumātua and mokopuna show that the educational aspirations for the two generations were very similar; however, most of their school experiences were very different. Therefore, in order to provide explanations for those differences, the following chapter identifies and examines the changing contexts for Māori education. It shows how various aspects of schooling for the kaumātua and mokopuna assisted or limited Māori realisation of the educational aspirations. This chapter highlights the development of Māori schooling from a period of assimilation, to resistance, conscience raising and action. It also shows that in spite of Māori resistance and the continued expectation to utilise the education system to maximise employment and life opportunities for their children and function as bilingual people, the government maintained an agenda of assimilation and domination.

The following table summarises the changing contexts for Māori education and the similarities of aspirations and differences in experiences between the kaumātua and mokopuna. The periods within which those two generations were schooled are emphasised to help account for the differences in school experiences. It is important to note that the column pertaining to the schooling context of the mokopuna relates to mainstream schooling since it was the system experienced by most of the mokopuna, and “over 85% of Maori students are currently in the mainstream or general school system rather than in Kura Kaupapa or other Maori medium settings” (Ministry of Education, 2005). Contributing factors in relation to Kura Kaupapa Māori show similarities between Kura Kaupapa Māori as a modern schooling option and the schooling of the kaumātua so that the continued Māori resistance to, and development in education may be summarised.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> There were Board Schools that operated concurrently to Native Schools, but an analysis is not pertinent to this context.

<b>CHANGING CONTEXTS OF MĀORI EDUCATION</b>						
	<b>NATIVE SCHOOL SYSTEM</b>			<b>MODERN SCHOOLING OPTIONS</b>		
	<b>Early Native School Period</b>	<b>Middle Native School Period</b>	<b>Later Native School Period</b>	<b>Post-Native School Period</b>	<b>Kura Kaupapa Māori</b>	<b>Mainstream Schooling</b>
	1867– early 1900s	1930s - 1940s Schooling for Kaumātua	1950s - 1969	1970s – 1980s	1980 - 2000	1990 – 2000 Schooling for Mokopuna
<b>MĀORI EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS</b>						
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Maintain sovereignty</li> <li>- Enhance life changes</li> <li>- Parity with Pākehā</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enhance life changes</li> <li>- maximise job opportunities</li> <li>- Parity with Pākehā</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enhance life changes</li> <li>- Maximise job opportunities</li> <li>- Help own people</li> <li>- Continued operation of Native Schools</li> <li>- Māoritanga in schools</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enhance life changes</li> <li>- Maximise job opportunities</li> <li>- Reclaim rangatiratanga</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enhance life changes</li> <li>- Maximise job opportunities</li> <li>- Regain control over their children’s education</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enhance life changes</li> <li>- Maximise job opportunities</li> <li>- Help own people</li> </ul>
<b>MĀORI LANGUAGE ASPIRATIONS</b>						
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bilingualism</li> <li>- Sought to learn English at school</li> <li>- Te reo Māori within Māori communities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bilingualism</li> <li>- Sought to master English at school</li> <li>- Te reo Māori and English within communities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bilingualism</li> <li>- Sought to increase knowledge of Māoritanga and reo Māori in schools but sole use of English continued</li> <li>- inclusion of te reo Māori (also recommended by NACME and MWL)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bilingualism</li> <li>- Continued call for inclusion of Māori language in schools</li> <li>- Efforts to save te reo Māori</li> <li>- Beginning of Māori initiatives to revitalise reo Māori through education, i.e. Kōhanga Reo then Kura Kaupapa</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bilingualism (some KKM: trilingualism [Spanish])</li> <li>- Revitalise te reo Māori</li> <li>- Kura Kaupapa Māori established</li> <li>- Wharekura established</li> <li>- Sought to master Māori at school</li> <li>- use of reo Māori encouraged at home</li> <li>- Māori speaking supporters sought for use of reo Māori out of school</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bilingualism</li> <li>- English mostly used within homes and communities</li> <li>- Sought to learn Māori at school</li> </ul>

	<b>Early Native School Period</b>	<b>Middle Native School Period</b>	<b>Later Native School Period</b>	<b>Post-Native School Period</b>	<b>Kura Kaupapa Māori</b>	<b>Mainstream Schooling</b>
	1867– early 1900s	1930s - 1940s Schooling for Kaumātua	1950s - 1969	1970s – 1980s	1980 - 2000	1990 – 2000 Schooling for Mokokopuna
<b>CONTRIBUTING FACTORS</b>						
<b>Language employed</b>	English because assimilation was a primary goal of Native Schooling - from 1880 te reo Māori officially allowed in junior classes to pupils help learn English - from 1900 te reo Māori officially prohibited - Te reo Māori safe in Māori communities	English - in line with assimilation goal - Te reo Māori safe in Māori communities	English - in line with assimilation goal - Declining numbers of speakers of Te reo Māori (greatly due to urbanisation) - Te reo Māori no longer safe, even in Māori communities	English - in line with assimilation goal - Threat of losing te reo Māori	- Te reo Māori - English taught ([normally] during senior years)	English - Te reo Māori not apparent in most communities
<b>Curriculum</b>	Restricted curriculum - Emphasis on Europeanising Māori as fast as possible - academic subjects excluded - focus on developing practical skills - aim to merge education of Māori and Pākehā when Māori sufficiently Europeanised	1931 curriculum change to include academic subjects - vestiges of restricted curriculum remained, emphasis still on practical subjects - subject restriction based on gender - 'certain' aspects of Māori culture allowed to be included, but not te reo Māori	- vestiges of restricted curriculum remained with emphasis still on practical subjects - subjects restricted to pupils of each gender - 'certain' aspects of Māori culture allowed to be included, but not te reo Māori	No apparent distinction between curriculum taught at schools that previously functioned as Native or Board Schools	- National curriculum taught according to tikanga Māori (Māori values, preferences etc) - inclusion of other languages chosen by community	Pākehā focus with flecks of Māoritanga (i.e. taha Māori initiative) - no gender restrictions on subjects

	<b>Early Native School Period</b>	<b>Middle Native School Period</b>	<b>Later Native School Period</b>	<b>Post-Native School Period</b>	<b>Kura Kaupapa Māori</b>	<b>Mainstream Schooling</b>
	1867– early 1900s	1930s - 1940s Schooling for Kaumātua	1950s - 1969	1970s – 1980s	1980 - 2000	1990 – 2000 Schooling for Mokopuna
<b>Teachers</b>	Pākehā - expected to exercise a beneficial influence on whole Māori community - intended as role models for Māori to emulate	Māori and Pākehā - Māori teachers were often from their own communities (insiders) - melded professional and personal roles of teachers - full involvement in community activities	Pākehā and Māori - Māori teachers were often from their own communities (insiders) - melded professional and personal roles of teachers - full involvement in community activities	Pākehā and Māori - division between professional and personal roles of teachers	Mostly Māori - Māori teachers were often from their own communities (insiders) - melded professional and personal roles of teachers - full involvement in community activities	Pākehā and Māori - mostly outsiders (not from Māori community school is located within) - Definite division between professional and personal roles of teachers - participation in community activities limited to school functions/ activities
<b>Māori Community Participation in Schools</b>	Minimal - apart from teaching night classes (in line with influencing whole community)	High - interaction of community members in school activities - specialist instructors came from Māori communities - Māori community influenced school's operations	High - interaction of community members in school activities - Māori community influenced school's operations	Decreased	High - interaction of community members in school activities - Māori community influenced school's operations	Minimal - hence main aim of Tomorrow's Schools to increase parental involvement in schools (management and governance, not involvement in curriculum and instruction)

	<b>Early Native School Period</b>	<b>Middle Native School Period</b>	<b>Later Native School Period</b>	<b>Post-Native School Period</b>	<b>Kura Kaupapa Māori</b>	<b>Mainstream Schooling</b>
	1867– early 1900s	1930s - 1940s Schooling for Kaumātua	1950s - 1969	1970s – 1980s	1980 - 2000	1990 – 2000 Schooling for Mokopuna
<b>Māori Community Ownership of Schools</b>	High - sacrifices made to establish and support schools (land, money etc)	High - full involvement between school and Māori community - Māori communities regarded the Native Schools as their own	High - Māori communities regarded the Native Schools as their own - claims of separatism plagued Māori (Native) Schools and their supporters	Decreased	High - full involvement between school and Māori community - Māori communities regarded the Kura Kaupapa Māori as their own	Minimal - hence another main aim of Tomorrow's Schools to increase community ownership of schools (management and governance)
<b>Tikanga Māori</b>	Nil - in line with aim to dispense with Māori habits and replace with those of Pākehā	Moderate - in spite of continued agenda of assimilation, Native School pedagogies often nurtured Māori values	Moderate - in spite of continued agenda of assimilation, Native School pedagogies often nurtured Māori values	Decreased	High - National curriculum taught according to tikanga Māori (Māori values, preferences etc)	Nil – minimal - hence introduction of taha Māori initiative - schools based around nurturing Pākehā goals (e.g. individual achievement and competition)

## SUMMARY OF CHANGING CONTEXTS OF MĀORI EDUCATION

	NATIVE SCHOOL SYSTEM			MODERN SCHOOLING OPTIONS		
	Early Native School Period	Middle Native School Period	Later Native School Period	Post-Native School Period	Kura Kaupapa Māori	Mainstream Schooling
	1867– early 1900s	1930s - 1940s Schooling for Kaumātua	1950s - 1969	1970s – 1980s	1980 - 2000	1990 – 2000 Schooling for Mōkōpuna
	<i>The main feature of this period was that it was the first period strongly focused on assimilation</i>	<i>During these periods Māori resisted the continued government goal of assimilation by becoming closely engaged with their schools to influence their operations as a means of achieving their aspirations.</i>	<i>Māori people and organisations exerted great efforts to raise the conscience of their own people and indeed mainstream New Zealand about injustices to Māori.</i>	<i>This period was another period of Māori resistance which resulted in action in the form of the establishment o Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wharekura.</i>	<i>Many features within this period were very similar to those prevalent in the middle and later Native Schools periods (e.g. high levels of Māori community engagement with, and ownership of schools; and Māori values nurtured at school). It was a period of continued conscience raising, and more specifically, action.</i>	<i>Many features within this period were very similar to those prevalent in the early Native School period (e.g. Schools' operations driven by Pākehā values; and minimal Māori community engagement with, and ownership of schools).</i>

	NATIVE SCHOOL SYSTEM			MODERN SCHOOLING OPTIONS		
	Early Native School Period	Middle Native School Period	Later Native School Period	Post-Native School Period	Kura Kaupapa Māori	Mainstream Schooling
	1867– early 1900s	1930s - 1940s Schooling for Kaumātua	1950s - 1969	1970s – 1980s	1980 - 2000	1990 – 2000 Schooling for Mokopuna
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Māori introduction to Pākehā education system</li> <li>- Māori viewed schools as access to participation in new world</li> <li>- curriculum designed according to Pākehā desires (e.g. emulate Pākehā living standards and health practices)</li> <li>- Land Wars confirmed for some Māori that Pākehā sought to acquire Māori land by establishing schools (land stipulation)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- English medium of instruction, tikanga and reo Māori safe in communities</li> <li>- Māori influenced school's operations</li> <li>- high involvement between school and community</li> <li>- schools viewed as extension of community</li> <li>- Māori values nurtured at home and school</li> <li>- Māori success with school system</li> <li>- Māori pupils in Native Schools outperformed Māori pupils in Board Schools</li> <li>- Native Schooling during this period provided a prototype for Kura Kaupapa Māori</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Pākehā asserted control over Māori education even after supposed 'consultation' (e.g. exclusion of te reo Māori from curriculum and end of Native School system)</li> <li>- curriculum designed according to Pākehā desires (e.g. 'best of Māori tradition', excluding te reo Māori)</li> <li>- transfer of Māori (Native) Schools to Board control began 1967</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Taha Māori incorporated in schools which mainly helped Pākehā students</li> <li>- Tomorrow's Schools tried to replicate aspects previously prevalent in Native Schools (e.g. high parental involvement)</li> <li>- Te Reo Māori recognised as an official language of Aotearoa-New Zealand</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- After years of resistance, Māori struggled to re-establish what they had already achieved half a century earlier, through Kura Kaupapa Māori</li> <li>- 20 year period to recreate many effective aspects already prevalent in the Native School system</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- English medium of instruction, tikanga and reo Māori not apparent in most communities</li> <li>- Minimal Māori parental involvement in schools</li> <li>- Pākehā values nurtured at school</li> <li>- Rejection of some Māori values</li> <li>- Minimal Māori student success</li> <li>- Tomorrow's Schools initiative found to mainly benefit large, already affluent Pākehā schools</li> </ul>

Firstly, the table summarises Māori educational aspirations and language aspirations from 1867 to 2000. With reference to these aspirations, the factors that contributed to the changing contexts in Māori education are addressed while considering ways in which they assisted or limited the realisation of Māori aspirations. Discussions within this chapter focus on the middle Native School period of the 1930s and 1940s as the schooling context for the kaumātua, and the mainstream schooling option from the 1990s to 2000, as the schooling context for the mokopuna. In line with philosophies of Kaupapa Māori research, the contributing factors will be analysed according to tino rangatiratanga, a spirit of both Māori resistance to oppressive structures and policies, and formulating new options to realise Māori aspirations. Participants themselves have identified various aspects of their schooling that helped set them on the path to achieving the educational aspirations. Those aspects of past and present schooling have been identified by participants as effective because they 'worked' for them. As well, some Māori frameworks within which the concept of tino rangatiratanga are embodied and advocated are utilised as tools of analysis. Those frameworks (previously introduced in chapter two) are Smith's (1990b) fundamental aspects of Kaupapa Māori; Durie's (2001a) framework for considering Māori educational advancement goals; and Durie's (2001b)<sup>7</sup> principles for education. Glynn's (1985) characteristics of responsive social contexts are also utilised as a mode of analysis to show how various aspects of pedagogy, curriculum and social climate supported and promoted the transmission of Māori values because of their high relevance to aspects of Native School pedagogy.

### Tino rangatiratanga

In part one, tino rangatiratanga was defined as promoting Māori control and determination of their own lives, and advancing Māori control and power with regard to research and education. A more complete understanding of the phrase tino rangatiratanga may be gained by considering the meanings of the words 'tino', 'ranga', 'tira', 'tanga'. According to Williams (1971) 'ranga' can be an

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<sup>7</sup> To distinguish between Durie's (2001) framework for considering Māori educational advancement goals, and his (2001) principles for education, the first will be referred to as 2001a and the second (principles for education) will be referred to as 2001b.

abbreviated form of 'raranga' which means to weave. 'Ranga' can also mean to blow gently. 'Tira' relates to a group of people. 'Tanga' according to Williams (1971) can be an abbreviation of 'tatanga' meaning alert, ready, and 'tangatanga' meaning free from pain. Finally, 'tino' is defined as reality. (It can also be used to emphasise.) When used as a suffix, 'tanga' can denote a noun; therefore, 'rangatiratanga' can also be understood as the act of joining people to form a collective. Another interpretation of the above suggested meanings, is that tino rangatiratanga indicates the joining (weaving) of people (tira), or influencing (blow gently) them to be alert and ready to act in a way that can release them from pain, and make their desires a reality. More succinctly, tino rangatiratanga can be explained as being ready to implement a course of action that will move towards making Māori dreams a reality. All of the descriptions of tino rangatiratanga complement and extend our previous explanation of promoting Māori control and determination of their own lives, and advancing Māori control and power. All of the explanations are based on changing and improving the lives of Māori people, according to their own values and aspirations.

