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**MAORI PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION  
TAINUI GRADUATES FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO,  
1992 TO 1997**

**A thesis  
submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the Degree  
of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Maori Studies  
at the  
University of Waikato  
by  
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## ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of what factors contribute to the success of Maori who participate in higher education. The thesis is informed by the experiences of nine Tainui tribal members who received scholarships from the Tainui Maori Trust Board and who graduated from the University of Waikato between 1992 and 1997.

The thesis addresses two questions: what factors contributed to the success of Tainui graduates at the University of Waikato? What effect did programmes, policies and initiatives offered by the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board have on the academic success of Tainui graduates at the University of Waikato?

There are three main components to the thesis: a brief history of the University of Waikato and an examination of three documents (University of Waikato Charter 1991; Paetawhiti, the strategic plan 1993; Academic Audit Unit report 1997) and how they pertain to Maori; a history of the Tainui Maori Trust Board and an examination of the Tainui Education Strategy (1986, 1991), its review (1993) and scholarship programmes; and a study and analysis of the experiences of nine Tainui graduates from the University of Waikato.

Argued from an eclectic theoretical and methodological position, drawing from indigenous and western theories and research practices that emphasise a kaupapa Maori and tribal approach, the thesis identifies multiple factors that have contributed to the success of the Tainui graduates. These factors include family and parental support, mentoring, the role of finances, institutional support, and identity.

The thesis finds through examination of the documents, that the policies, initiatives and programmes of the Tainui Maori Trust Board and the University of Waikato have ambiguous and at times conflicting aims and objectives in regard to Maori participation and graduation from higher education. The thesis also finds that the experiences of the graduates reveal that neither the Tainui Maori Trust Board nor policies relating to Maori at the University of Waikato played significant roles in the success of the Tainui graduates. Rather, the thesis finds that the success of the graduates is largely borne by their own efforts, which reflect western notions of

success, but which also reinforce their identity as Maori, and as Tainui tribal members.

The thesis suggests that both the Tainui Maori Trust Board and the University of Waikato review their relationships with their tribal and Maori members (respectively), and recommendations are made to help develop a greater awareness of the contribution that both organisations can make to the success of Maori university students.

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### A NOTE ON READING THE THESIS

In the 1980s the Tainui Maori Trust Board indicated long vowel sounds in the Maori language through the use of double vowels. Prior to this, double vowels were not used as a matter of course in Tainui Maori Trust Board papers. The University of Waikato policy on Maori language indicates the use of long vowels with macrons. Prior to the introduction of this, neither double vowels nor macrons were used. Some words in common use in the Maori language explicitly mark the long vowel sounds through double vowels, and they appear to be used in conjunction with macrons. For example, Mataatua, ataahua, roopu. Because of these inconsistencies with the practice of double vowels I have chosen not to mark long vowels in any way, unless they appear in quotations.

## CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCING THE THESIS

Being a minority student...is a paradox. To live, we have to assimilate and learn the dominant way of living, while also trying to preserve our traditions (Carey 1997:132).

### Overview

The paradoxical experience of higher education, as Carey (1997) states above, is one that is shared by minority and indigenous peoples alike. The struggle lies in being able to find comfortable spaces (Hooks 1994), to live dual existences (Barnhardt 1994) - maintaining cultural identity and traditions on the one hand, while achieving western standards of academic success on the other. This struggle continues against an historical backdrop that has excluded Maori, and other indigenous and minority peoples, from participating on equal terms with the dominant 'other' in education. For Maori, the struggle is manifested in tribal bodies asserting their tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and using education as the key to achieving it. For the dominant 'other,' the struggle is manifested in higher education institutions that strive to maintain the status quo, set against a rhetorical backdrop that has paid lip service to the aspirations of Maori. This practice of 'lip service' to Maori has characterised Maori-Pakeha<sup>1</sup> relationships even before the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840.

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi was the culmination of over seventy years of contact between Maori and Pakeha (Orange 1987:6). The Treaty of Waitangi signalled the start of a new nation, combining the two peoples in the creation of a "charter for power-sharing in the decision-making processes...for Maori determination of their own destiny...and as the guide to future development in New Zealand" (Bishop & Glynn 1999a:14). Made up of three components

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<sup>1</sup> Pakeha is the term given to describe the British and European colonisers.

(Articles), the Treaty acknowledged Maori in the areas of governance (Article I), possession and control over land and rights to forests, fisheries and other properties and self-determination (Article II) and accorded protection and rights (Article III) similar to that of their British counterparts (Walker 1989:264-265).

The reality for Maori has been contrary to what the Treaty promised. The history of colonialism in New Zealand has had a profound effect on Maori, decimating their economic, political, cultural and social structures through policies of assimilation (Ballara 1996; Kawharu 1989; McCarthy 1997; Simpson 1979; Walker 1987, 1990). The unwillingness of Pakeha people to accept Maori values and culture has been characterised in the approach to education policy since the early 1800s, where “knowledge became framed within a content of prescription,” and where “Maori were to become brown skinned Pakeha” (Vercoe 1995:124. See also Glynn 1998; Lee & Lee 1995).

The historic root of discontent, particularly in education, remains in the insistence of western societies in developing systems for indigenous peoples, without seeking their input. This control has been a fundamental issue of discontent between indigenous communities and their dominant counterparts (Darnell 1983:306. See also Altbach & Lomotey 1991; Freire 1996; Iverson 1978; Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991; Lowe 1999). Bishop & Glynn (1999a:12) state that the “framework of colonialism” has ensured a system that “continues to serve the interests of a monocultural elite.” Iverson (1978:149-150) agrees:

Experiences of international colonialism have shown how an educational tradition of a politically dominant culture, modified by assumptions about limits in the culture and capabilities of native people, serves forever to keep those people at the bottom of the social structure while maintaining the illusion that failure and dependency are due to their own deficiencies.

New Zealand’s colonial framework, which devalues Maori cultural values, attitudes and language, has meant that the “entire education process” for Maori “can only be described as disastrous” because Maori leave the education system

without qualifications as a result of this devaluation in who they are as a people (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986:2. See also Marshall 1991).

Over 160 years after New Zealand became a nation, the gap between Maori and non-Maori cultural, educational, social, political and economic well-being has persisted and increased (Chapple, Jefferies & Walker 1997; Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986; Davies & Nicholl 1993; Te Puni Kokiri 2000). Vercoe (1995:124) describes this gap as arising from a “combination of oppressive educational policy, and the suppression of the Maori language,” which “all but secured an inevitable downward spiral of cultural distortion and dissemination.” Although numbers of Maori enrolling at university are increasing, they are still proportionally less than those of their Pakeha colleagues (Davies & Nicholl 1993:60; Ministry of Education 1998b:29; Te Puni Kokiri 2000:20). There is also a correlation between the increase in numbers of Maori students enrolling at university and their decreasing rates of completion (Ministry of Education 1998b:65). If Maori enrolments are increasing, then why are Maori still failing to ‘come out the other side’ and succeed in higher education?

The legacy of underachievement by Maori has been highlighted in the literature as a result of past policies and practices (Benton 1987; Bishop 1998b; Bishop & Glynn 1999a; A. Durie 1995; M. Durie 1997; Irwin 1991, 1999; Marshall 1991; G. Smith 1990a, 1991; L. Smith 1996, 1999; Walker 1984, 1991, 1999). Successive government policies have promoted assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and biculturalism (Bishop & Glynn 1999a:14; Glynn 1998:4, Marshall 1991:12-13). According to Glynn (1998:4), the “cumulative effect of these policies has been to require Maori to sacrifice more and more of their language, culture and educational aspirations to the needs and aspirations of the majority culture.” In short, these policies have been “ethnocentric” in their approach, “based on unexamined assumptions of the cultural superiority of the Pakeha” (Marshall 1991:12). Walker (1999:188-189) gives a more poignant explanation of the effect of such subordination:

Maori, as a subordinated class, beneath even the meanest strata of the dominant culture, were imbued with a feeling of *whakama*, a crippling sense of inferiority and shame in the face of the grand narrative of the coloniser. This hegemonic function of schooling was evident at the outset.

However, Walker (1999:188) argues that in spite of such humiliation, Maori continued to fight against the grand narrative of the coloniser, engaging in “a counter-hegemonic struggle and continuous interrogation of power.” Thus, recent changes, which have been more reflective of Maori needs and aspirations, have been largely due to the resistance of Maori to their subordinate position. The establishment of Kohanga Reo (an early childhood programme), Kura Kaupapa Maori, Wharekura (primary and secondary schools) and Whare Wananga (tertiary programmes) represents “a renaissance in cultural identity for Maori” (Vercoe 1995:125). Vercoe (1995:125) posits that the “philosophy that underpins the curriculum in Kohanga is one of humanisation through the restoration of mana or the power to determine and the will to frustrate total annihilation.” This statement reinforces Walker’s (1991:9) view that positioned Kohanga Reo as a political movement, paving the way for the “educational emancipation of Maori from Pakeha control.” At the tertiary level, the establishment of Whare Wananga has provided for Maori students, a “more culturally sensitive and welcoming environment in which to learn” (Mead 1997b:58). Mead (1997b:63) also believes that the establishment of Whare Wananga has enabled Maori to participate and become more involved in their education, thus education has become “more of a liberating and positive force than it has been in the past.”

Whare Wananga are a relatively new phenomena on the tertiary education scene, which, since their establishment, have experienced a growing popularity amongst Maori. However, many Maori people are still attracted to the perceived benefits that a university education can provide, in spite of the barriers. Despite the ongoing effects of the colonial experiences of assimilation, some Maori students still manage to succeed at university – an institution that cannot share the same liberatory and emancipatory views as those of the Whare Wananga. The question

is why do some Maori students succeed, where others fail? This question forms the basis of the thesis.

This thesis, therefore, is an examination of factors that contribute to the academic achievement of Maori who participate in university education. The thesis will examine these factors in relation to the experiences of nine Tainui tribal members who received scholarships from the Tainui Maori Trust Board and who graduated from the University of Waikato between 1992 and 1997.

The thesis addresses two questions, firstly, what factors contributed to the success of Tainui graduates who studied at the University of Waikato? Secondly, what effect did programmes, policies and initiatives offered by the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board have on the academic achievement of these nine Tainui graduates?

There are three main components to this thesis. First, an overview of the history of the University of Waikato, paying particular attention to the University's relationship with Maori and the development of initiatives and programmes for Maori. Specifically, three documents developed for and by the University (University of Waikato Charter 1991; Kingsbury's (1993) Strategic Plan for the University, Paetawhiti; New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit report 1997) will be examined in terms of how they relate to Maori, and the effect (if any) they have had for Maori at the University. Second, a history of the Tainui Maori Trust Board, in particular references to education and higher education initiatives; an examination of the Tainui Education Strategy (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986; Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991) and its review (Ikin & Morgan, 1993); and an overview of the scholarship programme. The third component includes a study and analysis of the experiences of the nine Tainui graduates, relating their experiences of receiving and participating in the scholarship programme as well as their experiences during their time as students at the University of Waikato.

## **The Settings and Participants in the Research**

In order to address the question of Maori success at university, the thesis seeks to examine two settings that have attempted to prioritise the advancement of Maori education. One setting, the University of Waikato, is a derivative of the colonial past, a replica of the British university system. The second setting, the Tainui Maori Trust Board,<sup>2</sup> is a tribal governing authority, which represents some 45,000 tribal members (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1999). Both of these institutions were established after the Second World War: the Tainui Maori Trust Board in 1946 and the University of Waikato nearly 20 years later, in 1964. The thesis examines the aspirations of these institutions in relation to Maori success and the outcomes achieved for Maori students.

In order to examine effectively the aspirations of these institutions and critically analyse the outcomes achieved for Maori students, I interviewed nine Tainui-affiliated students who had received education scholarships from the Tainui Maori Trust Board and who have graduated from the University of Waikato. These graduates were asked, through in-depth, semi-structured interviews (Bishop 1996; Bishop & Glynn 1999a), what they had made of their university experiences. The graduates were positioned from what Morrow & Hensel (1992:38) describe as “politically powerful participants” in the research, and in this way, a critical evaluation of the two institutions was undertaken. I adopted an insider researcher approach to the thesis, framed, shaped and guided by a kaupapa Maori paradigm, as described by Bishop (1996), Bishop & Glynn (1999a), and Smith (1999). Further, I developed a tribal theory of success, based on the words of Potatau Te Wherowhero and his son Tawhiao, the first and second Maori kings, and leaders of the Waikato tribe around the time of the Land Wars of the 1860s. These words form the basis of what Durie (2001) believes contributes to Maori advancement, and more importantly in the context of this thesis, what contributes to tribal tino

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<sup>2</sup> After 1995, the Waikato Raupatu Lands Trust was established. This entity, of which the Tainui Maori Trust Board was sole shareholder, effectively replaced the administrative activities undertaken by the Board, which was formally retired in 1999 and replaced by Te Kauhanganui o Waikato, the new governing structure for the tribe. While the Tainui Maori Trust Board was

rangatiratanga. The methodological approach and theoretical considerations are discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, while the interview responses and discussion are detailed in Chapters Six and Seven.

The thesis, therefore, is a critical evaluation of two institutional attempts to recruit, retain and, more importantly, graduate Maori university students. I conducted this critical evaluation through interviews of graduates, as mentioned, and through the use of documentary evidence written by, about and for the two institutions.

## **Maori and Education**

An examination of the two institutions cannot begin without first providing an overview of the history of education for Maori in New Zealand. This chapter will illustrate how the introduction of western education systems sought to assimilate Maori into European society, and how successive policies ensured that Maori maintained a subordinate position throughout New Zealand history. An overview of the introduction of university education to New Zealand will also illustrate the lack of attention paid to Maori needs and aspirations. The establishment of the University of Waikato in 1964 provided an opportunity for change within the university system to its approaches to and inclusion of Maori. The overview within this chapter, therefore, provides the context for why Maori have been under-represented in education, and in particular, university education.

At first, Maori exposure to western education, initially introduced by the missionaries, was welcomed. Simon (1992:33) posited that Maori were interested in education because of the opportunity to access European technology, and the knowledge associated with such technology, “they sought them in order to enhance their traditional way of life.” For the Waikato tribe, education was seen as an avenue to expand their already prosperous economic trading activities with

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effectively the governing structure of the tribe until its retirement, I have chosen, for consistency

Maori and non-Maori. This chapter will briefly introduce the Waikato tribe, its origins and its history. The Waikato tribe is unique in that it is the kaitiaki (guardian) of the Kingitanga (King Movement), established in 1858 to unite Maori tribes in a bid to cease the sale of Maori lands to European settlers. Tracing its origins to the establishment of the Tainui Maori Trust Board in 1946, this illustration of the Waikato tribe gives an insight into its activities in more recent years, particularly with regard to its approach to higher education and the self-determination of the tribe as a whole.

Arising from these synopses of the history of university education in New Zealand, and the two institutions being examined for the thesis, a clearer picture of the underachievement of Maori in education begins to emerge. Issues of recruitment, participation and retention for Maori, especially in higher education, “paint a very negative picture which will not be quickly or easily addressed” (Jefferies 1997:6). The thesis seeks to examine the more positive picture of Maori participation in higher education, with the hope of identifying issues peculiar to Maori participation, retention and graduation. In order to do so, a portrait of Maori participation and completion during the 1990s is provided. Jefferies (1997:4) has found that data collection focusing on Maori participation is “still inconsistent and patchy.” I agree. However, what has emerged from this is a picture of high percentages of Maori students enrolling at the University of Waikato, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s. The thesis seeks to explore the extent to which these statistical figures reflect a more sensitive approach by institutions to Maori needs and aspirations, or whether other reasons exist as to why Maori choose the University of Waikato as a destination of choice.

Analyses of the Tainui Maori Trust Board scholarships are also patchy and inconsistent. However, scholarships awarded to tribal members attending the University of Waikato accounted for nearly half (49 percent) of all scholarships awarded in 1993, dropping to 43 percent in 1999.<sup>3</sup> While little is known about the completion figures for Tainui students enrolled at the University of Waikato, data

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and to avoid confusion, to retain the title of the Board throughout the thesis.

about the few postgraduate students paint a picture contrary to the negative statistics that permeate Maori higher education. An overview is provided later in this chapter in order to place in context the importance with which education is perceived by the tribal administration. The effectiveness of this emphasis will be examined in detail in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

### **The New Zealand Education System – A Background**

The history of education for Maori since colonisation in New Zealand saw the introduction of the written word to a society that prized its oral traditions.<sup>4</sup> The missionaries were the initial instigators for Maori learning to read and write in their own language, which was facilitated further with the establishment of missionary schools from 1814 (Butchers 1930:119; Bird 1928). Ramsay (1972:119) states that the government was “content to leave the education of the Maoris to the missionaries.” The aim of the mission schools during this early period was to teach Maori to read and write in their own language, despite colonial government attempts to emphasise the teaching of English.

In 1847 the Education Ordinance was passed, which provided government aid to mission schools, through land grants and subsidies. According to Ka'ai-Oldman (1988:22), the aim of the Ordinance was to isolate Maori children from influences of traditional villages, assimilating them into the habits of European culture, thus bringing under government control the activities of the mission schools. McKenzie (1982:3) believed that Governor George Grey, author and proponent of the Ordinance, intended that it would provide an opportunity in which the “two races would be schooled together with a curriculum carefully chosen for its relevance to a colonial environment.” Settler intent, however, differed from Grey's hopes for the Ordinance. According to McKenzie (1982:3), the settlers

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<sup>3</sup> Tainui Maori Trust Board Annual Reports 1994 – 1999.

<sup>4</sup> See Pember Reeves 1924; Butchers 1930; Campbell 1941; Parr 1961; Barrington 1966, 1971; and Cumming & Cumming 1978, as initial points of reference on the history of education in New Zealand. Simon's (1990) analysis of the history of schooling for Maori provides an understanding of the power relationships between Maori and Pakeha in education.

thought the idea of universal schooling “absurd as to be not worth taking seriously,” and felt that the Ordinance was nothing more than government subsidising the mission schools. The settlers did not share Grey’s views for a bi-racial schooling system, and felt that “if the missionaries wanted their own children to receive schooling alongside Maori children that was their business” (McKenzie 1982:3). From the outset, the settlers were not interested in fulfilling the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, particularly in so far as education was concerned.

It was with the introduction, by the settler dominated general assembly, of the Native Schools Act in 1867, following the Land Wars of the 1860s, that changed the focus away from mission education to that of a secular nature. Furthermore, as a result of the Land Wars, there was a “desire to provide schools in the Maori villages to hasten the process of assimilation” (McKenzie 1982:3). In effect, the 1867 Native Schools Act provided what Ramsay (1972:119) describes as a “dual system...consisting of schools established...primarily for Maoris, and ‘public’ schools attended mainly by European settlers’ children which had been, and were being, set up under the various provincial acts.” The main focus under the Act was a change in tuition from Maori to English as the sole language of instruction. According to Bird (1928:62), the five main objectives of the Act were the establishment of “village schools,” instruction “in the English language only,” “the working of the village schools through the agency of the Maoris themselves,” financial contribution by Maori to school buildings and staff salaries, and supervision of village schools receiving government aid. Essentially, the schools were viewed as “civilising agencies and centres for spreading European ideas and habits” (Butchers 1930:126). Despite the emphasis by government on endorsing the principle of bi-racial education, the settler practice of excluding Maori from participating, even where Maori were the minority population and there was no evidence of warfare, reinforced the superior notion of Europeans over Maori (McKenzie 1982).

It is interesting to note that support for the establishment of the native schools differed amongst the tribes, particularly after the Land Wars of the 1860s.

Barrington (1971:24) noted that initially, a large proportion of the support for the establishment of the schools came from North Auckland, where the tribes had “either fought on the Pakeha side during the Wars or remained neutral.” The East Coast was also another region, which, relatively untouched by the Land Wars, sought the establishment of native schools.

Fitzgerald (1970:47) has emphasised that the Land Wars were not about a “few brave colonists struggling for survival against the savage natives.” Rather, Fitzgerald (1970:47) aptly describes the Land Wars as “civil wars over land.” The guardians of the King Movement, the Waikato tribe, was immensely affected by the Land Wars, having over one million acres of tribal lands confiscated due to its continued resistance to release fertile lands for European settlement. Fitzgerald (1970:47) states “it is difficult to appreciate the full psychological effects of the Land Wars for the Maori people, but the almost total loss of hope had its roots in the numerous land confiscations.” As a result of the confiscations of their land, the Waikato people became landless and homeless, providing a partial explanation for their mistrust of government initiatives. Barrington (1971:26) states that it wasn’t until towards the end of the nineteenth century before “opposition of this kind became infrequent and schools were established in districts where the Maoris had formerly opposed them.”

In 1875, provincial governments were abolished, and the establishment of a central government necessitated the formation of a centrally controlled education system. The result was the passing of the Education Act in 1877, the major objective of which was to “provide schooling on a universal basis” (McKenzie 1982:4). Native schools, which had been under the control of the Native Department (Ka’ai-Oldman 1988), were transferred in 1877 to the Department of Education (Ramsay 1972). Under the Education Act 1877, compulsory attendance at school, a requisite for all children, was specifically outlined as being voluntary for Maori children (Maori being clearly defined within the Act itself). According to McKenzie (1982:5), this was in part a pragmatic move by the government, which recognised that forcing Maori children to attend schools (particularly in the Waikato region) would prove fruitless. However, McKenzie (1982:5) also noted

that, because of the clear definitions between Maori and non-Maori, “the wording of the Act also made it legally possible to exclude Maori children from public schools,” and because the schools were run by locally elected committees, “the intentions of the parliamentarians remained to be shaped by local circumstance.”

In 1880 the Native Schools Sites Act was passed, which required Maori to provide land and finance for the establishment of new schools. Maori, however, had no opportunity to participate in the administration or governance of these schools. In 1880, a code for the native schools’ operations was presented, which required, among other things, students to achieve mastery in the English language. Ramsay (1972:120) states that this was difficult to achieve, citing one reason as being the attitude of the Maori people, who “came to regard the schools as their own.” Given that the establishment of native schools required a commitment from Maori (through the donation of land for the schools) before the Department of Education would agree to its establishment and maintenance, it was little wonder that they began to regard the schools as “their own,” as Ramsay has suggested. Furthermore, because many Europeans blocked Maori access to public schools, native schools continued to flourish.

During this period, Maori boarding schools were also established. Butchers (1930:522) maintains that the Maori boarding schools were established with the purpose of training “cultured, Christianised, yet practical leaders in the regeneration of a unique race threatened with moral and physical degeneration by European vices and diseases, and the unfortunate alienation of too large a proportion of their most valuable lands.” Run by different religious denominations, the Maori boarding schools were the only opportunities Maori had to participate in education beyond the primary stage, as the government did not provide secondary education for Maori (Fitzgerald 1970). Simon (1990:95) states that the aim of the Maori boarding schools was to “create a Europeanised Maori elite.” These Maori were then expected to return and work amongst their people, “to help foster assimilation within the Maori communities” (Simon 1990:95). Maori secondary schools founded by the different denominations included Te Aute College, St. Stephen’s School, Hukarere and St. Joseph’s School. Te Aute

College (in the Hawke's Bay region) is noted for matriculating the first generation of Maori graduates during the late nineteenth century, and according to Fitzgerald (1970:49) was where the idea for university education for Maori was first born. The first Maori graduates, Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Peter Buck and Sir Maui Pomare, subsequently became leaders in the diverse arenas of politics, culture, anthropology and medicine.

Fitzgerald (1970:49) states that Governor George Grey wanted a school established in the Hawke's Bay area, (Te Aute) in anticipation of "political troubles on the East Coast." The idea behind the school was essentially "defensive and assimilative," where it was intended that Maori would be trained as "teachers and ministers 'to civilise the natives'" (Fitzgerald 1970:49). It was primarily due to the persistence of Te Aute College's headmaster, John Thornton, in selecting and preparing the first group of Maori for the matriculation exam that allowed entrance to New Zealand's higher education system – the university (Simon 1990).

The turn of the century took a much harder line towards the assimilation of Maori. Policy targeted the Maori language, which was forbidden in the playground and resulted in corporal punishment if defied. Because of this approach, Maori developed a negative attitude to their own language (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988:23). Butchers (1930:512) highlighted the dilemma faced by older Maori during this time where, despite the desire to preserve the language, it was deemed more important for English to be of greater use to Maori.

The attitude of governments during the 1930s and 1940s emphasised social equity in education (New Zealand Government 1987:9). Changes during this period included fostering selected aspects of Maori culture for teaching in primary schools. Ka'ai-Oldman (1988:23) states that this was in response to a 1925 British report on African education, which recommended the adaptation of the education system to the traditions and capabilities of all peoples. Barrington (1976:64) believed that the government's interest in this report stemmed from a trend at that time "toward similar policies in the administration of indigenous people in many

parts of the world.” However, despite the report’s emphasis on “the use of local vernaculars in education” (Barrington 1976:64) aspects of Maori culture were introduced instead in a lacklustre and non-committal way (Ka’ai-Oldman 1988:23). Cumming & Cumming (1978:330), however, were of the opinion that despite government inactivity in addressing Maori education underachievement, “men in authority have acted with the best of intentions.”

The 1930s also signalled a major turning point in the provision of education, in particular equity and access issues. Prime Minister Peter Fraser’s assertion that all citizens should be entitled to a free education held sway in the New Zealand education system for nearly four decades. Barrington (1976:66) states that this was largely due to the influence of Britain’s work in the African territories, as indicated in the 1925 report. According to Barrington (1976:66), international research at the time was focused on the importance of native culture, which therefore influenced and shaped the policies of the New Zealand government. However, Barrington (1976:66) also credits some of the changes in attitudes towards more inclusion of Maori language and culture to Maori leaders themselves, who were concerned that “aspects of their cultural heritage were disappearing.” In essence, the changes effected during this time, with specific regard to Maori, were enhanced by the pressure and activities of influential Maori leaders of the time (including Sir Apirana Ngata).

The Maori urban influx, which began during the post-Second World War rebuilding period in the 1950s, presented real problems in relation to the provision of education for Maori. Native schools were still in operation, although there were increased efforts to transfer administration from the Department of Education to local district governing boards (Ramsay 1972). Walker (1991:8-9) states that Maori were supportive of state moves in the education of Maori during this period, becoming involved in a variety of activities in efforts to counter the deficit theories of the time. During the 1960s, education policy focused on ‘integration’, followed by a “transitional period where emphasis shifted from ‘cultural deprivation’ and the ‘problem of the Maori child’, to a concept of ‘cultural

difference' which emphasised Pakeha tolerance of non-Pakeha culture" (Marshall 1991:12-13. See also Walker 1991:8-9).

The Hunn Report (Hunn 1960) identified the lack of Maori educational achievement, which was further highlighted in New Zealand Commission on Education in New Zealand Report, commonly referred to as the Currie Report (1962). Davies & Nicholl (1993:13) maintain that the explanation for the underachievement of Maori was due to a "cultural deficit model." Ka'ai-Oldman (1988:25) refers to this "blame everything/one else except for the system" attitude on the inability of the dominant culture to accept that their system was inadequate. Marshall (1991:14) agrees, stating that the Hunn Report, "while claiming to value Maori culture under the banner of cultural egalitarianism," it "actually seemed committed to the view that 'integration' was a transition phase in the evolution toward complete assimilation," while the Currie Commission Report clearly identified that Maori underachievement was due to deficiencies in the home, family and culture. Furthermore, Stewart (1997:88) found that both the Hunn and Currie reports confined the development of Maori education towards technical trades, rather than more academic pursuits. This emphasis on manual labour as opposed to academic pursuits was reminiscent of the early settler government policy some one hundred years earlier.

Following on from notions of cultural deficiencies, the policy focus moved to encompass 'multiculturalism' and, in more recent years, 'biculturalism' – although this was mainly as a result of Maori intervention and initiative (Marshall 1991:17-18, Bishop and Glynn 1999a:40-43). The 1980s signalled a period of transformation and change in the education system – a swing away from the recommendations of the reports of the 1960s and from the earlier policy objectives of social equity. Lauder (1991) identified that the New Zealand Taskforce Report, known as the Picot Report (1988), the introduction of Tomorrow's Schools (1988) and the Sexton Report (1990) advocated three different ways of overhauling the education system, all with different effects and outcomes. Labelled as the neo-liberal or New Right phase, this reform period stressed issues such as 'choice,' 'access,' 'merit,' and rephrased 'equality of opportunity' towards a notion of

‘equity’ and placed considerable attention on the importance of moving towards a market-driven approach to tertiary education (Lauder 1991:4; McCarthy 1997:31). This reform period (from 1984-1996), according to Butterworth & Butterworth (1998:31), attempted to “discard the ‘sheep-and-goats’ mentality of the past in favour of one that assumed all students were capable of something.”

New Zealand’s educational history, as described briefly here, has seen education for Maori being shaped, developed and implemented with little input by Maori. As Marshall (1991:4) found, it was “education of Maori and not education for Maori.” The main goal of assimilation was followed by successive governments for over a century, which, with post-Second World War urbanisation, reflected in Maori achieving less and less within the education sector. Despite identification by the Hunn Report (1960) of the deficiencies of the education system for Maori, government policies have consistently sidelined Maori, reducing their role to ‘onlookers’ in their own development. Even more recent developments in education, such as Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Maori and Whare Wananga, have been subject to government funding restrictions, academic evaluations and curriculum assessments. In this way, the government has maintained a dominant position whilst giving the perception of allowing their Treaty partners a role in decision-making processes. In essence, then, the role of Maori in the development of their educational futures is still largely diluted, a factor which is contrary to the original intent of equal partnership guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

### **University Education in New Zealand – An Overview**

The introduction of the New Zealand University Act in 1870 cemented the presence of higher education in New Zealand. The University of New Zealand, which was established in 1874, was modelled on the University of London. The University of Otago, opened in 1869, became a constituent college of the University of New Zealand. Three theological colleges later became affiliated to the new university, and through this affiliation came Maori exposure to higher

education. The universities in New Zealand operated under a federal system, in which constituent colleges came under the overall administrative structure of the University of New Zealand (Kingsbury 1984:7). The theological and training institute, Wesley College, was established to create a training base for Maori in the “Wesleyan ministry and for general educational work” (Cumming & Cumming 1978:73), extending the earlier influences of the missionaries in relation to the education of Maori.

Little information is available as to Maori participation at university during the nineteenth century, although a common relationship between churches, Maori and education emerged during that period, as did an emphasis on ‘civilising’ Maori and ensuring their transition into the European culture (Butchers 1930). Fitzgerald (1970:49) states that just after the Land Wars, “Maori ‘higher education’ could be taken to refer to secondary education.” This was emphasised in the government position, which sought comfort for their assimilatory position from international studies, which emphasised trade training, rather than intellectual education. The following excerpt from a report by the Minister of Native Education, Mr James Pope, is a good example of this attitude:

I give below extracts from speeches made at Washington last year by the Hon. B. S. Northrop, General S. C. Armstrong, and Miss A. C. Fletcher, leading American educationists, who have made Indian education a special study. The papers containing these speeches are published by the United States Bureau of Education, and it seems to me that, if the word “Maori” be substituted for “Indian,” all the questions...will be found to be satisfactorily answered in them: -

...Indian chiefs...have come to feel – it is a lesson they have been long in learning – that they must understand the white man’s ways as a matter of self-defence and as the condition of their future prosperity...The industrial schools...are movements towards recognising the value of the individual Indian. At these schools he is taught the value of labour, personal responsibility, and is thus prepared to cope with the world and earn his own living...As has been remarked, the heredity of the Indian man inclines him to the trades, and he has shown considerable adaptiveness where opportunity for such work has been given him...The one thing imperatively needed for the Indian is industrial education. (AJHR 1884, G-2:14-15).

The emphasis on trade training overlooked the ease with which Maori embraced reading and writing when first introduced by the missionaries, as well as their skill at economic trading with companies as far away as Australia and the United States. Focusing Maori education on trade training, therefore, allowed for the unequal advancement of Europeans through university education, thus maintaining power and control in the development of the new colony.

Cumming & Cumming (1978) recall early government initiatives to encourage Maori participation in higher education through the provision of scholarships for those who passed the matriculation or medical preliminary exams of the New Zealand University. This intention was further supported with the passing of the National Scholarships Act in 1903. By 1904, six university scholarships were offered, with three specifically for students studying medicine, “in view of the concern for Maori health” (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:185).

Despite these efforts by government, Moon (1993) notes that it was some 80 years after the introduction of European education (and some thirty years after the introduction of university education to New Zealand) before Maori obtained their first university degree, with the graduation of Apirana Ngata in 1894. Notably, Apirana Ngata was awarded for “excellence in honours work at the college annual examinations” of the Canterbury College of the University of New Zealand in political science (AJHR 1894, Vol. 2, E-7:2), further disputing the ideology that Maori were more suited to trade training.