## **Factors that Contributed to the Changing Contexts of Māori Education**

### **Aspirations**

The table shows that from 1867 schooling was viewed by Māori as a means of enhancing their children's lives and maximising opportunities so that they could enjoy the benefits of full and effective participation in society. Those aspirations continued during the 1930s and 1940s and throughout the decades up to the year 2000, that is, to enhance life chances, maximise job opportunities and gain parity with Pākehā through schooling. Also consistent throughout the years, was the expectation that their children would gain the skills required to function effectively in their society and therefore be proficient in English and Māori. Prior to the 1950s te reo Māori was safe in most Māori communities so the focus was on children acquiring English. However, from the 1950s, when the survival of te reo Māori was severely threatened, a specific focus on te reo Māori within schools became a key Māori aspiration.

## **Language Employed**

During the early Native School period (1867 to early 1900s), English was the medium of instruction because assimilation was the government's primary goal. In 1880 the use of te reo Māori in schools was allowed to help pupils master English, but from 1900 it was again prohibited. During this time, the use of English at school aligned with Māori aspirations of utilising schooling to gain the skills required to function effectively in their society. It was thought that te reo Māori was secure in Māori communities so through schooling, Māori were able to learn English and become bilingual.

During the middle Native School period (1930s to 1940s), the period when the kaumātua were schooled, in line with the government's unremitting goal of assimilation, English was still the language of instruction, and te reo Māori was still thought to be safe in Māori communities. One of the main aspirations for the education of the kaumātua was to master English. Therefore, the use of English at school met with their parents' approval and aligned with their aspirations. Māori parents' desire for their children to learn English was highlighted by Uncle Nira (Raureti, 2000), "My mother and father who spoke fluent Māori as well as English, told me that to get ahead in the modern world I had to learn to speak and write English. This was the widely held belief at that time" (p 93). Selby (1999) also stated, "Others who retained the language did so for themselves, but never taught their children" (p 4). The 'widely held belief' that Uncle Nira identified is confirmed by Irwin (1987, cited in Historical Review, 1998); Selby (1999); Webby and Misa (2002); and Outreach (2003). "Māori themselves were strongly supportive of their children learning English, as they saw benefits in being able to work effectively with Pākehā" (Outreach, 2003, p 1). In advocating the mastery of English and proficiency in being able to work effectively with Pākehā, some parents encouraged their children to turn away from their Māoritanga; however, it is also evident that many Māori did not foresee that a deliberate focus on English would have such a devastating effect on the Māori language, culture and its people. In my father's opinion, our tūpuna wanted their children to learn English and took it for granted that te reo Māori would be with

us forever, "They would not have realised that by advocating the learning of English, losing the Māori language would eventuate" (Raureti, 2000, p 190). Metge (1990) substantiates, "At a time when Māori was the language of home and community, they did not foresee the eroding effect this would have on its use" (p 21). Similarly, McPherson (1994) says, "Although support for the teaching of English in schools came from Māori leaders at the time, there is no evidence that they could possibly have foreseen the role that this would ultimately play in undermining te reo" (p 13). To Simon (1998), "It is highly unlikely...that in promoting an emphasis on the English language Māori ever conceived the possibility that this could place te reo at risk. Rather, it seems, Māori wanted their children to be proficient in both languages" (p 74).

English continued to be used during the later Native School period (1950s to 1969), however, during this time the number of people who spoke Māori regularly was declining, due in great part to urbanisation. Even within Māori communities the use of English was increasing. Te reo Māori was no longer the sole language used in most Māori communities, and many Māori people and organisations realised that the survival of their language was under considerable threat. In spite of requests and recommendations to include te reo Māori in the Native School curriculum (for example, from the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education, Māori Women's Welfare League, and numerous Native School teachers and parents) the government insisted on English as the sole language for schools. This destructive educational policy conflicted with the educational aspirations of many Māori who sought to access tools of the Pākehā to complement, not replace their own. The dominance of English in New Zealand schools continued throughout the Post Native School period (1970s and 1980s), however, as a result of Māori resistance to the hegemonic practices and policies, Māori developed educational initiatives (Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Wharekura) which focused on saving and revitalising te reo Māori. Within these educational settings te reo Māori is the language employed.

During the schooling of the kaumātua the direct method of language acquisition was advocated. The philosophy of the direct method is that “the second language (English) would be acquired quicker and more effectively if the first language (Māori) was not used at all” (Simon, 1998, p 17). Nan Nan and Aunty Hilda were fortunate to have been surrounded by te reo Māori in their home environment. However, the absence of te reo Māori within meaningful daily interactions of the other kaumātua resulted in their limited proficiency in te reo Māori. Nan Nan and Aunty Hilda deemed the direct method of teaching English at school as effective because it enabled them to fulfil their parents’ aspirations of mastering English, becoming bilingual; accessing employment opportunities; and contributing effectively to society - Aunty Hilda in her career as a teacher, and Nan Nan as a tourist guide and international ambassador for Aotearoa-New Zealand. Aunty Hilda also fulfilled the aspiration of using her knowledge for the betterment of her own people as she and other children taught their elders English.

The direct method was also identified as one of the key factors for three of the six mokopuna who have become bilingual and fulfilled one of the main aspirations of their kaumātua. Chanz considered the direct method effective because during the last month of every term at school she “was forced to use te reo”.

The aspiration to become bilingual embodies Smith’s (1990b) second and third features of Kaupapa Māori, that is, “the survival and revival of Māori language and...culture” and the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing. The bilingual aspiration also strongly represents Durie’s (2001) first and second goals, “to live as Māori” and participate as citizens of the world.

## **Curriculum**

### Practical Focus

From the outset (1867 to the early 1900s), Māori pupils were exposed to a restricted, practical focused curriculum which emphasised assimilation, not the imparting of knowledge valued by Māori. Many Māori viewed the practical focus

as insulting because they'd accessed schooling as a means of gaining parity with Pākehā. Early patronising and patriarchal sentiments were expressed in 1902 (AJHR, 1902, Vol. 2, D-G, E-2), English and manual training "must be considered as far more important than more bookish forms of instruction which tend to unfit Māori boys and girls for the simple life of the pa...it seems accordingly a waste of effort to teach Latin and other purely academic subjects to those who should be taught in a practical way" (pp 2-3). During the 1930s and 1940s, the Native School curriculum was brought into line with that of Board Schools. For the first time, Māori pupils had access to academic-type subjects which aligned with community aspirations to gain parity with Pākehā. In reality however, the practical focus remained in most Native Schools, and although the kaumātua enjoyed and valued the practical skills they learned, a major criticism of the continued practical focus was that it limited life opportunities for Māori. "By 1950 there was still a lack of emphasis on academic education and on preparation for the professions. Consequently few Māori entered white-collar occupations in the post-war years" (King, 1997, p 83). A true elimination of the practical focus did not occur until the end of the Native School system in 1969, when Māori (Native) Schools merged with Board Schools.

The kaumātua deemed practical subjects such as gardening and home craft as effective because they developed skills of self-sufficiency and caring for others. This instruction was especially useful to Aunty Esme who managed their household for a period of months when her mother received medical treatment out of town. The mokopuna too identified open access to various subjects as an effective aspect of their schooling because they were exposed to a wide range of subjects which allowed them to develop their interest in subjects such as cooking.

Māori support of access to academic subjects embodies Smith's (1990b) third feature of Kaupapa Māori, the struggle for autonomy over our own lives; as well as Durie's (2001a) second and third goal, to actively participate as citizens of the world and to enjoy a high standard of living.

### 3 Rs

During the schooling of the kaumātua, teachers maintained a strict focus on the 3 Rs, however, this focus had shifted by the time the mokopuna attended school in the 1990s and 2000. The strict focus during the schooling of the kaumātua helped realise their parents' educational aspiration of mastering the 3 Rs. It implies that Durie's (2001a) second Māori educational advancement goal, to actively participate as citizens of the world, was being pursued because parents of the kaumātua wanted their children to master the 3 Rs so they could gain access to secondary school and secure jobs that would enable them to participate effectively in society. It can also be likened to Smith's (1990b) third fundamental aspect of Kaupapa Māori, that is, the struggle for autonomy over our own lives.

### Māori Art and Craft

The teaching of Māori Art and Craft at school was especially prevalent during the 1930s and 1940s and aligned with the community's aspirations. It continued over time and is evident in modern schooling. Reproducing aspects of Māori pupils' home environment at school shows some degree of sensitivity to their cultural background and some acceptance of certain aspects of Māoritanga as valid and legitimate (Smith, 1990b). Macfarlane (2004) explains that cultural sensitivity is important for teachers because they will be better able "to understand, and respond to the learning needs of today's diverse classrooms" (p 7). Sensitivity to students' cultural background is significant because "conventional schools appear to run counter to important Māori cultural values" (pp 10-11) and "many of the problems encountered by the Māori children (are) attributed to the attitudes of Pākehā teachers who fail to recognize the gulf that existed between the values and 'ways' of the Māori child's home and those of the school" (Simon, 1986, p 25). However, mere replication of pupils' physical environment falls a long way short of providing optimal learning conditions for Māori students. Instead, learning conditions are improved when "there is a close alignment of cultural values within the classroom and across the school" (Durie, 2004, p 6). It is important to note that over time; only certain aspects of Māoritanga were deemed worthy enough by education department officials to be included in the curriculum.

According to Metge (1990), when aspects of a minority group's culture are included in the mainstream curriculum, they are often reduced "to its aesthetically pleasing, material parts, especially its expressive arts" which she refers to as the "basket-weaving and spaghetti-eating approach" (p 34). The stories of our kaumātua suggest that the basket-weaving approach was clearly evident within the Native School system because some aspects of Māori culture such as Māori action songs and art were incorporated into their curriculum, but not te reo Māori. The teaching of Māori art and craft after the middle Native School period contravenes Bevan-Brown's (2003) statement that, until recently, only Pākehā pupils have had "their home values and experiences reproduced, reinforced and affirmed in the school/centre environment" (p 5). Today, kapa haka (Māori performing arts) dominates the type of Māori art that is taught within mainstream schooling. Perhaps some Māori songs and haka are still taught in schools because the Māori performing arts and particularly the haka are international icons for Aotearoa-New Zealand, and therefore aspects of Māori culture most easily tolerated by mainstream New Zealand. In spite of the international recognition that certain aspects of Māoritanga give Aotearoa-New Zealand, and despite the unique position of Māori as tāngata whenua, Wylie (1991) reported that "staff... have some outside pressure from some parents who totally dislike the idea of their children 'exposed' to the Māori reo or culture" (pp 74-75).

Māori art and craft lessons were often taught by kanohi kitea, recognised faces from within the local community. The kaumātua considered Māori art and craft sessions where children completed projects for local marae, especially effective because they helped pupils fulfil the aspiration of contributing to the well-being of their hapū. As well as Māori art and craft, the kaumātua deemed the learning of Māori songs at school effective because they felt their culture was valued; it reinforced aspects of their home life, and nurtured pride in Māoritanga. Aunty Hilda said, "It was important for us to continue to learn who we are through music, action songs and art and craft, and to be proud of who we are". The mokopuna also identified the inclusion of Māoritanga as effective, for example,

learning songs and whakapapa at Whangamarino School helped Carol develop pride in her Ngāti Pīkiaoatanga.

It could be suggested that the inclusion of Māori art and craft in the Native School curriculum contributed to the realisation of Smith's (1990b) second feature, the survival of Māori culture.

### Health Focus

During the early Native School period, the 1880 Native Schools' Code focused on improving Māori health through school instruction. The health focus continued throughout the schooling of the kaumātua but had diminished by the time their mokopuna were at school. Nowadays, schools play a minimal role in caring for the physical wellbeing of their students; instead, it is left to the parents to seek medical attention for their children. The government's use of Native Schools as important sites for intervening in Māori health (Simon and Smith, 2001) aligned with Māori people's desires, and assisted in the realisation of their aspiration to enhance life chances through schooling, because after years of exposure to the schools' health focus, Māori health eventually improved.

The kaumātua deemed school-based health initiatives such as providing healthy food items, medicines and inoculations, as highly effective aspects of their schooling. The provisions kept the children healthy so that they could maintain regular attendance at school and fulfil one of the aspirations of their tūpuna and parents, which was to make the most of their schooling. Aunty Hilda and Aunty Esme believed "that on the whole, they were strong, healthy children and attribute that in part to the extra health care provided for them at school". They are certain that administering preventative medicine helped them develop healthily and build up immunity against common ailments. Another major benefit of the health initiatives was that the pupils felt "really well cared for. We had better treatment than kids today" (Nan Nan). The health focus at school from the late 1800s until the end of the Native School system contributed to achieving Māori autonomy over their own well-being and lives (Smith, 1990b), and assisted

an aspect of Māori struggle and Durie's (2001a) third Māori educational advancement goal, to enjoy good health and a high standard of living.

### Religious Instruction

When Māori first encountered Pākehā-type schooling, they were operated by the missionaries and focused on communicating religious persuasions. The changing contexts in Māori education table shows that like the Māori art and craft component of the curriculum, a religious element to schooling continued throughout time. Participants' stories suggest greater acceptance of religious teachings at school during the schooling of the kaumātua compared with that of the mokopuna because at that time no pupils were excused from participating in sessions. Acceptance of a spiritual dimension on the part of the kaumātua within their everyday lives aligns with Durie's (1994) Whare Tapawha model of Māori health and well-being, wherein Durie identifies te taha wairua (spiritual well-being) as one of the four crucial dimensions of health and well-being. Some of the kaumātua deemed the inclusion of religious studies in their schooling as effective because it helped them develop into caring people and nurtured strong foundations for life long involvement in Church life. Nan Nan's commitment to Christianity has resulted in her current career as a kaumātua minister, which allows her to contribute to the well-being of her own people, "It's my way of saying thank you to my many kaumātua of Tuhourangi and Ngāti Hinerangi for all the knowledge and unique experiences my generation received".

The inclusion and acceptance of a spiritual component in schooling also complements Smith's (1990b) validity and legitimacy of (being) Māori, since Māori have always accepted a spiritual dimension to their existence; it also complements Durie's (2001a) living as Māori and enjoying good health since te taha wairua contributes to overall well-being.

### **Teachers**

During the early Native School period, all of the teachers were Pākehā who, in line with the government's goal of advancing assimilation, were expected to act as

role models for Māori pupils and their families to emulate. By the time the kaumātua were pupils, some Māori had also become teachers, many of whom returned to teach in their own villages. During this period and the later Native School period, both Māori and Pākehā Native School teachers were fully involved in community activities in and out of school hours. Consequently, they were accepted as valued and respected members of the community. Many of the kaumātua believed that today's youngsters do not respect their teachers and the mokopuna themselves recounted situations that suggested lack of student respect for teachers. One possible reason for the lack of student respect for teachers is that opportunities for interaction between student and teacher are limited almost entirely to the classroom. Most teachers today live away from the schools at which they teach and their involvement in community events is often restricted to events concerning their school. Glynn et al. (2005) confirm, "In many schools teachers have so little knowledge and experience of the family and community contexts where their students live that they are unable to participate in those...contexts and practices in which their students are already successful" (pp 5-6). It is important to note that such is not the case for most teachers at Kura Kaupapa Māori whose 'out of school' lives are also concerned with school activities. The teachers of the kaumātua merged their professional and personal roles as they were involved with their pupils in and out of school, as opposed to many of today's teachers in mainstream schools, whose personal and professional roles are separate.