The role of Te Aute College in readying young Maori for university must be acknowledged here. John Thornton, the headmaster of Te Aute, deliberately strayed from government policy of preparing Maori for trade training and instead taught the prerequisite subjects, including Latin, which allowed Maori the opportunity to sit the matriculation examination. According to Fitzgerald (1970:50), Thornton “started an idea that caught on,” and notably “Te Aute alone produced most of the educated Maori leaders of the early twentieth century.” While Thornton’s views were akin to the government policy of producing “brown-

skinned Pakehas,” Fitzgerald (1970:51) states that Thornton’s theory of “resocialisation” attempted to ensure that Maori were more than adequately prepared to participate within the New Zealand education system, and beyond that, to take their place in New Zealand society.

The education that the first group of Maori graduates received at Te Aute was based on attempts to resocialise them, or to ensure their assimilation into the dominant culture. Simon (1990:95) states that this was the explicit goal of Thornton who, as a proponent of social Darwinism, “indoctrinated his pupils with the notion that the survival of the Maori depended upon their complete adoption of the European way of life.” Fitzgerald (1970:53) found that many of the Maori boys were “well disposed toward the idea of cultural assimilation,” with perhaps Ngata being the most obvious exception (Simon 1990). However, Fitzgerald (1970:52-53) notes that by the time these students had been through university and gone back to work within their Maori communities, their attitudes toward assimilation had changed considerably: “we are suggesting that a sense of cultural identity developed...In effect, one became one’s own socialising agent.” Fitzgerald (1970:53), quoting Martin (1965:51) concluded that the first generation of Maori university graduates was:

principally characterised by its wholesale adoption of Pakeha culture and its readiness to scrap the surviving elements of its own.

To them Maori society was degraded, demoralised, irreligious, beset with antiquated, depressing, and pernicious customs. Their task...was to reconstruct this society, to make the race clean, industrious, sober, and virtuous.

However, Simon (1990:96) believes that these first Maori graduates, whilst becoming Europeanised as intended, did not ignore their culture entirely, as had initially been intended:

They were not quietly retiring to kainga (villages/home) to help effect the ‘assimilation’ policy. Instead, they were gaining a high profile in Pakeha society and demonstrating that Maori could excel in a European field.

Furthermore, in the case of Ngata at least, advanced education was providing Maori with a more advantaged position from which to challenge Pakeha authority.

Fitzgerald (1970:53) thought that Ngata was ahead of his time, “something of a prophet,” who, although he sounded “like an ‘assimilationist’, emotionally he never accepted the dominant policy.” Buck and Pomare, however, were examples of Fitzgerald’s conclusions on the first Maori university graduates. Both Buck and Pomare were involved in addressing Maori health concerns in their home district of Taranaki, with Pomare appointed Maori Health Officer in 1900. According to Keenan (1995:62), “there had always been a major difficulty with the approach taken by Pomare and Buck, when dealing with Maori communities. This concerned their linking of an improvement in Maori health and living conditions to the contention that hope for the Maori lay in the ultimate absorption by the Pakeha.” This concern about a lack of Maori hygiene, according to European standards, was seen as being rectifiable if a Maori presence was provided. Again, however, policy makers selectively viewed the Maori health issue as a Maori problem, rather than examining the impact of the introduction of European diseases, and it could be assumed that both Buck and Pomare followed that line also.

Fitzgerald (1970:56) felt that Pomare, of all the early Maori university graduates, was “never fully at home in a Maori setting.” Despite the indoctrination of colonial attitudes, reinforced by his Mormon religion and time spent studying medicine in the United States, Pomare’s contribution to Maori society (particularly in the area of health) in the early twentieth century was significant. Similarly, this group of Maori university graduates all went on to become major contributors to the recovery programme of the Maori people, in their specialty areas of health (Pomare, Buck, Edward Ellison), religion (Reweti Kohere), culture and mythology (Pomare, Buck and Ngata), and politics (Pomare and Ngata). Barrington & Beaglehole (1974:172) inferred that Ngata and Buck encouraged Maori to participate across all educational sectors, including higher education. Specifically, Ngata and Buck felt that Maori participation in higher education would support Maori development. The impact of these early graduates’

contribution to and support from the Maori community was, however, tempered with a fair degree of suspicion by Maori, who did not readily trust and have confidence in these Maori leaders with their Pakeha education. This suspicion, I believe still exists about the concept of higher education.

Despite the success of this first group of Maori university graduates, who later went on to become leaders in Maori society and, like Ngata, who made significant contributions in the political development of the country, the government perspective towards Maori was still dominated by the policy of assimilation. Government officials also displayed these patriarchal and racist attitudes, thus deflecting any real opportunities for positive change for Maori in higher education. Maori were often portrayed as inept, lazy and apathetic, an example of which is given in the following excerpt from the Senior Inspector of Native Schools, Mr. D. G. Ball's statement at a Young Maori Conference held in 1939:

Most of the teachers were European, but they were trying to get as many Maoris on the staff as possible. This year there were four third-stage students at the Training College in Wellington studying Native education, and two of these were Maoris. "Now" said Mr. Ball, hammering one of his main points again, "these four are full of enthusiasm and hope – what will happen when they go out next year and find the hopeless apathy of the Maori people hampering them in every way? (Report on Young Maori Conference 1939:25)<sup>5</sup>.

The success of the first group of Maori graduates, combined with the superior attitude displayed by government officials (as shown above), saw the government redefining the role of education for Maori. Simon (1990:96) states that government officials believed that "the work of the schools was too academic, with not enough attention being paid to manual and technical education." Intense focus was placed on Te Aute College, and pressure was placed on the school to change its emphasis from pursuing an academic curriculum to an agricultural one. In 1906, a Royal Commission investigated the school's approach to the education

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<sup>5</sup> This extract was taken from Mr. Ball's Opening Statement on Native Education at the conference. The conference, held in Auckland in 1939, looked at the issue of education as a means of encouraging development and the training of leaders. As a result of this statement, the conference

of Maori, concluding that Maori were better suited for manual instruction (Simon 1990). However, Simon (1990:99) reports “former Te Aute students strongly supported the retention of the academic studies, Ngata in particular having never accepted that the future of the Maori should be confined to rural areas and manual labour.” Constant pressure placed by the government on denominational schools like Te Aute was reflected in the state education system, with a greater degree of success. This attitude towards Maori learning contradicted earlier beliefs that Maori were quick and eager to learn Pakeha concepts, and adapt them for their own purposes. Simon (1990:100-101) called this a shift of:

the ‘racial’ ideologies from the monogenesist perspective that prevailed during the early stages of colonisation towards that of the polygenesists. Thus, whereas at the time of the Treaty it had been widely accepted that Maori had the capacity to reach the same ‘heights’ of civilisation as the European, now it was being claimed that they were inferior to the Pakeha.

In short, the achievements of the first group of Maori graduates threatened Pakeha dominance and superiority. Change was then sought by suppressing Maori access to higher education, as described by Simon (1990:101):

The earlier ideology that acknowledges that Maori have the capacity to reach the same level of civilisation as the European, implicitly assumes that such an achievement is to be in the distant future. Ngata and his fellow-students of Te Aute, however, had upset that belief by arriving too soon! Furthermore they had shown that they could excel at a level of European education beyond that of the majority Pakeha – including the politicians and the officers of the Department of Education. Such a state of affairs, by exposing the contradictions concealed by the ideology, had the potential to threaten Pakeha political dominance. To maintain that dominance therefore, it was necessary to change the existing practices.

This practice of exclusion to maintain superiority thus minimalised the perceived ‘threat’ posed by Maori in obtaining higher levels of education.

This practice of subordination and maintenance of the status quo, however, did not dampen efforts by Maori to affect change for Maori in the higher education area.

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considered the relationship between Maori and European achievement, and ways in which Maori

One achievement for Maori studying at university was the inclusion of Maori Studies as a knowledge discipline, through its introduction as a university subject in 1929. This feat was largely as a result of the tenacity and persistence of Apirana Ngata, who during that time was Minister for Native Affairs, the first Maori to occupy the position. According to Walker (1999:190), Ngata “clearly understood the relationship between power and knowledge – that is, the ability of the state to generate “truth” through research activity” and he pushed for the inclusion of Maori language as a subject for the Bachelor of Arts degree on the “same footing as other foreign languages.” Attempts to block the introduction as a result of no literature were countered by Ngata who introduced the works of Sir George Grey, *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna* and *Nga Moteatea*. Despite finally winning approval, Walker (1999:190) states that it “took a further twenty-five years to translate into action,” which could explain the sharp decline in Maori graduates until the 1960s and 1970s. Walker (1991:7) describes these graduates as the “second wave” and explains that the reason for such a huge gap between the first and second group of Maori graduates was largely due to the “official agenda of suppressing Maori talent.” This official agenda that has maintained Maori educational failure reinforces the experience of colonisation suffered by Maori, thus explaining the “existence and entrenched nature of the education gap between Maori and Pakeha” (Walker 1991:7-8).

### The University of Waikato

The establishment of the University of Waikato occurred during the second wave of Maori university graduates (Walker 1991). The Hunn Report (1960) and Currie Report (1962) had also been published, thus publicising the issue of Maori educational under-achievement. Essentially, however, the establishment of the University of Waikato would have been seen as another opportunity to construct, legitimise and maintain the ethnocentrism upon which it was traditionally based. The University of Waikato, initially established as a branch college of the University of Auckland, became an institution in its own right after the University

of Waikato Act was passed in 1964. The University was located within the traditional tribal regions of numerous Maori tribes. The land on which the University was built was part of the confiscated lands belonging to the Waikato tribe.

In 1962 the constituent colleges became independent institutions after the federal system ceased to function. The University Grants Committee (from which central funding was to be allocated) and the Universities Entrance Board (academic issues) were established to replace the old federal system. Thus, the University of Waikato was required to advance budget requirements to the University Grants Committee, which were distributed every five years in what was known as the quinquennial grants.

The University of Waikato was the last of New Zealand's universities to be established, and was encouraged to make the most of its location within the heartland of Maoridom. According to Day (1984:60), the Governor-General of New Zealand at the time, Sir Bernard Fergusson, identified the unique position in which the University was located:

Waikato is the first of the New Zealand universities to be planted right in the heart of the traditionally Maori country. I would like to see high among its ambitions a resolve to establish a Maori faculty.

In effect, the establishment of the University of Waikato was seen, especially by the Maori community who had helped with the fundraising, as a chance to effect change for Maori educational opportunities (an approach that Walker (1991:8-9) describes as reformist). This was not lost on the first Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr D. R. Llewellyn (1989:12), who, acknowledging the University's unique location, wrote, "it has always felt a special responsibility for making appropriate provision for Maori concerns." This thesis explores the extent to which such provision occurred. In particular, Chapter Four examines in more detail the developments of the University of Waikato since its establishment in 1964, paying particular attention to Maori-focused programmes and initiatives.

### New Zealand Universities in the 1990s – The Rise of the New Right

The reforms of the 1980s and 1990s introduced an emphasis on market sectors and competition, the contribution of education to the economy, and in Manson's (1994:3) words, "an emphasis on the acquisition of internationally recognised and saleable skills." Terms such as elitism, individualism, competition and money became key concepts in this new era of tertiary education, terms which, according to Peters & Roberts (1999:27), produced "momentous" changes to the economic, social and educational life of the country. Peters & Roberts (1999:14-16) describe such changes as having been "premised on a set of neo-liberal philosophical assumptions," where the "primacy of the market" became the sole focus and priority of progress, and where education became a "commodity," which was for "private rather than public good." Butterworth & Butterworth (1998) on the other hand, describe these changes as being mere reflections on what the education system was originally supposed to be and how it was to be implemented. According to them, "the founders of the New Zealand system explicitly distrusted the state as an agency of education" (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:21). The intention was to move the control out to the areas and provinces, with only a small number of services being handled centrally. This was to avoid the problem associated with having "universal state funding" that tended to make "the system focus on the centre, and to become dependent on it" (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:23).

Despite these oppositional views the fact remains that the education system has, as a result of the policy reforms, become more in tune (with much vociferous opposition) with the neoliberal, 'New Right', forces. Peters & Roberts (1999:19) describe the opening up (and subsequent 'bleeding') of the tertiary education system in New Zealand as a result of these reforms, which has meant that universities are no longer the sole degree-awarding institution. Butterworth & Butterworth (1998:25) have regarded this period where the issues of accountability, equality and equity, and more importantly – who pays? – were paramount in policy development and implementation. This emphasis on who pays, or who should pay (the individual versus the state), has led towards more

competitiveness between and among institutions (university, polytechnic and the like), creating a “pressure-cooker situation” of stretched resources, increased workloads and lower staff morale (Peters & Roberts 1999:19).

More importantly however, the reforms served to unleash a new debate about the ‘elitism’ of university – couched in the guise of protecting high quality academic standards – and the need to become more ‘entrepreneurial’ – more in pursuit of student dollars and external revenue generation than reliance on government (and taxpayer) funding. Peters & Roberts (1999:25) claim that if such an approach should continue, “traditional canons of scholarly rigour could be placed under increasing threat, not just because standards will have been lowered in an environment where any organisation can set itself up as a university, but also because they will no longer *matter* for many people.”

For Maori, the upholding of principles like quality, equality and accountability seem to have become less important as a result of these reforms, although the neo-liberal argument would argue otherwise. In effect, the reforms have seen changes in how principles like quality, equality and accountability have been defined. The new thinking regards accountability in a way where institutions must justify their ‘taking’ of public money; where equality is defined as being available to all who can afford (with loans for those who cannot), and quality based on the idea that competition will inevitably breed better quality.

Despite the change towards a more market oriented higher education system in the 1980s and 1990s, Maori participation at university has increased during this time. The reasons for this increased Maori participation have not been reasonably explained. Are Maori more in tune with the competitive market forces that Smith (1991) argues against? Are Maori actually more individualistic in modern times – a change away from the communally based culture of the past? These questions form the basis of the examination in this thesis of Maori participation in university education.

The current climate in higher education has moved towards what has been described as the ‘New Right,’ which emphasises individuality, competition, and choice. Against what can be described as a negative environment in which to participate, Maori university student enrolment figures have increased in the 1980s and 1990s. This could be explained by a greater awareness within the Maori community of the need for education to assist in the future development of tribal groups, however, there is little research from which to assert this position confidently. The intention of the thesis is to address some of the issues of Maori participation within university education, and in particular, the aspirations and objectives of a tribal group in achieving this objective.

### **Tainui – A Brief History**

In order to understand the positioning of the Tainui Maori Trust Board it is necessary to background the history of the Tainui people. The discovery of New Zealand and its subsequent settlement by the Maori people was divided by Buck (1977:4-5) into the mythical origins, where Maui fished up New Zealand out of the sea, and the actual discovery according to Maori legend by the voyager, Kupe. In what Buck (1977:36-41) labelled as the third settlement period, the canoe named Tainui travelled with a number of other canoes from Hawaiki to settle in New Zealand. According to Mahuta (1995:19), the Tainui people arrived in New Zealand around 1350. The Tainui canoe traversed mainly the west coast of the North Island of New Zealand, landing first at Kawhia on the west coast of the North Island of New Zealand. Tainui boundaries extend from Mokau in the south, to Tamaki in the north, spreading across to the boundaries of the Hauraki tribe on the Coromandel peninsula (Kelly 1986:62). These tribal boundaries have been encapsulated in the following pepeha (tribal-specific saying):

Ko Mokau ki runga, ko Tamaki ki raro, ko Parewaikato, ko Parehauraki,  
ko Mangatoatoa.

Mokau above, Tamaki below, Parewaikato to westwards and Parehauraki to eastwards. Mangatoatoa stands in the midst (Winiata 1956:215).

Tainui claim that their principal ancestor was Hoturoa, the leader of the canoe Tainui. The descendants formed major hapu (sub-tribe) groupings, Ngati Mahuta, Ngati Haua, Ngati Maniapoto and Ngati Maru, which, according to Mahuta (1995:20), “combined to make up a strong, successful confederation of tribes.” According to Gorst, the name Waikato has been used “indifferently as the name of a river, a confederation of Maori tribes, and the country inhabited by them” (1959:9). Consequently, the tribe is often interchangeably referred to as Waikato, Waikato-Tainui or Tainui.

During the early period of contact with the Europeans, the Waikato tribe were eager learners. Kelly (1986:424) wrote of this eagerness of the tribe to obtain muskets, which would allow them equal footing with their tribal neighbours. However, Mahuta (1995:20) states that the tribe, under the leadership of Potatau Te Wherowhero, united the Waikato-Maniapoto people after defeating Te Rauparaha in 1820-21. Developing a system of governance, Potatau Te Wherowhero “provided a safe haven for European traders...missionaries” and “settlers who were prepared to work within the tribal tikanga (custom)” (Mahuta 1995:20). Mahuta (1995) also describes the protection offered to the settlers in the then colonial capital, Auckland, after a request by Governor George Grey, fearful of being attacked by the northern Nga Puhi tribe. Thus, early contact between Waikato Maori and Europeans was peaceful and cordial.

Sinclair (1988:86) notes that the Waikato people enjoyed a prosperous economic position, “they owned ten water-mills...while eight more were being erected, and they had thousands of acres planted in wheat.” Mahuta (1995:20) concurs with Sinclair, saying that Waikato adapted to the introduction of Europeans, by incorporating aspects of European technology, crops and ideas into their own society. Maori, who exported their produce to Australia and the United States, were the main owners of the coastal shipping companies in the North Island.

Waikato also had an education system in operation, with some four Whare Wananga located throughout the region (Turongo House 2000:28). These Whare Wananga were established after Hoturoa arrived in New Zealand on the tribal

canoe, Tainui. Turongo House (2000) mentions that these Whare Wananga taught the esoteric knowledge and customs and rites of their ancestors. The introduction of the written word through missionaries was not lost on the Waikato people, who embraced literacy and Christianity. Thus, prior to the Treaty of Waitangi, the Waikato tribe were prosperous, had a well-organised social, cultural, political and economic structure, and were major contributors to the country's economy. The tribe's ability to adapt to the changes brought by colonisation was characteristic of Maori society at large (Belich 1986:17; Mahuta 1995:20; Orange 1987:7; Turongo House 2000:25).

### **Te Kingitanga – The King Movement**

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 “was intended to lay a basis for a just society in which two races, far apart in civilisation, could live together in amity” (Sinclair 1988:73). Instead, the demand for land placed the two cultures in opposition. The Pakeha settlers were frustrated at the determined efforts by Maori to halt the sale of large tracts of land to the government. Mahuta (1995:22) states that the initial period after the Treaty saw the colonial government conducting its land sales in a “manner that acknowledged the equality of the participants.”

It should be noted that Potatau did not sign the Treaty of Waitangi, the reasons for which are varied. Orange (1987:68-70) cites that it was because he and other highly ranked chiefs had not been accorded the appropriate protocols. Turongo House (2000:35-36) disputes this, instead claiming that Potatau did not sign because of his concerns at the promises the Treaty guaranteed, and was unwilling to sign away his mana, the mana of his people, and the mana of the land. It was also stated that Potatau was annoyed at the “Pakeha because lesser chiefs had been conned to sign the Treaty” (Turongo House 2000:36). Despite his unwillingness to sign, it did not stop Potatau and the Tainui people from maintaining cordial relations with the colonial administration. On numerous occasions, Governor Grey was hosted by and played host to Potatau and members of his family (Turongo

House 2000:33). This relationship was to change, as the encroachment of colonisation became more pressing.

This change in relationship was signalled when Potatau protested against what he saw as a “contravention to the guarantees of the Treaty,” when Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, instructed that all land not occupied or cultivated by Maori be regarded as Crown land (The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography 1996:38, Orange 1987:128). The 1852 New Zealand Constitution Act saw the establishment of the colonial government “without provision for Maori participation, so the partnership had already started to become unequal” (Mahuta 1995:22). Belich (1986:75) attributes this change in attitude to the emergence of the concept of the King Movement. In essence, the movement crystallised the increasing frustration of Maori at the lack of protection offered by the colonial government, as guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi. Mahuta (1995:22) states that the shifting balances in power status “led to the call for a centralised Maori-controlled political organisation.” The King Movement, in the words of Ballara (1996:1), was “the first effort to create a Maori nation, a new polity with which to confront the onslaught of colonisation.”

The King Movement was based around three main principles: ceasing inter-tribal warfare, tribal unity, and, above all, “the unification of the tribes to stem the acquisition of their land by the colonial settlers” (Mahuta 1995:22). After many debates, Te Heuheu (paramount chief of Tuwharetoa in the Taupo region) suggested that Potatau be chosen. Potatau was seen as the best candidate because “his people were rich in resources, and he lived in the centre of the island surrounded by all the most powerful tribes” (Ballara 1996:2). Mahuta (1995:22) adds that Potatau was also chosen for his “noble bearing, his accomplishments in war and diplomacy, his kinship ties to virtually all the chiefly lines in the North Island.” In 1858, Potatau Te Wherowhero was elected as the first Maori King at Ngaruawahia.

## **The Impact of Kingitanga: Land Wars and Raupatu**

Despite the solidarity given by the Kingitanga (or because of it), Pakeha settlers saw the rise of Maori nationalism as a direct threat to British sovereignty and expansion (Ballara 1996:9). Orange (1987:143) notes that such hostility was based on the settler notion that the Kingitanga was established as a 'land league,' which impeded further acquisition of Maori land, and was seen to undermine the foundations of the fledgling nation. In 1858, an announcement was made by the Tainui tribes that land south of the Mangatawhiri Stream (south of Auckland) would not be sold. Effectively, this restricted the expansion of settlers beyond Auckland's region.

Mahuta (1995:22) states that Governor Thomas Gore Browne bowed to colonial pressures to release Maori land for sale, and "operating without a clear policy...proceeded with the land purchase in Waitara against the wishes of the senior chief, Wiremu Kingi." The subsequent outbreak of fighting in Taranaki in 1860 was the precursor to the invasion of the Waikato. Tainui sent support to Taranaki because of the ties through the King Movement. As a result, Mahuta (1995:23) states that the colonial government used this as a "reason for considering the confiscation of Waikato land." In 1860, Potatau Te Wherowhero died. During his time, Potatau had seen "settler and tribal relations change from open genuine friendship to jealousy" (Turongo House 2000:42). Potatau was succeeded by his son, Tawhiao.

It was also during this time, Mahuta (1995:23) states that, "the balance of power was shifting as the number of Pakeha settlers began to equal the Maori population." Governor Thomas Gore Browne threatened the position of the Kingitanga, issuing a "threat of war if Waikato did not bend, and give up the Kingship" (Turongo House 2000:46). The response to this challenge by Wiremu

Tamehana<sup>6</sup> (in Turongo House 2000:48) highlights the frustration of Tainui in being demanded to give up the Kingship:

My friends, why have you begrudged us a King as if it were a greater name than that of God? If it were that God did not permit it, then it would be given up. But it is not he who forbids; and while it is only our fellow man that is angry, it will not be given up.

And now, my friends, leave this King to stand on his own place, and let it rest with our Maker whether he shall fall or stand. This is the end of this part of my words, and although they may be wrong yet they are openly declared.

Governor Gore Browne saw this response as “defiant” (Turongo House 2000:49). After the reappointment of Sir George Grey to the governorship in 1863, the relationship between Maori and Pakeha continued to deteriorate. The war in Taranaki brought the reality of war closer to Waikato. Submission again was demanded from the government, with “Grey threatening to dig around the Kingitanga until it fell” (Ballara 1996:11). A final proclamation by the government in July 1863 resolved that Maori would lose their lands if they did not swear their allegiance to the Crown. Ballara (1996:11) maintains that the government invaded the Waikato before they had even seen the proclamation. Thus began the Waikato land wars, which eventuated in the confiscation of 1,202,172 acres (Mahuta 1995).

The confiscation of Waikato lands (known as the Raupatu) was ‘authorised’ with the passing of the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 and the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863, which “allowed the colonial government to use force against Maori rebels” (Mahuta 1995:23). However, revealing their true objective, instead of confiscating the lands in which the ‘rebels’ were located, the government took land that was the most fertile and productive, and often from the hapu most loyal

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<sup>6</sup> Wiremu Tamehana was involved in the establishment of the Kingitanga. During the installation of Potatau as first Maori king, Wiremu Tamehana provided a statement of laws and placed a bible on top of Potatau’s head. This has formed part of the ritual during the installation of successive kings by descendants of Wiremu Tamehana. It was because of this ritual that Wiremu Tamehana was given the title “kingmaker,” a title that has been passed down through successive generations (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1999).

to the King Movement. Ballara (1996:12) states that this “lopsided choice convinced King supporters that the whole war had been deliberately engineered to acquire the fertile lands closest to Auckland for settlement,” and cemented King supporters’ suspicion of the government. Gorst (1959:253) agrees, writing that the invasion of Waikato cemented Maori fears and suspicions as to Pakeha aspirations over land.

### **Towards a Resolution: The Search for Redress**

The land confiscations decimated the prosperous Waikato tribe, who were left not only landless, but also homeless. In 1864, Tawhiao retreated to the lands of Ngati Maniapoto, an area that became known as the King Country, effectively turning his back on the government. Aukati (boundaries) “between the desired and undesired” were drawn, where Pakeha and kupapa (Maori who fought for the Crown) were not permitted access (Turongo House 2000:70-71). According to Mahuta (1995:24), Tawhiao and his people were “dislocated from their land and therefore had no foundation on which they could rebuild themselves and their whanau and hapu.” Simpson (1979) discusses the isolation in which Tawhiao and his people lived, during the aftermath of the Land Wars. Referring to a philosophy of “stand apart,” Simpson (1979:184) believed that this stance to maintain a physical distance (as demonstrated through the aukati lines), rejected missionary churches and politicised relationships with the settlers, where the “fulcrum about which these spiritual and political objectives revolved was the land.”

While isolated in the King Country (a period of about 20 years), the Kingitanga, under Tawhiao, adopted the principles of the Pai Marire faith, which advocated peace (Ballara 1996:13). Along with this religion, Tawhiao advocated policies of passive resistance to government activities. However, while Tawhiao rejected war, he also rejected opportunities to make peace with the government, until the government returned the confiscated land to his people (Ballara 1996:14). Essentially, the King Country became a ‘no-go’ area for Pakeha, and attempts to

open up the King Country to settlement were met with resistance (Turongo House 2000). Simpson (1979:185) states that the aukati held until the mid 1880s.

In 1881, Tawhiao made peace with the government, laying down his arms at Pirongia (Jones 1971, Turongo House 2000). From there, Tawhiao journeyed throughout the Waikato district, visiting the towns built on Raupatu land, and then visiting the many tribes that had supported the Kingitanga throughout the Land Wars. Uppermost in Tawhiao's mind was the restoration of Tainui, through the return of their confiscated lands. A decision was made to go to England, as Turongo House (2000:160) writes:

Following the advice he received from the chiefs on his journeys around New Zealand, he decided he would seek justice for his people from the Queen of England. No one in Parliament was listening to the petitions of the tribes of Aotearoa. There was a hope that Queen Victoria would address their grievances. He could not just do nothing. He was the King. They had tried everything else.

In 1884 Tawhiao led a deputation to England outlining the breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi (Ballara 1996:17), to seek redress for the Raupatu (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1999:16), and to grant self-government to the Maori (Sinclair 1988:193). He was twice refused an audience with Queen Victoria and advised to attempt resolution through the New Zealand parliament (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1999:16). In 1889/1890, the Kauhanganui (Great Council) was opened. Ballara (1996:18) states that one of the purposes of the Kauhanganui was to enable Tawhiao to "communicate with his people through the tribally appointed delegates." Despite opportunities (or bribes) to join the National Legislative Council, Tawhiao refused. He died resolute in his determination to seek full compensation for the Raupatu suffered by his people. His son, Mahuta succeeded Tawhiao, in 1894.

Mahuta, the third Maori King, continued along the direction set by Tawhiao in seeking redress for the Raupatu. Mahuta met with Prime Minister Richard Seddon in 1902, and was offered a place on the National Legislative Council and cabinet in 1903, a position he held until 1910. Ballara (1996:20) states that Mahuta's

acceptance to these positions caused division among supporters of the Kingitanga, because it was seen as an “abandonment of the kingdom’s independence.” Similarly, efforts to work with government over the resolution of Raupatu and the ongoing development of the tribe saw Mahuta in conflict with tribal members, including Tupu Taingakawa Te Waharoa – Wiremu Tamehana’s son (Ballara 1996:21). Mahuta died in 1912 with little success in resolving the issue of Raupatu. His son, Te Rata, succeeded Mahuta.

Te Rata, the fourth Maori King, emulated his grandfather by travelling to England in 1914 to petition the head of the British Crown, now under the leadership of King George, to “revoke the confiscations as a breach of the Treaty of Waitangi” (Ballara 1996:22). Ballara (1996) states that Tupu Taingakawa Te Waharoa, who had earlier disagreed with Mahuta’s efforts in working with government, was a major influence in Te Rata’s decision to travel to England. Whilst he received an audience with the King and Queen, Te Rata returned to New Zealand without resolution of the Raupatu.

The outbreak of World War One provided another threat to the Kingitanga movement. This threat revolved around the issue of conscription. Because of the lack of resolution on the Raupatu, Te Rata and his cousin Te Puea (later known as Princess Te Puea)<sup>7</sup> felt that there was no need to fight for the government. Maori were not liable to conscription, a fact that was not lost on either Te Rata or Te Puea. The government sought to punish the tribe by prosecuting Tonga Mahuta, King Te Rata’s brother, for ignoring “his obligation to parade for reserve military service” (Simpson 1979:190). However, the move backfired on the government, who “had made itself a laughing stock” in continuing to pursue Tonga Mahuta, who was prosecuted five times in two years and “each time he cheerfully paid the fine and defaulted again” (Simpson 1979:190). Strengthening the resolve of the tribe in defying the government’s call to arms was symbolic of Tainui resistance to government activities until the resolution of the Raupatu was achieved.

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<sup>7</sup> Te Puea Herangi, or Princess Te Puea, was the granddaughter of the second Maori King, Tawhiao. Renowned for her pragmatism and hard work, Te Puea was instrumental in establishing

Many people were critical of the tribe's stance, believing that "Waikato were shirking their duty" (Simpson 1979:190). However, despite this opprobrium, Te Puea became a significant figure during this period of tribal rebuilding, most notably instigating the establishment of Turangawaewae Marae in Ngaruawahia as the home of the Kingitanga, heralding the return of the Tainui tribe to its traditional land base.

The establishment of the Ratana religious and political movement, and its subsequent support by Tupu Taingakawa Te Waharoa, was seen by King supporters as an affront to the mana of Te Rata. Although Ratana and Tupu Taingakawa Te Waharoa took a petition to the British government regarding the Raupatu in 1924, Ratana was seen as trying to usurp the mana of Te Rata (Ballara 1996). Ballara (1996:23) states that the 1924 petition may have been instrumental in the establishment of the 1926 Sim Commission, which investigated the Raupatu. In 1927, the Sim Commission reported on the Raupatu suffered by Waikato, finding the confiscations to be "unjustified" (Ballara 1996:23), "immoral, illegal and excessive" (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1999:16). According to Jones (1971:29), the Sim Commission recommended that monetary compensation, of £3000, be offered. Te Rata believed that the decision would have to be decided by the tribes, during which time the saying "as the land was taken, so the land should be returned" evolved (Jones 1971:29). Mahuta (1995:25) records that the saying expressed the tribe's belief that "money taken in compensation for land over which their ancestors died would be contaminated."

Te Rata died in 1933, and was succeeded by his son, Koroki. Tumate Mahuta, Te Rata's brother, led the negotiating team in seeking redress, assisted by noted Tainui scholar, Pei Te Hurinui Jones (Ballara 1996:24; Jones 1971; Mahuta 1995:25). According to Ballara (1996:24), the leaders of the Kingitanga were affronted by Tarapipipi, the son of Tupu Taingakawa Te Waharoa. Tarapipipi's interference in the negotiation process resulted in the kingmaker's role being

reduced to a ceremonial function (Ballara 1996:24). Jones (1971:30-31) mentions an episode during the negotiations which may pinpoint the reason for the Kingitanga's offence:

Tumate and I subsequently went to Wellington with the best wishes of King Koroki...for a successful outcome to our negotiations... When we entered the office of the Private Secretary, Te Raumoa Balneavis, I sensed something was amiss. On being seated Te Raumoa handed me a telegram which in part read, "Tumate and Te Hurinui have not been authorised by King Koroki to negotiate with Government." The telegram was sent from Morrinsville and the sender was Tarapipipi.

Tumate Mahuta was taken ill during this period, and was "anxious to be fully vindicated in the eyes of the Government" (Jones 1971:32). Koroki "explained to his uncle that his name had been used in the telegram without his knowledge," and a telegram was subsequently sent to the Minister detailing the events that had transpired (Jones 1971:32). Upon receiving the Minister's telegram, Jones (1971:32) wrote

Tumate...read it to the page of the telegram where the Minister assured him that the Government had always held him in the highest regard and had never doubted his integrity. Those in attendance on him said that Tumate had held the page to his forehead, gave a sigh and a moment or two later had passed away.

While reconciliation was restored between Koroki and Tarapipipi, these events highlight the damaging effects the consequences of the Land Wars had to the unity of the Maori people, and in particular to the King Movement.