For the kaumātua, interacting with their teachers in meaningful situations within and out of school fostered fundamental values within te ao Māori - aroha (affection) and manaakitanga (caring) by allowing the teachers, pupils and their families to develop and show aroha for each other. It also allowed the communities to host and care for their teachers by involving them in community activities. A letter from Matata Native School's committee chairman to James Pope, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of August 1888 gives an example of the level of care that some Native School teachers had for their communities, "He tangata tika rawa tenei mahita ara a Thurston...tona aroha nui kia Ngatirangitahi" (BAAA, 1001, 333a),

(Thurston is a person of great character...who has great love for Ngāti Rangitihi). As a result of regular, positive, meaningful interactions with their teachers, the kaumātua felt valued and cared for. According to McKinley and Else (2002), "For Māori parents, the most important thing about a teacher was...that the teacher cared deeply about them and their success" (p 24). Wilson and Corbett (2001) suggest that the place of caring in schools should not be underestimated because a student's belief that "a teacher cared about them did more than just make students feel good. Students in the school transformed teachers' caring enough to 'teach' them into academic self-confidence" (p 89). Noddings (1996) highlights another benefit of caring teachers, "The child genuinely cared for is free to respond as himself, to create, to follow his interests without unnecessary fear and anxiety" (Gordon et al., 1996, p 34). Through regular interaction between teachers, pupils and their families, the teachers understood the social contexts of their pupils, and had the opportunity to come to know the children in other contexts where they may be successful. Ladson-Billings (1995) explains that teachers of ethnicities different to their students can be effective because of their total involvement in the communal activities of their students.

The kaumātua also considered their teachers' high expectations as an effective aspect of their schooling because they often resulted in the pupils performing to their teacher's expectations. Bishop et al (2003) acknowledge, "The major influence of Māori students' educational achievement lies in the minds and actions of their teachers".

Smith's (1990b) first and second fundamental aspects of Kaupapa Māori– the validity, legitimacy and survival of tikanga Māori were fostered within this context because Māori values of aroha and manaakitanga were practised. It also reflected Durie's (2001b) first and second principles for education, the principle of best outcomes (relationships between home and school), and the principle of integrated action (cooperation between home and school) because of the melding of teachers' professional and personal involvement with their pupils and their families.

### **Māori Community Participation within and Ownership of Schools**

During the early period of Native Schools (1867 to the early 1900s), Māori felt great ownership of their schools because many of them had made sacrifices to provide land and funds in order for the schools to be established. Because of their struggles to establish and maintain the schools, this sense of ownership continued throughout the middle and later periods of Native School operation, but lessened from the post-Native School period when Native and Board schools merged, and Māori control and involvement in the schools decreased. In the early Native School period, involvement of Māori communities in the schools' operations was minimal, and then changed dramatically during the middle and later Native School periods when they participated fully in many of the schools' daily activities. For example, specialist Māori instructors were often sourced directly from the community, and community members contributed ideas for community development projects. The high levels of community involvement in the middle Native School period continued throughout the later Native School period then once again decreased when the Native Schools were forced to become Board Schools. Māori community involvement in schools remained minimal until the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori, which encourage high parental involvement and support for optimal operation.

Since the kaumātua attended the school most closely affiliated with their hapū, pride in their schools was nurtured. King (1997) recognises, "Tribalism was the source of much of the group vitality and competitiveness of Māori life. And most Māori individuals continued to draw their identity and strength not from being Māori, but from being a known member of a particular hapu or tribe" (p 85). Their participation in inter-school sports can be likened to intertribal competition and intertribal battles. Attending schools affiliated with participants' hapū was deemed an effective aspect of schooling for the kaumātua because the importance of whakapapa and whanaungatanga was reinforced. Aunty Esme and Aunty Hilda considered "whanaungatanga, kinship and the sense of family to be the greatest benefit" of their schooling. Pride was also nurtured during interschool sports exchanges because they were like competitive inter-hapū

challenges. Some of the mokopuna also considered this aspect of schooling as effective, for example, Chanz recognised that teachings at home and school about the landing of Te Arawa waka at Maketu were beneficial. Pride in affiliation to hapū and iwi contributed to the development of pride in their hapū and iwi, and in turn their responsibility and desire to serve their own people, in fulfilment of the aspirations of their tūpuna. Some mokopuna considered being schooled alongside their kin an effective aspect of their schooling because they were comfortable, happy and settled. It would be taken for granted by people who understand that “bonds between parents, children, siblings and spouses (are) the most significant relationships in Māori culture” (Walker, 1990, p 22).

Kaumātua and some mokopuna attending the school of their hapū contributed to the survival of an important aspect of Māori culture, whakapapa and whanaungatanga (Smith, 1990b); and helped pupils and their families to live as Māori (Durie, 2001a).

The kaumātua also derived great pride from the “immaculate” appearance of their school buildings, grounds and gardens since they were directly responsible for their school’s appearance. Solomon’s (1998) experience was similar, “When we were in Tikitiki we cleaned our whole school each day... We took a pride in our school” (p 44). This sense of Māori ownership of schools was absent from the post-Native School period (1970s) until the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori in the 1980s, when Māori once again made sacrifices in order for ‘their’ schools to be established and operate successfully.

Calling on local people to instruct pupils in their area of expertise often nurtured positive relationships between members of the community, students, and school staff. The local tutors could be described as ‘Kanohi kitea’ (the face that is recognised) because they were already familiar to the students. The likelihood of students engaging in learning experiences when taught by kanohi kitea is increased if they have already established positive relationships with the students (Vygotsky, 1978; Thomas, 2000).

Practical instruction which incorporated Māori art and craft, and tuition from kanohi kitea reflected the survival and revival of Māori culture (Smith 1990b); living as Māori (Durie, 2001a) by including aspects of their home and marae life in the curriculum; and the principles of best outcomes (relationships between home and school) and integrated action (cooperation between home and school) (Durie, 2001b), being taught by local skilled crafts people.

According to many of the kaumātua, their parents had faith in the education system. They believed their children would have access to benefits such as employment opportunities, enjoyed by Pākehā. Many of their parents supported the school activities to help their children participate fully, make the most of, and gain maximum benefits from their schooling. For example, Aunty Hilda received tuition from her mother during the school holidays to improve her results, and my father's parents helped their children with homework by giving thorough explanations and reading aloud to the children, "As a result we were being schooled at school and we were being schooled at home". Parental support of education also featured in the experiences of the mokopuna, for example, Chanz received continuous encouragement from her parents to achieve to the best of her abilities, and Mikayla's mother helped out regularly at Mikayla's school. In this way the pursuit of education was supported at home by their parents and at school by their teachers; people at both places were committed to achieving the best outcomes for the children; and there was consistency in expectations which the kaumātua clearly understood (for example, to pass Proficiency and gain a scholarship to attend secondary school). In due course, the kaumātua performed according to the expectations of their parents and teachers - many of them gained a scholarship and attended secondary school. This consistency between home and school (parent and teacher) expectations embodies Durie's (2001b) principle of integrated action, that is, cooperation between home and school. It also embodies Durie's principle of best outcomes, that is, respect for relationships between home and school and the rejection of failure.

## **Tikanga Māori**

The early Native Schools were bereft of tikanga Māori which was in line with the government's aim of assimilation which sought to dispense with Māori habits and replace them with those of Pākehā. During the middle and later Native School periods, tikanga Māori featured moderately, but decreased within the post-Native School period and continued to do so within the mainstream schooling option (1990 to 2000). Within Kura Kaupapa Māori however, school practices occur according to tikanga Māori.

Although the language of the kaumātua reflects the colonisation that saturated their daily lives, in accordance with Kaupapa Māori and tino rangatiratanga, the kaumātua actually developed, nurtured and retained significant Māori values at Native Schools. It is ironic that Māori values were (in many cases, unintentionally) nurtured within one of the government's main instruments of colonisation - Native Schools.

## Multi-level Classes

Multi-level schooling was a main feature of schooling for the kaumātua and one which they favoured. For the mokopuna however, more individualised forms of instruction were commonplace. Multi-level classes supported whānau structures and helped the kaumātua develop the value, whanaungatanga (pride in relationships) and the concept of tuakana (older sibling/cousin) – teina (younger sibling/cousin) "that is based on the cultural obligations from being part of a whānau. The older or more skilled member has the cultural obligation to help the younger or less skilled" (Glynn, et al., 2002, p 5). The propensity of multi-level classes to foster whanaungatanga is consistent with Blank's (2000) account that "all the big brothers and sisters look after the little brothers and sisters at school" (p 130). Whangamarino Māori School Bulletin (Vol. 1, No. 2) confirms, "The idea is to make the five year old child more at home by being with his older brothers and sisters, and to spur the younger ones on, by the older children's example" (p 5). Glynn et al. (2005) confirm this type of learning situation whereby young children learn alongside a more experienced member of the culture "is

fundamental to a socio-cultural perspective on learning” (p 2). The kaumātua believed that their multi-level classes also helped pupils grasp and retain information because they overheard lessons aimed at older children and then were familiar with the information when it was aimed directly at them. With exposure to this type of instruction, it could be said that all of the pupils received the information on at least two occasions. The individual instruction which typified the mokopuna’s schooling aligns with a dimension of Anderson’s (1998) explanation of a western world view, where individual achievement is valued, as opposed to a non-western, which emphasises group cooperation. However, Bull et al’s (1992) recommendation aligns with the educational aspirations for the kaumātua, and a non-western world view, for “school learning (to) be cooperative rather than individualistic and competitive” (p 9).

Multi-level classes reflect Smith’s (1990b) first fundamental aspect of Kaupapa Māori, the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted, and Durie’s (2001a) first goal, to live as Māori because the validity and legitimacy of Māori whānau structure is taken for granted and mirrored within the school organisation allowing pupils to live as Māori at home and school.

#### Learning Close to Nature

According to the kaumātua, many of their learning experiences were very strongly focused on nature and occurred within their natural surroundings. Their experiences differed greatly to those of the mokopuna who mainly learnt about nature from inside classrooms. Nature lessons for the kaumātua nurtured the value of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) by learning about the conditions, within which various species lived, grew and thrived, and how the various species and flora were interrelated. Ex-Native School Principal, Uncle Albert Anaru believed, “Māori children were quick to understand natural science and nature studies” (personal communication, September 2002). Casual swimming sessions provided for kaumātua in nearby lakes nurtured manaakitanga (caring for one another) because the older, more able swimmers kept watched over the younger, less able swimmers. The sessions also fostered respect regarding te tapu o te tinana

(respect for their bodies and the bodies of others) by accepting each other swimming in their birthday suits, and observing separate changing areas for the boys and girls. The swimming sessions reflect three of Glynn's (1985) four responsive teaching strategies that support and promote the transmission of Māori values – opportunities for learners to initiate learning, shared activities between less skilled and more skilled learners, reciprocity and mutual influence. Pupils had opportunities to initiate learning by choosing their own activities for each session (for example, diving, swimming under water). Oldfather and Thomas (1998) support learner "choice over what and how they want to learn" (p 7). Swimming activities of the kaumātua were shared between less skilled and more skilled learners because the children swam together rather than in ability based swimming groups. Swimming strokes of the more skilled swimmers provided models for the less skilled swimmers to imitate. Thomas (2000) confirms, "Children seek to reproduce what they observe" (p 209). The swimming sessions also facilitated opportunities for reciprocity and mutual influence by the more skilled pupils providing guidance to those less skilled, then, in another situation where the less skilled pupils have more skills, the roles are reversed and they reciprocate by providing guidance. The swimming sessions can be likened to Bray and Clement's (1974) "remarkable" teaching situations that took place "in isolated, Maori Schools",

Multiple classes with small roll numbers provided a most successful and stimulating teaching environment. Four- and five-year olds acquired...skills and interests from eight- and nine-year olds; they solved problems together, they worked, played, painted and talked together

p 86.

This type of learning can also be likened to Pere's (1994) concept of ako whereby roles of teacher and student change according to the situation. Hemara (2000) confirms a traditional Māori perspective of learning whereby "both teachers and students learnt from each other. Teaching/learning, experience/experimentation where co-operative ventures in which everyone involved learnt something new" (p

40). To Glynn et al. (2005) these “genuinely shared activities are...meaningful and purposeful for both the less-skilled and the more-skilled participants...(which) lead to children developing and refining their knowledge and skills” (p 4). Once again, this aspect of schooling for the kaumātua reflected Smith’s (1990b) first fundamental aspect of Kaupapa Māori, the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted, and Durie’s (2001a) first goal, to live as Māori because ways in which they would act out of school, such as interacting, playing and learning with children of different ages was emulated within their school environment.

### Rote Learning

Another main feature of schooling for the kaumātua was committing information to memory through rote learning, yet it hardly featured in the experiences of the mokopuna. The kaumātua identified the use of rote as effective for learning and remembering information such as times tables because they retained and were able to apply that knowledge throughout their lives. Rote learning improved their knowledge by utilising an aspect of tikanga Māori, that is, the purposeful transmission of knowledge through waiata. Simon (1998) confirms, “For Māori children, the collective chanting of the tables was similar in experience to the singing of traditional waiata” (p 97). According to The Whakarewarewa 75<sup>th</sup> Jubilee Organising Committee (1978), “Māori pupils had a distinct advantage in learning under...the rote method. The monotonous oral repetition of facts chanted in chorus” (p 2). Uncle Albert (personal communication, September 2002) considered this method effective for Māori children because of their aptitude for music, which can alternatively be described as having a preference for learning through their musical intelligence (Gardner, 1991). Memory and rote learning was another education practice identified by Metge (1983) as characteristically Māori. It has also been described as ‘learning by heart’ which could indicate a type of somatic, bodily knowing as described by Heshusius (1994).

As a lecturer observing student-teachers in Primary School classrooms, I have noticed that rote learning is criticised by many teachers who believe that students

don't fully understand the information when learned by rote. Oldfather et al. (1999) also question the effectiveness of rote learning, "We are all aware that rote learning is required to learn the multiplication tables! However, remember that understanding the *applications* of the tables makes that rote memorisation meaningful and useful" (p 21). However, according to Nan Nan, as well as learning simple facts they were also given thorough explanations so they understood the facts. Perhaps then, rather a teacher saying that her students are learning by rote, it would be more acceptable to say that the students have a preference for processing information through the musical intelligence (Gardner, 1991).

Rote learning encompasses Smith's (1990b) first and second fundamental aspects of Kaupapa Māori, and Durie's (2001a) first Māori educational advancement goal. The validity and legitimacy of Māori and the survival of Māori culture encompassed rote learning because the repetition of information and the 'singing' of knowledge replicated an aspect of tikanga Māori - the verbal transmission of important information, within the school environment and in this context, allowed the kaumātua to live as Māori at school.