According to Jones (1971:30) the negotiations were disrupted by a number of things - Tumate's death, several changes of government, the outbreak of World War Two and the illness of Tumate Mahuta's younger brother, Tonga, who had been appointed as the negotiator on behalf of the tribe – and were not resumed until 1946. Mahuta (1995:25) notes that, in 1937, Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage was against the return of land, because "this would be unjust for those

already living on it,” and would agree to pay “no less than had been promised by the previous government, namely, the sum of £10,750.” Jones (1971:33) became reinvolved at this point, with negotiations finally coming to a resolution and settlement on 22 April 1946, when Te Puea met with Acting Minister of Maori Affairs, Mr R. Mason, and the Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, at Turangawaewae Marae.

### **The Tainui Maori Trust Board**

The settlement between Te Puea (on behalf of Tainui) and the New Zealand government concluded nearly 90 years of discussions, disagreements, petitions and negotiations, and resulted in a series of payments to be made to the tribe by the government for past injustices. According to Ballara (1996:24), the settlement was seen as the “best compromise then available.” The payment negotiated under the settlement was £6000 per year for 50 years, and £5000 thereafter in perpetuity (Mahuta 1995:26). The Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Claims Settlement Act (1946) set out the legislative requirements under which the payments from the government were to be administered. From this legislative process emerged the Tainui Maori Trust Board.

The role of the Board was to act as the “statutory body” which administered the annual payments from the government (Jones 1971:33). It was responsible for the administration and distribution of these payments on behalf of the tribe. Te Puea selected the first Board “in accordance with the terms of the settlement arranged with the Prime Minister and they comprised thirteen members” (Jones 1971:33). Thereafter, the Board’s composition was decided by election (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1993:8). Mahuta (1995:26) states that the Act under which the Board was established, defined Tainui as “those hapu whose lands were confiscated” and required that only those directly affected by the land confiscations be provided for. However, the Board’s opinion was that “all Tainui has been affected,” therefore the benefits from the settlement were for all Tainui tribal members (Mahuta 1995:26). The first Tainui Maori Trust Board undertook to provide funding for

tribal members in their agricultural pursuits. This first Board also set education as one of its main objectives, through the establishment of educational scholarships. This thesis explores these early objectives and the extent to which the Board has fulfilled them. The activities of the Board since its establishment are examined in further detail in Chapter Five. Specific attention is paid to the activities related to Maori and university education.

### **Participation and Completion: Maori at University in the 1990s**

Both the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board have expressed aspirations for increasing Maori participation and educational achievement at the tertiary level. Comprehensive data on Maori participation in tertiary and university education has only been readily available since the late 1980s. A brief overview of the data is included here in order to understand the context of Maori university participation and completion.

Maori participation in formal tertiary education programmes has increased markedly during the 1990s (Davies 1994; Davies & Nicholl 1993; Ministry of Education 1997c, 1998b; Te Puni Kokiri 1997, 2000; University of Waikato 1996, 1998).<sup>8</sup> The Ministry of Education (1998b:29) states that in 1996 the largest area of growth in the tertiary sector for Maori was at Polytechnics. Maori were also “more likely than non-Maori to attend second chance education and Maori tertiary students are more likely to attend polytechnics than universities” (Ministry of Education 1998:29). Maori university student enrolments increased from five percent of total university student enrolments in 1990 to nine percent in 1997 (New Zealand Vice-Chancellors’ Committee 1998). Between polytechnics (14.2 percent), colleges of education (12.9 percent), Whare Wananga (88.3 percent) and universities (9.1 percent), Maori were proportionally less represented at universities than any other tertiary institution in 1996 (Ministry of Education 1998b:29).

Maori were more likely to enrol full-time for study than non-Maori and Maori women were more likely to enrol at university than Maori men (Ministry of Education 1997c, 1998b). According to the Ministry of Education (1998b:59), Maori participation in the “core” tertiary age group (18-24 years) in 1996 was half that of non-Maori. In 1996, Maori university students were more likely to be between 25 and 39 years of age (Ministry of Education 1997:23). The Ministry of Education (1997c:23, 1998b:60) also identified that the subjects of choice for Maori were education, humanities and social sciences, while for non-Maori they were commerce, science and engineering.

According to Davies & Nicholl (1993:74), the University of Waikato “through programmes actively geared at improving Maori participation in education, has had a significant impact on increasing the participation of Maori in university study overall.” Maori enrolments at the University of Waikato grew “four fold” between 1986 and 1991, meaning that the University had a much higher proportion of Maori enrolments (18 percent) relative to other universities, where the national average was seven percent (Davies 1994:44). Table 1 indicates the proportion of Maori student enrolments at the University of Waikato, as a percentage of the total student population, has hovered around 20 percent between 1994 and 1998.

Between 1994 and 1996, Maori student enrolments at the University dropped slightly - from 2098 in 1994 to 2081 in 1996 (University of Waikato 1996:2). In 1998, Maori student enrolments increased slightly (by 53 students) while the total University student body enrolment figures decreased by 711 from the previous year (University of Waikato 1998:2). By August 1999, Maori enrolments at the University of Waikato represented 22 percent of the total student population (University of Waikato 1999:29).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Tertiary programmes are defined by the Ministry of Education as a College of Education, Polytechnic, University, Wananga, Private Training Establishment, Training Opportunity Programme (Ministry of Education 1998b:59).

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the University of Waikato material from which these figures have been obtained contain slight variances. For example, the Kaunuku Awhina report dated 1998 states that

According to a report prepared for Te Roopu Manukura by Kaunuku Awhina (the Maori Student Academic Advisory Centre of the University of Waikato), the Maori participation figures for the University of Waikato were above the required number of total enrolments considered “essential for long-term development of iwi” (University of Waikato 1998:2). Maori student enrolments for undergraduate degree programmes at the University of Waikato peaked at 75.5 percent in 1996, dropping to just below 70 percent in 1998.

**Table 1: Maori as a Percentage of Total Student Enrolment Figures by University: 1991, 1994-1998**

	1991	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Auckland	6	8	8	8	7	7
Waikato	17	20	21	20	20	21
Massey	7	8	9	9	9	10
Victoria	6	11	5	8	8	8
Canterbury	4	5	3	5	5	5
Lincoln	3	4	1	4	4	4
Otago	3	6	3	6	5	6

Source: Ministry of Education<sup>10</sup>

Between 1993 and 1998, the growth of Maori students at the University of Waikato enrolled for postgraduate degrees had more than doubled, as Table 2 shows. Similarly, postgraduate diploma enrolments had also increased in 1998, although these figures fluctuated during this period. Explanations given to identify these increases included: increasing numbers of Maori students who stay on to study for higher qualifications; availability of scholarships, especially at postgraduate level; influence of Kaunuku Awhina in assisting and advising

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total number of Maori enrolled at the University in 1997 was 2581, while a memorandum prepared by the Statistics Administrator in 2000 reports that the figure was 2474. The figures mentioned do not refer to EFTS (Equivalent Full-Time Student), but represent student bodies.

<sup>10</sup> The figures for this table were taken from Ministry of Education statistical reports for the years 1991, 1994 to 1998. Except for 1991, figures are for complete years. 1991 figures were taken on enrolment data up to July 1991.

students; University promotion activities targeted specifically at Maori, particularly from School of Maori and Pacific Development and Graduate Development Studies programme; reality of rising tuition costs in future (University of Waikato 1998:13).

**Table 2: Percentage of Maori Students at the University of Waikato, Enrolment by Degree Status: 1993-1998**

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
First Degree	66	68	75	75.5	68.7	69.4
Postgraduate Degree	4	6	6	7.8	8.7	9.3
Postgraduate Diploma	1	2	1.8	2.1	1.7	2.6

Source: University of Waikato (1998:13)<sup>11</sup>

## Completion

The lack of data about Maori university completions complicates any analysis on Maori academic achievement (Jefferies 1997). Fitzgerald's (1977) study on Maori graduates is one of the few that examine aspects of Maori educational achievement at the university level. The analysis of the Ngarimu VC scholarships by Barrington (1987) and interviews of past recipients and graduates by Broughton (1993) identify the complex nature of Maori academic achievement. As Jefferies (1997:9) identified, there is a need for more "focused, empirical research into the participation and achievement of Maori in education," and for a more significant body of research in this area.

However, Ministry of Education data has indicated that university graduates made up the least number of Maori students graduating across the tertiary sector. Table 3 illustrates that between 1994 and 1996, Maori university graduates as a percentage of total student graduation figures increased by only 0.8 percent, while

<sup>11</sup> Note that the total percentage figure in this table does not add up to 100 percent. This is because undergraduate and graduate diplomas and certificate programmes have not been included in these calculations.

Maori graduates of Polytechnics increased by 1.4 percent, greater than the increase of all Maori completions (1.3 percent). While universities have traditionally not enjoyed large Maori student populations, the lack of growth in Maori students graduating from the university sector raises concerns about future Maori and tribal development, especially as tribal groups consider post-settlement strategies which place more emphasis on highly educated tribal members assisting in such development.

**Table 3: Maori as Percentage of New Zealand Graduates by Sector: 1994 – 1996**

	1994	1996
Polytechnic	16.0	17.4
College of Education	13.0	11.3
University	7.0	7.8
Whare Wananga	90.8	89.3
All Completions	11.8	13.1

*Note: Excludes international students and ethnicity not stated.*

Source: Ministry of Education, 1998a

Data from the University of Waikato, as shown on the previous pages, has indicated fluctuations in the enrolment figures for Maori students. This has also been reflected in the completion figures. While national data indicates that Maori make up the least percentage of tertiary graduates, the University of Waikato completion figures for Maori appear to be in line with their representation as a proportion of the total student population. In a summary of qualifications completed by Maori students at the University of Waikato, 17 percent of qualifications completed in 1999 were by Maori students (University of Waikato 2000a:5). While this may read positively, this figure was two percent less than what was recorded for 1996 totals (University of Waikato 2000a:5). Encouragingly, however, the number of Maori completing postgraduate and higher degree qualifications rose from just under 13 percent in 1996 to over 19 percent in 1999 (University of Waikato 2000a:5).

## **Tainui Education Achievement**

A study by Gould (1996) identified that Tainui, of the 16 major iwi groups included in the study, ranked lowest in educational attainment. Census data (Statistics New Zealand 1993) confirms the poor rate of educational achievement by tribal members. Since the Board's inception in 1946, education has been an identified priority, and the Board has offered financial assistance to tribal members pursuing higher education.

The large numbers of Maori participating in tertiary education during the 1990s was paralleled with the increase in the number of scholarships awarded by the Tainui Maori Trust Board. Similarly, as Table 4 illustrates, the University of Waikato has featured strongly as an institution of choice for tribal members, although it is noted that there has been a steady reduction in numbers since 1993, which could, in part, be explained by the establishment of Whare Wananga, and the increasing numbers of tribal members attending Polytechnics.

There has been no analysis of the completion figures for Tainui scholarship holders, so there is little information from which to analyse the success of the scholarship process. However, recipients of the premier scholarships were required to present to the tribe a copy of completed research theses and dissertations, which, together with graduates of other scholarships, has been included as a part of the annual Koroneihana (Coronation) celebrations of the tribe's leader, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu since 1998. In 1998, 11 theses were presented in management, science, social science, history, law and education (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1998). There were two thesis presentations in 1999, both in management (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1999).

These thesis presentations give an indicative picture of the range of subject areas pursued by Tainui-affiliated members, and the numbers progressing to postgraduate study. However, this is an incomplete and fragmented picture, and must be viewed in context of all scholarships awarded, and the actual numbers of students who have completed their studies.

**Table 4: Percentage of Tainui Maori Trust Board Scholarships Awarded to Students at the University of Waikato: 1993-1995, 1997-1999**

	1993	1994	1995	1997	1998	1999
Waikato University	49	47	47	46	44	43
All Other Scholarships	51	53	53	54	56	57

Source: Tainui Maori Trust Board<sup>12</sup>

Between 1993 and 1995, the Tainui Maori Trust Board conducted an analysis of its scholarship programme. In particular, the analysis included a breakdown of the numbers of scholarships awarded, and the tertiary institutions attended. Subject and degree programmes were also included in this analysis. Analysis of the scholarships since then has not been conducted at the same level, therefore it is difficult to make conclusions as to the impact of awarding tribal scholarships in ensuring more effective higher education participation for tribal members. However, the analysis indicated that the majority of scholarships awarded to recipients were to those either in their first or second year of study, and to those enrolled for courses in arts, education and social sciences. The subjects of choice for tribal members were in line with those of other Maori, as indicated earlier.

Complicating the issue of trying to track tribal members' progress through their higher education is the lack of data about tribal participation rates, as opposed to Maori participation rates. Because state data does not require education institutions to collect tribal affiliation information, it is difficult to ascertain a more comprehensive picture for tribal participation and completion rates. While the Tainui Maori Trust Board has initiated a process, it is still largely underdeveloped and incomplete.

<sup>12</sup> The information for this table was collated from the Annual Reports of the Tainui Maori Trust Board 1997-1999, and an analysis of the scholarships awarded between 1993 and 1995 (inclusive).

## Chapter Summary

This chapter has briefly outlined the history of education in New Zealand, and its lack of provision for Maori. Despite the guarantees provided by the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori have not been allowed to exist as equal partners with their Pakeha colonisers because of domination of the political decision making processes of this country. Education policies were developed initially as a means of 'civilising the natives' and assimilating Maori into Pakeha culture and traditions. Consequently, conversing in Maori at school was prohibited and the teaching of the Maori language was disallowed. Maori were generally not considered suitable for participation at university, although the first raft of Maori graduates produced Members of Parliament, doctors and scientists. It has been acknowledged that the persistent disregard for Maori within the education system ensured that Maori university graduates were scarce after this initial intake (Walker 1991).

In 1964 the University of Waikato was opened in Hamilton. The University of Waikato encompasses an area in which a large percentage of the Maori population reside (Pool 1987:79). This has been reflected in the large numbers of Maori student enrolments at the University (Davies 1994; Davies & Nicholl 1993; Pool 1987; Ministry of Education 1997c, 1998b; University of Waikato 1998, 1999, 2000a). The University of Waikato is located within the boundaries of the Waikato tribe. The intention was expressed at its establishment that the University would provide more educational opportunities for Maori. The thesis seeks to explore the University's efforts in the provision of educational opportunities for Maori.

Prior to and during the early contact years with Pakeha, the Waikato people had established political, economic, social, education and cultural structures. The establishment of the Kingitanga in 1858, of whom Waikato are kaitiaki (guardians), was a concerted attempt by collective Maori tribes to resist Pakeha efforts to obtain Maori land for settlement. The Land Wars of the 1860s were a

thinly veiled attempt by the colonial government to seize fertile Waikato land on the pretext that the Waikato tribe were rebels. As a result of what was proven to be an illegal invasion in 1863, the Waikato people suffered tremendously. The colonial government confiscated over one million acres of Waikato tribal land, rendering the Waikato people homeless.

Despite the Raupatu (land confiscation), Waikato, under the leadership of successive Maori kings, continued efforts to seek redress. This continuous struggle highlighted their attempts to overcome the contradictions that existed within New Zealand society - the contradiction of being part of society, yet really only belonging on the periphery. A partial settlement of Raupatu, via an agreement reached between Te Puea and the New Zealand government in 1946, allowed for the establishment of the Tainui Maori Trust Board.

One of the Board's main objectives since its establishment has been to assist tribal members in seeking educational opportunities. The Tainui Maori Trust Board has assisted its tribal members to participate in university education through the provision of education grants and scholarships, as described (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999). However, little is known about the experiences of tribal members who attend university and the strategies they adopt to succeed academically. This thesis seeks to examine the efforts by the Board in fulfilling this objective.

The thesis seeks to understand why and how Maori students succeed at university, through a critical evaluation of two institutional attempts to recruit, retain and graduate Maori university students. This critical evaluation was conducted through interviews with tribal graduates and through the use of documentary evidence on the two institutions. The following chapter expands on the notions of participation, success and achievement. Chapter Three sets out the theoretical and methodological framework for the thesis. This framework primarily identifies theories of 'success', and draws from a wide body of literature, both western and indigenous. The framework also draws on the theory of kaupapa Maori research, a theory that has been developed by Maori, for Maori.

## **CHAPTER TWO - DEFYING STEREOTYPES – CULTURAL NOTIONS OF SUCCESS**

My father and grandmother had been punished for speaking Navajo in school. Navajos were told that, in order to be successful, they would need to forget their language and culture and adopt American ways...This pressure to assimilate – along with the complete subjugation of the tribes following the Indian wars of the 1800s, the poverty due to poor grazing lands, forced stock reduction, and lack of jobs – all combined to bring the Navajo people to their knees, and a sense of deep shame prevailed (Alvord 1998:214).

To have been plunged into a White educational environment and to still remain Black created a subtle but forceful dialectical process. Instead of preparing Blacks to be content to enter the mainstream of American life, the White education structure created its antithesis – Blacks all the more aware of the contrast between the ideals of America and the condition of the Black masses (Ballard 1973:58).

Its quite funny to be a graduate Maori. People don't expect you to be like that, don't expect you to use big words, or catch on to what their saying or thinking as fast as they do and it always takes people by surprise...They have a stereotype of what a Maori is. He's a lawbreaker and doesn't do anything. So you meet someone and he's a Maori and he's been through varsity and it just always takes them by surprise (Barrington 1987:78).

### **Introduction**

The nature of education systems created by the dominant White culture, as highlighted in the previous chapter in relation to Maori and in the first quote above, was to maintain White superiority through assimilatory policies. Power structures adopted by the dominant White culture assumed the subordination of Navajo, Blacks, Maori and other indigenous and minority peoples. However, resistance to these power structures, particularly in education, has resulted in many indigenous and minority cultures embracing the White education system as a process to ensure their self-determination as a people, while also maintaining

their cultural links, through language and culture. Durie (2001) labels this type of approach as educational advancement.

This chapter explores attempts to define the concept of academic achievement, and of success. Studies have examined an array of variables that contribute to academic achievement (Bankston & Zhou 1995; C. Barnhardt 1994; R. Barnhardt 1991; Barrington 1966, 1987; Broughton 1993; Chan & Wang 1991; Clifton, Williams & Clancy 1991; Cordeiro & Carspecken 1991; Deyhle 1995; Douglas 1979; Fitzgerald 1977; Gandara 1994; Ho & Willms 1996; Jones 1976; Jules & Kutnick 1990; Killen 1994; Kraft 1991; Majoribanks 1979; Mickelson 1990; Miller 1999; Mirza 1995; O'Conner 1999; Schwab 1998; Stevenson & Lee 1990; Wright 1987). However, achieving a definition of success, particularly in relation to indigenous and minority peoples, is problematic because of the domination of western research which has previously focused on issues of hereditary intelligence, personality and ethnic constructions. Western notions of success are often defined in terms of academic standards attained, or in terms of outputs: "in...the number of graduates...who leave an institution each year" (Woodhall 1987a:349). The construction of achievement tests, the development of theories based around hereditary intelligence (and the resulting lack of intelligence for people of colour), and the emphasis on the achievement and motivation of the individual, have formed the basis of these western constructions of success in educational research for some time (Anderson 1985; Clifton, Williams & Clancy 1991; Entwistle 1968; Erkut & Mokros 1984; Gorard, Lees & Fevre 1999; Scott-Jones 1995).

Research has explored the multifaceted concept of academic achievement. Such research has examined success, for example, as being contributed to or influenced by family and social environments (Majoribanks 1979; Miller 1970; Nash 1993; Scott-Jones 1995), secondary school attendance (Hughes, Lauder & Strathdee 1996), finances (Abrams & Jernigan 1984; Crockett 1985; Dallas Martin 1985; Forrest 1985), gender and characteristics of the student (Hughes, Lauder & Strathdee 1996; Jones 1976), parental involvement (Ho & Willms 1996), and mentoring (Jacobi 1991; Jones 1989). Western research has also attempted to

define why and how indigenous and minority peoples succeed academically (Lovegrove 1966; Ausubel 1970; Clifton, Williams & Clancy 1991; Fitzgerald 1977; Jules & Kutnick 1990; Mickelson 1990; Mitchell 1988; Schwab 1995, 1996; Williams 1960). While some of these studies provide valuable insights into cultural aspects of achievement, others (in particular Ausubel 1970; Gallimore, Whitehorn Boggs & Jordan 1974; Williams 1960; Lovegrove 1966) have been influenced by theories of cultural superiority/inferiority, and by views of western dominance and minority subordination.

Research by indigenous and minority peoples on the concept of academic achievement and success, however, has often incorporated much broader aspects of culture, such as identity, and the role success plays in relation to the contribution it makes to family and the wider community, rather than to an individual's ability to progress through western-based standards of achievement (Alvord 1997; Bennett 1997; Broughton 1993; Carey 1997; Cordeiro & Carspecken 1993; Deyhle 1995; Douglas 1979; O'Conner 1999). However, indigenous and minority research do not provide the only examinations of these broader aspects of culture. Barrington 1987; C. Barnhardt 1994; R. Barnhardt 1991; Benton 1987; Fitzgerald 1977; Kleinfeld 1979; and Schwab 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1998; are examples of research conducted by non-indigenous and minority peoples who have worked with, amongst and for indigenous and minority communities, examining cultural aspects and how it relates to higher education participation. In particular, this band of research has identified the subordinate position of indigenous and minority peoples as a result of colonisation and domination, which has contributed to and perpetuated indigenous and minority educational underachievement and failure. Furthermore, this band of research seeks to gain a better understanding of what constitutes indigenous and minority academic achievement, acknowledging the cultural aspects defined by indigenous and minority researchers and communities, as well as looking beyond western frameworks for methodological and theoretical validation and support.

For indigenous and minority peoples, the historical educational situation has been littered with examples of colonial dominance, characterised by policies of

assimilation and controlled provision. Lack of indigenous and minority progress through the western education system has been what Iverson (1978:15) describes as a “consequence of a colonial construction of power and expropriation.” From a research perspective, Williams (1974) declared that White researchers were more interested in self-advancement and often their studies resulted in more harm than good for research subjects. As a result “people of colour are sceptical of research as a determinant of...fates” (Delpit 1988:7).

Western measurements of success have explained participation by minority and indigenous peoples in terms of educational failure. Typically, this educational failure has been couched in terms of the Maori/First Nations/Native Americans/Black/Hispanic<sup>1</sup> problem, where these minority and indigenous groups are placed in a “deficit category in need of ‘change’,” thus maintaining a position of assimilation (Deyhle & Swisher 1997:116). Other indigenous and minority peoples, whose educational underachievement has often been couched as a ‘problem,’ and where research has focused on models of cultural deficiency, cultural deprivation and cultural difference, mirror the Maori experience. This chapter will examine how education has been a ‘problem’ over the years, pointing to both government policies and research to acknowledge that a fundamental issue is the unequal power relationships that exist between the dominant White majority and minority and indigenous peoples (Darnell 1983). As a result of this unequal relationship, Maori and other minority and indigenous peoples have been kept on the periphery of their respective education systems, thus being denied the opportunity to participate equally as citizens in their own countries.

The experience of the Navajo people as a result of colonisation quoted at the beginning of this chapter highlights the devastation affected, an experience that other indigenous peoples, including Maori, have shared. Educational underachievement has effectively established an underclass of uneducated Maori,

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<sup>1</sup> The thesis has referred to the experiences of a number of minority and indigenous peoples. The terms ‘Black,’ ‘Hispanic’ and ‘Indian’ have all been problematic in relation to the diverse populations that are represented within these labels, as well as the historical connotations under which such labels were affixed. I have chosen to use the terms most represented in the literature, being ‘Black’, ‘Hispanic’ and ‘First Nations/Native Americans.’

which was highlighted in the Hunn Report of 1960. Despite Maori efforts - through the renaissance of the 1960s and 1970s - to reclaim their existence, their language and cultural practices and knowledge, government policies and objectives have continued to maintain an unequal power relationship, thus inhibiting Maori growth and development equally, as guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi. Irwin (1999:69) has described government action "reactive at best," where there is a clear lack of confidence in the government being able "to 'lead' in the area of Maori educational policy."

Despite this suffering, indigenous and minority peoples have managed to survive persistent attempts to be assimilated and dominated, and have fought to retain and have recognised their cultural identity, cultural practices, and cultural aspirations. Maori are looking for their own solutions, as demonstrated in the Hui Matauranga (Education Summit), called by Tuwharetoa paramount chief, Tumu Te Heuheu, and held in Taupo, New Zealand, February 2001. This is but one example of how indigenous and minority peoples, who have suffered in this way, have displayed traits of successfully adapting to, fighting against and surviving in adverse systems that were established effectively to destroy them.

It is from this position of resistance that I argue that indigenous, minority and Maori people have found a way to succeed in a world that has sought to suppress and assimilate. For Maori, the issue of succeeding academically, according to western standards, has been influenced by their historical experiences. Maori, as Smith (1999) has identified, have difficulty in accepting western notions of success, while simultaneously promoting the benefits such success may be able to bring. The contrary notions that Maori attach to academic success may inhibit their ability to participate effectively and successfully in mainstream institutions, which is compounded by official policies of assimilation and integration, as discussed in Chapter One. In resistance to mainstream restrictions, Maori have established their own education institutions, which are based on Maori philosophies and which ensure the maintenance of a Maori cultural identity (S. Mead 1997). However, what of those Maori students who choose to remain in the

mainstream system? What mechanisms do they adopt to survive academically, and to achieve success?

According to Mason Durie (1998:417), the advancement of Maori in areas such as education, “will not occur without careful and deliberate planning,” where such planning must be sound in order that “progress in one area does not create inequities in another, nor compromise the whole point of the exercise.” Jefferies (1998) believes that this type of planning must be across spheres, encompassing the state, iwi (tribe), hapu (sub-tribe) and whanau (family). In order to further develop a Maori notion or concept of what success means, the chapter draws from the experiences of other minority and indigenous perceptions of success. The core differences highlighted between western notions of measuring academic ‘outputs’ through examination of identified variables and an indigenous and minority approach that is more holistic to issues of academic achievement, becomes more apparent through this approach.

In this chapter, I argue that a Maori notion of success is able to combine academic achievement (through graduation – a western standard), with the maintenance and retention of one’s cultural identity, and thus the maintenance and retention of cultural integrity. I have drawn this notion of Maori success from the successful resistance by Maori, and other indigenous peoples, to government policies of assimilation, as conceptualised by Durie (2001). From this resistance, the concept of academic success therefore becomes a Maori aspiration, where it is transformed into a positive notion of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). The Tainui Maori Trust Board, which is examined in detail in Chapter Five, has expressed this notion of tino rangatiratanga in its mission statement: “To grow, prosper and survive” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1997).

This chapter, therefore, seeks to identify key concepts of academic success. This chapter also seeks to identify whether a uniquely Maori definition of success exists, which will be tested against the graduates’ experiences in Chapter Six in order to determine what ‘works’ for Maori academic achievement.

## **Variables of academic achievement**

At the beginning of this chapter, I identified a number of studies that had identified the diverse range of variables, which contribute to academic achievement. From a western perspective, as Killen (1994:199) has observed, “academic success at university is usually described in terms of grade point average (GPA), or in terms of course completion.” Killen (1994:199-200) further identified that teaching strategies, motivation and cultural expectations were among the numerous other factors that might influence student success at university. I was particularly interested in examining variables that appear to have more relevance to the Maori experience of participating in higher education. In particular, studies have determined the role of whanau (family) in terms of supporting Maori students (Barrington 1987; Chapple et al 1997; Fitzgerald 1977; Jones 1976; Mitchell 1988), and the role of mentoring in aiding academic achievement (Jacobi 1991; Pascarella 1980; Gandara 1994; Fitzgerald 1977; Erkut & Mokros 1984). The literature has also underlined the impact finances have on Maori participation (Chapple et al 1997; Davies & Nicholl 1993; Durie 1995). Other studies have also indicated the need for institutions to become more reflective of indigenous and minority concerns and aspirations if they desire greater participation and graduation of indigenous and minority peoples (C. Barnhardt 1994; Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991; Hurtado & Carter 1997; Ogbu 1978; Lowe 1999; Wright 1987). This focus then ensures a base from which examinations of both the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board can occur. I was also interested in gaining a better understanding of issues that affect indigenous, minority and Maori participation in higher education. In particular, research has highlighted issues of access (Miller 1999; Howe 1974; Kwapong 1974; Chan & Wang 1991; Ballard 1973) and equal opportunity and affirmative action or compensatory education (Shuker & Harker 1986; Bates 1980; Ogbu 1978; Tierney 1997). These factors, therefore, have been isolated for further examination in this chapter, in order to place in context the questions posed to the graduates in Chapters Six and Seven.

## Family

The role of the family in relation to academic achievement has been studied extensively and from a number of angles (Fitzgerald 1977; Gorard, Rees & Fevre 1999; Ho & Willms 1996; Jones 1976, 1989; Jules & Kutnick 1990; Okagaki & Frensch 1998; Mickelson 1990). Jules & Kutnick (1990:223) have suggested that “familial factors” be considered alongside national and communal factors, all of which in their opinion should be included “in any explanation of academic success.” Mickelson (1990:59) concurs with this suggestion, stating, “an often-neglected but critical factor in the level of achievement may well be the student’s perception of what her or his efforts and accomplishments in school ultimately will bring for the larger society.” However, Mickelson (1990:58) acknowledges the role of the family in academic achievement, describes this relationship as “one of the most enduring findings of social science research.”

Gorard, Rees & Fevre (1999) conducted a study on the role of families regarding patterns of participation in lifelong learning. They found that “families are universally acknowledged or a key determinant of educational performance in primary and secondary schooling and by extrusion, in higher education too” (Gorard, Rees & Fevre 1999:517). With particular attention to higher and post-compulsory education, Gorard, Rees & Fevre (1999:531) advance that while the role and significance of family participation decreases as the child gets older, there is “sufficient evidence” linking the role of families to the “transition from initial to post-compulsory education training.” These findings therefore suggest that the role of the family is one that is supportive of participation in the education system.

Ho & Willms’ (1996) study also examined the role of the family in academic achievement. Focussing on the effects of parental involvement in the achievement of 8th graders, Ho & Willms (1996:137) found that the home environment “particularly in discussing school activities and helping children plan their programs” had the “strongest relationship to academic achievement.” The role of the home environment is also considered by Jones (1976, 1989) and Fitzgerald (1977:42), whose study on the Maori graduate found “most Maori

graduates...drew heavy emphasis on...the influence of parents” which related to their academic achievement. Deyhle (1995) provides another view of the role of the family in academic achievement. From her study of Navajo peoples, Deyhle (1995:408) found that the “successful Navajo is judged on intact extended familial relations, where individual’s jobs and educational successes are used to enhance the family.” In this way, the Navajo family embraces and acknowledges the educational success of the family member, but not if that success has been achieved at the expense of the family relationship.

Another angle on the role of parental support in academic achievement is offered by Stevenson & Lee (1990). The focus of their study compared American, Chinese and Japanese families in an attempt to determine whether cultural or ethnic traits impacted on approaches and attitudes to academic achievement. They found that American parents placed greater emphasis on “innate ability” while Chinese and Japanese parents stressed the importance of “hard work” (Stevenson & Lee 1990:v-vi). In other words, the American attitude aligned achievement with something that one is born with, whereas the Chinese and Japanese parents felt that achievement came with consistent work and practice. However, this emphasis on hard work and the subsequent achievement of students from Asian ethnic backgrounds has inadvertently created a negative scenario, which Chan & Wang (1991) have coined the ‘model minority.’ The familial and parental expectations of Asian ethnic groups, coupled with their subsequent academic achievements have resulted in instances of racism, which Chan & Wang (1991) and Hurtado et al (1998) have found to be associated with western, or White, inability to accommodate examples of other cultures succeeding in western-framed terms.

Okagaki & Frensch (1998) examined Asian-American, Latino and European-American families in relation to parenting beliefs and practices, and achievement across different ethnic groups. While they found that “any single belief may not easily explain differences in child outcomes across ethnic groups,” they also highlighted the different beliefs and behaviours of parents across ethnic groups, which meant that strategies used by one ethnic group to achieve success were not necessarily adaptable to another ethnic group (Okagaki & Frensch 1998:124).

Furthermore, parental expectations also differed in regards to what Okagaki & Frensch (1998:142) describe as a “global constellation of beliefs...regarding multiple aspects of life (eg, the importance of family, principles of child development, education, perspective of work, and their general world view).” In essence, the role of family in relation to academic achievement, as perceived by Okagaki & Frensch is influenced by ethnic background and family perceptions, which are shaped and influenced by ethnicity.

Ogbu & Simons (1998:155) review Ogbu’s earlier research on the issue of voluntary and involuntary minority groupings, positing a “cultural-ecological theory of minority school performance.”<sup>2</sup> According to Ogbu & Simon (1998), voluntary minorities embrace the ethos of the American way of life, with parents impressing upon their children the desire to achieve high academic standards, and providing the support systems for their children to do so. Thus, the students “share their parents’ and community’s positive attitudes and verbal commitment to school” (Ogbu & Simons 1998:177). On the other hand, Ogbu & Simons (1998:177) advance that involuntary minorities have “ambivalent attitudes” toward education, where “their support for the abstract ideology that education is the key to success in life is contradicted by their concrete experiences with society.” The dichotomy of this point is highlighted by Alvord (1998:214), who relates this experience: “My father and grandmother had been punished for speaking Navajo in school. Navajos were told that, in order to be successful, they would need to forget their language and culture and adopt American ways.” These types of negative educational experiences suffered by parents and grandparents illustrate the ambivalence towards education, as described by Ogbu & Simons (1998), and the difficulties minority families must overcome in order to support and celebrate their children’s academic success. Furthermore, these statements tie in with Okagaki & Frensch’s (1998) findings regarding differences towards achievement among parents across ethnic groups.