The kaumātua identified an aspect of their home life as contributing to effective school experiences - as members of small communities they were involved with each other in and out of school and therefore gained a more complete understanding of each other. According to my father, "Those pupils who didn't excel in school did so in other areas, like catching fish. Everyone seemed to be good at something and because we were mixing with each other in all areas, their virtues were known." Children who didn't display many academic talents were not regarded as dunces or viewed negatively by other pupils because their other talents were recognised. Communal living resulted in pupils' out of school talents being recognised which allowed them to maintain their mana and make the most of their schooling unhindered by negative stereotypes. Bishop et al. (2003) identify deficit theorising by teachers as "the major impediment to Māori students' educational achievement... (It) creates a downward spiralling, self-fulfilling

prophecy of Māori student achievement and failure". Pupils' close involvement with each other in and out of school embodied Smith's (1990b) first fundamental aspect of Kaupapa Māori, taking for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori; and Durie's (2001a) first goal, to live as Māori.

### **Educational Aspirations in Relation to Tino Rangatiratanga**

The following table summarises the educational aspirations for the kaumātua and mokopuna and locates Smith's (1990b) fundamental features of Kaupapa Māori; Durie's (2001a) Māori Educational Advancement Goals; and Durie's (2001b) Principles for Education within the aspirations. It illustrates how the educational aspirations advocated tino rangatiratanga. That is, by participating within the education system the skills necessary for effective participation in society could be developed at school, equipping Māori with the tools and skills required to make Māori dreams a reality; to change and improve the lives of Māori people according to their own values and aspirations.

Educational Aspirations in Relation to Frameworks Advocating Tino Rangatiratanga		
Theme	Aspirations for the Kaumātua	Aspirations for the Mokopuna
Participation in Wider Society	<p>Master English</p> <p>Learn 3 Rs - scholarship to secondary school - better job than parents</p> <p>..... Durie (2001a)</p> <p>2 – actively participate as citizens of the world 3 – enjoy good health and high standard of living</p> <p>..... Durie (2001b)</p> <p>1 – principle of best outcomes</p>	<p>Learn 3 Rs - achieve any academic level - career suited to abilities and interests</p> <p>..... Durie (2001a)</p> <p>2 – actively participate as citizens of the world 3 – enjoy good health and high standard of living</p> <p>..... Durie (2001b)</p> <p>1 – principle of best outcomes</p>
Contribution to Māori Development	<p>Work for betterment of their people and society</p> <p>..... Smith (1990b)</p> <p>3 – struggle for autonomy over own cultural wellbeing and own lives</p> <p>..... Durie (2001a)</p> <p>3 – enjoy good health and high standard of living</p>	<p>Work for betterment of their people and society</p> <p>..... Smith (1990b)</p> <p>3 – struggle for autonomy over own cultural wellbeing and own lives</p> <p>..... Durie (2001a)</p> <p>3 – enjoy good health and high standard of living</p>
Participation in Māori Society	<p>Become bilingual (focus on and master English)</p> <p>..... Smith (1990b)</p> <p>2 – survival and revival of Māori language and culture</p> <p>..... Durie (2001a)</p> <p>1 – to live as Māori</p> <p>..... Durie (2001b)</p> <p>3 – principle of indigeneity</p>	<p>Become bilingual (learn Māori)</p> <p>..... Smith (1990b)</p> <p>2 – survival and revival of Māori language and culture 3 – struggle for autonomy over own cultural wellbeing and own lives</p> <p>..... Durie (2001a)</p> <p>1 – to live as Māori</p> <p>..... Durie (2001b)</p> <p>3 – principle of indigeneity</p>

## Educational Experiences in Relation to Tino Rangatiratanga Frameworks

The following table summarises information explained in detail in the above section. It shows how tino rangatiratanga was embodied in various school experiences and identifies Māori values that were nurtured within each aspect of schooling. It also gives evidence of Smith (1990b), Durie (2001a and 2001b) and Glynn's (1985) models within each aspect.

Comparison of Educational Experiences in Relation to Frameworks Advocating Tino Rangatiratanga				
Theme	School Experience	Prevalent in the Schooling of the Kaumātua	Prevalent in Schooling of the Mokopuna	Kaupapa Māori Model
Pedagogy	Multi-level Schooling	✓	•	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Whanaungatanga</li> <li>• Tuakana-teina</li> <li>• Validity and legitimacy of Māori whānau structure (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• To live as Māori (Durie, 2001a).</li> </ul>
	Learning Close to Nature	✓	•	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kaitiakitanga</li> <li>• Manaakitanga</li> <li>• Te tapu o te tinana</li> <li>• Valid and legitimacy of Māori culture (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• Survival of Māori culture (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• To live as Māori (Durie, 2001a)</li> </ul>
	Rote Learning	✓	•	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Purposeful verbal transmission of knowledge</li> <li>• Validity and legitimacy of Māori culture (Smith, 1990b)</li> </ul>
	Close Involvement of Teachers in Community/ Melding of Professional and personal roles	✓	•	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aroha</li> <li>• Manaakitanga</li> <li>• Validity and legitimacy of Māori culture (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• Survival of Māori culture (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• Principle of Best Outcome (Durie, 2001b)</li> <li>• Principle of Integrated Action (Durie, 2001b)</li> </ul>

Theme	School Experience	Prevalent in the Schooling of the Kaumātua	Prevalent in Schooling of the Mokopuna	Kaupapa Māori Model
Curriculum	3 Rs	✓	•	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Māori struggle for autonomy over own lives (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• Participate as citizens of the world (Durie, 2001a)</li> </ul>
	Practical Subjects	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kanohi kitea</li> <li>• Survival and revival of aspects of Māori culture (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• To live as Māori (Durie, 2001a)</li> <li>• Principle of Best Outcomes (Durie, 2001b)</li> <li>• Principle of Integrated Action (Durie, 2001b)</li> </ul>
	Religious Component	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Te Taha Wairua (Durie, 1994)</li> <li>• Validity and legitimacy of Māori culture (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• To live as Māori (Durie, 2001a)</li> <li>• To enjoy good health (Durie, 2001a)</li> </ul>
	Te Reo Māori	•	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Its absence disregarded Māori language as valid and legitimate (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• Contributed to deterioration of Māori language and culture (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• Prevented some people from living as Māori (Durie, 2001a)</li> <li>• Disallowed some people's active participation as citizens of the world (Durie, 2001a)</li> </ul>
	Māori Art and Craft	✓	✓	Certain aspects of Māori culture deemed valid and legitimate (Smith, 1990b)
Social Climate	School Pride	✓	•	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Whakapapa</li> <li>• Whanaungatanga</li> <li>• Survival of Māori culture (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• To live as Māori (Durie, 2001a)</li> </ul>
	Health	✓	•	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Māori autonomy over own well-being and lives (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• To enjoy good health and high standard of living (Durie, 2001a)</li> <li>• Te Taha Tinana (Durie, 1994)</li> </ul>
	Games	✓	✓	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Te Taha Tinana (Durie, 1994)</li> <li>• Māori autonomy over their well-being (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• To enjoy good health (Durie, 2001a)</li> </ul>
	Patriotism	✓	•	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Māori autonomy over own cultural well-being and lives (Smith, 1990b)</li> <li>• To live as Māori (Durie, 2001a)</li> <li>• To actively participate as citizens of the world (Durie, 2001a)</li> </ul>

## Summary

Analyses within this chapter suggest that the levels of Māori control over, and participation within the education system corresponded with the realisation of Māori aspirations. That is, the higher the degree of Māori control over, and engagement within the education of their children, the more their aspirations were realised. The lower the degree of Māori control and participation, the more limited the realisation of their aspirations. This chapter also highlighted similarities in various contexts of Māori education over time, that is, the early Native School period and modern mainstream schooling option demonstrated similarities such as minimal Māori community participation in the schools. The middle Native School period and Kura Kaupapa Māori showed similarities such as high Māori community participation, high Māori community ownership of their schools, melding of teachers' professional and personal roles, and nurturing of tikanga Māori at school. This chapter also illustrated how various aspects of schooling for the kaumātua and mokopuna actually supported the advancement of tino rangatiratanga.

In keeping with the central theme of tino rangatiratanga, chapter 9 analyses this project's methodology in relation to Māori proposed models which advocate tino rangatiratanga by creating research contexts that allow Māori people to participate as Māori, according to Māori cultural preferences.

## Chapter 9 - Analysis of Methodology

Within this chapter Bishop's (1996) IBRLA model for addressing Māori research concerns and power is used to analyse the methodology and explain how the central concerns of Initiation, Benefits, Representation, Legitimation and Accountability were addressed within this Kaupapa Māori research context. Explanations are given to show how each of the research concerns were addressed. Simultaneously, methodological analyses are provided in relation to Smith's (1992) Five Intervention Elements; Mead's (1996) ethical framework and Soutar's (2000) Seven-point Māori Oral History Framework. It is appropriate that Māori models are used to evaluate this project's methodology because often "we import ideas and practices from overseas and ignore the wisdom and experience of the minority groups in our own country" (Metge, 1990, p 3).

### Analysis Using Māori Proposed Models

Smith's (1992) five intervention elements to address Māori research concerns are tino rangatiratanga (autonomy), mana (authority), iwi (tribal support), whanaungatanga (group responsibility) and manaakitanga (sharing and support). Mead's (1996) seven principles, based on Māori cultural concepts and language that promote appropriate conduct when working in Māori contexts are aroha ki te tangata; kanohe kitea; titiro, whakarongo, kōrero; manaaki ki te tangata; kua e takahi te mana o te tangata; and kia tūpato. Soutar's (2000) seven points to help researchers work appropriately and effectively in Māori contexts are language, individual group continuum, location, community ownership, cultural safety, interview techniques, and research impacts.

The following table shows how principles espoused in Bishop's (1996) IBRLA model are consistent with other Māori proposed models. It provides a comparison between the models regarding principles for ethical conduct within Kaupapa Māori research and allows researchers the opportunity to gain more information about

each particular research concern. It could help minimise difficulties and maximise the utilisation of respectful research conduct within Kaupapa Māori contexts.

**Table Comparing Māori Proposed Models**

'IBRLA' (Bishop, 1996)	Intervention Elements (Smith, 1992)	Principles for Ethical Conduct (Mead, 1996).	Māori Oral History Framework (Soutar, 2000)
<b>Initiation:</b> research should be initiated from within the Māori community; they are involved throughout the entire research process	<u>Tino Rangatiratanga:</u> iwi can initiate research and participants <u>Iwi:</u> tribal support for the research		<u>Individual group continuum:</u> value in individual and group interviews; community can choose participants <u>Locations:</u> interviews take place at places where participants are comfortable <u>Interview techniques:</u> use Māori-appropriate techniques e.g. whānau participation
<b>Benefits:</b> Māori community decides what benefits they want in fulfilment of their aspirations; work towards achieving maximum benefits for Māori community	<u>Tino Rangatiratanga:</u> benefits from research gained by iwi <u>Manaakitanga:</u> shared control of research process and benefits	<u>Manaaki ki te tangata:</u> be generous and hospitable to those you work with	<u>Community ownership:</u> community have true ownership of the research, resulting in self-empowerment
<b>Representation:</b> Ensure the text accurately represents participants' voices and their social realities	<u>Mana:</u> ensure participants are represented accurately	<u>Titiro, whakarongo, kōrero:</u> look at, listen to, and speak with participants	<u>Language:</u> consider language/s to be used in interviews <u>Cultural safety:</u> recognise and respond appropriately to participants' cultural realities
<b>Legitimation:</b> Participants legitimise the text, they have control over the processing of information and what happens to the text	<u>Mana:</u> participants legitimise their own stories <u>Whanaungatanga:</u> participants deem the research legitimate		<u>Individual group continuum:</u> participants legitimise their own and in group interviews, each others' stories
<b>Accountability:</b> On-going researcher accountability to Māori community; shared control of research findings	<u>Whanaungatanga:</u> accountability is focused on the research group	<u>Kanohi kitea:</u> present yourself face to face with the research community <u>Kaua e takahi te mana o te tangata:</u> don't trample on the mana of others <u>Kia tūpato:</u> be cautious in terms of confidentiality and protection of participants	<u>Research impacts:</u> consult with community to be aware of potential positive and negative research impacts on the community

Aroha ki te tangata: Be respectful of people  
Kaua e mahaki: Don't flaunt your knowledge

## **Initiation**

Bishop draws attention to the initiation of research projects because researchers are too often concerned with fulfilling their own agendas (Rosaldo, 1989). He believes that research participants must be involved throughout the entire research process, from the project's initiation, to research goals, focus, design, implementation and outcomes. One feature of Kaupapa Māori research is that it "takes control...out of the hands of the researcher and places it fairly in the hand of the participant group" (Bishop, 1993, p 15). Consideration of the following questions about the project's initiation indicates whether it was initiated from within the community and the degree to which (if any) research goals and methods were determined by them.

- Who initiated the research and why?
- What are the goals?
- Who set the goals?
- Who designed the work?

Bishop's initiation principle is evident within Smith's first and third intervention elements 'tino rangatiratanga' and 'iwi' because 'tino rangatiratanga' ensures that iwi can initiate and participate in research and 'iwi' ensures tribal support for the research. The initiation principle advocating shared control is also evident within Soutar's location point whereby interviews should be carried out in the most appropriate locations depending on participants' preferences such as, homes, marae and whānau centres. The principle is also apparent in Soutar's recommendation to utilise 'Māori-appropriate interview techniques' whereby support is given for both individual and group interviews, and being open to whānau participation; peer interviewing, and using visual and oral prompts.

This project supported and embodied Bishop's principle of initiation which advocates shared control between the community and researcher throughout the entire process. Aspects of Smith (1992) and Soutar's (2000) recommendations echo those principles of initiation and promote collaborative ownership and control. This project was initiated by kaumātua who read our previous thesis.

They guided the research process by initiating the research topic and guiding its scope by nominating schools for inclusion in the study, and recommending participants. The principle of tino rangatiratanga is supported because the project was completed at the request of the kaumātua. The right of the kaumātua to choose participants and schools for inclusion in the study, is also in accordance with the principles of Kaupapa Māori research, whereby kaumātua fulfil cultural roles within their own hapū of considering matters affecting their hapū, and making decisions in the best interest of their hapū (for example, whether to include their school in the project and who will participate). Support for this project within Te Arawa iwi was possible because it was initiated by some Ngāti Rangitihi kaumātua, and its scope guided by other Te Arawa kaumātua.

The interviews as conversations were facilitated in locations according to participants' preferences. All of Soutar's recommended locations were reflected in this project including participants' homes, marae, and the homes of their whānau members. Conversations with some of the youngsters even took place at central 'happening' cafés. The interview locations were places where participants were comfortable. The project information sheet reflects support for participant control of interview venue, "The conversations can take place somewhere that is comfortable for you, at a time that is convenient for both of us. You can decide on the venue for the conversations".

Within this Kaupapa Māori context, Māori-appropriate interview techniques described by Soutar were presupposed. For example, whānau members participated in the Wai-iti 'whānau' conversations - adult nieces and nephews of participating kaumātua sat with us and listened during some parts of the conversations; Ted Gee's wife and daughter joined in one of our conversations, as did Mrs Powell's husband, Owen; Chanz's mother was also involved in one of our conversations. The conversations occurred where participants were surrounded by people with whom they were most comfortable.