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<sup>2</sup> Ogbu’s definition of voluntary and involuntary minority groups can be found in his work conducted in the Stockton community (1971, 1991) and his identification of minority caste groups during his research on cross cultural issues in the American education system (1978).

Another example of the influence of parental perceptions, particularly when examining parental backgrounds and educational experiences, is demonstrated in Gandara's (1994) study. Gandara found that Hispanic parents did not want their children to have to struggle academically, socially and financially, as they had done. Therefore, they supported their children's ambition to pursue higher education. Despite limited financial resources, families find other ways of supporting their children's education, such as "protecting their time to study" (Gandara 1994:17).

While the experiences of involuntary minorities as described by Ogbu & Simons (1998) have resulted in some ambivalence towards educational achievement, other research has also been found which shows how parental educational experiences have contributed to how their children view and are exposed to notions of academic success. Alongside Gandara's (1994) study, which identified parental desire for their children to achieve more than what they themselves were able to is seen in Miller's (1999) study, which reviewed parenting-related human capital differences, as well as education-relevant cultural differences among groups. One key aspect that Miller (1999) found was that the exposure of parents to formal education correlated with parental participation in their children's education. Thus, White parents (who were more likely to be tertiary educated) spent more time helping their children with academic tasks than non-Whites, thus becoming active agents in their children's success. Miller (1999:70) alludes to the process of "family acculturation" as a notion of academic achievement, which, for example, influences Asian-American student approaches to education.

As has been demonstrated in this section, family support in academic achievement is varied and can also be influenced by other variables, such as race, ethnicity, socio-economic background, and past educational experiences. The difference between majority and minority groups is illustrated most graphically in parental experiences of having to endure a hostile education system, and because or in spite of these experiences, parental attitudes and support for their children range from ambivalence to resilience.

## Mentoring

Jacobi (1991:505) states that mentoring is “a critical component of effective undergraduate education” as a tool to aid in student retention. In an analysis of the literature on mentoring, Jacobi found that there were a great number of diverse programmes available, and highlighted the problematic issues associated with such diversity in terms of defining what mentoring actually means and what it does. At least 15 core activities associated with mentoring were identified, ranging from advice and guidance, to being a role model, a coach, and a provider of information, to being an advocate for the student being mentored.

The crux of Jacobi’s analysis on mentoring concluded that the problematic issue was the lack of empirical research from which to draw specific conclusions. A number of theoretical models of mentoring were proposed, ranging from involvement in learning, academic and social integration, social support, to developmental support (Jacobi 1991:523-525). Gandara (1994:28) found that varying definitions on mentoring shared a common notion that “the participants’ relationship must be one of superior and subordinate and the subordinate’s career is advanced through this relationship.” This has the possibility of asserting a power/knowledge relationship, particularly when viewed in context with dominant attitudes to minority education.

Pascarella (1980:547) described mentoring relationships between faculty and students, where “students may establish certain boundary conditions in which faculty norms and requirements shape their formal, academic activities, and peers dominate their nonclassroom lives to the virtual exclusion of faculty.” However, Pascarella also highlighted the positive educational outcomes associated with types of informal faculty contact. Pascarella (1980:548) states that despite the numerous variables employed in such contact, the educational outcomes as a result of this contact included “career plans and educational aspirations, satisfaction with college, intellectual and personal development, academic achievement, and college persistence.” This statement was reflected in the findings of Erkut & Mokros’ (1984) study on professors as mentors for students at

university, who concluded that the relationship between student and mentor was primarily academic in nature.

Fitzgerald's (1977) study of the Maori graduate explores the relationship of family members and particularly teachers in mentoring students through their university experiences. Fitzgerald (1977:42) found that "most Maori graduates...drew heavy emphasis on...the influence of parents and teachers, in continuing schooling." Killen's (1994:208) study on lecturer and student perceptions and how they influenced academic success, determined that while both students and lecturers were jointly responsible in their contribution to student success at university, students were often influenced by others because of their tendency to "see themselves operating in an environment that is regulated largely by others." Therefore, it could be argued that while a student/mentor relationship may indeed be primarily academic in nature, the role of mentors, especially mentors who hold academic positions, can be hugely influential of student success.

Pascarella's (1980:556) study also examined the role of peers within the mentoring context, which found that "the informal student-peer culture may be one of the most potent campus influences in shaping academic values." Pascarella (1980:563) observed that one aspect of this type of mentoring allowed students to be a "moderating influence on faculty attempts to socialise students to the intellectual goals of the institution." In her study of Chicano excellence, Gandara (1994:27) defined mentoring as "a process by which a particular individual dramatically affected the subject's orientation to schooling." Gandara found that a large number of the students involved in her study drew on mentors from outside the academy, and included members of students' families, family friends, and people of influence in students' lives (such as priests). Similarly, Jones (1977) also found a variety of people helped to shape and support student experiences and participation at university.

As mentioned, Jacobi's review of the literature on mentoring found that there was insufficient empirical evidence from which to make conclusive comments.

Indeed, this section has shown that mentoring has been described as both academic and non-academic in its nature, is influenced by people from within and outside of the academy, and has varying influences in terms of its contribution to academic achievement. Perhaps what could be concluded from this discussion on mentoring is Jacobi's suggestion, based on Erkut & Mokros' (1984:515) study, "that mentor relationships are by-products rather than causes of high achievement."

### Financial issues

The issue of finances and financial assistance for students in higher education has been debated at length in the New Zealand context.<sup>3</sup> The debate, which has centred on the extent to which students should have to pay for their tertiary education, has become a characteristic feature of the state of the New Zealand tertiary education system in recent years. In short, this move was as a result of the views of "economic theorists of the libertarian right" which "set the policy agenda for change in the tertiary sector" (Patterson 1996:139). Durie (1995:5) describes the shift to the "goals and language of economic efficiency" having "overtaken social goals." Critics across the education sector have expressed similar sentiments (Irwin 1991, 1999; Marshall 1991; Middleton, Codd & Jones 1990; Smith 1991, 1995).

Government funding for the tertiary education sector was reduced and there was an increased emphasis on the individual to pay for their higher education. Government funding for tertiary institutions was based on a "formula related to equivalent full-time students in various course categories" where "students would be charged fees, and there would be a student loan scheme which would charge sufficient interest to cover the cost of inflation" (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:164). Student fees were raised in 1991, and continued to rise throughout the 1990s. As Patterson (1996:148) stated, "this significant break from the traditional, virtually free state provision of tertiary education, was to set the path for continuing fees increases."

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<sup>3</sup> In this section, I pay specific attention to the New Zealand context in relation to finances and higher education.

Part of the argument for greater individual financial accountability in tertiary education arose out of trying to determine (or justify) the benefits back to society that warranted such large contributions to higher education (Woodhall 1987b). Butterworth & Butterworth (1998:239) briefly commented on the introduction of higher fees and student loans, warning that “the increasing level of student indebtedness has become a matter of public concern, and if it continues to rise has the potential to become a major political embarrassment.” Butterworth & Butterworth (1998:239) warned that due to the extent of the reforms, particularly with the introduction of student loans, such arrangements “do not serve well the policy of increasing the skills of New Zealanders because they contain no incentive to complete the qualification the student has enrolled for.” Patterson (1996:161) describes the period as “misguided change, rather than educational reform.”

According to Patterson (1996:147), the introduction of increased student fees “had a decided impact” where student numbers increased, but at a “reduced rate.” However, all of these reforms occurred during a period of rapid growth in the numbers of Maori participating in university education.<sup>4</sup> How have these policy changes impacted on Maori participating in the tertiary, and specifically, university education system?

In 1996, the Director of the Centre for Maori Studies and Research, at the University of Waikato, commented on the impact of student fees increases and the retention of Maori students on campus (Mahuta 1996). Responding to a request made by the Vice-Chancellor, the Director concluded that increasing student fees were negatively impacting Maori enrolments. This was in contrast to the growth experienced (outlined above), and Davies & Nicholl’s (1993) assertion that fees increases would not necessarily disadvantage Maori, due to their inclusion within targeted categories and possible eligibility for subsidies. However, Durie (1995:2) believes the increase in tertiary education costs have “major repercussions for Maori students with limited access to disposable income.” Hurtado et al

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<sup>4</sup> Butterworth & Butterworth (1998) estimate that the growth of Maori enrolments between 1991 and 1996 was 103 percent.

(1998:288) identified that researchers of American “student financial aid have found that financial aid generally does what it was designed to do: it increases access to higher education by increasing the probability that students will attend college,” although they also found instances where poor racial and ethnic families have been disadvantaged by financial aid policies, “thus reducing equity and college access for them.” The first part of Hurtado et al’s statement reflects Davies & Nicholl’s (1993) thinking. However, Hurtado et al’s findings regarding poor racial/ethnic groups provides evidence that suggests a closer examination of the relationship between financial aid programmes and Maori access to and successful participation in higher education is required.

The introduction of standard government-set tertiary fees in 1990 was changed in 1992, after the national elections, allowing tertiary institutions the power to set their own fees. Stephens & Boston (1994:109) reported that the establishment of a Ministerial Consultative Group in 1993 by the Minister of Education was “to advise government on how the expected growth in the number of tertiary students should be funded.” The Ministerial Consultative Group, which produced the Todd Report and was composed mainly of people known for their “conservative and/or market-liberal views”, was expected to “defend the status quo or seek higher government subsidies” (Stephens & Boston 1994:116). Presenting three options, two of which recommended greater student contribution, the Todd Report was effectively seen as “poor value for money” where “no new empirical data or research findings were provided on important issues which underpin the policy recommendations” (Stephens & Boston 1994:120).

Subsequent to the Todd Report, the government abolished the universal student allowance scheme, which was replaced by targeted allowances. The Student Loan programme was established, where it was envisaged that students would be charged a “positive real interest rate” and would be required to repay loans once their income exceeded “\$13,520 per annum at the rate of 10c in the dollar” (Stephens & Boston 1994:113). The Manaaki Taura programme was introduced for Maori students, while other scholarships, including those offered by Maori and iwi tribal organisations, were attainable depending on the availability of funds.

Durie (1995:3) saw the introduction by the government of the Manaaki Taurira programme as “positive,” with the support making a difference to “successful student study and retention at universities.” In the first year of establishment, the Manaaki Taurira programme was administered by each institution, a move that Durie felt was effective. The process has since been handled by external agencies, which has seen students “well into debt and associated miseries before financial support was forthcoming” (Durie 1995:3).

According to a report by the Ministry of Education (1997a:29), students decide to participate in tertiary education depending upon the ability to finance this education. For Maori, this ability to obtain funding from student loans and allowances influences such a decision. The Ministry of Education (1997a:29) found that Maori were more likely to receive financial assistance in the form of loans or allowances than non-Maori. What has yet to be calculated, however, is the effect of loans on the future earnings capacity for Maori.

In 1995, the Tainui Maori Trust Board signed the Raupatu Settlement with the New Zealand government. As mentioned in the first chapter, one of the main emphases of the Board since its inception has been promoting the value of education. Since the signing of the Settlement, education was lauded by the Board as being a way for “the tribe to grow, prosper and survive” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1997:22). Given the increasing constraints placed on Maori to participate in tertiary education as a result of increases in student fees and decreases in eligibility for student allowances, the Board significantly increased its financial contribution to tribal members enrolled in tertiary education, from \$400,000 in 1994 to in excess of \$1 million by 1997. In essence, therefore, the Board attempted to implement a strategy that removed some of the barriers that have existed for Maori wanting to participate in higher education. This thesis examines the extent to which this strategy has succeeded, and the extent to which this strategy has effectively assisted tribal members seeking and succeeding in their pursuit of a university qualification.

The role of finances in New Zealand higher education has been contentious and topical during the decade of the 1990s. Undergoing significant change, student contribution to their higher education has significantly increased over this period. The context in which these changes were initiated has been described as reflective of 'New Right' philosophies (as described in Chapter One), emphasising greater individual contribution towards their own education. While strategies have been implemented to assist students disadvantaged by the increase in student tuition costs and decreasing student allowances, there has been conflicting information both as to the need and effect of such programmes. As a result, statements pertaining to the effect of finances on academic achievement must be considered largely inconclusive.

#### Institutional support

The role of the institution in promoting and supporting minority academic success has been examined at length. This examination has largely been framed from the perspective that institutions have failed to acknowledge the different expectations, requirements and needs that minority students require in order to achieve academic success. A number of research studies have examined the systemic issues that impact upon the ability of minority students to successfully participate in education (Barnhardt 1991; Deyhle 1995; Hurtado & Carter 1997; Hurtado et al 1998; Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991; Lowe 1999; Miller 1999; Ogbu 1978; Pena 1997; Wright 1987). Wright (1987:17) considers that an "unsupportive campus environment contributes to a student's lowered satisfaction with college and can result in a premature exit from campus without a degree." By and large, Wright (1987:11) believes the inability of institutions to even acknowledge problems in retaining and graduating minority students is because of the "emphasis on Euro-Western values." As a result, problems of minority academic success become minority issues rather than institutional ones. Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:2) agree, posing the question: "why do universities continue to perpetuate policies and practices that have historically produced abysmal results for First Nations students, when we have ample research and documentary evidence to indicate the availability of more appropriate and effective alternatives?"

In examining the role of the institution, Miller (1999) has found that a key aspect contributing to minority academic success lies in institutional leadership. Miller (1999:80) states that in order for strategies with minority academic achievement in mind to succeed, “leadership must come...from senior academic officials as well.” The effectiveness of programmes designed for minority, indigenous and Maori recruitment and retention will be diminished if support ‘from the top’ is not given. ‘From the top’ includes administrative, management and academic staff in positions of responsibility and influence. Miller (1999:81) believes that people within such positions need to “embrace high academic achievement for minorities as a priority objective – one that leads them to make use of the best available strategies in this area.” In a discussion by Hurtado et al (1998:279-280) on the role of leadership in managing racial and ethnic diversity, they reveal that, “higher education leaders and higher education institutions have taken the *laissez-faire* approach that people will (should) work things out.”

The nonchalance of leaders in higher education institutions is evident in minority and indigenous struggles to participate effectively. This nonchalance is seen in institutional responses, which Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:3) have described as attempts to “intensify pressure on...students to adapt and become integrated into the institution’s social fabric.” Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:3) suggest that a university is useful:

only to the extent that it respects and builds upon the cultural integrity of the student. Programs and services that are offered must connect with students’ own aspirations and cultural predispositions sufficiently to achieve a comfort level that will make the experience worth enduring.

Pena’s (1997) study on school leadership and cultural difference analysed institutional leadership beliefs and practices to better understand the impact of their expectations and practices on minority urban school students. Pena found that the issue of difference and perceptions of difference underpinned academic achievement of Mexican American students. In particular, Pena (1997:14) felt that educational leaders needed to become “knowledgeable of minority cultural traditions” and “more reflexive in their thinking about culture” where a “fuller

understanding of cultural differences may require experiencing them in and out of the formal educational setting, and perhaps experiencing what it means to be different in a predominantly minority context.”

In order to become more reflexive of minority needs and aspirations, Miller (1999:81) has suggested that institutions “should actively be seeking additional resources to implement these strategies and, where necessary, to develop more effective ones.” Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:1) suggest that institutions need to care for their minority students by providing a system that:

*respects* them for who they are, that is *relevant* to their view of the world, that offers *reciprocity* in their relationships with others, and that helps them exercise *responsibility* over their own lives.

Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991) believe that a fundamental error of higher education institutions is their inability to adjust to the specific needs of indigenous students. In particular, they felt that poor retention, high attrition and low achievement were failures on the part of minority students to adjust to the demands of institutional study. Kirkness & Barnhardt suggest that institutions reflect on their own construction and how they operate, in order to become more aware of the needs of minority students, and responsive to their specific requirements.

A report by the American Council on Education (1993:32) also identified the need for institutions to be more responsive to the needs of minority students. The report highlighted the need for “strong campus leadership and faculty support” in ensuring the development and growth of an institutional climate that was supportive of minority student retention. Reporting on the findings of studies of four institutions, it was found that there were common links across these institutions that supported and enhanced minority retention and participation. Most importantly, it was felt that a comprehensive approach in addressing minority student needs included incorporating financial support services, as well as addressing environmental and academic issues (American Council on Education 1993:35).

A large portion of research on the role of institutions in minority academic success point to the climate or the environment of the institution itself (Takara 1991; American Council on Education 1993; Barnhardt 1991; Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991; Deyhle 1995; Mirza 1995; Wright 1987). The inability of the institution to see things from a minority point of view as highlighted earlier by Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991) has been reflected in a number of other studies and is echoed by minority graduates. A collection of narratives of First Nations/Native American graduates by Garrod & Larrimore (1997) relate in detail at having to adjust to an institutional climate that was western in its construction and its philosophy, and that was rather inflexible to adjusting to the needs of its minority student collective. These narratives speak of the need to survive the institutional climate in order to succeed. Takara (1991) also identifies the need to survive the institutional experience that is higher education. Specifically pointing to a climate of racism and faculty inertia, Takara (1991:90) calls for institutions to display a “sincere commitment...to minorities” that will be reflected in its curriculum and the provision of support services, helping to “rectify the sense of anomie” as well as leading to a “more harmonious, nurturing learning environment.”

Due to the continued resistance of mainstream institutions in assisting and supporting minority academic success, indigenous peoples have taken to establishing their own institutions, either in competition or in conjunction with those offered by the dominant, mainstream culture. These indigenous institutions reflect cultural concerns and aspirations, and strive to adopt policies and processes that better reflect the needs of their own peoples. Boyer’s (1997:1) study on the development of First Nations/Native American colleges found that their establishment assisted in the “social renewal” of the First Nations/Native American people, where “they are changing lives and offering real hope for the future.” Schwab (1996b:10), through research conducted among Aboriginal communities, has also examined the role of indigenous institutions in providing better services and outcomes for their own people, concluding, “the achievement of competence in both worlds should be the ultimate aim of Indigenous education.” Similarly, Maori have established Whare Wananga to provide more conducive environments for Maori students at the tertiary level (Mead 1997b).

These efforts by indigenous and minority peoples have challenged western ways of thinking about and constructing higher education.

This section has identified research that has shown how institutional support can impact positively on minority academic achievement. The role of the institution in providing a climate that is conducive to minority student needs and aspirations has been demonstrated in the provision of support services and through strong campus leadership. However, the experiences of minority students are still predominantly affected by the institutional ethos, which in turn is largely constructed along western ideologies. As such, institutions rarely factor minority requirements, and instead expect minority students to adjust to the institutional climate and culture. Indigenous and minority peoples have developed strategies to help survive this climate, to the extent of establishing their own institutions in order to provide an institutional environment that is more in tune with their own cultural aspirations and ideas.

### Access

Miller (1999:66) states that access to “formal education changes the way people think and behave – they acquire skills, habits of mind, and information that are important for functioning in the modern world.” Critical to the debate on participation by Maori in the education system is their ability and entitlement to equal access opportunities. In New Zealand, access to higher education for Maori has been hindered by factors such as financial and economic constraints (Ministry of Education 1995:29). The introduction of the Student Loan Scheme was seen by the New Zealand government as an attempt to remove the financial difficulty facing students, thus freeing up access to higher education, although the extent to which this has been achieved has been debated. Gould (1999) believes there is a paradox in the attitudes of people toward university education. This paradox arises in that while demand for tertiary education increases, the willingness of the community to subsidise the cost for such a demand is decreasing. Gould (1999:28) muses that “it is almost as if the middle class – the traditional beneficiaries of tertiary education – were willing to pay through their taxes as long as it was their offspring who benefited but are no longer willing to fund

universities if a wider sector of society is to get in on the act.” For those who have historically been denied such opportunities to access, higher education has been seen as the “route to economic success and as related to achieving political power” (Howe 1974:45). First Nations also share this view of education as being a key to empowerment (Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991:11). If the view of the minority were on access to economic and political success and power, then Gould’s statement would seem to make sense with regard to the unwillingness of the middle-class to contribute further.

According to Kwapong (1974), higher education, through its ability to teach and research, is a promoter of national development. However, Kwapong (1974:116) believes that, for developing countries, the issue of access into higher education is “how to ensure that the selection process is genuinely equitable, fair, efficient and based upon genuine merit, that is, open to all people of talent.” This raises the question of how one balances the desire of ensuring and aiding access to higher education, with the actual selection process that is almost always based on merit. It is a challenge that I think few institutions have managed to adapt to successfully. Durie (1997:12) has suggested a “renegotiation of the terms of access so that being Maori is compatible with other callings.”

In America, studies have found that there is an increasing debate as to the access of Asian American students to the more elite higher education institutions. Chan & Wang (1991:55) have found that since discrimination on racial grounds has been made illegal, Ivy League institutions have “seized upon language and cultural differences as pretexts for exclusion.” Specifically, they found that the issues for exclusion were based on the numbers of non-native speakers of English and the resulting difficulties in having to cater for such students. While the Asian-American groups fight back, it raises the issue as to why such institutions seek to exclude these, and other, minority groups.

According to Chan & Wang (1991:57), the issue is relatively simple - there is not enough room at the top:

Whereas having a small number of Asian-Americans succeed is a confirmation that the American dream still works, seeing “hordes” do so is too frightening. Those who guard the gates into the elite stratum of American society feel that they must keep the doors closed against a “new yellow peril.”

This incidence is not exclusive to the American scene. Several years ago there was great debate about the entrance requirements for the University of Auckland’s Medical School. In particular, the medical school attempted to refine its admission requirements, changing the usually strict adherence to academic achievement to one of a more ‘holistic’ approach. At the time, many argued that this was to protect the ‘old boys’ network, whose sons and daughters were missing out on the highly competitive places to higher-achieving Asian students. Similar to the American experience, the changes were justified as issues of language and an increasing (and sudden) desire to better understand and communicate with the ‘Kiwi’ culture. Instances such as these serve to reinforce statements like Gould’s regarding the self-interest of the White middle-class.

Noel (1985:20) argues that “traditional indicators of quality” such as access and admittance criteria need to be revised to new indicators, such as increasing the competency base of the students, where the emphasis becomes value added education. Quevedo-Garcia’s (1987:61) study of Hispanic students also suggests the need for institutions to broaden their access and admissions criteria (aside from traditional indicators such as grade point averages) “that can be more realistically applied” to the various student populations.

Those who argue against easing access restrictions to higher education, raise issues of ‘dumbing down’ and ‘reverse racism,’ as Ballard (1973:91) has found:

Cutting across all...variations of compensatory education programs was the problem of how much academic leniency was to be granted to specially admitted students. Were retention standards to be altered because such students needed time to repair the gaps in their academic skills, or would not such a policy constitute both “reverse racism” and a dilution of the educational quality of the institution?

The move towards a value added education also sits uncomfortably with the more 'New Right' focus of higher education, where emphasis is placed on individual competition and excellence as indicators influencing access and admission policies. Hurtado et al (1998:283) argues that this type of approach is the result of "the maintenance of old campus policies...that best serve a homogenous population, and attitudes and behaviours that prevent interaction across race and ethnicity." As a result, it is argued that because of the very nature and ethos of some institutions, issues such as access become clouded in issues which preserve the self-interest of a select group, as mentioned earlier by Gould and reinforced here.

#### Equal Opportunity, Affirmative Action and Compensatory Education

The rationale behind the "equal opportunity" concept in higher education is that education is available to "all" – that is, no discrimination on race, gender or ability. The premise for equal opportunity is that the world operates in a fair and just manner, there are no colours – everything is the same. The New Zealand education system purports to be egalitarian, displaying a "continued commitment to the ideal of equality of educational opportunity" (Shuker & Harker 1986:9). Shuker & Harker (1986:4) relate this to the well known statement made by Peter Fraser, the New Zealand Minister of Education in 1939, who stated that the aim of education was to guarantee that "every person" has a right to a "free education of the kind for which he is best fitted." There is some ambiguity in Fraser's statement "for which he is best fitted." Bates (1980:17) refers to these types of ambiguities as "*not* a consensus of opinion on the part of New Zealanders, but rather *apparent* agreement based upon considerable latitude and vagueness of definition and interpretation."

Depending on the literature, the egalitarian status of education and the equal opportunities that arise for all in New Zealand either exists (Shuker & Harker 1986; Butchers 1930; Cumming & Cumming 1978), or does not (Walker 1984; Davies & Nicholl 1993; Smith 1993; Durie 1997). What results are advocacies for equal opportunity on the one hand, and for separate and different requirements to address issues such as proportional representation on the other. What emerges

then, is a system which is neither egalitarian nor can be defined as providing equal opportunity (in whatever way that is defined). Instead, Bates (1980:28) sees a diverse system that tries to reflect the diverse needs of its constituents, as stated:

we need to develop our system into one that is as diverse and differentiated as the students who enter the system, a system that recognises the differing rewards individuals may seek within that system, and one that recognises that the concept of educational opportunity has indeed changed.

Ogbu (1978:1-2) states that the reason for the persistence of inequality existing in the education system has been due to the “liberal elites of the dominant group” failing to realise that some of their basic assumptions upon which their policies are grounded have been “marred by theoretical confusion, barren methodology, politics and a lack of emotional detachment.” Ogbu believes that because the concept of equal opportunity has been very limited in its focus, this has actually worked against the objective itself. Nieves-Squire (1992) agrees with Ogbu in relating the Hispanic women’s experience in higher education being caused more by lack of opportunity to participate as opposed to lack of interest, as has been suggested by social scientists. However, in order to overcome such irregularities, Foster (1987) states that it is simply not just a matter of putting in place an ill-designed policy that serves to patch up the immediate problem. Foster (1987:95) believes that “once patterns of inequality emerge their eradication is less a matter of decades but generations.” Ogbu (1978:5) agrees with this sentiment, believing that redefining the concept of equal opportunity, as discussed, will progress the research toward developing “sound policies and programs” aimed at reducing the “academic retardation” currently being experienced by minority and indigenous groups.

Tierney’s (1997) discussion on the affirmative action policy in America states that there are two ways in which this policy has been viewed. Some view affirmative action as being a “tool” for strengthening social bonds, while others view it as a “weapon” that retards individual liberty (Tierney 1997:166). The policy itself is divided in its support in the American context. While some see it as creating more discrimination, others feel that it is necessary to redress some of the imbalances

that have occurred through historical, political and social events. In the New Zealand context, while no affirmative action policy (in the form it appears and operates in America) exists, the issue of compensatory education and its role in the supposed egalitarian education system that operates here becomes an important focus.

Tierney (1997:166) believes there is no “coherent” theoretical base for the American affirmative action policy. The main thrust of the policy is to target groups of minority populations, including women. The reasoning behind this targeting came about because campuses were “White, male centres of learning” (Tierney 1997:167). The angle of this policy (in the higher education sector) therefore can be viewed as being the tool for the strengthening of social bonds by deconstructing the perceptions of the traditional campus structure alluded to earlier. What has resulted, in the American experience, has been a definitive split between those who support the concept of the socially cohesive tool and those who see the policy as being the weapon that allows for the destruction of individual liberty.

According to Trent (1991:1109-110), these programmes focus primarily on “service delivery” and vary from institution to institution, but based on a combination of “enforced legal mandates and good-faith efforts”; these programmes are viewed as the pathway to eliminating inequality. In essence, the affirmative action policy has raised such opposition because it affects the “very interests of academia” (Ballard 1973:83). Challenging the process of academic operations through the adoption of policies like affirmative action could be viewed as an admission of the failure of the education system, and thus a direct challenge to the system itself, and those who are traditionally involved in the decision making process. One could also view the resistance from certain quarters to policies because they are partly based on a rationale that Tierney has labelled, compensation, correction and diversification.

These labels, in Tierney’s opinion, refer to the ways of addressing the imbalances of society that have occurred historically, presently and will occur in the future.

As a basis from which affirmative action can be examined, it could be argued that this type of policy attempts to definitively envelope all societal ills in an idealistic bid to create a perfect society for the future. In effect, what has happened has been an institutional fear that standards of entry and retention would be diluted or disappear, or that such a policy would create a type of reverse racism, working against the barriers it purports to destroy. Ballard (1973) reported that these compensatory programmes were not constructed to give students (in this case Black) a fair chance at academic success. Instead, Ballard (1973:92) concluded:

the fear of dilution of the academic quality of the institutions was of such intensity that it quickly became evident to Black students and the specially recruited Black faculty that they were unwelcome guests, that the colleges were waiting for them to fail, and that the college would take every step necessary to see that a failure occurred.

In the New Zealand context, compensatory programmes, such as preferred quota systems and special admission programmes have been in place for some time, and not without attracting their fair share of controversy. Central to the argument against the introduction of these types of programmes has been the concern that some students are just not academically able to withstand the requirements demanded. Foster (1987:99) argues that this has been the failing of some educational policy developers in that “tentative research findings were used selectively to justify educational policies that had been decided upon for very different (often political) reasons.” Trent (1991:128) agrees with this failing, stating that there are “clear impediments to the potential successes of student affirmative action programs.”

The nature of compensatory education, through policies like affirmative action, is contentious and challenges the very (traditional) essence of higher education. Efforts to increase the diversity of student populations through the provision of these types of programmes have met with resistance from those who seek to protect their own self-interest and who have yet to incorporate cultural and ethnic diversity into their value system and the value system of the institution. As a

result, the introduction, effectiveness and success of these types of programmes remain questionable.

### **Barriers to Success – Western Limitations on Indigenous and Minority Academic Achievement**

Smith (1995:19) has challenged that the “persistent educational and schooling crisis of underachievement” of Maori was that policy had “almost always been developed by Pakeha administrators” in a context that was based around the “unequal power relations between the dominant Pakeha and Maori subordinate communities.” Furthermore, “simplistic explanations” such as “poor retention rates of Maori into higher levels of schooling” were concealing opportunities to critique the real problems that lie within the state education system itself (Smith 1995:19). Glynn & Bishop (1995:37) agree in that the oversimplification of core issues in Maori education and academic achievement have resulted in an educational research approach that has “run the risk of undermining the capacity of minority...groups... which in turn may have a negative impact on achievement.” As a result, alternative concepts of education and non-western notions of achievement have not readily been recognised within the New Zealand education system.

The New Zealand education system is based on a history of perceiving Maori education as a ‘problem,’ which, combined with the unequal power relationship within which education policies have been developed and implemented, have never really allowed for meaningful Maori participation towards their own self-determination. Darnell (1983) has identified this as a core problem in the development of education systems in countries where dominant control exists. In particular, Darnell (1983:306) states that dominant western society developed education systems under the notion that it was best for indigenous communities “without contribution by indigenous communities in the decision making process.” As a result, autonomy and control become “fundamental issues of conflict” (Darnell 1983:306).

The lack of indigenous contribution, as Darnell describes, has contributed directly to the lack of Maori educational advancement, and has become the focus of Maori research in recent years into the lack of educational achievement, with particular focus on providing a Maori position that seeks self-determination for Maori through education (Smith 1995; Glynn & Bishop 1995; Irwin 1999). Similarly, Deyhle & Swisher (1997:116) argue that the lack of progress in educational research on the “Indian educational problem” was largely because research was “carried out by researchers who often do not have a long-term commitment to the community” and who tend to “buttress the assimilatory model by locating deficiencies in Indian students and families.” In response to the continued problem of First Nation/Native American underachievement, First Nation/Native American researchers have begun the task of examining the issues, “grounded in self-determination and the beliefs of cultural integrity” (Deyhle & Swisher 1997:116).

The practice of assimilation and the development of theories such as cultural difference and deprivation, have all contributed to ensure that western society has maintained its dominant position. Glynn (1998:4) states that the “cumulative effect of these policies has been to require Maori to sacrifice more and more of their language, culture and educational aspirations to the needs and aspirations of the majority culture,” and where “it would seem that participation in mainstream education has come for Maori at a cost of their own language, culture and identity.” The impact of the power imbalances between Maori and their dominant partner was outlined in the previous chapter, in particular how the assimilatory policies ensured the maintenance of Maori in their subordinate position. This chapter will now illustrate how such practices, described by Deyhle & Swisher (1997:117) as a “legacy of deficit thought,” attempted to subvert indigenous and minority peoples. The chapter will then outline how Maori, indigenous and minority peoples have fought back against these dominant prescriptions, rejecting the monocultural domination over concepts and definitions such as success, and highlight how such concepts have been redefined from indigenous, minority and Maori positions.

### Theory and Practice of Assimilation

Further to the history of education developed by the dominant partner in order to assimilate Maori into European culture, as discussed in Chapter One, Lee & Lee (1995:96) found that Maori leaders, in the belief that “their tribes would acquire those skills, knowledge, and material goods that had made Britain a ‘superior nation’,” accepted early missionary education efforts and the introduction of Christianity. However, it soon became clear to Maori that missionary education was about introducing European concepts to the exclusion of traditional Maori values. Furthermore, Lee & Lee’s (1995:97) research concluded that a “discernible policy shift had occurred; no longer was the Colonial Office considering a Maori New Zealand in which a space would be created for British settlers but a Settler New Zealand in which a place had to be found for the Maori.” Bishop & Glynn (1999a:16) state that this policy shift also “attempted to replace a pre-existing and complex system, and subsequently attempted to deny or belittle the existence of such a system.” As Simon (1990:67) states, “whereas Maori sought schooling as a means to greater control over their lives, the missionaries and government, in providing such schooling, were concerned to gain greater control over the Maori.” This policy of assimilation, according to Dakin (1973:71), “befitted a race deemed to be declining and destined only for absorption in the general population.” In effect, this policy, in conjunction with the economic and political marginalisation of Maori, meant that Maori became strangers in their own country, to be consumed by the dominant society.

The “demonstrably assimilationist” (Lee & Lee 1995:97) position adopted by the colonial government ensured the rapid disintegration of Maori cultural values and ideas, which were regarded as simplistic and “not worthy of serious concern within the mainstream school curriculum” (Bishop & Glynn 1999a:16). Vercoe (1995:197) describes this approach as one of manipulation, where “knowledge became framed within a content of prescription: what was to be taught, served to legitimate the educational policies developed by succeeding governments.” According to Bishop & Glynn (1999a:16), assimilation was the “official government policy” until 1960.

The effect of this policy has resulted in a ‘dumbing down’ of Maori culture, Maori ideas, and Maori knowledge. The essence of Maori has been repeatedly stripped of its importance and significance within the lives of Maori people, and the results have ensured the maintenance of Maori in inferior positions of power and control, and subsequently ensured that Maori now occupy the lowest rungs of society’s ladder. The long-term effects of this constant degradation of core Maori cultural concepts and the indoctrination of assimilationist policies has resulted in what Reedy (1978:65) has described as Maori parents “unwittingly” passing “on to their children a negative view of Maoriness.”

Dakin (1973:71) states that in 1931, the policy of assimilation in the New Zealand education system was revised and “positive action was taken to encourage the study of Maori arts, history, traditions, social life and games...so that these things might become a source of pride” to Maori children. However, Dakin (1973:73) acknowledges that the “long history of lack of opportunities and encouragement has had unfortunate effects upon the educational achievement of Maori youth.” This was further reinforced during the 1960s, where a whole new range of educational theories focused the blame for such underachievement onto Maori themselves (Smith 1995).

During the 1960s, researchers locked on to theories of “psychological and social deficiencies” in attempts to explain minority academic failure (Gallimore, Whitehorn Boggs & Jordan 1974:19). According to Gallimore et al, (1974:19-20), it was “scientifically fashionable to ‘prove’ that disproportionate numbers of minority youth were retarded, abnormal, self-hating, and the like in order to justify public funding of remedial and compensatory programs.” New Zealand research also abounds with such ‘scientifically fashionable’ topics from this period, for example Beaglehole & Ritchie’s (1958) Rakau study, Lovegrove’s (1966) study on the scholastic achievement differences between Maori and non-Maori, and Ausubel’s (1970) work amongst Maori youth.

Deyhle & Swisher (1997:123) also cite that, during the 1960s, the “term *cultural deprivation* came into vogue to describe the limited experiences of poor or

impoverished children as a cause for poor academic achievement.” Carter & Goodwin (1994:297) found that the emphasis on cultural deprivation as a theory was because of the shift away from what they labelled ‘inferiority’ theory as a result of the “social activism of the 1950s and 1960s.” The emphasis on these theories placed the blame of minority academic underperformance on the minority/indigenous culture, without acknowledging that the system (developed and controlled by the dominant White society) was, in fact, a major contributor to the problem. According to Carter & Goodwin (1994:302), a large number of research projects, which focused on cultural deprivation, based the ‘norm’ on White values, thus reinforcing minority and indigenous subordination:

The cultural deprivation perspective has failed to acknowledge that Blacks, American Indians, Hispanics, and Asians have been historically disenfranchised in the United States and are the victims of an unequal society that has impeded their performance and academic success. Instead, these “low-caste” members have been viewed as products of deficit cultures needing to acculturate to the “American” way to achieve in the nation’s schools.

Previous education research and subsequent policy has determined that minority cultures have been capable of digesting only so much information and being more suited to labour-intensive rather than academic trades (Deyhle & Swisher 1997), and where racial identity has been the “primary determinant of educational aptitude” (Carter & Goodwin 1994:303). For instance, Ballard (1973:13) found that for Blacks, this led to the establishment of inferior schools and colleges, where “the source of funding was White, the faculties were White, the administrators were White” – in fact, everything was White except for the students themselves. Ogbu (1978) concurs with Ballard, citing that some of the reasons for Black failure have been due to assumptions made by usually White social scientists about what education should and should not be. Vercoe (1995:123) describes these types of assumptions, from a New Zealand and Maori perspective, where “the sum total of past paternalistic ‘efforts’ on the part of the government colonised Maori, and created an acceptance of their position so that Maori came to blame themselves for their lack of success.” These sentiments

highlight the effects successive assimilation-based policies have had on Maori; experiences that have been shared by other minority and indigenous peoples.

Ogbu's (1978) examination of minority education also highlights the assumptions and perceptions that frame dominant society's views toward minority and indigenous cultures. Specifically, education researchers and policy makers from the dominant paradigm choose to persist with the 'status quo' of determining what is best for minority and indigenous education. Majoribanks' (1979:13) study analysed the theories of cultural deprivation or relativism, and found that such theories inevitably required "policies of positive discrimination involving a redistribution of education resources in order to redress the perceived educational imbalances." In effect, Marjoribanks' findings confirm Ogbu's view of dominant cultures further exacerbating issues through their assertion on the "In effect, Marjoribanks' findings confirm Ogbu's (1978:15) view of dominant cultures further exacerbating issues through their concern "with what education ought to be rather than with what it actually is."

Since the 1960s, there has been a growing disquiet amongst minority and indigenous peoples to continue to accept the dominant viewpoint. It has reached the point where, according to Barnhardt (1991:12), minority and indigenous peoples are "taking matters into their own hands." From this perspective, I argue that Maori have joined in this fight against dominant constructs of what Maori education should and should not be, and are beginning to develop their own paths to academic achievement and success. In essence, Maori are resisting against the power position occupied by the dominant 'other,' where concepts and definitions have sought to exclude and marginalise Maori, and are creating their own, based on concepts that reflect Maori tino rangatiratanga (self-determination).

### **Moving Beyond 'Failure' – Cultural Definitions of Success**

Soltis (1989:124) states that education is about the "formation of persons...about developing and contributing to the good life of individuals and society", where

society is perceived as being democratic. However, Bempechat & Drago-Severson (1999:299) have found that “in seeking the roots of cross-cultural differences in academic achievement, cultural psychologists and cultural anthropologists have tended to dichotomise different societies’ socialisation goals.” Maher & Tetreault (1997) go further, acknowledging that rather than being democratic, society is instead dominated by Whiteness. In an academic context, this dominance is:

a necessary part of perceiving how the assumption of Whiteness shapes the construction of classroom knowledge is understanding its centrality to the academy’s practices of intellectual domination, namely, *the imposition of certain ways of constructing the world through the lenses of traditional disciplines* (Maher & Tetreault 1997:325, own emphasis added).

One of the main difficulties for universities in modern times is the emphasis between “academic excellence versus relevance for...society” (Dahlof & Selander 1992:189). Given the dominance of Whiteness, as Maher & Tetreault have attested to, what place does success hold for minority and indigenous peoples within such confined constructs?

Academic success or achievement has been studied extensively. The key question remains, however, as to what is the best way of measuring academic achievement. Certainly studies have focused on specific aspects which impact on student achievement, such as teacher involvement, socio-economic status, attitude and genetic make-up – to name a few. Milner (1972:19) categorises achievement in three ways: motivation: “Do people have a strong desire to do well?” performance: “Do people in fact perform well?” which is influenced by things such as tools and availability of resources; and the social reward system: “Are people differentially rewarded for differential performance?” However, these categories are based on the notion that equality is a “derivative of achievement. Our commitment to achievement is primary, and our commitment to equality is in large measure a result of the former” (Milner 1972:12). If Maher & Tetreault (1997) have already identified that such concepts are defined by the dominant

White society, where then does that place achievement of minorities and indigenous peoples?

According to Ogbu (1978), a key failure in the assessment of achievement by social scientists is that they often neglect the issue of racial difference. This is shown in Woodhall's (1987a:349) assertion that "the simplest way of measuring the output of education is in terms of the number of pupils who are educated in a school, or the number of graduates...who leave an institution each year." Ogbu (1978:2) suggests that social scientists also rarely factor the "most obvious and common-sense aspect of education," that being the role education plays in the adult world. In particular, what purpose does education serve to society, to the communities in which educated individuals live, to the families of the educated, and to the individuals themselves? Foster (1987:93) professes that education is but one "individual variable in the process of social change," thus it is possible that the pendulum could swing either way where minority or indigenous education is concerned.

Indeed, Anderson (1985:49) believes that some students actually fear success because of "additional responsibilities or expectations" or being acculturated into a system that might "result in separation from or conflict with" family and friends. Entwistle (1968:89) states that the issue of success has become a recurrent theme in educational research, with many attempts to "unravel the complex determinants of academic attainment." However, research has yet to find a prescriptive formula on the issue of educational achievement, or on what makes a student successful. Minority and indigenous peoples are taking more control over their self-determination, and to this extent, have investigated – from their perspectives – what aspects have ensured minority and indigenous academic success. In essence, these efforts have filled the gap that Ogbu (1978) identified social scientists had not considered.

Research into the cultural interpretation of academic success and achievement has identified western and non-western concepts. Western notions of achievement typify a culture of individuality and capitalism, while non-western notions,

particularly seen in research from indigenous perspectives, views success in terms of collective benefit and self-determination (Barnhardt 1991; Deyhle 1995; Garrod & Larrimore 1997; Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991; Smith 1999). The role of ethnicity and particularly the maintenance of one's identity while aspiring to academic success has often been cast in terms of a strategy for survival (Ballard 1973; Hooks 1994; Mirza 1995; Takara 1991; Trask 1999; Smith 1999). This section examines the literature from specific ethnic/racial perspectives on the issue of academic achievement. Represented are two minority cultures – the Blacks and Hispanics - on which a considerable amount of research exists, and two indigenous cultural groups – First Nations/Native Americans and Maori – on which there is less extensive literature available that examines the concept of academic achievement and success. The intention of examining the literature from these perspectives is to gain a better insight into what success means, and what strategies are employed to attain success.

### Black Notions of Success

According to Ogbu (1991), the basis of academic success for Blacks is drawn from good teaching and a good school environment. More importantly, however, is Ogbu's assertion that the critical factors that enable Blacks to succeed are derived from their own perceptions (both conscious and unconscious), interpretations and ability to respond to changes that occur within the education system. An integral part of this understanding is the need for Blacks to understand their relationships with Whites and, equally importantly to understand their own identity and culture as a Black people. This move towards Blacks defining their own perceptions of what constitutes success is echoed by Ladson-Billings (1990:336), who has found that the search for an "Afrocentric...definition of success has caused African-American scholars to move away from normative measures that are 'stacked' against black people and that are not appropriate for assessing a culture that is non-linear." Furthermore, Ladson-Billings (1990:337) believes that there are "standards of excellence within black culture that many youngsters strive to meet."

Ogbu's study of Stockton Blacks and their perceptions of success within education raises issues that are prevalent within many other cultures, Whites included. Desire for a better future, a better standard of living and good incomes are reasons cited from interviews conducted by Ogbu (1991:279). The challenge is the ability to translate such perceptions into the reality of everyday life, especially when the education system is controlled and manipulated by "middle class Whites, with a view to helping their own children's progress" (Vernon 1987:284).

The perception of what success is, and the reality of achieving such notions of success are often juxtaposed because, despite the fact that all cultures aspire to or have their own notions of success, what remains is the fact that the dominance of White culture prevails, a point alluded to by Ballard's (1973) quote at the beginning of the chapter. A study by Smith & Smith (1992), which investigates the traditional role of Black women transposed into higher education, provides an interesting contrast to the issue of Black success. They argue that the reason Black women have been able to succeed in the field of higher education (especially in the area of administration which is the focus of their study), is not due just to their "various traits, skills and desires to learn what the demands and opportunities of this society require", but is also as a result of a "deeper and more inspiring claim...unstated by the historical world of their female ancestors" (Smith & Smith 1992:25). The implication of this study reveals an ability to retreat into a culture's innermost sanctities and draw strength from such sources in order to cope with the demands and structures of a dominant society.

Smith & Smith's study could be considered a more 'radical' interpretation of Black success, as a large portion of research on Black educational achievement is based around defined, measurable, and usually western constructed variables. For example, Kraft's (1991) examination of Black success identified discipline and social support as being the two key factors. In particular, Kraft's study highlighted the narrow definitions achievement motivation theorists had regarding issues of academic achievement and success. Another example is O'Conner's (1999) study on the inequalities in achievement returns for Blacks, which found that family

background was important for success. Similarly, Floyd (1996) found that Black students who demonstrated resilient traits were more able to overcome barriers to their success. Furthermore, Floyd also identified family and institutional support, particularly in fostering and developing such resilience, as being contributing factors to academic success. Other studies, such as Sherman et al's (1994) examination of assessment and retention of Blacks in higher education, Walden's (1996) focus on Black female college students motivations to achieve, and Rowser's (1997) study on Black perceptions of their own needs in order to attain success, all point to attempts to define Black success, and highlight what O'Conner (1999:153) described as "the limitations of relying on a single social identity, such as race, as a way of understanding the determinants of academic engagement and performance." What then, does success mean for Blacks? How is it, or can it be distinguished from the types of western-influenced studies described above?

Rather than defining a uniquely Black perspective on success, hooks (1994) instead focused on Black strategies to achieve it. hooks frames her position as a way of transgressing western definitions of how and who can achieve success. Mirza (1995) also prefers to focus on strategies that enable Blacks to achieve academically. Mirza's (1995:147) study on Black women's achievement identified that they "strategically used every means at their disposal in the educational system...to achieve some measure of mobility in their world of limited opportunities." In order to do this, Black students literally kept their heads down and did the work, which Mirza (1995:152) states as being the Black agenda, "a strategy for survival and a way to progress."

Adopting strategies, and working through and around western systems, appear to demonstrate how Blacks have managed to succeed academically. However, the retention of Black identity has been a consistent factor, despite what may seem as merging into western society. This is characterised in Ballard's (1973) study on Black education in White America. As with hooks (1994) and Mirza (1995), Ballard (1973:57) found, "despite the psychic and social traumas suffered by the token Blacks in...white colleges, few were 'whitewashed' intellectually." As with

the quote at the beginning of this chapter, Ballard found that rather than being consumed by the White educational system, Blacks had instead become more aware of the inequalities suffered by their counterparts.

Acknowledging the dominance of the western education system, hooks, Mirza, Ballard and others have described how Blacks have adopted strategies to succeed. These strategies were adopted despite the assumption by western institutions that Blacks could not achieve, and in spite of western efforts to hinder Black success. In essence then, the Black notion of success reinforces Ogbu's statement earlier in this section that Blacks are able to derive their own perceptions of success, based upon their identity as Black people, and their relationship with Whites.

### Hispanic Notions of Success

Gandara's (1994:2) study on the anomalies between academic success and low income Mexican Americans (Chicanos) was based on the knowledge that Hispanics were the "least educated major population group in the United States." Based on this knowledge, Gandara was interested in understanding why some Chicanos achieved where others did not. One concluding factor highlighted the power or influence of 'family stories', from which students were given examples of Chicano success. In particular, Gandara (1994:35) determined that these stories, which highlighted ancestral or family exploits and achievements in a variety of contexts and settings, might positively influence and motivate Chicano children to succeed:

Parents told stories of wealth, prestige, position, to their children to keep alive their hopes for a better future. If one has always been poor and sees nothing but poverty in one's environs, it may be easy to conclude that this is one's destiny. But, if one lives with stories about former exploits, about ancestors who owned their own lands and controlled their own lives, it may be easier to imagine a similar destiny. At the very least, one's family history shows that one is capable of a better life.

In contrast, Cordeiro & Carspecken's (1993:284) study on Hispanic achievement found that success was "framed in dominant cultural terms with an emphasis on

materialism and the status quo occupational hierarchy.” Their examination of 20 Hispanic achievers revealed that these students perceived and aspired to success, as framed from the “Whites” perspective, a perspective to which these students felt “Hispanics ought to aspire” (Cordeiro & Carspecken 1993:284). However, while seeming to embrace western concepts attributed to success and how it could be attained, it was found that the students were eager to succeed in order to “show Whites and nonachieving Hispanics that someone of Mexican heritage was capable of making it” (Cordeiro & Carspecken 1993:284). Hurtado & Carter’s (1997:324) study queries how students succeed given the often ignorant and inhospitable educational environment they are in; whether students perceive themselves to be on the fringes of mainstream culture while at university; and whether such perceptions affect their academic success. They contend that Latino success is affected by their perception of “belonging” in their educational environment, where “feeling at ‘home’ in the campus community is associated with maintaining interactions both within and outside the college community” (Hurtado & Carter 1997:338).

Quevedo-Garcia’s (1987) study concentrates on the institution’s ability to facilitate student success, pointing specifically to admission policies and emphasis on academic grades and tests as areas that need to be worked on. In particular, Quevedo-Garcia (1987:61) believes that further research into the needs of Hispanic student populations may result in more “realistically” applicable policies and programmes that aid in their academic success.

All of these research studies have a common thread linking them: the desire to achieve western-designed and assessed concepts of success. While acknowledging the peculiarities that Hispanic students bring to the higher education equation, there is no one way which isolates Hispanic notions of success. Instead, it appears that Hispanic peoples draw from their culture, as mentioned by Gandara, strategies and stories of success and achievement for inspiration and motivation. There also appears to be a determination by Hispanics, shown in Cordeiro & Carspecken’s study to achieve White status, to disprove negative stereotyping of their own culture by others and how others perceive them. At this point, therefore,

while the achievement of western-prescribed notions of success are aspired to by Hispanics, as demonstrated in the studies cited, they are done so in conjunction with a desire to draw from cultural sources and to prove themselves against stereotypical imagery.

### First Nations/Native American Notions of Success

Within the First Nations/Native American group of peoples are a number of distinct cultural groups, which include Alaska Natives, Hawaiians and Indians from America and Canada. The common thread linking them all together has been their categorisation as the 'problem' and reason for their educational failure in a system that attempted annihilation through assimilation. Despite these experiences, First Nations/Native American peoples have still managed to carve themselves a place in the higher education system. Garrod & Larrimore (1997) provide a collection of narratives based on First Nations/Native American graduates' experiences of life at Dartmouth, an Ivy League university in America. Many of these successful graduates cited difficulties in being accepted by mainstream society; some experienced racist encounters, and others struggled to overcome cultural misunderstandings between themselves and faculty members during the course of their studies. This collection of narratives also highlights one account of a student who struggles to find his identity as a First Nations/Native American person, and the complex issues associated with achieving in a western dominated society.

The issues identified in this collection of narratives include the ability to be accepted as a member of society, where acceptance includes acceptance of cultural differences, different perceptions of life issues, and how culture and its identity influences decisions made and approaches to life generally. These are reinforced by Wright (1998), whose study on the Squamish Nation of British Columbia reflect many of the experiences cited in Garrod & Larrimore's (1997) collection. Wright found that First Nations/Native American peoples were disadvantaged in their educational experiences because of the limited understandings of institutions and faculty. Wright (1998:85) felt that these institutions viewed "the lack of success as First Nations students as an

acculturation issue”, where programmes designed to adjust students, rather than modifying them to student needs proved generally unsuccessful.

Wright’s study found that the Squamish Nation leaders attempted to work through this situation, acknowledging that their tribal members succeeded better if they were able to maintain links with their culture, through the establishment of tribal colleges. Rather than confining their educational advancement in the tribal college setting alone, tribal leaders then moved to approach tertiary institutions, developing relationships with those that “would accept a First Nations perspective” (Wright 1998:85). In other words, these tribal leaders worked to find institutions that were prepared to change their dominant philosophy towards education, incorporate a more First Nations/Native American -reflective approach, and thus work with the tribe to encourage First Nations/Native American academic success.

This study reflects attempts by Barnhardt (1991), and Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991) to find ways to alter institutional opinion to the ‘problem’ of providing successful educational opportunities for First Nations/Native American peoples. Identifying the obstacles to educational advancement as being located in institutional segregation and ignorance to adapting to First Nations/Native American needs, both these studies posited the need for cultural identity and integrity to be maintained while also being able to participate in an environment that was more in tune with their specific needs. Barnhardt (1994) follows through this line of thinking in her study of Alaska Native graduates. Barnhardt found that in order for Alaska Native graduates to survive life ‘on the other side,’ they had to be able to maintain their cultural identity.

This theme of cultural identity and maintaining links to the culture is also evident in Deyhle’s (1995) study on the Navajo resistance to cultural stereotyping. Deyhle found that the Navajo concept of success was only the benefits education could bring to the family and wider community, and not by sacrificing the essence of ‘being Navajo.’ This is reaffirmed in a later study by Deyhle & Swisher (1997), which examined the literature on education and First Nations/Native American

peoples. They (1997:136) found a positive correlation between native language and culture and school success, which challenged the dominant theory that posited otherwise.

### Maori Notions of Success

As indicated earlier on in the chapter, there is little information about Maori academic achievement. Much of what has been written have been studies by Pakeha (Beaglehole & Ritchie 1958; Lovegrove 1966; Ausubel 1970), many of whose findings have since been disputed. In 1967, Fitzgerald (1977:80-81) conducted a two-year study of the Maori graduate in order to determine the “acculturative pattern arising from culture contact between Maori and European.” While the main objective of the study was to examine the social position of Maori graduates, Fitzgerald’s study provides an opportunity to examine the issues affecting Maori graduates in the 1960s. Of particular interest in Fitzgerald’s study is the concept of identity, an issue that is raised in Chapters Five and Six, and examined in further detail in Chapters Seven and Eight.

A study of Maori students who achieved high marks in School Certificate Maths and English was undertaken in 1987. Mitchell (1988:115) produced the report for the Department of Education, and concluded, “the findings tend to reinforce observations made already about Maori achievement in the education system.” The earlier observations referred to included Beaglehole & Ritchie’s Rakau study and Ausubel’s study on Maori youth, thus providing a few more clues as to Maori notions of success.

The Ngarimu VC and 28<sup>th</sup> Maori Battalion Memorial Scholarships were established in 1943 to commemorate the bravery of Lieutenant Te Moananui-a-Kiwa Ngarimu and other members of the 28<sup>th</sup> Maori Battalion who had lost their lives in World War Two. Throughout its history, members of the Board which administered the scholarships, had expressed the need for some type of analysis of past scholarship recipients in the hope that “successful Ngarimu scholars could be a source of inspiration to other young Maoris” (Barrington 1987:5). As a result, an analysis was conducted, and a report produced.

Barrington (1987), who was contracted to produce the report, identified a number of factors (such as family support) that contributed to the success of these Ngarimu scholars. The scholars also related that upon receipt of the scholarship, a “feeling of obligation, to the Board, or to the Maori people” had been “an important motivating factor in subsequent academic success” (Barrington 1987:119). The Ngarimu Board commissioned a further report in 1993. Broughton (1993) interviewed a number of scholarship recipients (past and present) as to their views on the scholarship and its impact on their education. Findings were similar to those of Barrington.

The most problematic issue of defining a Maori notion of success is the lack of empirical research on which to base a definition. The studies cited above encountered factors contributing to academic success, such as financial support, family and parental support, cultural identity – similar to those cited in other research studies examined earlier in this chapter. Perhaps the one defining factor between Maori and non-Maori has been the cultural identification, and to an extent the limitations this identification has placed on the advancement of Maori. Those of other minority and indigenous cultures have echoed this experience. Cultural notions and values obviously play important roles in defining how Maori interpret and approach the world. Chapple et al’s (1997:66) study on Maori participation in tertiary education suggests that Maori may have an “inadequate understanding...of the benefits of education,” although “changes over the last two decades have led to an increasing acceptance among Maori that there are benefits.” Smith (1999) disputes this, pointing instead to the dichotomy of obtaining a western education (which stands for individualism and competitiveness, and in some cases, loss of Maori identity), and maintenance of Maori identity, culture and knowledge.

Current thinking on Maori success acknowledges the dichotomy that Smith refers to above. However, instead of separating the attainment of western education and maintenance of cultural identity, there is an increasing call to incorporate both aspects into a concept of Maori academic success. Durie’s (2001:4) framework for Maori educational advancement posits that such advancement must incorporate

two key goals: the need for Maori to “actively participate as citizens of the world” while also “enabling Maori to live as Maori.” Durie (2001:4) explains this position:

To the extent that the purpose of education is to prepare people for participation in society, it needs to be remembered that preparation for participation in Maori society is also required...Being Maori is a Maori reality. Education should be as much about that reality as it is about literacy and numeracy.

...education is equally about preparing people to actively participate as citizens of the world. There is a wide Maori expectation that education should open doors to technology, to the economy, to the arts and sciences, to understanding others, and to making a contribution to a greater good. This does not contradict the goal of being able to live as Maori; it simply recognises that Maori children will live in a variety of situations and should be able to move from one to the other with relative ease.

In essence, this is Durie’s construct of Maori academic success. It advocates the ability of Maori to be able to move freely and comfortably between two worlds, without compromising a Maori identity or the need to participate in a global context. It also combines the kaupapa Maori philosophy expressed by Smith (1999) that allows Maori researchers to move between two traditions. Further, Durie’s notion of academic advancement reflects the words of Potatau Te Wherowhero, the first Maori king, who expressed the need for cultures to work together, while still maintaining their own cultural identity and integrity, thus achieving tino rangatiratanga.

From this examination, a Maori notion of academic success is formed, based on Durie’s (2001) notion of educational advancement and incorporating a kaupapa Maori philosophy. The next chapter draws more specifically on the words of Potatau, and his son Tawhiao (the second Maori king), to expand on Durie’s framework in developing a specifically and uniquely tribal notion of academic achievement and success.

### Comment

Perhaps the most consistent theme throughout the examinations of Black, Hispanic, First Nations/Native American and Maori notions of success is the need to develop or adopt strategies to achieve academic success without compromising one's cultural identity or integrity. Research has recognised that strategies to survive the experience of higher education are necessary if the indigenous/minority student aspires to success, according to western norms. None of the cultural examples cited wished to shy away from western definitions of success, such as upward mobility, greater employment expectations, and better socio-economic circumstances; but neither do these people wish to sacrifice their ethnic, racial and cultural identities in order to achieve success. Whereas earlier examples of Black/Hispanic/ First Nations/Native American/Maori experiences of higher education refer to being assimilated or absorbed into the dominant culture, more recent experiences, particularly with the establishment of institutions like First Nations/Native American tribal colleges and Maori Whare Wananga, have seen these peoples turn to themselves to provide the opportunities western education appears reluctant to provide. In essence, therefore, minority and indigenous peoples have adapted strategies for survival, resisting against being subsumed into the dominant culture, while still aspiring to success – which incorporates western notions of attainment, and non-western notions of cultural retention and recognition of identity.

For Maori in particular, the development of an educational advancement framework (Durie 2001) has assumed the incorporation of two cultural positions on academic, giving Maori the ability to attain success without sacrificing their identity or becoming assimilated into the dominant culture. This assumption is based on the notion that Maori formulate their own criteria for success, provide their own benchmarks (which are not necessarily western-based), and have the right to participate – not only at a national level, but as global citizens, or 'citizens of the world.' In this way, Durie advocates that Maori move beyond the narrow prescriptions of academic achievement provided by the dominant 'other,' and forge their own path towards Maori educational advancement and success.

## Chapter Summary

This chapter set out to explore the definitions - western and indigenous and minority - associated with academic achievement and success. As demonstrated at the beginning of this chapter, western definitions revolve around measurable tangibles, such as tests and grade point averages. Indeed, Fowler & Fowler (1964:1288) reinforce this, defining success as the “accomplishment of end aimed at, attainment of wealth or fame or position.”

In determining how one becomes successful, research has focused on identifying a number of variables that contribute to success. These included family, parental support, mentoring, and the role of institutions, which, because of their relevance to the Maori experience at university, were examined in closer detail in this chapter. Western research has also been interested in determining what contributes to minority and indigenous success, although early examinations were influenced by social theories and concepts such as racial inferiority, hereditary intelligence (which was judged inferior to western cultures), and based on tests that were western in construction and had little application or relevance to different cultural and ethnic groups.

The education experience for Maori, as with other indigenous and minority groups, has been characterised by policies of assimilation and a perception of cultural superiority. As a result, Maori, indigenous and minority peoples have struggled to overcome exclusion, and negative stereotyping in order to achieve academic success. Despite the limitations imposed by the dominant western culture, Maori, indigenous and minority peoples have devised strategies to survive the hostility that is characteristic of the higher education experience. The examples given in this chapter show how research is beginning to explore the means by which these groups survive and succeed, with an increase in research undertaken from indigenous and minority perspectives. What has been revealed is that minority and indigenous perceptions of academic achievement and success have been coloured by the experiences of colonisation and assimilation. The consistent theme from Maori, indigenous and minority peoples' experiences of

success is to incorporate a number of 'survival' strategies, which allow students to achieve success, as defined by western standards, while also maintaining a sense of cultural identity and integrity. Research towards this has suggested that the adoption of these types of strategies ensures that minority and indigenous peoples are thus more able to straddle the two, often conflicting worlds. However, indigenous and minority peoples are also establishing their own institutions in what could be described as efforts to pressure western institutions to deal with the 'dilemma' of catering for the specific needs of their populations. The establishment of these institutions is also to ensure that students from minority and indigenous backgrounds are able to learn in environments that are more culturally in line with their thinking and philosophy, and redefining success from their cultural perspectives.

This chapter set out to achieve an understanding of the complexities that surround attempts at defining 'success' and 'academic achievement.' The results are clear distinctions between western notions of attainment and advancement, and minority and indigenous peoples' struggles to achieve this attainment without compromising cultural identity and integrity. For Maori, Durie (2001) has suggested that western academic attainment and the maintenance of Maori culture and identity are integral to Maori educational advancement and success. The thesis will attempt to determine whether this suggestion by Durie was the experience of the Tainui graduates during their time at the University of Waikato.

This thesis now turns to understanding and doing research, outlining some of the complexities and dilemmas faced by Maori in what is still a western-dominated tradition. The following chapter explores in greater detail the notions of kaupapa Maori research, and more specifically highlights the unique and at times demanding attributes of tribal research and how one negotiates a space within these divergent paradigms.

## **CHAPTER THREE - UNDERSTANDING AND DOING RESEARCH – A MAORI POSITION**

### **Introduction**

Prior to beginning study for the thesis, I had been working as a researcher based at the University of Waikato. Contracted by the tribal authority being examined in the thesis, I was involved in areas of Maori and tribal education. Before then, I had spent seven years completing two degrees that should have been completed in five. The question why do Maori students succeed was derived partly from my own experiences as a university student. My undergraduate experience was fraught with failed papers, missed assignments and poor subject choices. At one stage I almost pulled out, five papers short of finishing. Yet I managed to get through – how? Was my experience similar to those of other Maori students studying at university? Is the climate at university conducive to learning for a Maori person, incorporating and encouraging Maori culture and identity? What support mechanisms are in place to stop students from dropping out? What influences students to stay on and complete?

These questions were further developed through the work I was doing for the Tainui Maori Trust Board. Specifically, I was involved with the activities of the Education Committee, assisting with the administration and processing of tribal scholarships. I had also completed an analysis on the status (socio-economic, education, age) of tribal groups within the University of Waikato catchment area. My exposure to this line of work helped formulate more ideas for the study. In particular, I became interested in how effective tribal scholarships were in ensuring that Maori students graduated from university. Was money the only way that tribal authorities could assist their tribal members to succeed? What use was an education to tribal communities? In particular, what role did education play in determining the future development of the Waikato tribe?

As a university employee, contracted by the Tainui Maori Trust Board, I also became familiar with the ways in which the University of Waikato operated. For example, the University of Waikato was not required (by the Ministry of Education) to collect information on tribal affiliations despite having a group, Te Roopu Manukura, which represented the interests of some 19 tribal groups that fell within its catchment area. Therefore, information about tribal members enrolled at the University of Waikato was not available. This, to me, was a perplexing situation, particularly since the University had the largest Maori student population of all universities in New Zealand. How was an institution like the University of Waikato supposed to cater for the needs of the different tribal groups represented? Did it cater for Maori/tribal needs at all? This led to the question of how much policy had been developed since the University's establishment that reflected the needs and aspirations of Maori. Furthermore, I also wanted to know how effective such policies (if any) were in ensuring Maori students completed their university education. In short, how responsive was the University of Waikato in recognising and helping realise Maori/tribal aspirations or tino rangatiratanga?

In order to try and answer these questions, the focus of this thesis seeks to identify how the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board have attempted to develop policy to implement change that addresses Maori aspirations; and what a group of Tainui graduates made of these attempts.