Participants were offered options to cater for their own choices regarding to one-to-one, peer, and/or group interviews as conversations. The project information sheet for participants stated, "You can decide who will be present at the conversations, for example, you and I; you, members of your family and I; you, another project participant and I; or you, other participants and I". Both individual and group conversations occurred. Individual interviews as conversations took place with my father, Nanny Tiki, Carol, Ted, Mrs Powell, Mikayla, Nan Nan and Chanz. Group conversations occurred with the Wai-iti whānau, Aunty Hilda and Aunty Esme; my father and whānau members; and Chanz and her mother. Peer interviewing took place within the Wai-iti whānau conversations where Aunty Hilda lead the conversations, asked questions, probed deeper and gave me the nod when I needed to pay close attention to what was being said. Our respective positions as kaumātua and tamāhine meant that this role exchange was in fact culturally appropriate. It is another example of an appropriate response to participants' cultural realities and power-sharing.

In accordance with Soutar's recommendation to use visual prompts, our project's information sheet stated, "You may decide to use any materials (photos, certificates, newspaper clippings etc) to help tell your story". Although photographs were the most common visual prompt, we were also fortunate that Mrs Powell had kept old text books, story books, and work books from her Rotokawa Native School days. I was privileged that she entrusted me with those precious items to share with other participants - all of whom were delighted to be reacquainted with familiar items from their past.

In spite of controversial advice that researchers should maintain control of the entire research process, in a bid to carry out "good research... (and) avoid wasting time" (Fyfe and Manson, 1989, p 4), I believe that power sharing in this type of research is essential, primarily because it is respectful to project participants, and it prevents the researcher assuming and asserting a position of 'expert', furthermore, it can allow quality conversations to develop since participants are comfortable within their surroundings having chosen the venue

and other participants. In advocating shared control over the whole research process, participants' preferences were respected and prioritised. Consequently, they were able to best share and discuss educational aspirations, experiences and realities.

### **Benefits**

"Historically, indigenous peoples have not seen the positive benefits of research" (Smith, 1999, p 191). It is understandable therefore, that issues surrounding research benefits are of major concern to Māori. According to Penetito and Sanga (2002), the major beneficiaries of research about Pacific peoples are not the 'researched' but rather, the university researcher...and their academic institution. Bishop (2005) confirms, Kaupapa Māori research challenges "the dominance of traditional, individualistic research which primarily...benefits the researchers...In contrast, kaupapa Māori research is collectivistic and is oriented toward benefiting all the research participants" (p 114). Kaupapa Māori philosophies align with Penetito and Sanga's (2002) assertion that "an underlying motive for research must be a positive 'good' to the community being researched" (p 30), (as deemed 'good' by that community).

According to Bishop (1996), the Māori community should decide what benefits they want, and the research needs to work towards achieving maximum benefits for the community. Responses to the following questions indicate whose interests a research project serves

- What benefits will there be?
- Who gets the benefits?
- How will the research benefit Māori?
- How does the research support Māori aspirations?

Bishop's principle of ensuring community benefits is also identified in Smith's first intervention element, 'tino rangatiratanga' which ensures benefits will be gained

by the iwi. Smith's element of 'manaakitanga' further encompasses this principle because it involves the sharing of control of the research process and benefits. 'Manaakitanga' is also reflected in Mead's (1996) fourth principle 'Manaaki ki te tangata - being generous, sharing and hosting people', including the sharing of food, and supporting participant comfort and safety during the research process. Soutar's fourth point 'community ownership' reflects Bishop's principle of benefits. To Soutar (2000), when the community has true ownership of the research they can shape the interview process, and know that interview recordings and research publications will become their property which results in self-empowerment over their own matters, in other words, tino rangatiratanga.

This research project sought to address Māori negativity towards research by shaping the research process according to participants' cultural preferences, in order to gain maximum benefits for their communities. An example of how shared control has led to shared benefits of this research is the documentation of histories of some Native Schools of Te Arawa after requests from kaumātua. It can be considered a shared benefit because kaumātua will be satisfied that their request has been carried out and a history of their school, documented; their whānau, tamariki and mokopuna may benefit by developing pride in their ancestors' sacrifices made in pursuit of education for future generations; and as lead researcher I will be satisfied that I have helped fulfil the requests of my kaumātua. Additionally, research and education communities will have access to new information to help make decisions and generate new initiatives.

An example of the important principle of manaakitanga involved the care and support for the wellbeing of each member of the whānau of interest such as sharing in kai before and during the conversations. Although the majority of conversations took place in participants' homes and thus positioned me as manuhiri (guest), it was still important and culturally appropriate for me to show gratitude to my hosts by offering a contribution of food. For example, my mother

gave me home made jam and bread to take to the conversations. It aligns with a well-known whakatauki regarding shared contribution,

Nā tāu rourou,  
Nā taku rourou,  
Ka ora te iwi.

With your food basket  
With my food basket  
The people will be fed.

Community ownership and control of research allows the community to gain maximum benefits (for example, by deciding which Native Schools to study). Community ownership makes for a politically potent document (Walker, 2001). Kaumātua deciding this project's topic and scope, and participants' influence over the research process provides evidence of community ownership. Also, before agreeing to participate, potential participants knew (as per the project information sheet), that interview recordings would become their property; they knew where thesis copies would be held and that any future research development and/or publication would only occur with their permission.

As a result of their participation in this research, kaumātua have a permanent record of a very significant part of their lives – a history of their Native Schools, their Native School experiences, their parents' aspirations for their education, their aspirations for the education of their mokopuna, and an insight to the school experiences of their mokopuna. The mokopuna have had the opportunity to develop a deeper understanding and pride in their heritage having learnt about and discussed sacrifices and aspirations of their tūpuna for their education. One such example was brought to my attention by Mrs Powell who had spoken to her daughter about our thesis and her old school text books and journals from Rotokawa Native School. Her daughter said, "I never knew you had those". Mrs Powell replied, "Well I've had them all this time". Her daughter was looking forward to seeing them when she next visits from Australia and Mrs Powell was looking forward to sharing them.

The youngsters involved in this project have been listened to about their schooling. They have been able "to bring their situation to the attention of an audience to which he or she would normally not have access" (Beverly, 2000, cited in Bishop, 2005, p 117). Furthermore, they have had similar experiences to those who worked with Cook-Sather (2002a), "Students...responded positively to being included in conversations about educational policy and practice...they turn their critical attention to their own roles in education...'It made me think about how to be a better student'" (pp 14-15). Perhaps other students may come to benefit from their teachers implementing effective strategies which appeal to their own learning preferences.

Undoubtedly, I too have benefited from this research because I am the acknowledged author and hope to receive academic acknowledgement by way of qualification. I have had my research abilities nurtured within a supportive, motivated, caring whānau of interest. More importantly, serving my people, especially our kaumātua gives me great satisfaction. I am privileged that they have shared some moving, fun and mischievous stories with me. It may be similar to how I imagine Uncle Morris (the person in charge of our wharekai [dining room], Rakauheketara) feels when people leave with full puku, content and indulged having enjoyed their meal and our hospitality. The following whakataukī about the mutual benefits of good food and hospitality can be applied to this context,

Tino kai  
Tino ora te kōpū

Good hospitality  
Brings feelings of satisfaction.

### **Representation**

According to Bishop (1996), many Māori cultural practices and meanings have been misinterpreted and misrepresented by non-Māori and the 'new' meanings are now part of everyday myths and accepted by non-Māori and Māori. For example, the process of hongī whereby physically, one person accepts another

into their personal space to gently press nose to nose and forehead to forehead, has been recorded as "rubbing noses" (Benton, 2005). This misinterpretation belittles and trivialises hongi which is a physical representation of a spiritual bond - the unification of life forces between two people and an open expression of trust. Bishop emphasises the need for researchers to ensure that participants' voices and social realities are accurately represented. He poses the following questions to consider whether participants' voices are accurately represented

- What constitutes an adequate depiction of social reality?
- Whose interests, needs and concerns does the text represent?
- How were the goals and major questions of the study established?
- How were the tasks allocated?
- Whose voice is heard?

Bishop's principle of accurate representation accords with Smith's second intervention element, 'mana' because the mana of kaumātua and other participants ensures the iwi are represented accurately. It is supported by Mead's principle, 'titiro, whakarongo, kōrero - look, listen, speak' where all of those characteristics are necessary (on the part of all participants including the lead researcher) in order to accurately represent participants' views. Soutar's first point, 'language' and fifth point 'cultural safety' complement this principle. Soutar recommends researchers consider in advance the language that will be used for the interviews – Māori, English or a combination of the two. Soutar's fifth point, 'cultural safety' involves the researcher recognising and responding to participants' cultural realities in ways that are acceptable to participants and their families, which allows participants to contribute to conversations in a relaxed manner; and think and theorise using the concepts and metaphors of the people, and not just in the academic language of the researcher. The importance of accurate representation within this project was evident in my ethics committee proposal,

Participants' rights, interests and wishes will be given primary consideration when decisions are made regarding reporting the data in order to protect their status, reputation and mana ...  
Participants will check and verify all text pertaining to them to

ensure they have been represented accurately...(and) have the right to omit any part of the text pertaining to them.

Through narrative inquiry, interviews as conversations and collaborative storying, the researcher learns what the speaker intends and is then in a better position to 'write what the speaker intends'. The process of developing a collaborative narrative involving repeated checking and rechecking of information ensured participants were represented in a manner that accurately conveyed their views and personalities as they were legitimised by the participants themselves. Accurate representation is vital so that a comprehensive picture of experiences for some Te Arawa kaumātua at Native Schools and their mokopuna at today's schools is provided. Since the majority of voices within this thesis are being heard and recorded for the first time, knowledge contained within this thesis may set right past inaccuracies and refute over generalisation. Hemara (2000) confirms, "Voices are now being heard that refute many 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century perceptions and attitudes" (p 80). For example, many people believe that all pupils who spoke Māori in Native Schools were strapped. This cruel and severe punishment was indeed a reality for a number of ex-pupils of Native Schools; however, the stories of the kaumātua reveal that only one of the participants witnessed punishment for speaking Māori.

In accordance with Kaupapa Māori philosophies this project was committed to safeguarding participants' cultural safety, such as practising 'titiro, whakarongo, kōrero' at the hui (meeting) for the first Wai-iti whānau conversation. Being of the same culture as participants and familiar with our tikanga enabled me to speak at the appropriate time - after their land business was completed and appropriate mihi and whakawātea (removal of restrictions) were performed. Another example of maintaining participants' dignity, creating a context where they can be Māori, and considering their preferred language was my ability to recognise the significance of Nan Nan's switching from English to Māori during our conversations and respond appropriately by continuing our conversation in her preferred language. As it happened, English was the medium for almost all interviews within this project; however, some topics were discussed in Māori

during conversations with the Wai-iti whānau, Nan Nan, and Chanz. In respect of participants' tino rangatiratanga, I was prepared to accept participants' chosen language and 'go with the flow', according to their cultural preferences. Metge (2001) acknowledges the importance of participants speaking in their preferred language. Kōrero tahi "guarantees participants the right to express themselves in the language of their choice" (p 6). Using participants' preferred language shows respect, fully acknowledges their culture, worldview, and tino rangatiratanga. After all, language is far more than words joined together to form sentences and convey meaning, language is the basis for thought, and a means to create and express cultural reality (Vygotsky, 1978; Spradley, 1979).

Creating a context where participants are free to act as Māori and maintain their dignity is possible when issues pertaining to inside researchers are considered in relation to Metge and Kinloch's (1978) cultural understanding because inside researchers can often ensure cultural safety throughout the research process. It does not mean that non-Māori researchers cannot ensure Māori participants' cultural safety or achieve cultural congruence with Māori participants, on the contrary, outsiders can work effectively within cultures different to their own where strong and trusting relationships exist or are developed (Crabtree and Miller, 1992; Ladson-Billings, 1995). Because of my cultural congruence with the participants of this project, I was easily able to recognise and respond appropriately to their cultural realities. Our cultural understanding was so thoroughly internalised that we ceased to be mindful of it (Metge and Kinloch, 1978), yet awareness of our cultural understanding enabled us to respond to one another in ways that were consistent with, and respected our cultural preferences.

Researchers have an ethical obligation to represent participants' views precisely and in a way that participants deem appropriate. During our previous thesis my father said, "The giver of information has to be sure he is giving the truth as seen through his eyes. The listener has to be scrupulously sure she writes what the speaker intends" (Raureti, 2000, p 160). "You have to think about how things will

sound about the other people mentioned. If it's not very flattering, try to say it in another way. If you can't, leave it out" (p 183). It is similar to Renée's (2003) suggestion to "put yourself in someone else's shoes. Think about them and their actions or words in the context of the time you're reviewing. You may be able, after some thought, to come to a more philosophical or even kinder position" (p 17). I have heeded my father's advice pertaining to respectful representation. This project seeks to provide an example of accurate representation. It may help and/or encourage other researchers to accurately represent the voices of their participants. As more research provides accurate representation, researchers may begin to regain the trust of those (or the descendants of those) who have been exploited by "researchers who have in the past mis-interpreted information given to them by Māori informants" (Soutar, 2000, p 7). Accurate representation is vital for "the researcher (to) paint a picture and...facilitate the voice of the research participant to be heard, for others to reflect on" (Bishop, 1997). In support of tino rangatiratanga and Freire's (1996) statement that no one can speak for another person, instead of speaking for, or on behalf of participants, I see my task as lead researcher being similar to that of an artist painting a picture that is vivid enough for readers to "see the picture behind (participants') words" (Raureti 2000, p 160).

### **Legitimation**

In the past "the researcher has been the... person who decides what constitutes the narrative. Such imposition is no longer acceptable" (Bishop, 1997, p 29). The process of checking and re-checking the narrative, discussing and re-discussing certain topics ensures that power is shared among research participants, and they decide what constitutes the narrative. According to Casebeer and Verhoef (1997), constant comparison (between the oral records and the text) provides legitimation of the narrative. Bishop (1996) advocates participants' authority to legitimise the text and control over the processing of information, as well as control over what happens to the text. In order to avoid continued imposition and advocate shared control between researcher and participants to legitimise the text and project, Bishop offers the following questions

- What authority does the text have?
- Who is going to process the data?
- Who is going to consider the results of the processing?
- What happens to the results?
- Who defines what is accurate, true and complete in a text?

Bishop's principle of legitimation is reflected in Smith's 'mana' and 'whanaungatanga' elements. According to Smith, researchers who are aware of whanaungatanga ensure that research is deemed legitimate by participants themselves and participants' mana is safeguarded when they legitimise their own stories. The legitimation principle is taken for granted in Soutar's individual group continuum because participants within individual interviews as conversations legitimise their own stories, and those within group interviews can serve to legitimise each other's stories.

The process of developing a collaborative narrative by repeatedly checking and rechecking information ensured that this text had the authority of the participants who decided what to include, exclude, expand upon and reword. Every participant's authority for judging the accuracy of their text ensured that the text has authority and is faithful to the individuals it represents. The participants have defined what is accurate, true and complete. The process further addressed the issue of power in that, participants decided what information was contained in the narrative, and therefore the researcher's voice could not override those of other participants.