My limited experience working for a tribal institution enveloped me within the intricate networks of the tribe itself. As a tribal member I was also connected to the outcomes of any research I was involved in, thus I was engaged in what Linda Smith (1999:137) describes as "insider/outsider research." Indeed, L. Smith (1999:5) identifies this as a problematic location in that:

there are a number of ethical, cultural, political and personal issues that can present special difficulties for indigenous researchers who, in their own communities, work partially as insiders, and are often employed for this purpose, and partially as outsiders, because of their Western

education or because they may work across clan, tribe, linguistic, age and gender boundaries.

Therefore, contrary to western, positivistic research notions that assume objectivity, my positioning within this research assumes a number of subjective roles – researcher, employee, student, and tribal member. In this sense, I am therefore part of the weaving process that comprises kaupapa Maori practice, as L. Smith (1999:190-191) has identified.

In this chapter, I use this notion of weaving to draw together the methodological and theoretical frameworks on which the study is based. Furthermore, I identify the methods used within these frameworks to investigate the various aspects of the study, as outlined above. I examine the notion of re/presenting the research, in particular, examining the location of power in research, and the struggles indigenous and minority researchers face in acknowledging and managing power in their relationships with their research communities (Bishop 1996, 1998b; Bishop & Glynn 1999a; G. Smith 1992; L. Smith 1999; Teariki & Spoonley 1992; Te Awekotuku 1991; Te Hennepe 1993; Lomawaima 2000).

From this examination of how research is re/presented, my positioning as an insider researcher becomes clearer. I describe my position as an insider researcher within the context of this study, highlight some of the problems associated with such a position and how I have addressed these problems throughout the course of the study. I also examine the positioning of the study within the kaupapa Maori paradigm, and specifically examine the relationship between kaupapa Maori and tribal research, which, in my opinion have very distinct but connected aspirations and objectives. From this, I examine the notion of power and how it relates not only to the researcher/researched position, but also how it relates to knowledge (after Foucault 1980). In particular, I question the positioning by some Maori, who purport to locate kaupapa Maori and Maori research from within a selective paradigm that appears based on notions of power and what ‘counts’ as knowledge – notions that place me outside the context of kaupapa Maori research. As a result of this examination on power/knowledge and what counts as knowledge, a tribal

position or construct of success emerges. This positioning locates the research from within a tribal, and specifically Tainui paradigm – a paradigm that has been based on notions of resistance and liberation, and from which strategies for success can be developed.

### **Re/presenting research**

I have been told by kaumatua (tribal elders), that in order to understand where one wants to go, one must first understand where one has come from. In the context of academic research, the literature on ‘how to do’ research assumes certain knowledge forms thus influencing how we choose to conduct our research. Generally, the ‘how to do’ research approach falls into two distinct camps: quantitative and qualitative.

Duverger (1964) states that adopting a quantitative analytical approach gives the advantage of being objective, through the elimination of subjective elements, and thus arriving at an independent interpretation. Accordingly, positivistic inquiry contrasts with value based inquiry, because it is primarily concerned with the “study of what *is*, not of what ought to be” (Duverger 1964:33). Glesne & Peshkin (1992:5-6) define quantitative analysis as being supported by the positivist/scientific paradigm where the world is made up of measurable and observable facts. Primarily, the positivist paradigm assumes there is no bias, maintains an adherence to only one truth (through a systematic process of elimination), and that findings can be regarded as universally applicable (McPhillips 1992). From this traditional perspective, authority for the research ultimately lies with the researcher. In turn, this locates power over issues of representation and legitimation with the researcher (Bishop & Glynn 1999a).

Qualitative research, on the other hand, “seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings” (Berg 1995:7), emphasises subjectivity, and places the researcher in the position of “main research instrument” (Glesne & Peshkin 1992:7). Speaking from an

interpretivist paradigm, the worldview is assumed to be complex, lacks any form of standardisation, and is “evolutionary in nature” (Glesne & Peshkin 1992:6). However, despite attempts to address the power imbalances inherent in quantitative methods, many qualitative approaches similarly maintain power in the hands of the researcher (Bishop 1996). This is because many qualitative approaches prescribe to dominant ways of knowing, whereby such ‘knowing’ has ensured the continued subordination of indigenous and minority cultures and knowledge codes. Bishop & Glynn (1999a:106) describe this approach as “paradigm-shifting,” where, despite replacing one type of research practice (such as quantitative) with another (such as qualitative), researcher domination is perpetuated “through maintaining control of agenda-setting within the domain of the researcher.”

The patriarchal characteristics of dominance over acceptance of prescribed knowledge codes still exist and the debate between legitimacy of qualitative versus quantitative research methods occurs within this dominant world, because ‘other’ ways of knowing have yet to find a way into mainstream thoughts and practices. More specifically, the western research community still perceives the ‘other’ as an object of study, where the ‘other’ is located on the periphery of what ‘counts’ as research, as described by Lomawaima (2000:6):

For many years researchers have had the distinct advantage of representing the more powerful society, of having the authority...behind them...[R]esearchers could set their own research agendas, devise their own questions, develop whatever methodology suited their agenda, and do as they pleased without having to consult with or defer to tribal polities. Research has always been deeply implicated in the colonial political context, and educational research is no exception.

L. Smith (1999:2) agrees with this positioning:

it is surely difficult to discuss *research methodology* and *indigenous peoples* together, in the same breath,...without understanding the complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices.

Bishop & Glynn (1999b:169) question the dominance of such practices, based on the experiences of Maori knowledge being misrepresented and located within terms “acceptable to the epistemological framework of Western located paradigms.” Scheurich & Young (1997) label this type of domination as ‘epistemological racism.’ They believe that “we..live...think, and act within a particular social history, within a particular social construction,” where this particular way of knowing becomes ‘normal’ (Scheurich & Young 1997:8). The problem, especially for indigenous and minority researchers is that “all of the epistemologies currently legitimated in education arise exclusively out of the social history of the dominant White race,” and this form of epistemological racism means that indigenous peoples continue to be ‘othered’ by those of the dominant discourse (Scheurich & Young 1997:8). One form of ‘othering’ is the construction of power imbalances within research relationships by the researcher maintaining control over what constitutes legitimate knowledge. McLaren (1994:120) also speaks of the dominance of western ‘norms,’ where discourses of power and privilege have “epistemically mutated into a new and terrifying form of xenophobic nationalism in which the white male Euro-American becomes the universal subject of history.” From this epistemical mutation, power is maintained and the indigenous and minority ‘others’ continue to be subordinated.

Indigenous researchers are becoming increasingly resistant to the hegemonic practices of western research. Resistance has come in the form of developing counter-strategies that are more reflective, appropriate and applicable to the indigenous research agenda. These counter-strategies, or counter-hegemonies, have enabled indigenous researchers to reposition, “to tell an alternative story: the history of Western research through the eyes of the colonised” (L. Smith 1999:2).<sup>1</sup> Graham Smith (1992:2) sees this counter-hegemonic approach as being “a shift

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<sup>1</sup> A good example of this concerns the history of the Waikato tribe, particularly during the Land Wars of the 1860s. The confiscation of Waikato tribal lands was justified because Waikato resistance was branded as the actions of rebels (Smith 1988:141). The 1927 Sim Commission report indicated that the confiscations were illegal and immoral, however, history had already assumed and labelled Waikato’s defiance as rebellious. In 1995, Queen Elizabeth II signed the legislation for the Deed of Settlement, which was negotiated between Waikato and the New Zealand government. Contained within the legislation is an apology, acknowledging the wrongful actions of the colonial troops and recording that Waikato were not rebels. Kaumatua have stated that this apology was the most significant part of the settlement process.

from the marginal position of the constructed 'other' to the more central position of 'inclusion'." In this way, the 'alternative' stories begin to emerge and slowly find their way into dominant discourses.

Peters & Lankshear's (1996:2) postmodernist examination of "counternarratives" seeks to "counter not merely (or even necessarily) the *grand* narratives, but also (or instead) the "*official*" and "*hegemonic*" narratives of everyday life." From this position, Peters & Lankshear (1996:3) argue that western culture has become more differentiated, particularly since World War Two, and as a result is no longer able to sustain the "liberal myth of a common culture...which functioned to assimilate difference and otherness." As a result, "the game rules for the discourse of legitimation have been altered" (Peters & Lankshear 1996:9).

The battle for legitimation and of 'finding a space' from which to resist the dominant constructs of what 'counts' as knowledge has been ongoing for indigenous and minority researchers. L. Smith (1997b:3) notes that the indigenous research agenda is:

strategic in its purpose and activities. It is relentless in its pursuit for social justice. It is critical in its approach to all that has been said and claimed by the non-indigenous world of indigenous peoples...It draws on multidisciplinary approaches selectively. It is informed by analyses of imperialism and colonialism and about what it has meant to be colonised. It is concerned with change and with emancipatory outcomes for indigenous people.

Changing the rules for legitimation, as described by Peters & Lankshear, therefore requires an understanding of what it has meant to indigenous and minority peoples to exist on the margins. Understanding this positioning on the margins - as a result of the historical and cultural context "shapes researcher preconceptions" and means that an examination of the relationship between researcher and the researched is also required (Glesne & Peshkin 1992:11). This type of examination acknowledges the "participatory connectedness with the other research participants" (Bishop & Glynn 1999a:103). Indigenous research has sought to move beyond the power relationships inherent in researcher/researched

relationships, and has tried to relocate the focus on the connected relationship between all those involved with the research. From this positioning, legitimation comes not from the academic institutions and bodies that validate research activities, but, more importantly to indigenous and minority peoples, from the communities that are involved with the research. Further, this approach takes the emphasis of a power relationship away from the researcher's imposed agenda, concerns and interests, which has traditionally not empowered those communities being researched (Bishop 1998a; Johnston 1998). This approach is, essentially for indigenous communities, about taking back control (L. Smith 1999).

### **Insider Research**

The dominance of the western positivistic notion, with its emphasis on "notions of objectivity and neutrality," and based on the assumption that "the researcher is an outsider able to observe without being implicated in the scene" is problematic for insider researchers, particularly indigenous researchers who seek empowerment of the communities involved in the research projects (L. Smith 1999:137). This is because the insider research approach ensures that the meanings and interpretations of social situations cannot be objective in the positivistic sense that traditional western research prescribes.

Wagner (1993) describes insider research as participant research. Ambiguities are created as a result of this description, which simultaneously create problems and opportunities. These ambiguities relate to opportunities for establishing rapport and trust, and problems in establishing credibility, both as a researcher and as part of a research project. Smyth & Holian (1999:2) suggest that the position of the insider researcher:

forces us to ground our work in everyday issues as those involved experience them, it confronts us and others with our assumptions, perceptions and their impact, it enables us to learn, reflect and act and it insists that we engage with what and who we are curious about.

Wolcott (1999:137) uses the terms “emic” and “etic” to differentiate between “insider” and “outsider” points of view, although he stresses that there are multiple views where “every view as *a* way of seeing, not *the* way.” The advantage of the emic/insider approach is its attempts to define what Wolcott (1999:137) describes as the “heart of the matter.” In contrast, in the traditional ethnographic approach, someone else’s story is always told, as described by Bishop (1996:26):

the general trend of research into indigenous people’s lives in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been for the ‘research story’ teller to be an outsider who gathered the stories of ‘others,’ collated them and generalised as to the patterns and commonalities.

However, empowerment for those involved in research is becoming an increasing priority for indigenous researchers. This empowerment is based on an implicit understanding that traditional research methods have not acknowledged the contribution of research communities to the research project, nor has it acknowledged the impact such research can have on the communities concerned. As mentioned above, indigenous researchers are becoming increasingly resistant to the prescriptions of traditional western research methods, which place control and power in the hands of the researcher. From an indigenous research position, power is repositioned away from the researcher and located back amongst those who are involved in the research process. A dilemma arises, however, when the researcher is also located amongst those being researched. How then, is the issue of power/knowledge and researcher/researched resolved?

L. Smith (1999:137) acknowledges the problematic location of indigenous researchers as insider researchers “because there are multiple ways of both being insider and outsider in indigenous contexts.” As described earlier in the chapter, an indigenous researcher can be an insider researcher by virtue of their tribal affiliation and a member of the community being researched. However, indigenous researchers’ western educational background may also place them in an outsider position, which could be compounded by issues of gender, age, cultural knowledge and linguistic ability. The problem of being an indigenous

researcher working within their own community is further complicated by “a deeply held view that indigenous people will never be good enough, or that indigenous researchers may divulge confidences within their own community, or that the researcher may have some hidden agenda” (L. Smith 1999:10). Further, L. Smith (1999:107) acknowledges that because of the “burden of history,” the positioning of an indigenous person as a researcher can be “highly problematic.” However, the development of indigenous research and indigenous research agendas “privileges indigenous concerns,” whereby indigenous practices and participation as researchers and researched become ‘normal’ practices (L. Smith 1999:107).

Smyth & Holian’s (1999:1) view of insider research suggests that the “researcher who researches their own organisation can offer a unique perspective because of their knowledge of the culture, history and actors involved.” For indigenous researchers, however, the dilemma lies in being able to offer such a unique perspective, whilst negotiating the suspicions of their own communities. Part of this negotiation must require an acknowledgment on the part of the indigenous insider researcher that perhaps their western education has the potential to influence the types of research methodologies they use, methodologies founded within the discourses of neo-colonialism and methodologies which perpetuate the hegemony of the ‘master narratives.’ Indeed, while indigenous researchers attempt to ensure against “exploitative research” (L. Smith 1999:9), they can still be influenced by researcher imposition and reinforce notions of power during the research process (Bishop 1996). From my own position, the dynamics of working for a tribal institution, being a tribal member represented by this tribal institution, and attempting to conduct research that examines some key concepts within tribal objectives are part of the complexities that make up indigenous research and my position as an insider within this research project.

The complexities of being a researcher located within the research is described by Bishop (1996) in his discussion on a kaupapa Maori research strategy, where he was located within a complex matrix of relationships. In this setting Bishop (1996:213) sought to:

examine a way of knowing that reflects what meanings I can construct from my position. This matrix consists of my being a participant in a research group with an agreed-to agenda, [and] of my being a participant within the projects considered in the narratives...This...is an attempt to reflect on what I learned from my position within this matrix in order to identify a way of constructing meanings about such experiences and to investigate a methodological and theoretical framework for a Kaupapa Maori approach to research.

Using Bishop's example as a basis for my own examination, my matrix was shaped and guided by a number of experiences, which centred on establishing credibility as a researcher working within a tribal context, and how I understood, interpreted and represented tribal knowledge and beliefs. For me, this aspect of establishing credibility posed particular problems. As L. Smith (1999:10) suggests, one of the dilemmas of insider research is being judged on "insider criteria; family, status, politics, age, gender, religion as well as...perceived technical ability." I received a scholarship from the Tainui Maori Trust Board, which allowed me to pursue my own doctoral studies. Recipients of these scholarships were chosen for their "emphasis on research which is relevant to tribal development," with the intention being to "develop an increasing pool of highly educated and well qualified tribal members with expertise in a wide range of fields, who will contribute to the future development of the tribe" (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1998:21).

My position as a scholarship recipient aided in increasing the educational base of the tribe, however, as the first recipient of a doctoral scholarship (post-1995) it also placed very high expectations upon me. Would my research project measure up to tribal expectations? What were the expectations? As a young woman, I also felt that my age was certainly another factor that impacted upon my credibility as a researcher. Maori culture reveres the knowledge that elders possess, knowledge that is gained over time and through experience. Therefore, the acquisition, possession and dissemination of knowledge is deemed precious and valuable. My age deems me to be considered a rangatahi (youth), and in the presence of elders, high levels of 'western' education have little relevance at times, particularly in tribal contexts. Furthermore, my 'western' education, compounded by my age,

can potentially place me in relationships of power/knowledge. These relationships, in my opinion, have the potential, if not correctly addressed, to upset cultural 'norms,' whereby I place myself in a position that acquires, possesses and disseminates knowledge that I have no right to possess.

Tribal experiences of participating in research projects has resulted in the development of a number of processes that seeks to protect these cultural norms, as well as test the research candidate's ability to 'do the job.' While the tribe does not have explicit research protocols (such as those described by Tsianina Lomawaima, 2000), it has its own implicit set of rules or guidelines that enables it to determine the value of the research being undertaken and the impact it might have on the tribe. These rules or guidelines were used by tribal elders, and were similar to L. Smith's (1999) criteria for insider researchers working in indigenous contexts. As a result, I was required to give presentations about core tribal concepts (such as the Kingitanga and the history of the tribe) at which tribal elders have often been present. I have also been expected to find my own way through the labyrinth of decision-making processes, and to ensure that the appropriate people have been considered, approached, informed, consulted with and listened to. These processes, I believe, test the worthiness of my western education in Maori contexts, and more importantly, determines from their perspective, to what extent I have become ensnared within the western construct of knowledge/power, and whether this has been at the expense of my knowing the complexities of tribal ways of knowing. Throughout these processes, I have been gently, and at times not so gently, reminded of my mistakes, my oversights and my shortcomings, with the express intention that I learn from them and not repeat them again. In essence then, tribal elders guided me through another educative process, with its own series of tests and examinations. This whole process examined my robustness as a candidate for tribal research; a process that I believe was endorsed when I received a tribal scholarship, but a process that is ongoing through practices of constant reflection and examination.

Because insider researchers have a personal stake in their research, by their location within the research and their relationship to the research participants, they

have to “live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more,” as do their “families and communities” (L. Smith 1999:139). The role of tribal elders, as guides, critics and mentors - as I have described above - thus becomes critical to the researcher in the research process. For the insider researcher, this consequence also ensures that they examine how the research is represented, and the impact research findings may have on the communities involved. For example, Lomawaima (2000:11) recognises that:

outsiders' evaluations of risk and anonymity may not correspond to a community's internal definitions. Tribal definitions or understandings of the boundaries between “private” and “public” activities may also differ significantly from the understandings of non-community researchers.

Te Hennepe (1993:222) acknowledges these concerns, experiencing what she described a “crisis in representation” when she was attempting to analyse data from her research with indigenous peoples in Canada. Specifically, her concern arose when she tried to provide an accurate representation of the material shared by First Nations students, where “all phases of the research encounter...are governed by economies of truth” (Te Hennepe 1993:197). In this respect, Te Hennepe acknowledges that her interpretation necessarily influenced what she had been told and how she chose to present the data. From Scheurich & Young's (1997:8) perspective this is because “no epistemology is context-free.” In essence, all researchers are influenced by their own experiences, their own knowledge-background, and their own ‘slant’ on the research topic, regardless of how ‘objective’ research is purported to be. This poses a challenge for the researcher. How does one represent correctly and respectfully the diversities that characterise research participants’ experiences, without being unduly influenced by the epistemological constraints (or contexts) that they describe? Te Hennepe (1993:234) resolved this dilemma by submitting that:

we are all constructing tales based on our truth as we know it in order to relate what we have to say to others. In many cases we want to teach others something about the way we see the world.

Carol Barnhardt (1994:68-69) consciously attempted to “do no harm” to the participants in her study, based on an acute awareness of the “very real potential for misunderstanding, miscommunication, and abuse of power.” In my own study, as I was intimately connected with the research participants and the two institutions examined in this study – as tribal member and employee – it was important that I not interpret what was happening in terms of some ‘outsider’ process. As my connectedness positioned me within the research so too did my connectedness mean that my research should be understandable and use the sense-making processes of the participants themselves. Of more importance, however, was the need to ensure that my connectedness, or my responsibility as an insider researcher ensured that the research I was involved in made a difference (Smyth & Holian 1999).

As a researcher, I have become increasingly aware of the lack of research concerning Maori participation in higher education, and Maori success. My own experiences as a Maori student at university have helped shape an ‘insider’ perspective that has informed the development of this research project. Similarly, my insider status as a tribal member and employee of the two organisations being examined for this thesis ensures that the ‘little stories’ get told, influenced by tribal concepts of resistance and tino rangatiratanga, and by the inclusiveness of Kingitanga and, to a lesser extent, kaupapa Maori. In this respect, by adopting an insider research approach, I am able to represent the stories of the marginalised (successful Maori graduates, the Tainui Maori Trust Board) as well as putting forward a tribal position that seeks distinction from both western and kaupapa Maori research approaches.

### **Developing a research methodology**

Bishop & Glynn (1999a:106) have found that “paradigm-shifting” (for example replacing quantitative with qualitative research practices) “may still perpetuate researcher domination through maintaining control of agenda-setting within the domain of the researcher.” They propose a qualitative research approach that

seeks to address the issue of researcher imposition or dominance, an approach they have termed collaborative storytelling. McPhillips (1992:18) defines collaboration as a process that shares in the “creation of knowledge among the participants of a research group which includes a researcher and those being researched...so that all members have the opportunity to be active in the research.” In this way, all members of the research process become involved and take ownership of what is being researched and how issues pertaining to the research can be defined, prioritised and actioned.

Bishop & Glynn (1999a:107) state that the interview “can be a strategy, controlled by the researcher, and repressive of the position of the informant/participant.” In essence, this approach identifies the issues of power, which according to Limerick et al (1996:450), “lies in the recognition that the relationship between researcher and researched is a political and social relationship.” Essentially, then, researchers adopting an interview approach must bear in mind the power/knowledge relationship. As Limerick et al (1996:459) state “understanding the politics of the interview relationship is fundamental to the quality of analysis, interpretation, and presentation of the text that lies at the heart of interview-based research.”

I chose to include interviews as a research approach, because I wanted to ensure that the voices of the graduates – in terms of how they have experienced the attempts of the two institutions to improve their own education advancement - would be heard within the research. In trying to ascertain what made these Maori students succeed at university, I wanted the graduates’ thoughts and understandings about the two institutions examined at the forefront of the analysis. In essence, I wanted them to be positioned as the “politically powerful” in the debate about Maori academic achievement (Morrow & Hensel 1992). In my opinion, they were in positions of power, because having been subject to institutional practices and policies the graduates were in the best position to comment on how they, and their efforts to succeed, were affected. This is contrary to the positioning of research subjects in traditional western research, where what they say is processed by the researcher to make sense of or add to an agenda established by the researcher. However, this positioning conveys the counter-

hegemonic shift that is kaupapa Maori research, which seeks to locate the narrative from within Maori codes, assumptions and conventions.

The process by which I arrived at positioning the graduates as the politically powerful was aided by a number of conversations I had with different people when I first began to think about doing the research project. At the beginning of this chapter, I described my own experiences at university and some of the concerns I had about Maori participation at university. Applying for a tribal scholarship forced me to focus my thoughts into how the research project might make a difference, based on the experiences of Tainui graduates, to the way in which the Tainui Maori Trust Board and the University of Waikato approached Maori educational advancement and success. I talked with a number of people – graduates, fellow scholarship holders, colleagues and tribal elders and members – to try and formulate what I thought might be a positive approach to Maori educational advancement. In essence, these conversations generated an initiation process into the research project, guiding, shaping and at one point seemingly influencing how I was going to approach the research.

Another aspect, which influenced my decision to focus on the experiences of Tainui graduates, was the lack of information available on the experiences of Maori graduates. The historical context, described in Chapter One and reinforced in this chapter, has sought to exclude the voices of those on the periphery. Maori university students are rare in the tertiary education sector, Maori university graduates even more so. Thus, I pictured the research project as being a very small step in relocating their voices away from the periphery, and towards a more central position of inclusion (G. Smith 1992).

As a result of the conversations I had, I began to develop more concrete ideas about how the research project might proceed, and in what direction it might take. From this positioning, I developed a series of questions, grouped in themes that were suggested in some of the earlier conversations I had had and which covered the main areas I intended to examine in the thesis. These themes included family background, early education experiences, opinions of the University of Waikato

and knowledge about initiatives offered for Maori, opinions on the Tainui Maori Trust Board scholarship process and knowledge about other education initiatives developed, and views on success. I tested the questions and interview approach and style on several colleagues, making minor changes before finalising the interview questions used with the graduates. Rather than forming rigid questions as the basis for the interviews, I instead adopted what Bishop (1996) and Bishop & Glynn (1999a) have described as in-depth, semi-structured interviews. This approach was identified as being most suitable for the purposes of the thesis because it allowed the interviews to flow. Berg (1995:33) describes this type of interview as one that combines predetermined question formats with the ability to “digress,” to “probe far beyond” what the predetermined questions might have revealed. Bishop & Glynn (1999a:109) believe that these types of interviews “promote free interaction and opportunities for clarification and discussion between research participants through the use of open-ended questions rather than closed questions.”

Problematic issues related to the use of interviews as a research method focus on two areas: interpretation of results (or bias), and issues of privacy. According to Limerick et al (1996:457), “the point at which the researcher’s power is unrivalled by those being researched is on the analysis phase.” Bishop & Glynn (1999a) agree. Data has the potential to be interpreted according to the focus of the research topic, as well as being reinterpreted according to researcher agendas. Therefore, “how those data are interpreted and used is usually implicitly, if not explicitly, out of the hands of the research participants” (Bishop & Glynn 1999a:111). In attempting to ensure that the interpretation of data highlighted the voices of the graduates, I decided to group their responses according to the main themes that arose as a result of the interviews. Bishop & Glynn (1999a:112) caution against this approach, in that “data can be selected to fit the preconceptions of the author and data can also be selected to construct theories.” I was very aware of this possibility, given the subjective nature of the research topic. How was I to protect the voices of the graduates? I reverted to the commitment notion attached to the whakawhanaungatanga concept illustrated by Bishop & Glynn to ensure that I would “do no harm” (Barnhardt 1994). I also

involved the graduates throughout the research process, although this proved difficult in that I lost touch with some of graduates over the course of the research project (some five years). However, I did feel that I had the confidence of the graduates that I would respect what they had shared with me, and that I would not abuse or misconstrue what they had told me, which gave me a greater sense of belief in the research project itself.

In order to get to this point of confidence, and to develop a comfortable level of interaction, it is acknowledged that there must be some rapport between the researcher and the researched. Freeman & Sherwood (1970:91) likened this rapport to the development of an interpersonal relationship. Ensuring a comfortable environment between researcher and researched affects both the outcomes and quality of the material. Because I had known some of the graduates prior to the start of the interviews, a rapport (in varying degrees) was already in place. I had also spoken with some of the graduates about the topic of my thesis, and the subjects that would be covered in the interviews. In many ways, these conversations helped me to form the basis of the thesis itself, and to add some validity as a topic worthy of study. I came to know the other graduates through the course of the thesis, and through interactions at tribal occasions and events. Indeed, these pre-interview sessions were vital to the process of interviewing that was to follow, as well as being part of the very process of joint collaborative agenda setting that is fundamental to kaupapa Maori approaches to research.

Prior to each interview, I discussed with the graduates the aims and intentions of the research project, outlined expectations of the interview (which was to determine the effectiveness of the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board in assisting their academic success), and discussed issues of privacy and use of the information. The responses contained within the thesis have been given back to the graduates concerned for validation, to ensure that my interpretation of their responses has been correct, and to ensure their views have been correctly and appropriately represented. The graduates appeared comfortable with my approach, and I have maintained contact with several of them through the whole research process, discussing the outcomes and findings with them on an

ongoing basis. In a sense, I have developed a process of seeking endorsement and validation for the work to ensure that it is still essentially their 'voice.' It is through this process that I feel I have addressed issues concerning the "crisis of representation," described earlier by Te Hennepe (1993:222), by co-constructing – with the research participants – a collaborative narrative of their experiences as Tainui scholarship recipients and graduates from the University of Waikato.

My rapport with the graduates was also reinforced through the Maori cultural concept of *whakawhanaungatanga* (Bishop & Glynn 1999a). This concept, as explained by Bishop & Glynn (1999a:121) asserts the fundamental requirement to establish and maintain relationships in such a way that those commitments and obligations that are fundamental to the whanau relationship are also fundamental to the research relationship. At another level, the concept whanau (family) indicates a much deeper, more intimate relationship than the more formal construct of researcher/researched. In this case, I shared with the graduates a whanau link – tribal membership. Therefore, I became connected with, or committed to the research process itself.

The whanau link becomes a critical component of the methodological process in the thesis, especially in relation to my interconnectedness, or 'insiderness.' Whereas an etic positioned researcher is more likely to ask questions of their interests and of their concerns, my position as an emic researcher required the interview questions be inclusive of the community's interests and concerns, insisting engagement (Smyth & Holian 1999). As mentioned above, I had discussed the ideas and concepts of the thesis with some of the graduates prior to the start of the research project, so I had some idea of their concerns. Similarly, I discussed some of the research concepts that form the basis of the thesis with other colleagues and academic mentors, who were able to guide me in shaping the research as a whole project. Most importantly, I have been guided by tribal mentors, who have questioned my work, who have tested my understanding of tribal issues, and who have examined my commitment to the research project, beyond the life expectancy of the research project itself. All of the advice and guidance I have received prior to beginning the research project has ensured that

my approach to the research has been examined and evaluated by members of the tribal community, by academic peers and mentors, and by participants within the research itself. In a sense, all of this advice envelops me as a researcher, similar to that of a korowai (cloak). The korowai incorporates the advice, wisdom and experience of the different groups who have assisted, advised, cajoled and queried the research project, from its infancy to its completion. The korowai image also ensures the validity of the research project, and the expectations that the research project's outcomes will have on the community. The korowai, therefore, is my connectedness as researcher, to the community being researched.

Criticism of insider researchers is that the emic positioning (within which I have been positioned) removes critical reasoning. On the contrary, I would argue that the emic position that I have just described ensures that critical reasoning becomes a core component of the thesis itself, because it requires constant reflection and revision of all aspects of the research process. Receiving a tribal scholarship in order to conduct this research in effect validates the commitment of the researcher (me) to the researched (the tribal community), and adds to the weight of the korowai. However, there is also an expectation, because of the awarding of the tribal scholarship, that the research process is as robust as any other western academic endeavour, and that any findings (positive or otherwise) are duly reported. The difference being that the expectation is that the research must not just be research for the sake of research. The tribal philosophy, encapsulated in the mission statement for the University of Waikato's Centre for Maori Studies and Research, is "there is to be no research without development, and no development without research." It is from this premise that emic research can be an effective methodological tool, because I am working within a context where there is a very clear expectation that such research will aid the development of the tribe. In many ways, this expectation also helped to define the thesis just as much as did the initial conversations with the scholarship recipients.

One aspect related to the concept of whakawhanaungatanga that I did not incorporate in the thesis method, were interviews of key people involved in the various committees and reports discussed in the thesis. I was asked to consider

interviewing these key people, but I declined this approach, which may appear contrary to the notion of inclusiveness and empowering for those involved in the research – to be able to put their story across. This was a deliberate approach from my perspective, and from which I hoped would ensure the continued prime positioning of the graduates within the research. Specifically, I decided against interviewing these people for two reasons. Firstly, the documents examined in the thesis speak to issues of policy. While there are discrepancies between policy documents, statements and their intentions, I decided that interviewing the people involved in developing these documents was not going to assist in identifying the impact of the actual policies. In my opinion, the two institutions were already in positions of power because they had developed these policies, and often, policy is developed without careful planning and consideration (M. Durie 1998). Furthermore, policy often does not reflect the experiences of those it impacts upon. Secondly, it was important to me that those affected by the policies (the graduates) be given ‘voice’. It is rare that the recipients of policy are able to have their voices heard. Policies and initiatives have often been created with little or no thought as to the effect on the intended parties. Therefore, I decided that the institutions would have an opportunity to ‘hear’ what the graduates have had to say through the research. I envisaged that this was an opportunity in which the graduates would become empowered by being able to share their experiences - as tribal members, and as university students - and how the processes and policies of these two institutions affected them during their time at university. In my opinion, that allows the process of education to become more liberating and empowering, as well as providing an aid to policy makers to reflect on their own contributions to the policy process.

Further to the use of interviews, I also relied on a number of other methods for gathering together the information required for the diverse research settings. One of these settings included Maori university education participation and academic achievement, which I examined through documentary evidence drawn from western and non-western sources (Chapter Two, Seven, Eight). Another included the Tainui Maori Trust Board, which I examined primarily from information taken from the Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book, and publicly available annual

reports and documents (Chapter Five). A third setting was the University of Waikato, which I examined from information taken from public reports and documents (Chapter Four).

The information obtained from these research settings served two main purposes: provision of historical information, and analysis of specific documents. Primarily, the historical component was limited to providing an account of the establishment and development of the two institutions, and their aspirations, policies and procedures in relation to Maori. These accounts also tracked the progress of university education in New Zealand, as well as providing a chronological timeframe in which key events in the history of the Waikato tribe occurred. Specific documents have been used in the thesis to analyse the effectiveness of the two institutions in ensuring effective Maori participation at university (Chapter Four and Five). I also used government, university and tribal data to describe the status of Maori participation within higher education (Chapter One). These data provide the context for the research topic.

Throughout my journey as an insider researcher, defined by kaupapa Maori and tribal research practices, I have tried to gain a better understanding of how the dominant western paradigm has excluded indigenous knowledge through the maintenance of power codes and determinants of what 'counts' as knowledge. Indigenous and minority researchers, in their resistance to these dominant prescriptions, have developed research methods that are more reflective of indigenous and minority aspirations. For Maori, this journey requires the researcher to become more reflective of their practices, and to engage in methods of collaboration, informed by concepts of whanaungatanga, responsibility (to the research participants) and respect. Above all, this approach seeks to validate the research from the participants' position, giving 'voice' and thus using the research process as a means of empowerment.

## **Theoretical considerations – Understanding the thought processes**

Theoretical moments...are also shaped inside your head, through reflection and reflexivity...It may begin as an ever so slight hesitation, a pause for thought, a moment of critical self-reflection, a question that is asked, a statement that pulls you up short or an idea which forms somewhere inside you, but leads you on an intellectual journey. The journey takes you deeper into the ideas and ways of thinking which intrigue you and which lead you into new theoretical spaces (L. Smith 1996:17-18).

Contrary to L. Smith's statement, theory has traditionally been seen as a part of a system of controls, which determines what counts as knowledge, and thus determines the shape and direction of the intellectual journey. As a result, Thomas (1997:85) claims that theory is harmful because "theory structures – and thus constrains thought." Popkewitz (1995:xiii) asserts that theory "posits a historical amnesia to the power relations inscribed in disciplinary knowledge." Such amnesia highlights "theory's acquired potency for bestowing academic legitimacy," which "means that particular kinds of endeavour in educational inquiry are reinforced and promulgated, while the legitimacy of atheoretical kinds is questioned or belittled" (Thomas 1997:76). Bishop & Glynn (1999b:168) agree, asserting that "such practices have perpetuated an ideology of cultural superiority that precludes the development of power-sharing processes, and the legitimation of diversity of cultural epistemologies and cosmologies."

The introductory chapter of this thesis described the problematic notions attached to academic legitimacy in the New Zealand setting, where Maori underachievement has been a direct result of Maori knowledge and ways of living being questioned and belittled. Theory and its application in a New Zealand education context, therefore, has been based primarily on western dominant constructs of what counts as knowledge (Bishop 1998b; Bishop & Glynn 1999a, 1999b; Irwin 1992b; McCarthy 1997; G. Smith 1995; L. Smith 1999; Stewart 1997).

My academic background in Maori Studies ensured that I had some understanding of the “form of historical and critical analysis of the role of research in the indigenous world” (L. Smith 1999:5). However, I struggled to understand the extent to which Maori Studies prepared me for the rigours of doctoral research. More problematic was the perception that because my topic concerned issues related to education, I had an automatic understanding of the concept of kaupapa Maori, and of education as a process of liberation and transformation (G. Smith 1992). Indeed, at an early seminar I gave on my research for the thesis, I was challenged about my approach to the research, and whether I was intending to follow the kaupapa Maori ‘way.’ Initially I had struggled against aligning my research to the kaupapa Maori way of knowing, doing, and thinking. Graham Smith (1992:1) defined kaupapa Maori as “the philosophy and practice of ‘being Maori’,” which was a “common sense, taken for granted assumption.” I assumed therefore, that kaupapa Maori theory and practice required a total commitment to Maori ways of knowing and analysing, to the exclusion of all others.

However, Linda Smith’s (1999:191) definition of kaupapa Maori allowed me to see that, in fact, kaupapa Maori was much more: “it weaves in and out of Maori cultural beliefs and values, Western ways of knowing, Maori histories and experiences under colonialism, Western forms of education, Maori aspirations and socio-economic needs.” In effect, I found that kaupapa Maori was more about having the confidence to move between traditions without losing one’s identity and grounding than being aligned to any specific academic tradition. For me, the ability to weave in and amongst different traditions, western and indigenous frameworks, allowed me to move beyond what I initially thought were quite restrictive boundaries associated with kaupapa Maori. This more collective notion of kaupapa Maori, with its weaving together of different academic traditions was more aligned to the tribal notions of unity and working with and amongst races (as espoused by the Kingitanga through the words of Potatau and Tawhiao), and I found a more comfortable space (Hooks 1994) from which to position myself within the research project.

### **Problems associated with kaupapa Maori research**

Part of my initial struggle with aligning the research with kaupapa Maori was that, as I mentioned, I was uncomfortable with the notion that kaupapa Maori was based on 'being Maori,' the philosophy and practice of which was a 'taken for granted assumption.' This definition of 'being Maori' was a vague, almost arrogant assumption, particularly given my position as an insider researcher 'doing' research on and about the tribal community to which I was affiliated. Indeed, who was I to 'assume' what 'being Maori' was?

This definition of kaupapa Maori is further complicated by the differences between being Maori, as Graham Smith describes, and operating from a position that acknowledges that Maori are not homogenous, which Graham Smith (1995) also describes. In my mind, the research I was conducting was not located from a kaupapa Maori perspective that practiced and philosophised in a 'Maori way.' Rather, it was shaped by my association with the tribe – as a member and as a researcher, in effect, as an insider/outsider. Further, as a result of my association with the tribe, and as a tribal member myself, I was also influenced by the practices and philosophies of the tribe, which were, in turn, based around and drew cultural and spiritual sustenance from the Kingitanga movement. Indeed, the guidance I received from tribal elders, who tested my suitability for the research project and for taking a greater part in tribal activities (as described earlier), were very specific in their construction of what it meant to be a member of the tribe and what it meant to be aligned to the Kingitanga. In order to 'be' Maori, I first had to 'be' Tainui.

According to Johnston (1998:356), my difficulty in aligning the research with kaupapa Maori is perhaps because the "notion of Kaupapa is not that easily defined." Specifically, Johnston argues that, as such, kaupapa are specific to the circumstances in which the kaupapa exist or are located, and are thus influenced by such circumstances and situations. As a result, the "implementation of Kaupapa Maori in any given context will result in practices relevant (and often unique) to that particular context" (Johnston 1998:356). Indeed, as I have

discussed, the circumstances of this research project insist on a kaupapa that is aligned to tribal notions of advancement and success. Because of this alignment, the research project is thus located within a specific context, guided and shaped by these tribal notions and the philosophies of the Kingitanga. Therefore, the Kingitanga, which was founded as a structure of resistance and which seeks liberation and empowerment for tribal members through the process of education, forms the theoretical basis for the research project.

Another aspect that has also caused difficulties in my perceptions of kaupapa Maori arises from my academic background, from which most of my theory and research practice has been drawn to date. While I have already acknowledged in this chapter the difficulties I have had in determining whether the Maori Studies discipline has readied me for doctoral research, I cannot deny its existence within my own particular learning context. However, its existence within my learning context, and as an influence on this research project raises issues about its validity as a knowledge construct – given its location within the university setting, a setting that has failed to acknowledge Maori knowledge as a valid way of knowing because of its insistence on maintaining western traditions of superiority, power and control.

According to Royal (1998:1), the “theory of matauranga Maori presents a view concerning the paradigm of traditional Maori culture, and therefore the paradigm of traditional matauranga Maori.” Positioning knowledge within a set, specific paradigm, Royal (1998:6) discounts Maori Studies as a knowledge discipline because of its location within a western institution, and because it “grew out of political agitation appropriate for the time” rather than being reflective of the “needs, aspirations and perceptions of a knowledge discipline itself.” However, political agitation, of the type described by Royal, spawned in America the Black, ethnic and women’s studies disciplines. This political agitation, through the civil rights movement, “fuelled the demand for a knowledge and history of ‘our own’” (Mohanty 1994:149). In essence, then, the development of Maori Studies has mirrored this demand, reflecting the “wider transitional struggles of Maori” and thus while originating within western paradigms, seeks, through its evolution

towards a more “philosophical articulation of kaupapa Maori itself,” transformation from its racist origins (Macpherson 1997:12). Walker (1999:187) agrees, describing the emergence and existence of Maori Studies in universities as being “testimony to the resilience of indigenous people who were subjected to the dehumanising project of European expansionism into the New World.” Further, Walker (1991:195) argues, “it is not the business of Maori Studies to teach students how to be Maori.” In his opinion, that falls within the paradigm of traditional matauranga Maori, and the role of Whare Wananga.

The problem with Royal’s definition of matauranga Maori is descriptive of those who construct theories and methodologies in ways “that make it a critical terrain which only a few can enter” (Hooks 1994:68). McLaren (1994:135) adds further to this discussion, where, from his postmodernist position, he suggests, “critical educators must assume a transformative role.” Specifically, McLaren believes that:

the site of translation is always an arena of struggle. The translation of other cultures must resist the authoritative representation of the other through a decentering process that challenges dialogues which have become institutionalised through the semantic authority of state power.

In essence, Royal’s positioning of matauranga Maori against Maori Studies assumes such an authoritative representation, where Maori Studies is viewed from his perspective as the ‘other.’ Mohanty (1994:147) sees this type of positioning as the academy locating itself as a political and cultural site representing “accommodations and contestations over knowledge by differently empowered social constituencies.” For someone like me, placed within what has been described as essentially a western paradigm, it serves to locate me - as a Maori Studies researcher - on the periphery, marginalising my experiences not only as a Maori researcher, but also as a Tainui researcher. Furthermore, Royal’s stance denies Maori Studies, from the political and cultural site of the university, an analytical space from which transformation and change can occur. From my position, as an inexperienced researcher, but having addressed what I thought were critical theoretical and methodological concerns of the thesis – such as tribal

endorsement, responsibility to the tribe and being reflective of tribal needs and aspirations – Royal’s stance initially proved alienating and intimidating.

The debate of knowledge/power, in the context of Royal’s positioning of matauranga Maori and Maori Studies, raises concerns about validation of knowledge and the role of knowledge/education as a process of empowerment. Specifically, Maori and indigenous research has fought to ‘take back’ knowledge from the colonisers/oppressors, in order to empower communities who are often at the other end of research projects, as objects/subjects to study, analyse and comment on. Indeed, Walker (1991:197) believes that because of its need to be “dynamic and flexible enough to respond to the contemporary and the evolving needs of Maori people,” Maori Studies as an “emancipatory project” becomes an “uncomfortable science because it creates tensions with the institution in which it is embedded by seeking to transform power relations of domination and subordination.” In essence, therefore, Walker acknowledges the uncomfortable positioning of Maori Studies within universities, but suggests that because of such positioning Maori Studies is a tool from which transformative learning and empowerment can be achieved – similar to the goals expressed in Royal’s positioning of matauranga Maori. The main difference is that Walker has chosen to locate the battle of knowledge/power between western and Maori sources, rather than Royal’s notion of what counts as Maori knowledge.

Kaupapa Maori and the decolonisation process, according to L. Smith (1999:39), has not meant “a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge,” but it has meant a ‘taking back’ or a ‘reclaiming’ of indigenous knowledge and indigenous ways of representing knowledge. Early colonial observations of Maori life and culture effectively appropriated Maori knowledge in what Smith (1999:157) describes as the naming and claiming phenomenon. Citing Paulo Freire’s famous aphorism: “name the word, name the world,” L. Smith (1999:157) asserts that this phenomenon is also about retaining control over meanings. In the context of Maori research, this control has redefined intrinsic Maori cultural concepts, effectively ‘re-naming’ and ‘re-reclaiming’ in attempts to validate Maori knowledge in the context of academic writing and research.

Freire's philosophy argues for the "deconstruction of the category of 'the oppressed' and the acknowledgement of diversity" (McLaren & Leonard 1993:3). Essentially, by asserting certain ways of knowing and categorising, despite expressing sentiments of the paradigm of decolonisation, it becomes "impossible to speak an identity from a different location" (Hooks 1992:45), where the essentialist construct does "not allow for difference" or acknowledge diversity. It also refocuses the attention away from the inclusive notions of what Linda Smith (1999) believes kaupapa Maori espouses, into notions where Maori research is being framed from positions where "the word is changed into idle chatter, into *verbalism*, into an alienated and alienating 'blah'" (Freire 1996:68). Therefore, it is suggested that the notions of Maori knowledge, or maturaanga Maori as described by Royal, have not embraced the diverse process of deconstruction/decolonisation because of their inability to acknowledge the diversity that Freire and Hooks believe is an essential component of education as liberation and transformation.

L. Smith (1999) acknowledges the multi-faceted nature of Maori research. Maori knowledge is even more so, where interpretations depend on tribal, hapu and whanau experiences, highlighting the divergent nature of Maori as a people/s (which I discuss further below). The main point in this thesis seeks to discount the notion that Maori knowledge can only be viewed in particular ways, and from particular constructs, determined and shaped in ways that, in my opinion, are essentially non-Maori.

In essence, then, my struggles against a kaupapa Maori definition as described by Graham Smith (1992) and Royal (1998), forced me to really think about the context in which the research project was based. This process of critical reflection then highlighted for me what was important about 'being Maori,' which in turn highlighted the philosophical underpinnings of the research project, that being, what it meant to 'be Tainui,' which in turn meant aligning the research alongside the Kingitanga and ensuring the research was reflective of Kingitanga beliefs and practices. From this position, I was able to 'reclaim' kaupapa Maori, find a space within this paradigm which was comfortable for me, and which reflected what I

considered the important and defining aspects of the research project, that being, the tribe and the Kingitanga. It is from this background that I have found a 'space' that recognises who I am, that legitimates my experiences as a tribal member, and more importantly, that is respectful to the community that the research is attempting to represent.

### **Recognising/Legitimising Diversity: Tribal Constructs of Success**

Lomawaima (2000:1) states that moves by First Nations/Native American tribal groups to develop their own research protocols and guidelines have come about as "reasoned and reasonable responses to changes in the balance of power in Indian country." Discussing the power relationship between government agencies (such as government departments and universities) and tribal, minority peoples, Tsianina Lomawaima asserts that tribal peoples are becoming more proactive and taking a more active stance about why, for who, and how research on Native communities is able to be conducted. Based on issues of legal, ethical and procedural concern, minority peoples worldwide are now engaged in "taking back" control of their culture, language and knowledge forms (L. Smith 1999). The development of kaupapa Maori theory is an example of how Maori are 'taking back' this control, by seeking to challenge conformity through the introduction of new epistemologies that are more reflective of Maori aspirations (L. Smith 1996).

L. Smith's (1999:128-129) discussion on the role of tribal research notes that theoretical considerations within this context are influenced not only by notions of what counts as knowledge, but also by reaffirming notions of traditional, tribal culture and how they might be reconceptualised in the fight for liberation, as stated by Tsianina Lomawaima at the beginning of this section. The Tainui Maori Trust Board has long recognised the role research plays within indigenous and minority communities, and have 'taken back' control of their tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) through processes of education and research. Specifically for the tribe, research that it has developed, structured and defined has led to the

production of reports that retell the story of colonisation and its impact – from a tribal perspective (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986; Egan & Mahuta 1983; Florin & Tainui Health Task Force 1990). This body of research acknowledges the power imbalances and resulting subordination of Maori as a result of the colonisation process. Further, this body tells of the specific impact suffered by the tribe as a result of Pakeha insistence on maintaining power and control, through the illegal confiscations of over 1.2 million acres of tribal lands during the Land Wars of the 1860s.

In its efforts to reconstruct itself as a tribe and to reclaim its culture, language and history, the Tainui Maori Trust Board has used the power of research, of knowledge, but reconstructed it in a way that challenges the dominant construct of power and that challenges the dominant, ‘master’ narratives. It has done this based on the notion of tino rangatiratanga. Lomawaima’s discussion on sovereignty and the First Nations experiences on the struggle for sovereignty mirror that of Maori, and also that of the Tainui tribe’s desire for tino rangatiratanga. In particular, Lomawaima (2000:3) notes, “sovereignty is the bedrock upon which any and every discussion of Indian reality today must be built.” From the tribe’s position, particularly in relation to education, tino rangatiratanga encapsulates “the development of equity and self-reliance by all Tainui descendants in educational, social, cultural, economic, and political aspects of life” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:4). In this way, the tribe has redefined its future development in terms of what is relevant for its own people, based on tribal histories, tribal experiences and tribal philosophies.

Weaving through these tribal concepts, particularly for the Tainui tribe, has been its association as kaitiaki (guardians) of the Kingitanga. As a result, the link between the tribe and the Kingitanga is seen as fundamental to the identity of the tribe, which shapes and influences how the tribe seeks and strives for tino rangatiratanga, and which is reflected in a saying from Potatau Te Wherowhero, the first Maori King:

Kotahi te kohao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro ma, te miro pango, te miro whero.

There is only one eye to the needle through which the white, black and red threads must pass (Turongo House 2000:42).

Chapter One introduced the historical position of Tainui who, being the guardians of the Kingitanga, were subjected to being branded rebels and had their lands confiscated for European settlement. The devastation was immense, effectively making Tainui landless, and thus homeless. However, the Kingitanga philosophy called for unity between tribes, as a resistance mechanism against the powerful forces of the colonial armies; and it called for unity amongst the tribes to resist in the continued subordination and marginalisation of Maori through the selling of Maori land to Pakeha. The resistance of the Kingitanga can be viewed as a philosophical victory, because the people maintained their cultural identity and integrity and resisted against the might of the colonial armies. Since that time, successive Maori kings have sought restitution, and despite being landless and homeless, maintained their strength as a tribal people, clinging to their cultural identity and integrity, as espoused by their tribal leaders. It was from this grounding, initiated by the establishment of the Kingitanga in 1858 that tino rangatiratanga, or self-determination, emerged.

From this a picture of resistance by a particular group of Maori to western domination is formed. This resistance has been characterised by the long search for restitution, which has shaped and guided tribal philosophies and approaches for more than 100 years. As a result, tribal elders reflect this philosophy in their approach to life, and in the advice they give to younger tribal members like myself. Tribal meetings are conducted under the auspices of the Kingitanga and tribal organisations, like the Tainui Maori Trust Board, seek to incorporate these philosophies as emancipatory mechanisms for tribal development, and for tino rangatiratanga. If one looks at the words of Potatau, together with the experiences of the Waikato tribe, through the establishment of the Kingitanga and subsequent land confiscations, one could say that this is an example of liberatory practice and transformation. The words of Potatau Te Wherowhero and his son, the second

Maori King, Tawhiao, have sustained Kingitanga supporters and tribal members through oppression and then, symbolically with the signing of the Raupatu settlement in 1995 (which acknowledged the subordination of the tribe through processes of annihilation, suppression and exclusion from their own lands), through liberation. I draw on another saying to highlight my point:

Maku ano e hanga i toku nei whare. Ko nga pou o roto he mahoe, he patate. Ko te tahuhu he hinau.

I will build again my own house. The supporting posts shall be of mahoe and patate. The ridgepole of the procreative hinau (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1997).

Tawhiao, the second Maori King, talked about the confiscation of Waikato lands, and the retreat into Maniapoto territory. Not deterred by their poverty, Tawhiao talks of rebuilding, using lesser-known trees as sustenance and for support. In a modern context, I have heard this saying used in an educational setting to infer that the rebuilding was to be in the minds of tribal members, who would access education as a means of liberation and transformation. I suggest that in this context, research theories can be constructed through tribal experiences (historical and contemporary). In particular, the tribe has reconstructed the words of Potatau and Tawhiao as indicators from which tino rangatiratanga can be defined and achieved.

What this tribal experience has highlighted is the need for tribal knowledge and constructs to be legitimated, not only in relation to the battle for power with dominant constructs, but also in relation to the battle for power with what other Maori researchers believe is kaupapa Maori. The tribe's experience of being subordinated and alienated by the dominant power, and its subsequent resistance to this subordination has resulted in the creation and development of tribal theories based on notions of liberation and, through the process of education, transformation. I argue that from this context, the tribe has rewritten what kaupapa Maori means, reclaiming its tribal knowledge and redefining this knowledge to ensure that researchers working within this tribal context are aware of the expectations of the tribe as it seeks tino rangatiratanga and of researchers'

responsibility, through the work they do, of helping the tribe to achieve tino rangatiratanga. In this sense, then, kaupapa Maori becomes a derivative of tribal knowledge, which in this setting, is defined by the tribe's commitment to the Kingitanga.

## **Chapter Summary**

In this chapter I have outlined the methodological and theoretical frameworks on which the study is based. I have suggested that quantitative and qualitative research methods are primarily patriarchal constructions of dominant prescriptions as to what counts as a research process. In order to move beyond these limitations, the need to develop counter-strategies/hegemonies has been identified by L. Smith (1999), while Peters & Lankshear (1996) identify the use of counter-narratives as a way of resisting against dominant constructions. The use of these methods enables the voices of the indigenous 'other' to be heard in contexts determined by them. In this way, I was able to examine the notion of re/presenting the research, in particular, the location of power in research, and the struggles indigenous and minority researchers face in acknowledging and managing power in their relationships with their research communities.

The chapter then examined the role of the insider researcher. I described my position as an insider researcher within the context of this study, highlighted some of the problems associated with such a position and how I have addressed these problems throughout the course of the study.

The selection and use of semi-structured interviews was described in the chapter in order to locate the graduates in powerful positions within the research context. This deliberate positioning ensured that the graduates' voices could be heard. The use of interviews also identified the concept of whakawhanaungatanga, in terms of establishing rapport with the graduates interviewed. This concept was also in keeping with the interconnectedness theme of the research process and served to

highlight further the responsibility of the researcher, and the relationship of the researcher to the research project and research community.

The chapter also examined the positioning of the study within the kaupapa Maori paradigm, and specifically examined the relationship between kaupapa Maori and tribal research. From this examination, the notion of power and how it relates not only to the researcher/researched position, but also how it relates to knowledge and constructs of knowledge was discussed. The chapter then examined the development of an alternative paradigm - a tribal position or construct – based on notions of tino rangatiratanga or self-determination. Drawing from notions of education for freedom, education as liberatory and transformative practice, and based on reclaiming traditional knowledge as a way of seeking liberation and transformation, the theoretical framework was reconstructed from a tribal position, guided, defined and developed by tribal histories, knowledge and philosophies.

From this examination, the theoretical base for the thesis has been set. Located from a tribal position, of which kaupapa Maori becomes a connected derivative, the thesis is able to analyse the extent to which the two institutions examined reflect tribal and Maori aspirations for success in higher education. The following chapters describe the two institutions, outlining their attempts to cater for the needs of Maori participating in university education. The examination of the graduates in Chapter Six, and subsequent analysis in Chapter Seven, will determine the extent to which kaupapa Maori and tribal constructs of success, through resistance, transformation and liberation, have been formulated and proved, or whether the process of assimilation has permeated through the graduates' perceptions and approaches to university education.

## **CHAPTER FOUR - THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO**

### **Introduction**

Initially established as a branch college of the University of Auckland in 1960, the University of Waikato became New Zealand's seventh university after the University of Waikato Act was passed in 1964. Located within what is regarded as the tribal heartland of Maoridom, the University was able to bring into its catchment area a large, diverse group of Maori tribes. From its base within the tribal lands of Waikato, the University of Waikato Maori catchment area included, by 1997, some 19 tribal groups who made up the membership of Te Roopu Manukura, the Maori advisory body to the University of Waikato (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997).

The establishment of the University of Waikato took place at the time that public acknowledgement of the underachievement of Maori in education, health, housing, and other areas, occurred. The Hunn Report (1960) and the Currie Report (1962) identified the lack of progress Maori had made, and the issues raised within these reports focused public and political attention after years of inertia. The fact that the University was situated within the Waikato and surrounded by a number of Maori tribes gave it the opportunity to establish itself as an institution in tune to the needs of the Maori people. It was a challenge that, at times, the University has struggled to meet.

Since the late 1980s, the University of Waikato has experienced a growth in the numbers of Maori students enrolling for university study. As stated in the introductory chapter, Davies & Nicholl (1993:74) identified that the University of Waikato, "through programmes actively geared at improving Maori participation in

education,” had a “significant impact on increasing the participation of Maori in university study overall.” What effect, however, have these programmes had for Maori?

The large numbers of Maori students who have enrolled at the University of Waikato over the years, and the diversity of the tribal groups that fall within its catchment area, give rise to a number of questions. Firstly, did the large numbers of Maori who chose to enrol at the University of Waikato do so because of the empathy that the University had for Maori? Were the courses that the University of Waikato offered responsive to and reflective of Maori needs? Were there ways in which the University of Waikato went out on a limb to encourage these Maori students where other universities had failed? Or was it not the academic environment that attracted such numbers of Maori students at all? Due to the geographic location of the University, was it that the University of Waikato created an environment of convenience and closer proximity to home? Equally, was the size of Hamilton (much smaller than the cosmopolitan and sprawling city of Auckland) more conducive to Maori needs and wants? These questions form the basis of this chapter on the University of Waikato.

The first part of the chapter overviews the establishment of the University and the role of Maori during this period. Then, the developments of the University over the last three decades – 1970s, 1980s and 1990s – are examined, paying particular attention to the role of Maori within its growth. Finally, with a specific focus on the developments during the 1990s and up to 1997, the chapter will look at three significant policy documents produced for, by and about the University of Waikato. The University of Waikato Charter, developed in 1991, and the Strategic Plan, “Paetawhiti,” developed by Dr Norman Kingsbury for the University in 1993, were attempts to address and reflect (in parts) what it anticipated were the ways in which Maori could, and should, be incorporated into the university community. The New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit report into the academic quality assurance procedures, conducted in 1997, critiqued (among other things) the University’s

approach to and handling of Maori issues. This chapter, therefore, is a critical evaluation of the University of Waikato's attempts to address Maori needs and aspirations in higher education, and how effective the institution has been in recognising and adapting to its Maori population.

It should be made clear that the intent of this chapter has not been to overview the entire history of the University, nor detail every single Maori-focussed programme that has been established since the opening of the University. Rather, the intention of this chapter is to place focus on the three policy documents, as discussed earlier. These are the documents which, in my opinion, would have had the greatest impact (if at all) on the graduates' experiences while at the University, and which are being examined in Chapter Six. Furthermore, data and information about the University, and in particular, about Maori participation or involvement in University activities since its establishment is not well documented in either histories of the University or in University documents, such as council minutes, reports and so forth. As a result, the chapter, in its treatment of and reference to University material in relation to Maori may appear sparse and incomplete. However, the intention is to provide a focussed examination of the three policy documents outlined.

### **The Establishment of the University of Waikato – A Brief Overview**

Day (1984)<sup>1</sup> has written a comprehensive account of the development of the University of Waikato since its inception. Providing one of the few glimpses into the short history of the University of Waikato, Day recalls that the original concept of the University was to be a medical school. Led by two Hamiltonians, Dr Anthony Rogers and Mr Douglas Seymour, this idea was rejected by the authoritative body, the University Senate of New Zealand. Undeterred, Seymour and Rogers rethought their

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<sup>1</sup> Day provides a comprehensive record of the establishment of the University of Waikato from which much of the information for this chapter has been drawn.

positions and became fixed on the idea that Hamilton needed a university of its own and more importantly, that the university needed to be controlled by the local community and not dominated by Auckland. A collective group, known as the University of South Auckland Society was formed, a case was prepared and the process of getting the university established began.

The case was presented before the University Senate of New Zealand in 1957. Parton (1979:214) states that the main factor put forward to justify a new university in Hamilton was “population density.” The University of Auckland, the major stumbling block for the establishment of a new university in Hamilton, realised the fears of the Society through its unanimous rejection of the Hamilton university proposal. The setback was anticipated but the constant, unrelenting opposition that spouted forth from the University of Auckland Council was not, especially as instruction had come from the Senate that consultation in relation to the proposal needed to occur between the two factions - the University of Auckland, and the University of South Auckland Society. The University of Auckland put forward an alternative proposal, which did not foresee a university in Hamilton. This was rejected by the Senate, which approved “in principle the establishment of a university in the Waikato” (Parton 1979:215). Vice-Chancellor Currie, from the University of New Zealand, envisaged that a university in the Waikato region would be established “within the next fifteen years” (Parton 1979:215).

The Hughes-Parry Committee, which was set up in 1959 to investigate the state of university education in New Zealand, was invited to comment on the proposed establishment of a university in Hamilton (Parton 1979). Parton (1979:233) states that the Committee, mindful that the decision to establish a new institution had already been made, “doubted whether sufficient exploration of alternative solutions had been made.” However, it recommended “the continuation of Auckland’s limited commitment...for five years” (Parton 1979:233).

A visit by members of the Hughes-Parry Committee to the proposed site for the new university proved educational for the Hamilton-based Society. Firstly, they learned that the Commission members were not at all interested in using the population increases as a justification for the establishment of a university. Secondly, the view of Commission members relating to the standard of elementary school teachers was such that teachers required a higher standard of learning. Thirdly, the location of the proposed university site in relation to current research facilities such as the Ruakura Research Station, the Meat Research Laboratories and the Soil Research Centre impressed upon the Commission members the need for Hamilton to become the focal point for the teaching of science education at university level. The outcomes of the visit laid the foundations for the way the University of Waikato was to function once it was operational.

At the beginning of 1960 two major milestones were achieved - the new Hamilton Teachers' College opened, followed one month later with the opening of the Waikato Branch of the University of Auckland. Both institutions were based together in a suburb away from the site planned for the University proper although developments were underway for the purchase and construction of buildings at the new proposed site. While external events hampered the progress for the new university (the release of the Hughes-Parry Report on university education the year before resulted in inaction while everyone awaited reaction from the government), classes extended to the second stage and enrolments continued to increase. One significant event in the early life of the Waikato Branch of the University of Auckland, related to the production of the play *Othello* in which, as Day (1984:30) recalls, "history was made through the first portrayal of the title role by a Maori."

According to Parton (1979:216), the establishment of the Waikato Branch, along with the Palmerston North University College, was among "the final acts of the University of New Zealand, and their birth, like that of their parent institution, was attended with controversy."

During this whole period the two factions, the University of Auckland Council - who were still opposed to the establishment of the University of Waikato as its own entity, and who were consistently undermining efforts towards its establishment, and the University of South Auckland Society, the Hamilton-based collective pushing for its opening, continued to spar with one another, scoring points along the way. Another significant factor in this period, which the University of South Auckland Society could claim as a victory, included the initiating of the University of Waikato Halls of Residence Appeal, overtly designed to include the community in efforts to fundraise for residential accommodation for anticipated students in the yet-to-be-built university as well as to further negate the University of Auckland Council's claims that a university in Hamilton was a redundant idea.

In spite of the continuing erratic and unsupportive atmosphere emanating from the University of Auckland, the University of South Auckland Society were given the green light to set up an Advisory Committee, form a Council and recommend to the government how the University of Waikato might operate as an autonomous and separate facility from the University of Auckland. In 1963, site preparations began and drafts were being formulated for the anticipated University of Waikato Act, which was finally passed by the government on August 22 of that year. Events following included the appointment of the first Vice-Chancellor, Professor D. R. Llewellyn - Special Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor and Professor of Chemistry at the University of Auckland; initial meetings of the Professorial Board and the University Council, and the appointments of Dr Denis Rogers as Chancellor, Mr J. B. McKenzie as Pro-Chancellor and Mr J.R. Day as Secretary of the Finance Committee (Day 1984:42-44).

The Governor-General of New Zealand, Sir Bernard Fergusson, opened the University of Waikato amid much pomp and ceremony on Friday February 26, 1965. The dream that was sowed almost ten years earlier became planted in the soils of the

Hillcrest site and the University of Waikato, as the youngest university, was able to move forward as an institution in its own right.

### **The Early Years**

The apron strings, which the University of South Auckland Society so desperately wanted to sever, were still tied firmly in place around the vast expanse that was the University of Auckland. This underlined the continued reliance of the fledgling university on its older and wiser counterpart. Indeed, the academic programme of the university in its early days reflected this reliance, where the subjects offered (English, French, Geography, History, New Zealand History and Pure Mathematics) were those “generally in accordance with the prescriptions of the University of Auckland” (University of Waikato 1964:1). This was the very essence of the traditional English-based university education offered by the University of Auckland and other universities around New Zealand. This was also a clear indication that the University of Waikato, while proclaiming autonomy of sorts, still did not have the resources (either monetary or otherwise) to develop more innovative research agendas.

### **Maori Issues and Advocates**

During these early years of the University of Waikato, little reference was made to Maori, little consultation was undertaken as to how Maori felt about the proposed establishment of a new university, and no Maori were invited onto the University of South Auckland Society to support this new initiative. While these issues may appear irrelevant, they do have some significance, as it highlights not only the view from society in general (that Maori had little place in education, let alone higher education), but also the view amongst academia that perhaps Maori were still only worthy as subjects of study. At the opening of the University of Waikato however, Sir Bernard Fergusson, the Governor-General of New Zealand, surprised the gathering with the following statement: “Waikato is the first of the New Zealand universities to

be planted right in the heart of the traditionally Maori community. I would like to see high among its ambitions a resolve to establish a Maori faculty.” (Day 1984:60). According to Day (1984:60), “a seed had been sown by the Governor-General’s stirring words which was to grow into something unique, and precious in the university’s structure.”

The appointment of Professor James Ritchie as one of the founding professors proved advantageous for Maori as he tested the academic waters by introducing the idea of Maori Studies into the overall plan of the University of Waikato in his inaugural address (Day 1984:67). At the time, Professor Ritchie was seen as having connections with the Maori community through his research work, most notably with the Rakau study (1958). While the response by academic colleagues to the idea of a Maori Studies department could best be described as lukewarm, Professor Ritchie persevered and continued to push for the idea in public and not so public forums, until the University Council in June of 1965 approved in principle the concept of a Maori research centre. Also agreed during this period was the establishment of a School of Management Studies, a School of Biological Sciences, a School of Earth Sciences and a School of Physical Sciences (University of Waikato 1965:2).