### **Accountability**

"In New Zealand, the institution that benefits most from research...is the university...In return, the university has not used its expertise and services...to advance the cause of those 'researched' within Pacific communities" (Penetito and Sanga, 2002, p 29). The previous statement is a typical example of researchers' non-accountability to their 'subjects'. It is also a critical factor contributing to Māori negativity towards research and researchers. According to Bishop (1996),

this comprehensible negativity can be addressed with on-going researcher accountability to the Māori community which continues beyond the lifespan of the research project. Bishop suggests that researchers consider the following questions to ensure issues related to researcher accountability are addressed effectively

- Who is the researcher accountable to?
- Who is to have access to the research findings?
- Who has control over the distribution of the knowledge?

Smith's element of 'whanaungatanga' also embodies Bishop's principle of accountability because according to Smith, researchers who are aware of whanaungatanga ensure that accountability is focussed on the group. Three of Mead's (1996) ethical principles 'kanohi kitea', 'kaua e takahi te mana o te tangata', and 'kia tūpato' echo Bishop's accountability. Mead (1996) explains kanohi kitea as the seen face, where researchers should present themselves face to face with the research community. By fronting up to participants the researcher displays accountability. Mead's fifth principle, 'Kaua e takahi te mana o te tangata - do not trample on the mana of the people' encourages researchers to be considerate of the people they are working with and others whose reputations could be affected by the research. Similarly, within kia tūpato, Mead advises researchers to be cautious, in terms of confidentiality and protection of all participants. Bishop's principle of accountability resonates within Soutar's seventh point, 'research impacts'. Soutar recommends researchers make themselves aware of potential positive and negative research impacts on the community. In addition, through continued consultation with the community concerned, researchers can acknowledge their accountability. Continued consultation with the research community is presupposed within Kaupapa Māori research where participants have on-going commitments to one other.

Our whānau of interest demonstrated whanaungatanga and respected the implications of accountability. We considered it crucial to safeguard the mana of other people who were implied, represented and remembered in the school

histories and their stories. Because of our shared cultural understandings and whakapapa, we understood that we are accountable to each other, other members of Te Arawa, and tūpuna. We are accountable to our living relatives, our loved ones and tūpuna who have passed away, and to future generations. Collectively and individually we understood the far reaching implications of accountability. I firmly agree with Glavish (2002) and Smith (1992), "One thing I am sure of as Māori is that I am accountable to others" (Hohepa and Smith, 1992, p 17); and when speaking of tūpuna, "There is no higher form of accountability for me" (Glavish, 2002). We understood the extensive implications of accountability and "would not do or print anything that would be detrimental to anyone's reputation or memory" (Raureti, 2000, p 183).

The principle of accountability and kanohi kitea was evident in this research project by the facilitation of face to face conversations rather than collecting data through other methods, such as questionnaires, which in this particular Kaupapa Māori context, would have been impersonal and therefore inappropriate. Observing the principle of accountability and kia tupato (Mead, 1996) was demonstrated when permission was sought from Mrs Powell and Nanny Tiki to include some of their treasured family photographs in the thesis. Seeking permission respected their confidentiality as well as their right to keep the photographs within private family collections and out of the public's eye. In accordance with Soutar's recommendation, awareness of potential positive and negative research impacts on the community occurred in consultation with participants. For example, the anticipated project benefits were discussed when the kaumātua encouraged me to take on the role of lead researcher. Continued consultation was ensured within our whānau of interest because some of us are connected with the same whānau, similarly, others are involved in the same hapū and iwi matters, and contact with other participants is maintained through telephone calls and letters.

If two concepts from te ao Māori, koha and whakapapa, are applied to research contexts, the issue of researcher accountability can be addressed. The principle

behind the practice of koha eliminates researcher non-accountability because it encompasses a process of continuous 'give and take' instead of the researcher's usual 'take, take'. A valuable lesson about koha was taught to my father from Hapimana, a respected Ngāti Rangitahi kaumātua, born early last century. One evening at the Matata pub my father bought Hapimana a drink. Upon finishing their drink Hapimana reached into his pocket to buy their next drink, but out of respect for his kaumātua, my father told Hapimana that he would pay for the drinks. Dad vividly remembered Hapimana gently placing his money on the bar and quietly saying, "You have to give me the opportunity to repay your koha". This incidence had such a great impact on my father that he passed the lesson on to his children. Through that incidence Hapimana has taught us about the importance of reciprocating koha, and the importance of allowing others the opportunity to reciprocate. Unreciprocated koha leaves at least one party feeling whakamā (embarrassed), and can result in people feeling kua tūkinotia (that they have been exploited). The principle of reciprocal 'give and take' behind the practice of koha can eliminate researcher non-accountability by the researcher giving their skills and being rewarded in turn with strengthened relationships, satisfaction in using their skills to serve others, and knowledge from the participants to further their field of study. The participants give their time, knowledge and expertise and depending on the specific project, are rewarded with benefits that were clarified and agreed upon at the outset. If koha is practiced within the context of research, mutual acts of giving and taking between researchers and communities could ensue. Moll et al. (1992) point to the benefits of reciprocity, "Reciprocal practices establish serious obligations based on the assumption of 'confianza' (mutual trust), which is re-established or confirmed with each exchange, and leads to the development of long-term relationships" (p 134).

Whakapapa is another aspect of Māoritanga that can address researcher accountability to communities involved with the research. Māori researchers who understand the importance of whakapapa understand that not only is their own reputation and mana at stake, so too is that of their whānau, hapū, and iwi. The researcher's involvement automatically puts the reputations of their kin on the

line. Māori researchers who understand this concept are careful to conduct themselves with integrity so as not to dishonour the reputations of people they carry on their shoulders. During Hopa's (2004) mihi (thank you address) to Linda Tuhiwai-Smith at the Kaupapa Māori Research Conference (Auckland University), she alluded to the extra accountability of Māori inside researchers, "Working at home is harder than working here (university)". Smith (1999) appreciates this accountability, and acknowledges that Māori inside researchers, their families and communities have to live with the consequences of their research. Wilson's (2003) comment also confirms Māori researchers' unique accountability, "You are answerable to *all* your relations when you are doing research" (p 172). "You have to live with your mistakes after completing the research" (Bell, 1999, p 43). Within Kaupapa Māori research, participants have shared responsibility and accountability. In line with the principle of koha, the researcher is not isolated and does not bear the consequences alone. They give and receive support.

### Summary

It is suggested that this project's methodology was effective for gathering Māori oral histories, and appropriate for addressing Māori research concerns and power issues according to Bishop's (1996) IBRLA model; Smith's (1992) Intervention Elements; Soutar's (2000) Seven-point Māori Oral History Framework; and Mead's (1996) principles for ethical conduct because it allowed Māori voices to be heard and recorded in ways that were consistent with their cultural preferences. Specific examples from this project have been referred to, in order to explain how Māori research concerns were appropriately addressed within this Kaupapa Māori research context.

Having clarified the analysis of this project's results and methodology, chapter 10 reflects on those analyses to explain the conclusions and implications of this research.

## **Chapter 10 – Thesis Conclusions**

This chapter offers the thesis conclusions including those pertaining to the fulfilment of Māori educational aspirations, such as bilingualism; this project's methodology, such as the appropriateness of working within a Kaupapa Māori framework; and implications of the research, such as practical suggestions to address Māori engagement and control in education. The conclusions do not suggest 'answers' to dilemmas regarding Māori education or research, however, they are offered in the spirit of koha, the spirit in which this thesis topic was first offered to me. This koha is now extended to kaumātua, rangatahi, tamariki, teachers, students and researchers. In accordance with the process of koha, the decision of whether to accept the koha is theirs. Koia nei te koha e takoto ana (here is our koha).

### **The Aspirations versus The Realities**

This thesis has explained and substantiated that throughout the generations since the beginning of the Native School period, many Māori within Te Arawa viewed education as a means of enhancing their lives and complementing their current skills and knowledge in order to participate effectively within their society and gain access to jobs to benefit their whānau, hapū, iwi and eventually, society. Consistent throughout the generations was the expectation that Māori pupils would participate within the education system and achieve to their utmost abilities. During the schooling of the kaumātua many hapū within Te Arawa considered the Native Schools as their own, and exercised a high level of influence over their school's operations including its curriculum, staff, specialised tutors and special occasions. The high level of community involvement within Te Arawa Native Schools demonstrated that they utilised the education system as a means of fulfilling their aspirations. They exercised their tino rangatiratanga and as a result, their children (the kaumātua participants) succeeded within their

Native Schools. In general, Māori pupils within Native Schools were outperforming Māori pupils within Board Schools.

Because of the social climate which focused on communal living, teaching and learning methods within their Native Schools actually complemented and nurtured many Māori values. Consequently, in spite of colonised and hegemonic influences that saturated their daily lives, the kaumātua retained significant Māori values as a result of participating in authentic social and cultural interactions within their Native Schools.

In conflict with Māori aspirations, throughout the years the government utilised the education system as a tool of oppression to purposefully assimilate Māori people and restrict their participation in society. The education system was a weapon used in the war of colonisation and assimilation, and schools were to be the agents of this transformation, by replacing Māori beliefs and practices with those of the Pākehā. Undoubtedly, the government's aim of assimilation by replacing te reo Māori with English was achieved within those Māori families where English was spoken at home. Repercussions of these harmful policies are still being felt by numerous Māori people today. Only those children who were exposed to English at school and te reo Māori at home achieved fluency in both languages. The kaumātua now consider that their parents' focus on their mastery of English was never intended to be at the cost of te reo Māori. Conversely, bilingualism was a consistent aspiration of the various generations of Māori considered in this thesis, so that their children could participate effectively in te ao Pākehā, me te ao Māori.

After many years of successful engagement within the Native School system, it became apparent that many Māori communities had adapted the education system to help achieve their goals. Under the pretext that the Native School system had achieved its aim of sufficiently Europeanising Māori children, in other words, assimilation, the government ended the Native School system and forced

all Māori pupils to participate in a system of education already recognised as less successful for Māori.

### **Past and Present Schooling**

Information presented about early education in Aotearoa-New Zealand, participants' stories, and the changing contexts of Māori education table summarises similarities between the educational contexts of various periods. Apart from some slight differences, significant similarities existed between the early Native School period, 1867 to the early 1900s, and the modern mainstream schooling option, 1990s to 2000, (the system most commonly experienced by the mokopuna). The main similarity was the language employed – English; type of knowledge included in the curriculum – Pākehā focused; level of Māori community control over and involvement – minimal; and schools' operation according to tikanga Māori – nil. Essentially, the early Native School and mainstream educational contexts mainly limited the realisation of Māori aspirations.

Similarities were also noticed within two other significant educational contexts, the middle Native School period, 1930s and 1940s (the system most commonly experienced by the kaumātua), and Kura Kaupapa Māori, 1980s to 2000. Again, apart from some minor differences, significant similarities within these educational contexts existed, that is an academic curriculum; inclusion of Māori-focused subjects; teachers' involvement with students' and their families in and out of school; high levels of Māori community control over, and involvement in their schools; high levels of Māori ownership of their schools; and the nurturing and development of tikanga Māori. Essentially, the middle Native School and Kura Kaupapa educational contexts of schooling mainly assisted the realisation of Māori aspirations.

## **Methodological Findings**

### Transferable Paradigm

This project's research process was shaped and implemented in accordance with participants' tino rangatiratanga, cultural preferences, and Kaupapa Māori theory which advocated shared control. In this way, the kaumātua and mokopuna created a context that allowed them to participate as Māori. Where appropriate, researchers and their communities may apply aspects of this project's methodology as a means of addressing Māori research concerns, and working respectfully and collaboratively in Kaupapa Māori research contexts. Their practice may be informed by certain Kaupapa Māori philosophies prevalent in this project, such as guidance from kaumātua; they may also utilise specific methods such as in-depth interviews as conversations at participants' homes. The researchers and their communities will decide which aspects if any, to incorporate within their own project.

### Four Principles for Courteous Conduct.

Researchers may contemplate the usefulness of the following principles for courteous conduct. It is suggested that observing the following principles can assist research that is purposeful and worthwhile for Māori communities.

1. Mahia mō ngā hua o tōu hapū/iwi

Use your skills for the betterment of your people (with the possibility of benefiting other iwi), which can happen when the research idea originates from within the Māori community based on their desires or needs.

2. Mā tōu hapū/iwi hei arahi i a koe; mā rātou hoki hei tonu ki ētahi atu ki te āwhina.

Allow your people to decide ways in which you can best contribute to the research (you may or may not lead the project), which can happen when the Māori community chooses participants and researcher/s they consider most appropriate.

3. Mā te hapū/ iwi hei whakarite i ngā mahi e hāngai ana ki ō rātou tikanga, kia tūtuki ai ō rātou wawatā.

The hapū/iwi decides how the research can best be completed, according to their tikanga, to ensure they achieve maximum benefits, which can happen when the research process operates according to the tikanga and preferences of that particular community. Your opinion can be offered, but be prepared to 'go with the flow'.

4. Mā te hapū/ iwi hei tiaki i ngā tuhituhinga ka puta mai i te mahi rangahau.

The hapū/iwi maintains ownership and control over the research findings, publications etc, which can happen when these stipulations are clearly stated at the outset so that all research parties are fully informed about ownership issues.

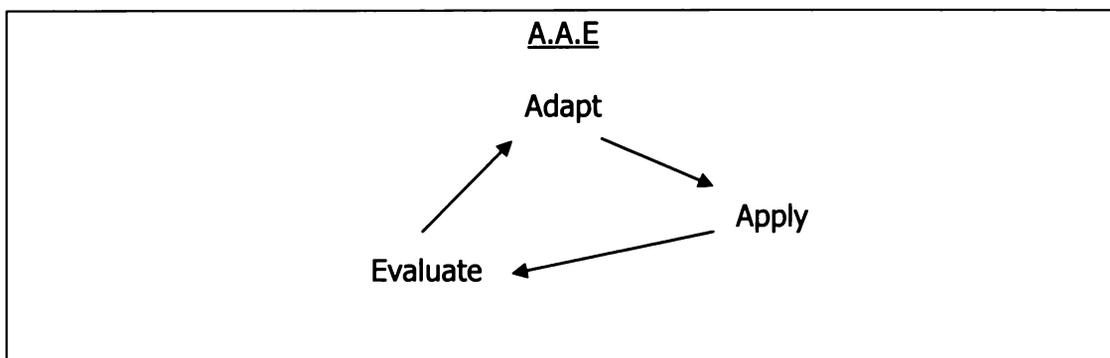
## **Implications of the Research**

### Relevance to Today's Classrooms

Through discussions with students, their whānau and teachers, aspects of schooling deemed effective by kaumātua and/or their mokopuna, may be adapted to suit today's students as a means of assisting the realisation of their educational aspirations. Discussions with whānau are crucial because "the principle of whānau...sits at the heart of Kaupapa Māori. The whānau and the practice of whānaungatanga is an integral part of Māori identity and culture" (Pihama et al., 2002, p 38). Discussions with students are crucial because they can "offer recommendations regarding how their educational experiences could be improved" (Cook-Sather, 2002a, p 12). This type of engagement is essential because "the education system needs to always be in touch with what Māori interests are...you are not going to be able to gear yourself towards Māori interests unless you know what they are" (Tapine and Waiti, 1997, p 12).

The following A.A.E (Apply, Adapt, Evaluate) model offers a practical suggestion for schools to develop and implement trials to address Māori engagement and

control within education. Obviously, it is not a prescribed set of instructions, rather a suggested framework for discussion and experimentation between students, their whānau and teachers. If sincere discussions between students, their whānau, and teachers occur, the potential to contribute to positive classroom experiences exists. The A.A.E model supports the tino rangatiratanga of Māori over the education of their children, and indeed students' own education. In this way, teachers, principals, and other practitioners can better meet the needs of the students they serve, and help them realise their educational aspirations.



**Adapt:** Aspects of past and present schooling that assisted the realisation of Māori aspirations (from the previous section) are discussed by students, their whānau and teachers in relation to their own circumstances, preferences and aspirations.

**Apply:** If students decide they may also benefit from a particular aspect, it is discussed further. Collaboratively, students, their whānau and teachers decide how best to apply that aspect to their school or classroom. The group are also free to apply one or more aspect at any time. Blind application of effective aspects from this thesis to other classrooms without considering the unique characteristics of their students, would be erroneous because that which proved effective with the kaumātua and/or mokopuna may "not necessarily be effective with another group living and working in other situations" (Eisner, 1998, p 209). This procedure could

find favour with the Education Review Office (2003) because “responsive teaching that reflects the abilities, interests and needs of Māori children and is inclusive of a range of pedagogical strategies is likely to enhance achievement” (p 4).

Evaluate: After adapting and applying the effective aspect/s for the (predetermined) timeframe, students, whānau and teachers evaluate its effectiveness. If the aspect is having positive results, students and teachers are likely to continue its use. If the results are not positive, they can decide on another strategy for applying the aspect to their context, and then repeat the A.A.E cycle, or they may decide to try another potentially effective aspect of schooling.

#### Demystification

Reinharz (1992) says demystification is “the change in consciousness that occurs...when they consider their situation in a new light” (p 192). Every person who reads our thesis has the opportunity to interact with the thoughts, ideas, experiences, emotions and dreams of participants and participants’ tūpuna. In accordance with every reader’s tino rangatiratanga, they may contemplate certain aspects of the thesis in relation to their own situation. For example, by reflecting upon their own Native School experiences and aspirations, and considering new information from this thesis, kaumātua may come to view their situation from a new perspective with a transformed understanding. So too might youngsters gain a transformed understanding of their school experiences after considering them in relation to the experiences of the mokopuna.

#### Spur Other Projects

After reading this thesis and engaging in the lives of the kaumātua and mokopuna, people may be encouraged to trace and record their own family stories, locate the aspirations of their ancestors and understand their ancestors and themselves, in relation to the aspirations. They may be motivated to begin conversations about completing a similar project with their hapū or iwi. After

reading our previous thesis, "Te Kura Māori o Matata", Perry Reichardt, an ex-pupil of Matata Native School during the 1920s, rose from his bed in the early hours of the morning to record his memories, including,

I must write...This time different...I have to...write down my... memories that are buried very deep in my mind... before they fade again ...Some time ago I had written to Ramarie Raureti a writing of appreciation on the "Thesis" she had written on Matata Native School...That is why at this time I am up at 2.a.m. trying to find that answer. Trying to find that 'soul'.

A few months after writing his stories Mr Reichardt passed away. When his sister-in-law informed me that he had completed his book, "Reflections", I cried with thanks that our thesis had provided some motivation for him. I cried again a few days later when I received my own copy of 'Reflections' in the mail, and learned that his daughter had been instructed to post copies to people on 'the list'. I would be extremely gratified if this thesis spurs another person to discuss and record their precious stories, or those of their loved ones.

### **Final Comments**

In line with tino rangatiratanga and the Māori spirit of struggle and survival for full and effective participation in society, Māori have relentlessly offered new solutions in an effort to realise Māori aspirations. The Māori educational initiatives of Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, and Wharekura have emerged from within Māori communities, reflecting and reinventing fundamental aspects previously evident within Native Schools. However, as with most of the mokopuna participants, most Māori students are educated within mainstream schools which on the whole, remain highly driven by the aspirations of the dominant culture.

It seems that the key factor pertaining to the realisation of Māori educational aspirations, lies with the degree of Māori control over, and participation within the educational context. In other words, the more that Māori exercise their tino rangatiratanga, the greater the degree to which their educational aspirations will

be realised. Therefore, if Māori are able to exercise tino rangatiratanga within any educational context, be it Kura Kaupapa Māori, 'mainstream' schooling, or perhaps another system that has yet to be developed, the fulfilment of Māori educational aspirations within Aotearoa-New Zealand's education system could be a reality.

We are grateful to those kaumātua who instigated this project, and those people who have shared their opinions, lives and intimate thoughts through their stories. We hope our project resembles Eisner's (1998) description that writers "transform experiences into a public form called text, which when artfully created, allows us to participate in a way of life. Thus, the writer starts with qualities and ends with words. The reader starts with words and ends with qualities" (p 22).

Ko te tumanako, kua whakatīnanahia te kiko o ō rātou whakaaro, kōrero, me ō rātou pū manawa, kia taea e tātou te kite i ō rātou ao mai ō rātou tirohanga. Mā tēnei momo māramatanga ka tū pakari ai tātou ki te whai i ō tātou ake tino rangatiratanga.

It is hoped that we have captured the very essence of these people's thoughts, words, and dreams so that we may be able to view and understand their different worlds, from their unique perspectives. With this new understanding we may be better equipped to devise, implement and gauge the effectiveness of new strategies as we seek to fulfil our dreams.

## Glossary

The words contained in this glossary provide translations for words contained in this thesis. Although many words listed here have multiple meanings, the meanings provided in this glossary are intended to clarify understanding of the context in which those words appeared in the text.

### **A**

Āe	Yes
Āhua	Presence, appearance
Ako	Learn, teach
Ao	World
Ariki	Chiefly line of descent
Aroha	Love, sorrow

### **H**

Haka	Posture dance
Harakeke	Flax
Hapū	Sub tribe
Hapū matua	Main sub tribe
Himene	Hymn
Hīnaki	Eel trap
Hongi	Pressing of noses and sharing of breath
Hui	Gathering, meeting

### **I**

Iwi	Tribe
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### **K**

Kai	Food
Kaiarahi reo	Māori language expert
Kaiawhina	Assistant
Kāinga	Home, village
Kākahu	Feathered cloak, clothing
Kāo	No
Kapa haka	Literally 'lines of people performing haka', although now it is often used more generally when referring to Māori performing arts
Karakia	Incantation, prayer
Karanga	Call
Kaumātua	Esteemed elder (who has influence over their hapū/ iwi)
Kaupapa	Agenda, topic
Kete	Kit, basket

Koha	Offering, gift
Kōhine	Young girl
Kōrero	Talk
Koretake	Useless
Koroua	Male elder
Kōwhaiwhai	Repeated scroll work on rafters; Māori decorative patterns
Kuia	Female elder
Kura	School, something precious, treasure

## **M**

Mahi	Work, task
Mana	Authority, control, influence, prestige, status
Mana wahine	Pride in womanhood
Mana whenua	Ancestral land rights
Manuhiri	Guest, visitor
Māpere	Marbles
Mātauranga Māori	Māori ways of knowing, Māori knowledge
Mihi	Greet, thank
Mihinare	Protestants, Anglican
Mita	Tone of speaking peculiar to a particular hapū/ iwi
Mokopuna	Grandchild/ren
Mōteatea	Tribal lament

## **N**

Noa	Unrestricted, safe
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## **P**

Pā	Māori community's meeting place
Paepae	Speakers' bench/ domain
Pakaru	Broken, tattered
Pākehā	Non-Māori/ European New Zealander
Paru	Mud used for dyeing fibres
Pēpeha	Tribal proverb
Pīkau	Bag, saddle/sugar bag
Piupiu	Flax woven dancing skirt
Pōhiri	Ceremonial welcome
Puku	Belly / stomach
Puku mimi	Bladder

## **R**

Rangatahi	Youngster
Raurau	Bracken fern
Reo Rangatira	First/ treasured language
Raranga	Weaving
Reo	Language
Rohe	District, area
Rourou	Woven food baskets

**I**

Taiaha	War staff
Tama	Son, boy
Tamāhine	Daughter, girl
Tamariki	Children
Tangihanga	Funeral
Tāonga	Treasure, something precious
Tapu	Protected, restricted, sacrosanct
Tarau	Pants, underpants
Tauparapara	Speech introduction
Tau wiriwiri	Wobbly bum (referring to spinning tops)
Taurekareka	Slave
Teina	Younger brother of a male, younger sister of a female
Tika	Correct, appropriate
Tikanga	Protocol, accepted modes of conduct
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination; self-power and control
Tītī	Mutton birds
Tiwha	Chipped (referring to marbles)
Toa	Champion (referring to marbles)
Tohunga	Priest
Toki	Adze
Tuakana	Older brother of a boy, older sister of a female
Tūkino(tia)	To be exploited, taken advantage of
Tupāpaku	Body of a deceased person
Tūpuna	Ancestor/s
Tutu	Play/ fiddle with

**U**

Ūkaipō	Place of birth and nurturing during infancy
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**W**

Wahine	Female
Wānanga	Higher Māori school of learning
Waiata	Song
Waiwai	Natural mordant made from tree juices
Waka	Canoe, boat
Waka tauā	War canoe

**Wh**

Whāea	Aunty/ mother figure
Whaikōrero	Formal speech
Whakahīhī	Conceited, boastful
Whakamā	Embarrassed, shy, ashamed
Whakamoemiti	Gratitude, thankfulness
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakataukī	Proverb
Whakawātea	Removal of restrictions

Whānau	Family/ group of relatives
Whanaunga	Relative, cousin
Whanaungatanga	Kinship
Wharekai	Dining room
Wharetangata	Womb, bearer of children
Whare Tūpuna	Ancestral house
Whāriki	Woven mat

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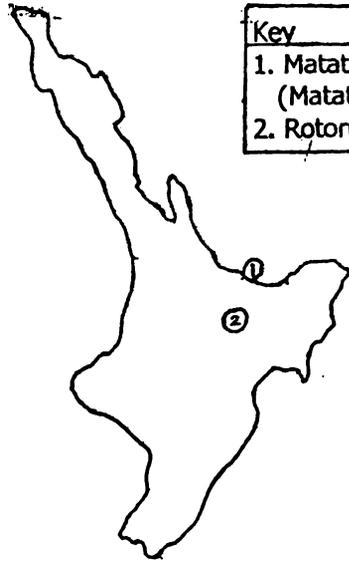
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## **Appendices**

Map Showing Location of Matata Native School in Relation to Rotorua  
Map Showing Locations of Studied Native Schools within Rotorua  
Ngāti Pīkiao Meeting Summary (1868)  
Map Showing Proposed Rotoiti/Taheke School Site (1868)  
Ngāti Pīkiao Request for Replacement Teacher (1888)  
Newspaper Report Regarding Major Woods' Death (1888)  
Pahemata Waata's Letter Regarding Major Woods' Death (1888)  
Doctor Ginders' Letter Regarding Major Woods (1888)  
Ratema Te Awēkotuku's Letter Regarding Near-drowning (1891)  
Mr Broderick's Letter Requesting Boat (1891)  
Map Showing Proposed Rotokawa and Whangamarino School Sites (1919)  
Earliest Record of Request for School at Whakarewarewa (1889)

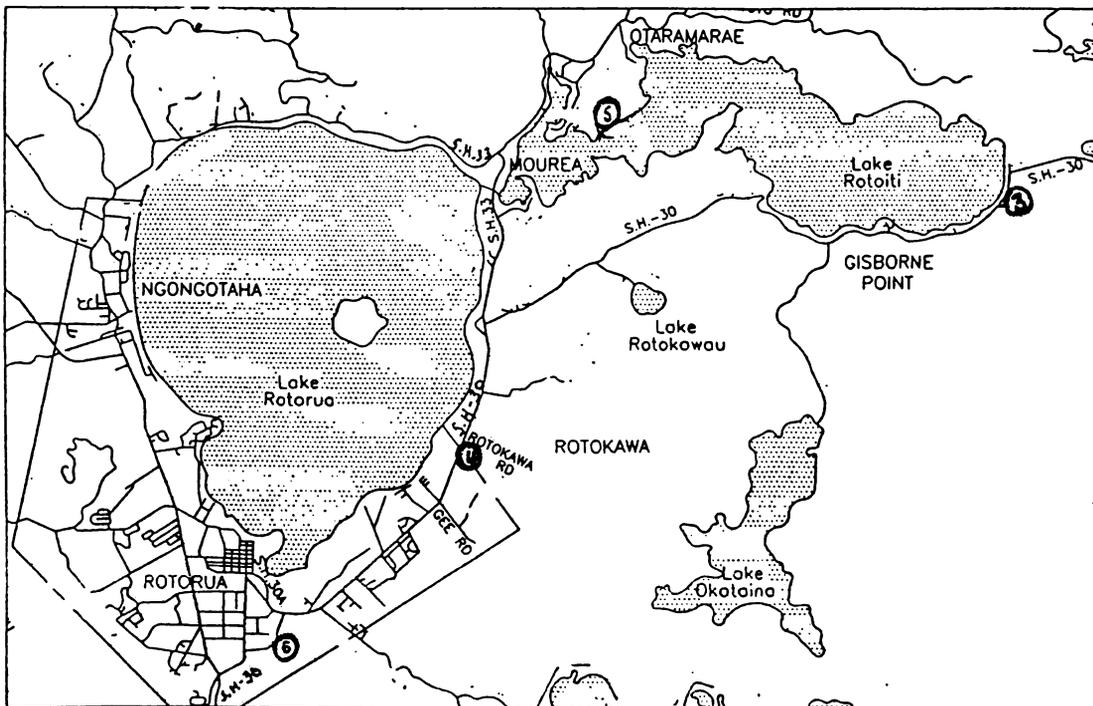
Map of North Island

- Key
1. Matata  
(Matata Native School)
  2. Rotorua



Map of Studied Rotorua Native Schools

- Key
3. Wai-iti
  4. Rotokawa
  5. Whangamarino
  6. Whakarewarewa



He Poata tenei i nga mea i oti i te hui o  
Ngatipikias i tu ai ki Pukeko - Je Inia. Kei Je Poata  
Akihaka 25<sup>th</sup> 1868.

Ko te Whenua mo te Kura kua whakaaetia e  
Ngatipikias katoa. Ko te Kawakawa te wahi,  
ko nga take i whakaaetia i tenei wahi: ko te  
iti o te taiepa, ko te tata ki te wai, - ki nga kai hoki  
o te moana. ko te waenganni hoki tenei o te iwi. -

Ko nga eka kua whakaritua hei Whenua  
mo te Kura, mo te aha, aha ranei. E rua te kauri  
nga eka. -

Ko te whare mo te Kura; kua whakaaetia  
ki te whare papa, ko te roa, mo te whanui, keia  
tenei kua whakaaetia mai e te Kawanatanga.

Ko te ingoa o te whare kura; ko te Paunga  
tau Inaro. -

Ko te komiti kua oti ia Ngatipikias te  
whiriwhiri, keia enei nga tangata: -

Je Karaka - Iiamana

Je Irata Iauani

Hapeta

Amaha

Wi Matue

Je Napu

Je Pokiha. (7)

Ma enei tangata e whakataoto he tikanga  
mo te kura. ko te kauri pai hei nohanga mo  
te komiti terehaki ko Inakite, - euaq ma  
Je Karaka e whakaaetia mai te ra. -

To nga tangata kua whaka aitia e te  
iwi mo te Karanga Karāti mo te Whenua kua  
tukuna kai Whenua tuturu mo te kua:  
kaia enei nga tangata -

To Te Karaka

Tri Matene

Te Hata Taranui.

To enei whare kua, kua ahi nei te Whaka:  
ritenti kai kua mo Ngatipikiao, mo  
Ngatitarawhai, mo Te Kawera, mo Te  
Patiwai.

Mo Te Karaka e tukuna atu enei korero  
kata ki Te Kawaratananga. —

ka Te Pokiha

" Te Hata

" Te Mapu

" Anaha

" Tri Matene

" Hapeta

Otia ka Ngatipikiao katoa.

Yes. Mr. Wood for the Education Office of New Zealand.

For the Education Office of New Zealand.

W. Wood

W. Wood  
6/11/88

*Te*

EDUCATION  
31 OCT. 88  
88/953

Kotoiti  
Oketopa 15<sup>th</sup> 1888

Ki te ~~Education~~ Department

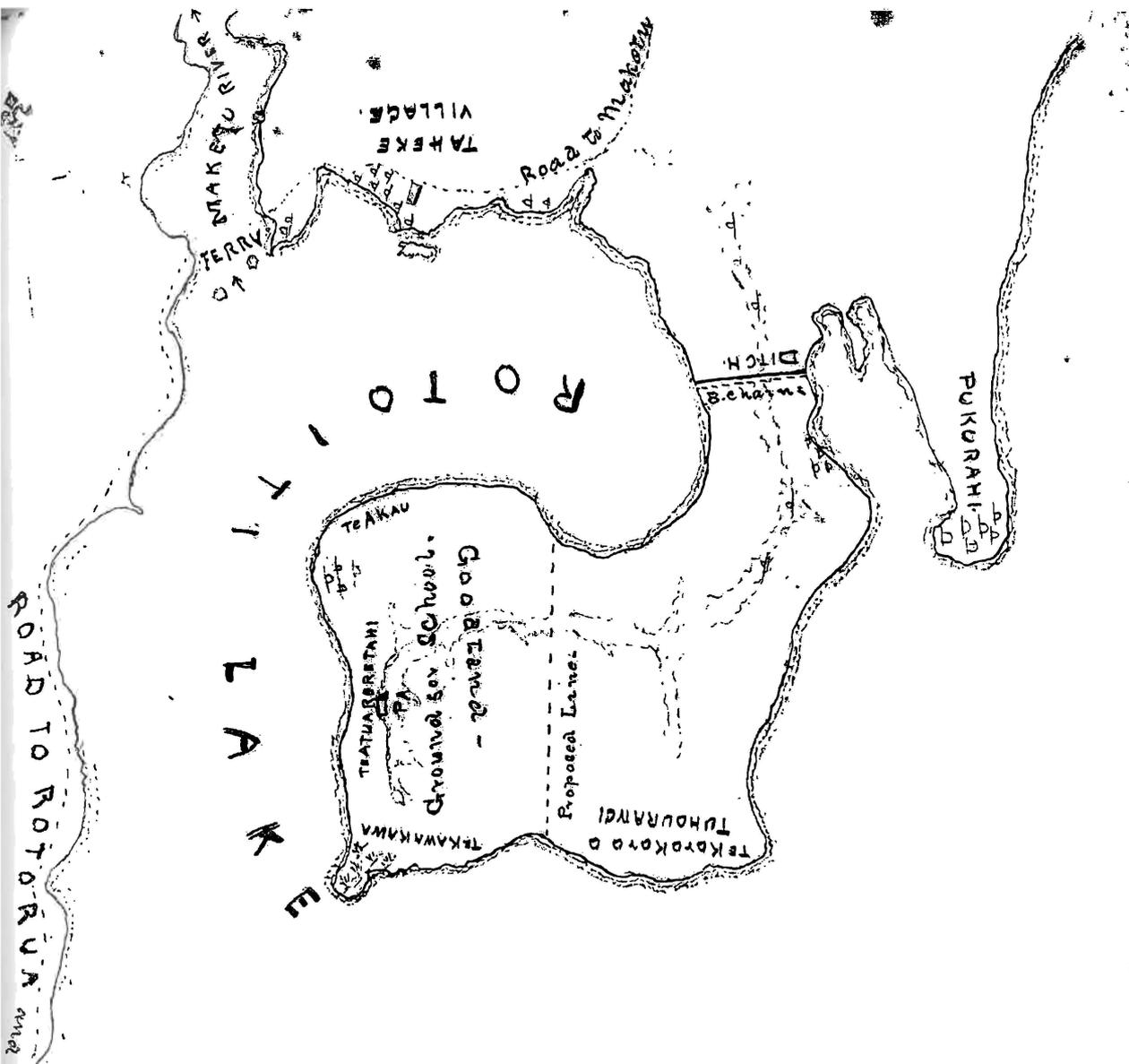
Te mea koutou i raro i te aroha  
o te tatou Kai-hanga i runga Pawa  
kia tau te aroha noa me te rangumarie  
kia koutou, kati te mihi

He whakaatu tona kia koutou  
kua mate a Meika Muuru (Major Wood)  
no te 11<sup>th</sup> o nga ra i te 7 o nga haora i te ata  
a no runga i tona matenga ka hui a  
Ngatipikiao nga tane me nga wahine  
me nga tamariki o tana kura he nui te  
aroha o Ngatipikiao kia Meika urua  
nga take aroha o Ngatipikiao ki taua  
kaumatua nei notomia kua waiho ia hei  
matua no Ngatipikiao ka toa me tana  
mahi whakaako i te kura tetahi -

Mo pura matou ka inoi atu kia  
koutou i runga i te mea kua tukua atu  
nei te mana i te Koroni kia koutou  
mo te whakahaere o nga kura o Aiu Tioro

Hei homai he ruohi mo Meika  
Muuru i nga ra tonu o tenei marama  
notomia kua oti te Harauna. Karati  
nga eka o H. mo te kura i te tau 1888  
a ka whakaotia i te Paramuna.

Kia mana pawa mai i a koutou  
tona tono a matou  
Hei ano



Rough sketch showing position of land decided upon by Hapetipikias as a site for School House as per



ROTORUA

MAJOR WOOD, late schoolmaster at Rotoiti, died there on October 11, at the advanced age of 73. He was an officer in the Imperial service, and belonged, I believe, to the 42nd Highlanders. He will be interred at Rotoiti, by his own request, on Monday. The Maoris intend holding a great tangi over his remains, the deceased being so much loved and respected by them, amongst whom he has lived for over 20 years.

The obsequies of the late Major Wood have been undertaken almost entirely by the Maoris. Mr. Malfroy, the Government agent, Dr. Ginders, and the Rev. Mr. Spencer, drove to Rotoiti on Saturday, and were astonished to see the praiseworthy manner in which the smallest details had been attended to by the Maoris. The body was lying in state (native fashion), and all manner of beautiful and valuable mats were scattered over it in profusion. Feathers were on the head and greenstone on the breast. Mr. Malfroy, on behalf of the Government, thanked the Maoris for the attention, and for the very deep and loving feeling they displayed towards one of the white race. They asked permission to be allowed to keep the remains of "their late gallant white chief" (as they called him) above ground until all their own chiefs had arrived to the "tangi." This permission was courteously granted by the Government agent. The late Major had no known relatives in the colony, and he having died in a most remote Maori village, but few European friends could find their way there. The Maoris, in a manner not easily to be forgotten, were only endeavouring to carry out the Major's last wish, and prevent the Europeans from taking his body to Rotorua, where nothing but a cold watery grave awaited him, such is the deplorable existing state of our cemetery here.

The remains of the late Major Wood were interred on Monday with great ceremony. The Rev. Mr. Spencer, Dr. Ginders, and a few residents proceeded to Rotoiti, and were met at a suitable spot, chosen by a number of native chiefs, who, on the party landing from the canoes, fired a volley and indulged in a sort of a war-dance. The spot chosen for the Major's last resting-place is picturesque in the extreme, and adjoining the Peaks close to Te Weate's tomb, called Atuarerastu. Here the body was rested, and it must have been brought with considerable difficulty, as the Europeans present found it hard work to scramble up. Mr. Spencer then read the burial service, after which the chiefs, in the midst of their lamentations, fired two volleys over the grave. Thus ended a scene unequalled, I believe, in the annals of New Zealand history, and one which may probably never happen again. After all this imposing ceremony had been gone through, Mr. Spencer was asked to unite in holy bonds of matrimony a young dusky couple, a pleasing finish to such a day's work. Some little amusement was created by the large curtain ring (no other being available) continually slipping off the bride's finger. However, in spite of this little difficulty, Mr. Spencer succeeded in going through with the ceremony in a very satisfactory manner.

The Rotoiti natives are agitating for the erection of a handsome stone structure on the spot which will in future mark the resting-place of the late respected Major Wood.

This season, as far as it has gone, stands unparalleled for scarcity of tourists. Never a year has passed without a dozen, at least, per week coming to see us. At this time, a solitary one by each coach is now our quantum. Mr. Scott, of Rotorua, intends, we believe, to make the Waioapu Valley this season as attractive as possible, and to provide quarters in a free and easy camp fashion most suitable to this place, which will doubtless prove, in the hot summer weather, a refreshing change to the usual unwholesome...

Te Tahere

Rotoiti

October 15<sup>th</sup> 1888.

We, the women of K' Pitias, hereby request that a teacher for our children be appointed in consequence of the death of Major Wood, the school master.

The 4 acres have been finally settled and the crown grant complete. We pray that our request be granted.

From

Behemata Haata x

Foro

Mr. Underwood  
Rotorua.

EDUCATION.  
The Superintendent, Rotorua.  
5 NOV. 88

31<sup>st</sup> October 1888.  
"Roto-itū"

W. J. Underwood 53

Education Department Wellington.

Sir. Further re Major Wood's death.

In reply to your memo: E. 88/953 No 1254,  
I have the honour to inform you that I have al-  
ready forwarded an account of expenses incurred  
of behalf of the late Major Wood and also some  
account of his funeral.

On Saturday the 6<sup>th</sup> of October Major Wood, appa-  
rently in his usual health accompanied some  
Natives into the Bush, after walking some dis-  
tance he began to complain of a severe pain in  
the chest, this became so agonizing that he fell  
and the Natives had to carry him home, the  
pain continued until Monday morning (the 8<sup>th</sup>) -  
when it left him in a very weak and exhausted state.  
Mr Kirk, Butcher of Rotorua passed thro' Tahike  
on this day, en route to Maketu, when the natives  
called his attention to Major Wood's serious condition  
he at once dispatched a messenger with a note  
requesting ~~for~~ my attendance. I found him  
in a state of collapse from heart-failure and  
frequent attacks of syncope, the pain he had suffer-  
ed no doubt was Angina pectoris - I thought he  
would have died in my presence several times  
during my visit, the synopal attacks were so  
profound. I hurried home and sent out Mr  
John Clarke (Major Clarke's son) with stimulants  
and other necessities, however he gradually sank  
and died at 7.30 AM on Monday the 11<sup>th</sup> instant.

The funeral was fixed for Saturday the 13<sup>th</sup>  
and having an important case I could not leave

EDUCATION  
5 NOV. 88  
80/1/53

on that day so Mr. Malfoy the Government Agent ~~sent out~~ with the undertaker and the coffin, the natives however were not prepared and begged that the funeral might be postponed until Monday the 15<sup>th</sup>, accordingly I went out on that day and attended the funeral as I have already intimated.

I have the honour to remain, Sir,  
Your obedient servant  
T. J. Ginders.

Notitia

Nov. 14<sup>th</sup> 1891

L. P. S.

Lena koe,  
ke whakaatu lena mahi  
kai koe,

ko leni ranau i te  
mulinga o te kura  
ahiahi - ka whakawhiki  
atu nga tamariki he  
hoki atu ki o ralan kanga,  
A. i te unio o te kam kam  
tawiri tetehi o nga Mahi  
tuhonau nga tamariki  
i runga, A. i tino tata  
raua atu tamariki ki te  
mahi - A. ko kua kalam  
te mea i tino tata raua ki  
te mahi. A. ia kaha o te mahi  
ki te mahi i hoki mai  
ai te piko ora

Kia

Korā an ka tōā au  
nei kua koe i runga i te  
yakan mae kia toka  
- hōtōtia, te whakawhiki  
i te Pōti (Kōwhiri), whakawhiki  
- whiri no nga tamariki o  
leni kua,

Christia koe  
and kō whakawhiki  
kai kua koe i  
runga i tōā manau

Ka to kōā kōwhiri  
Kalamā, A. kōwhiri

The Native Secretary  
Māori Pōwhiri

For Mr. Davis

28-11-91  
Translating 27/11/91  
attached  
G. J. D. Davis  
28/11/91

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
25 NOV. 91
91/ 718 381

Teacher, Nat. School

53

"Roto-itū"  
Te Akau  
Nov 17 91

Cannot get a boat built for sum authorised  
by Dept. Several children had a narrow escape  
Dear Sir from drowning in trying to cross the  
lake in a canoe.

I have the honour to inform you that I have made  
inquiries re the boat & have had only two offers, one from  
Wairariki Hinemaitahi & one from Tauranga, both exceed the  
sum allowed. Wairariki £13. Tauranga £9-10. Both to  
be specially built. Were I buying a boat for self I  
should certainly give Mr W's offer the preference as I have  
seen several of his & it would be hard to get a better  
than the extra expense of getting the one from Tauranga  
would increase the price very much.

We want a boat sadly. We very nearly had a fatal  
accident this afternoon, the canoe sank with eight children  
in it, right in the middle of the lake. Fortunately a  
native who was on the lake in his canoe saw the accident  
& went to the rescue, a few minutes later & four  
would have been drowned, as it was I took an hour's hard  
work to resuscitate one little girl (Nuihi Katama)

Yesterday it also blew very hard, the children were all on  
the other side afraid to venture over. I took the canoe  
across & brought them over, but just as we got close to this  
side she filled & turned over, fortunately in shallow water  
With a boat there would be no danger.

I have the honour

to be

Sir

Your obedient servant

H. W. Hodrick

Bro P. W. Hodrick



EDUCATION  
DEPARTMENT.  
14 MAR. 83  
89/302  
89/349

Received  
Wellington

"Chimney" ~~...~~

"Whakarewarewa"

emo Geo. L. Fisher. Natives ask that a school be established.

The natives at Whakarewarewa want a school built for them. They say that it is too far for their children to go into the township. About 60 children are at ~~Whakarewarewa~~ <sup>Whakarewarewa</sup>

H. A. K. K. K.  
11.3.89

Sir E. O. Gibbes,  
I have nothing to add to what I have already said in my memorandum (E 88/847 - 22<sup>nd</sup> Sept.) to the Inspector-General except to call attention to E 85/845 of 21<sup>st</sup> Sept.  
James H. Pope.  
19.3.89

Received  
Under the Crown Land  
26/3/89