The idea of establishing Maori Studies as a subject worthy of academic study proved intensely interesting for the wider public. Day (1984:67-68) describes articles that appeared in the local papers, and the topic became the focus of discussion for the Maori community, who had been “enthusiastic...at their impromptu hui after the opening ceremony.” The Graduates Association, as a result of the interest and publicity generated by the call to establish Maori Studies as a subject, convened a panel “to discuss the whole question of how more Maori people could be brought into higher education and what form Maori Studies should take” (Day 1984:68). The discussion was highly persuasive and opened the eyes of those who attended.

Further to the interest generated from the original concept of including Maori Studies at the University of Waikato, the Maori community became more proactive in pushing for a Maori member to be appointed to the University Council. The Court of Convocation elected Dr Henry Bennett some eight months after the original request was submitted to the University Council.

Other significant events for Maori during 1965 included a pledge by the Maori community to raise “a total of \$60,000 towards the Halls of Residence Appeal” (Day 1984:68), and an invitation to the University Council and academic staff to attend the annual coronation celebrations of the leader of the Maori King movement, King Koroki. Although Koroki was not present that day due to illness, his successor, Princess Piki (now Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu), watched over as kaumatua presented a \$2,000 donation on behalf of the Waikato people for the Halls of Residence Appeal fund (Day 1984:68).

While early documentation to the Minister of Education and the University Grants Committee revealed little of the activity occurring at the University of Waikato relating to the establishment of a Maori Studies centre, Day (1984:66-71) writes of the constant push spearheaded by Professor Ritchie to ensure the focus was paramount. Professor Ritchie was supported by Vice-Chancellor Llewellyn who was keenly determined to follow through the establishment of a Centre for Maori Studies and Research and was also interested in ensuring an avenue in which the “revival and resuscitation of the Maori language” could be facilitated (Day 1984:71).

### Comment

The concept for the University’s establishment was realised with its opening in 1964. There has been little evidence in the documents available that suggest Maori were involved in any depth during the initial stages of the University’s development. This lack of substantial involvement by Maori in the development of the University

characterised the early years, leaving the Maori community to question the University's commitment to advancing Maori issues.

These initial years leading up to and following the establishment of the University of Waikato highlight two important points. The first point relates to the role played by the Maori community during these initial phases. The second point relates to the University and the University community's acknowledgement of this role, and its acknowledgement and advancement of Maori issues and ideals during this period.

As indicated, the Maori community rallied behind the idea of establishing the University, despite what was later discovered to be a lack of consultation on many key issues, including use of the name "Waikato," and the location. Kaumatua recall at a hui held in 1990, nearly 30 years after the University's establishment, how these issues were still left unresolved in their eyes (University of Waikato 1990:23). The fact that the Maori community provided financial support, through assisting in the fundraising for the Halls of Residence appeal is also striking, given the identification in the Hunn and Currie Commission reports of the poor socio-economic, education and health position occupied by Maori at that time. Indeed, it is interesting that Maori, despite their financial position, were eager to support the initiative of the University, seeing this as a positive initiative that might assist their people in moving forward. The statement of the Governor-General at the opening of the University would have reinforced these feelings. This raises the question as to how seriously the University viewed the contribution of Maori to its establishment, and more importantly, how the University viewed its own contribution back to the Maori community. At this point, I would suggest that the University displayed the patronising attitude similar of other institutions at that time, missing the very opportunity that the Governor-General urged it to take. Further, the University reflected the general attitudes of the time, where government inaction was also evident, in spite of the changes urged by the Hunn and Currie Commission reports.

### **The First Decades: The University of Waikato in the 1960s and 1970s**

The idea of a Maori Studies centre had been sown, thus it appeared that the University could not entirely escape the issue. Once floated, it seemed that the notion of a Maori Studies centre moved beyond musings ‘if’ it would be established and began to be discussed in terms of ‘when’ it would be established. Representations towards the government by both the University of Waikato and interested groups within the community regarding the establishment of Maori Studies at the University did not prove successful during the latter part of the 1960s. The quinquennial grants (the five-yearly funding rounds by the government to universities in New Zealand), which were allocated toward the end of 1969, did not provide for the establishment of a Centre for Maori Studies and Research, although assurances were received that the government was prepared to “consider again the application for a special grant for this important project” (University of Waikato 1969:2).

The University of Waikato was still trying to establish initial programmes at that time and vented its frustration at those “people not directly involved” and thus who did “not readily” appreciate the time, effort and funding required (University of Waikato 1969:2). Local efforts to secure a position for the Centre for Maori Studies and Research included a mass meeting at which 200 students protested at the continual deferment and where a “Maori Centre Action Committee” was formed (Day 1984:117). Panel discussions, recommendations, newspaper publicity and articles that further reinforced community support for the initiative did little from the government’s perspective, which continually beat back an increasingly disconcerted University of Waikato.

The issue of the establishment of the Centre for Maori Studies and Research was debated intensely, not only amongst the local community and in the media, but also within the ranks of academia. According to Day (1984:123), Professor Biggs (Professor in Anthropology at the University of Auckland) strongly contested the

“impression” being given by the University of Waikato that “Maori Studies did not exist anywhere in the universities.” In fact, Maori Studies courses were being taught up to the Masters’ level at the University of Auckland as well as the University of Victoria, Wellington. The argument, however, concerning the establishment of a Centre for Maori Studies and Research at the University of Waikato was not on replacing or reproducing those courses taught at other universities. Instead, the argument for the Centre for Maori Studies and Research focused on the area of “current Maori life - in all areas where problems existed - with a view to discovering ways of improving the lot of the Maori people, and also to recovering and ascertaining elements of their cultural heritage which the twentieth century was obliterating” (Day 1984:123). This was a recurrent theme in the argument regarding the Centre’s establishment.

#### The Introduction of Maori Language

In 1970, five years after classes officially began at the University of Waikato, Part I Maori language courses were offered for the first time. It is interesting to note that the University of Waikato also offered Part I Japanese courses in the same year (University of Waikato 1970:1). The introduction of Part I Maori at the same time as Part I Japanese courses was largely due to the efforts of a Mr Peter Wells. Mr Wells, a lecturer in French at the University of Waikato looked for further challenges once a Professorial appointment had been made within the French Department (Day 1984:123). Mr Wells, aside from his expertise in French, was also one of the first in New Zealand to teach Japanese as well as being a “vigorous proponent of the relevance of Maori to all New Zealand citizens” (Day 1984:124). His proposed Language Studies Department, which incorporated the first year courses of Maori and Japanese, was accepted by the University Council hence their simultaneous introduction at the University of Waikato in 1970.

With a student population of 1,034 in 1970, the focus of the University of Waikato in terms of courses offered could clearly be seen in the sciences, with courses available

in Biological Sciences, Chemistry, Earth Sciences and Physics (University of Waikato 1970:1). The following year, the establishment of the School of Management Studies was capped with the appointment of its first Dean, with classes scheduled to begin in 1972. While there was significant opposition from the newly established School of Science, the argument put forward for establishing the School of Management Studies at that point in time was sufficient to convince the University Council of its support. Day (1984:147) states however, that the ease with which the School of Management Studies was established was not to be carried over into the establishment of the much argued and debated Centre for Maori Studies and Research.

#### The Opening of the Centre for Maori Studies and Research

A significant breakthrough came about from a grant by the D.V. Bryant Trust. The Trust, which was a charitable trust based in Hamilton and founded by a well-known Hamilton family, “resolved to make a donation of \$10,000 a year for a period of three years...provided the University was able to obtain official funds to make the Centre a viable proposition” (University of Waikato 1971:1). It is ironic that since the establishment of the University of Waikato, Maori had had to rely on the generosity of others in order to realise their ambitions in relation to the higher education field. Day (1984) states that there was opposition within some sectors of the community, which suggests that the advancement of Maori issues, despite the call by the Governor-General at the opening of the University, had yet to take effect. This point is also more important when considered in light of the publication of the Hunn and Currie Commission reports some ten years earlier, and highlights the inability of a higher education institution that had thus far failed to take a proactive stance in providing a venue from which Maori development could be advanced.

After pressure from supporters of the Centre for Maori Studies and Research the University of Waikato finally brought to fruition the establishment of the Centre, with the appointment of Mr Robert Te Kotahi Mahuta as Director (University of Waikato

1972:1). Mr Mahuta, a member of the kahui ariki (direct descendants of the first Maori King, Potatau Te Wherowhero), is described by Day as “the epitome of local Maori sensibilities” who also held a Master’s degree from the University of Auckland (1984:178). A more visible presence for Maori at the University of Waikato had finally been provided.

The Centre for Maori Studies and Research was also to have an Advisory Committee “made up of representatives of the University, of the Maori community, the Departments of Maori and Island Affairs and of Education, and some other concerned organisations” (University of Waikato 1971:1). These advisors were drawn from nominees of the Maori Queen (as leader of the Maori King movement), a nominee from the Director-General of Education, representatives from the D.V. Bryant Trust (which established the initial funding source) as well as representatives drawn from the Maori Centre Trust, the Maori Women’s Welfare League and the New Zealand Maori Council (University of Waikato 1972:1).

### Other Developments

According to the University of Waikato report to the Minister of Education and University Grants Committee, 1973 was seen as a year of consolidation. In particular for Maori, things were happening at the University of Waikato. The year began with the election of Dr Henry Bennett as Chancellor, a post that was to be held for three years (University of Waikato 1973:2). From a distinguished Te Arawa family (from the Bay of Plenty in the central North Island of New Zealand), the installation of Dr. Bennett as Chancellor was a major step forward in the progression of Maori interests at the University of Waikato. Prior to the establishment of the University of Waikato, Dr Bennett had been actively involved in ensuring the institution became a reality through discussions and debates.

Academically, Maori language courses, which had been introduced two years earlier, were expanded and the Centre for Maori Studies and Research had begun research

projects focusing on pre-school education and community development. A University Extension programme, which had been initiated earlier, completed its planning for a Certificate of Maori Studies which was to begin the following year. The Certificate of Maori Studies required the student to undertake six courses in Maori Studies over a minimum three-year period (University of Waikato 1973:2). The Extension programme was available to students from within the University catchment area, drawing students from as far away as Gisborne and Whakatane (on the east coast of the North Island) to the King Country (on the west coast of the North Island), as well as catering for students within the immediate Hamilton surrounds.

According to Karetu (1989:73), who was the inaugural Senior Lecturer of the Department of Maori, the Maori programmes offered by the University at that time “had to prove their viability, their academic worth and their desirability in an environment that was often hostile, suspicious and uninformed.” While able to proceed largely due to the demand for the programmes (to the point where Maori was offered as a major for undergraduate degree programmes), this hostility resurfaced in 1977 during discussions for the introduction of a Master of Arts degree in Maori. Pointing out the perceived lack of literary sources within Maori to substantiate study at an advanced level, Karetu (1989:73) responded in 1988 at a graduation ceremony “that the bards of Maoridom were equal to Milton and Shakespeare, the philosophers equal to those the world has known and still celebrates.” It was, however, an insight into the political battleground that characterised academic life during that time.

The rest of the 1970s saw a more cohesive approach as Maori Studies developed in the different academic sectors across campus. The University Extension programme was renamed the Centre for Continuing Education. The first students enrolled in the Certificate of Maori Studies graduated in 1976. Maori language, not introduced as a subject until 1972, rapidly moved through to the Master’s level of study and the Centre for Maori Studies and Research made considerable progress in its research activities. The Maori Department, the Centre for Maori Studies and Research and the

Centre for Continuing Education were all housed in the same building. In 1979, the University of Waikato conferred an honorary doctorate upon the leader of the Maori King movement, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu (University of Waikato 1979:3).

### Comment

A number of points emerge when reflecting on the early years of the University of Waikato. In relation to the advancement of Maori issues, however, these points are not positive. The initial rejection of the Centre proposal during the quinquennial funding round reflects a point made earlier regarding government inertia over Maori issues and government's inability to find proactive (if not bold) ways of addressing them. Another point to consider regarding the establishment of the Centre revolves around the issue on the reliance on external funding, which effectively set in motion the process by which the Centre was eventually established. The fact that the Centre's establishment was effected because of external funding points to the dichotomous relationship between Maori and the academy again reinforcing the impression of inertia by the University to become bold advocates for Maori advancement during this period.

Equally interesting is the sensitivity displayed by other academic members during the debate about the Centre for Maori Studies and Research establishment. The fact that Day (1984) highlights the point made by Professor Biggs regarding the status of Maori Studies within New Zealand universities during this time raises the question that perhaps there may have been the fear of competition, given Auckland University's close proximity to Waikato. I would suggest, however, that the fear was perhaps more indicative of the protective world of academia, which did not see the Centre's proposed approach as 'fitting' the mould, where research was 'on' Maori, and not 'by', 'for', and 'with' Maori. Again, this would seem to highlight the traditions maintained by higher education, and reinforced the maintenance of a 'status quo' approach to academic activity concerning Maori.

This approach is further reinforced when considering the introduction of Maori language teaching in conjunction with Japanese. The experiences of academic staff, like Karetu, reflect the inability of academic staff at the University to accept Maori as an academic subject, and thus seems to have reinforced a sense of ignorance and a notion of superior arrogance to the advancement of 'others.' In a sense, the University of Waikato chose to maintain a 'status quo' position, seemingly reluctant to forge the path that Sir Bernard Fergusson had urged at its opening.

There were some achievements for Maori during the early years of the University. These included the establishment of the Certificate of Maori Studies, through the Extension programme, which opened up the possibility of accessing higher education for Maori living in remote communities. The appointment of Dr Henry Bennett to the position of Chancellor of the University could also be classed as an achievement, providing a role model for Maori at the highest level of University governance.

Overall however, I suggest that the achievements made during this early period, such as the establishment of the Maori language course and the Centre for Maori Studies and Research, were perhaps more reflective of the persistence of a few members of the University, rather than a planned institutional directive. In essence, constant battles by Maori staff and the Maori community against academic ignorance towards Maori, and the maintenance of cultural superiority, or 'status quo' overshadowed these achievements.

## **The 1980s**

The period of the 1980s in terms of development of new initiatives specifically for Maori did not particularly ring true. In fact, there was very little in the way of new programmes. Day (1984:233) highlights the international exposure the Maori language lecturer, Timoti Karetu, gained when he took his nationally renowned

cultural group, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato overseas. The group also performed at the invitation of many on local marae around the country. Karetu (1989:76) felt that this type of activity enabled the local Maori community to “realise that the University is not beyond their scope and that, for them, it is a very definite possibility.”

In 1982, the School of Social Sciences instituted, in consultation with the Department of Maori Affairs, a management development programme where the emphasis rested on providing opportunities for young Maori (University of Waikato 1982:2-3). Meanwhile the Centre for Maori Studies and Research continued working within the community, hosting overseas scholars and researching issues of relevance to Maori development (University of Waikato 1982:6-7).

The Centre for Continuing Education experienced resource constraints due to the popularity of its courses during this period, especially in the Certificate of Maori Studies. While only a small group of students were coming out with Certificates, according to Day (1984:235), the programme was seen by the Maori community as being “highly-prized,” and as such was being offered in more centres than ever before – Tauranga and Rotorua (the Bay of Plenty), Edgecumbe and Tokomaru Bay (the eastern Bay of Plenty and east coast), and for the first time, Hamilton City. More significantly, the Maori Department offered places in degree classes to certificate students, which were seized upon “with both hands” (Day 1984:236). During the mid-1980s, classes in Maori increased which in turn put pressure on staff (University of Waikato 1984:2). Despite these constraints, Karetu (1989:78) was of the opinion that the popularity of the Certificate of Maori Studies “whetted the academic appetite of people in areas far removed from the physical location of universities,” and credited the University for being “in the vanguard of such thinking.”

In 1983, the Centre for Maori Studies and Research began to focus more on Maori education, with the secondment of a research fellow from the Department of Education who was charged with setting up alternative marae-based education

programmes for the young unemployed (University of Waikato 1984:5). Other schools of studies at the University of Waikato were also involved in research topics which impacted on Maori, namely educational achievement among Maori children, Maori land compensation, and for Waikato Maori in particular, quality issues concerning the Waikato River (University of Waikato 1984:4-5).

A new Vice-Chancellor was appointed in 1985, the first change at that level since the University of Waikato was established thirty years earlier. Dr Wilf Malcolm, formerly Professor of Pure Mathematics and Academic Pro-Vice-Chancellor at Victoria University, Wellington, took over after the retirement of Dr Llewellyn (University of Waikato 1985:1).

### Comment

It is interesting to note that the 1980s were seen as a decade of development for Maori, characterised by the Hui Taumata held in 1984, which discussed the status of Maori and how it could be advanced. Against this backdrop however, the University of Waikato appears to have continued advancing academic interests, through the development of new schools, new courses and programmes without seeming to take a vested interest in the activities of its wider, Maori constituency.

Perhaps the most positive initiative during this period was the continuing success of the Certificate of Maori Studies, offered by the Centre for Continuing Education, and taught through a number of satellite campuses in remote centres of the University's catchment area. Karetu's comment of how Maori embraced the concept of higher education through this Certificate gives an indication of the need for traditional institutions like universities to move outside of their own structures and become more accessible to people who do not have the means to move to study for a tertiary degree. This was reinforced with Karetu's initiative of taking groups of Maori students on cultural tours, using them as positive role models for higher education to the more isolated Maori communities.

While the University must be lauded for instituting the Certificate programme, Maori themselves still largely conducted much of the University's work in relation to Maori during this period. The notions of institutional support, as described in Chapter Two, appear lacking during this period, where it seems the emphasis was still on maintaining "Euro-Western values" (Wright 1987:11).

### **The New Look Era? The 1990s and the University of Waikato Charter**

The continuing development of the University, as it entered into its third decade of operation, came about during a time of major restructuring in the New Zealand education system. Up until this point, programmes and initiatives developed to assist Maori participation in higher education were relatively small in number. In 1989, the University established Te Timatanga Hou, a bridging programme aimed at Maori school leavers who did not necessarily have the qualifications to enter university directly. The purpose of Te Timatanga Hou was to encourage Maori school leavers into considering university education as an option. The one-year course was designed to tutor small numbers of Maori students in subjects such as English, Maori, maths and science, to give them a breadth of options for studying at the university level. Courses were also given in writing, so as to prepare students for writing essays, appropriate use of language and basic research skills. After graduating from Te Timatanga Hou, graduates were able to enrol for all university courses.

At the time Te Timatanga Hou was introduced at the University of Waikato, major changes to the tertiary education system were being devised. According to Butterworth & Butterworth (1998:163), the release of the government document, *Learning for Life Two*, in 1989, set out the government "decisions on the tertiary sector." These decisions included more accountability by universities to the government. The 1989 Education Act required universities to develop charters. Specifically, the government directive for charters was that they were to be corporate

plans, which set out “objectives and funding requirements” and were to be used as a “basis for negotiating government funding” (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:164). Envisaged as being public documents, the charters were also intended by the government to contain “a set of specific performance indicators to measure how well the institution was meeting its objectives” (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:164). The Vice-Chancellors’ Committee was uncomfortable with the government directive, seeing the changes as excessive and failing to “get the right balance between autonomy and accountability” (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:164).

One key aspect of the charters was the need for institutions to address Treaty of Waitangi issues. Given that universities to date had initiated few proactive measures for Maori student populations, this would have been a challenging task. The political climate at that time ensured that Maori issues were to the fore, and that Maori rights guaranteed under the Treaty were made known. However, the reality was that there existed a greater misunderstanding about the Treaty itself, and in particular, how the Treaty was to be incorporated into business plans for higher education institutions.

In spite of these concerns, the University of Waikato Charter was developed in 1991 in fulfilment of the government directives. The Charter was also developed during the period of direct negotiations between the government and the Waikato tribe, following a successful decision by the Court of Appeal in 1989, which acknowledged the need for the government to consult with Maori regarding the sale of state-owned assets. This section overviews the Charter, paying particular attention to how Maori have been perceived within the corporate plan of the University of Waikato.

### Statements and Objectives

In its statement of distinctive character, purpose and the goals of the University of Waikato, the Charter identified the relationship between the University and Maori, acknowledging its “awareness of and sensitivity to equity issues and its policy to achieve equality of opportunity in education” (University of Waikato 1991:1). The

University Charter also sought to “incorporate into its life and activities the diversity of Maori interests within its region” (University of Waikato 1991:1).

#### Educational Purpose, Values and the Treaty of Waitangi

The Charter also highlighted what could be viewed as standard references to the pursuit of “excellence” within the university environs and the need for the university to be accessible to a “wide range of people” (University of Waikato 1991:1). Under the heading “Educational Purpose and Values,” the Charter outlines a definitive approach to the needs of Maori within university education, ensuring that they are “appropriately catered for outside a formally constituted Whare Wananga; Maori customs and values are expressed in the ordinary life of the University; and the Treaty of Waitangi is clearly acknowledged in the development of programmes and initiatives based on partnership between Maori and other New Zealand people” (University of Waikato 1991:2).

Interesting to note from this section are two points: firstly, its reference to the Treaty of Waitangi and secondly the broad statements referring to the incorporation of Maori life and customs into the normal life of the University itself. With regard to the first point, Benton (1987) had identified some years earlier that there was a clear relationship between the Treaty of Waitangi and education. Indeed, the government appeared to recognise this relationship, and had stipulated that there were certain “non-negotiable elements” that had to be included in the charters of schools, of which the Treaty of Waitangi was listed as one (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:129). It would seem that tertiary institutions were also following suit.

The broad statements referring to Maori customs and values being expressed within the “ordinary life of the University” appear exactly that – broad. Kingsbury (1984:26) had already identified the need to “encourage the spread of Maori ethos throughout the institutions.” Specifically, Kingsbury (1984:26) appealed that because universities were extensions of the dominant society, there needed to be a concerted effort to have

“more recognition of Maori values and Maori ways of doing things” which would “enrich both the universities themselves and society as a whole.” What Kingsbury had highlighted was something that the Governor-General had raised at the opening of the University of Waikato back in 1965, and something that the University still appeared to have difficulty trying to address. Durie (cited in Bishop & Graham 1996:9) believed that the difficulty experienced by universities during this period related not so much to unwillingness, but rather a confusion as to what was expected from institutions with Treaty requirements. In particular, the confusion stemmed from what Bishop & Graham (1996:9-10) describe as a “focus on a ‘needs’ analysis, rather than any understanding of a contractual arrangement between Iwi and Crown agencies.”

#### Access and Affirmative Action: Fashion Statements or Key Issues?

The issue of access was addressed in the Charter, with the intention of reaching those from “traditional groups without a tradition of regular access to university education” (University of Waikato 1991:3). Other writers have noted that Maori, perhaps more than any other “group,” have less “regular access” to university education (Davies & Nicholl 1993; Pool 1987; New Zealand Government 1987; Boston 1988). In this setting, the University of Waikato had already moved to initiate action in this area, with the establishment of Te Timatanga Hou programme in 1989 (Avery 1989:44-45).

The Charter also stated its intention to implement the “Affirmative Action Policy and the Equal Employment Opportunities Programme,” although it was unclear as to whether these initiatives were for the benefit of Maori or for all those perceived as disadvantaged (University of Waikato 1991:4).

#### The University Council within the Charter

According to the Charter, the constitution of the University Council allowed for direct Maori input into two of the positions. One of these positions was to be

appointed by nomination of the head of the King movement (whose present leader is Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu), and the other by nomination of the “Iwi/University Consultative Council” otherwise known as Te Roopu Manukura (University of Waikato 1991:4). It should be noted that these two positions were reserved solely for Maori to determine who should be representative of them on the University Council. However, it did not preclude Maori from being represented on the University Council in any other capacity.

### Consultation and the Kaumatua Hui

In the development of the Charter document, the university undertook a series of consultations as well as accepting submissions from interested parties. Voicing opinions from a Maori perspective was the Centre for Maori Studies and Research (University of Waikato 1991:6). A Kaumatua Hui was held at Turangawaewae Marae in July 1990 specifically to discuss the development of the Charter and to allow for Maori input into the written document that was produced.

There were two key objectives arising from the Kaumatua Hui: one was to define the area of post-school education and training and how Maori interests could be incorporated within this sector, and two, to define the paramount purpose (from the participants’ point of view) of education for Maori. The outcomes from the hui based on the two objectives resolved firstly, that tikanga Maori (Maori customs) be the guiding force behind the development, construction and dissemination of knowledge and secondly, that the Treaty of Waitangi be acknowledged as the paramount educational purpose from which programmes be developed with an emphasis on the partnership with Maori in such activity (University of Waikato 1990:17).

Other issues discussed at the Kaumatua Hui highlighted a number of points. As discussed, there was little Maori input into the establishment of the University of Waikato, its location, or its name (University of Waikato 1990:23). The University of Waikato has attempted to incorporate the aspects of a Whare Wananga (hence the

name University of Waikato/Te Whare Wananga o Waikato). However, it was pointed out at the Kaumatua Hui that the University needed to be much more committed to developing programmes that clearly showed the realisation of such objectives (University of Waikato 1990:29). Furthermore, it was felt that the University of Waikato/Te Whare Wananga o Waikato as a “joint institution” needed to fully incorporate aspects of both cultures, thus running parallel or in conjunction with each other as opposed to being in competition to, separated from or worse, continuing to promulgate the assimilatory perspectives which have been characteristics of tertiary operations for so long.

### Comment

From the points raised in the preceding discussion, the University of Waikato Charter has emerged as an attempt to address the needs of Maori within what is essentially a corporate plan for a tertiary institution. While it could be argued as to what place Maori concerns have within such documents, it is fair to say that for the University of Waikato anyway, such concerns should be valued and treated as valid, given the Maori student population base (or client base), from which the University draws its economic viability. Closer examination of the Charter itself has highlighted a priority to include the Treaty of Waitangi.

Despite this priority, such inclusions had little impact for Maori interests, as highlighted from the concerns expressed at the Kaumatua Hui. It is argued that the inclusion of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Charter was more to satisfy government requirements, to show that – by including the Treaty – Maori concerns and issues had been addressed by the University. The view therefore, is that the inclusion of Maori within the Charter, while important, was more of a token gesture rather than a genuine desire to include the Treaty in a meaningful, effective way. In effect, then, the apparent unwillingness of the University of Waikato to embrace the power-sharing role that the Treaty of Waitangi had envisaged back in 1840 highlighted the maintenance of its links to the colonial past.

## **Paetawhiti - the Strategic Plan of the University of Waikato**

“Paetawhiti - setting our aspirations on distant horizons and journeying towards them” (Kingsbury 1993:i). The opening statement of the strategic plan formulated for the University of Waikato, outlined the intentions of the document. At face value, the report should be taken as an introduction to the whole strategic planning process undertaken by the University of Waikato, which began with the release of the University of Waikato Charter in 1991. Underpinning the focus of the report was the desire for the University of Waikato to find its niche within the university context, and to determine its unique structure within the wider global institutional setting. Issues of cost in association to research without compromising on quality were raised, as were the areas of efficiency and effective use of funding streams available to the University. The report identified the need for the University to be able to adapt to the changing needs of the various members of its community, which would enable it to juggle the differences between the cultural, social, political and economic climates within which it existed.

Particularly, the report identified the need for the University to acknowledge, understand and move towards addressing the many issues associated with the complexities of running a university, and which specifically include its relationship with government and funding, its relationship with students, staff and the wider community (including Maori), how it intended to manage its research and teaching programmes, and how it was to cope with issues such as technology and the increasing move to globalise education.

### Paetawhiti - An Impetus for Maori?

According to the report, the University had a “long-term commitment to education for Maori,” which allowed it to provide a “very good base for increasing Maori participation,” an on-going goal of the University “for many years” (Kingsbury 1993:3). Acknowledging the unequal participation rates of Maori in education and

thus in economic development, the report urged the University to consider its role in terms of increasing the participation rates of Maori through to graduation, and questioned how it intended to “honour the Treaty of Waitangi” (Kingsbury 1993:4).

The report recognised that the University was located within a region “deeply rooted in its Maori culture, strong in its will to preserve the vitality of the culture and language, and energetically motivated to the development of Maori and the good management of Maori resources” (Kingsbury 1993:11). Accordingly, the University had attempted to understand these concerns, through the development of high quality language-teaching programmes and research centred on Maori development.

An interesting focal point of the Paetawhiti report was the identification of the unequal playing field of Maori in the area of education. The report clearly identified this lack of equal participation and also highlighted the “serious and continuing concern” with which the Treaty of Waitangi was regarded by the University of Waikato (Kingsbury 1993:43). While proclaiming its achievements in the area of Maori education, the report acknowledged the areas that required further development, and it specifically identified the issue of increasing participation by Maori campus-wide. The purpose behind this objective was to allow for more Maori graduates to enter into the workforce suitably qualified, ensuring that there was no saturation of Maori graduates in any one discipline or employment area. Specific mention was also made of the need for Maori to “take employment” especially in the fields “essential to Maori development,” although such fields were not specified (Kingsbury 1993:43).

One main achievement that was listed in the Paetawhiti report in relation to Maori education at the University of Waikato was the development of the proposal for the School of Maori and Pacific Development, which was opened in 1996. The function of the School, as outlined in the report, was to ensure that its activities had a “strong Maori ethos and/or are designed especially to serve the needs of Maori” (Kingsbury

1993:43). The concept of the Tainui endowed college, which is discussed in the next chapter, was also introduced at this point (Kingsbury 1993:43).

### Implications of Paetawhiti

As mentioned, the issue of increasing Maori participation and retention had a real focus within the report and was seen by the University to be one of the main objectives that needed attention. While many of the Schools of Studies had formulated policies specifically to address this, it appears from the Paetawhiti report that the development and establishment of the School of Maori and Pacific Development was to facilitate the increase of Maori participation across all academic disciplines.

The report emphasised the need for the University to be wary of limiting Maori perspectives, values and ways of doing things as being advantageous to Maori only. Specifically, the report stated that the University needed to be aware of the changing societal climate within which graduates were expected to participate and contribute. Therefore, according to the report, the University had to ensure that these graduates understood “things Maori” and were “sensitive to Maori concerns, culture, aspirations and economic development” (Kingsbury 1993:44). Equally, the report encouraged the University itself to be more accepting of alternative knowledge approaches and teaching methods, and encouraged the University to “be supportive of these programmes and, where appropriate, formally acknowledge them as pathways into university education for those who want it” (Kingsbury 1993:45).

In short, the emphasis of the report focused on the need for the University to be more diverse in its approach to research, teaching and learning. Effectively, the report stated that the University needed to become more proactive in ensuring the needs of its customers were being addressed, and that the diversity of its customers was acknowledged and addressed. Specifically for Maori, the report identified the ongoing need for the University to ensure that appropriate links were made with

secondary schools, with iwi authorities and with other tertiary providers to ensure that Maori needs were being satisfactorily met. Equally, the report urged the University to ensure greater participation by Maori across the academic disciplines, as well as ensuring its commitment towards achieving biculturalism (Kingsbury 1993:78).

### A Summary of Paetawhiti

In essence, Paetawhiti could be described as a benchmark for the University of Waikato. Particularly in relation to Maori issues, such as increasing Maori participation and retention, Paetawhiti provided the impetus for the University from which to move forward. The identification of Maori as a key customer base, acknowledging its diversity and unique attributes effectively challenged the University to view Maori in a different light. However, the University, which had been required to introduce the Treaty of Waitangi into its Charter document in 1991, still appeared uneasy with the concept of power-sharing with Maori. Despite the identification of Maori as a key customer base, and the fact that Maori represented nearly 20 percent of the total University of Waikato student population, it would seem that the University did not comprehend the need to cater for Maori needs, beyond the provision of Maori language/culture related programmes. The “Maori ethos” that Kingsbury (1984) argued for still had not permeated through the culture of the University. This point was further reinforced when, in 1997, the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit was invited by the University to “carry out an audit of its academic quality assurance procedures” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:1).

### **The Academic Audit Report**

Comprising six members, one of whom was Maori, the Audit Panel was appointed to carry out the audit on the University of Waikato between August 1996 and June 1997. At the outset, the Audit Panel acknowledged that the University was in a

process of change, where senior management appointments (including that of the Vice-Chancellor) had been made in the last two years preceding the audit. As identified in the Audit Report, the University prior to the audit itself had already implemented comprehensive self-auditing procedures. The Audit Panel found that, through this process of self-auditing, the University had already identified “almost all the matters that the panel subsequently discovered through its investigations” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:2). This section is interested only in the issues which impact directly on Maori, and thus pays most attention to section three of the Audit Report, entitled “The Treaty of Waitangi.”

#### The Audit Report and Maori Access

The audit panel commended the University for its work in ensuring Maori student access to university education, and for maintaining good relations with the Maori community. However, the panel found that “evident goodwill has not always been translated into structures that will ensure an environment that is congenial for Maori students” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:2).

The report found that the Department of Maori within the University of Waikato was “one of the fastest growing” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:9). While it does not seem clear from the report whether this statement refers to the size of the department itself or to the growth in the number of programmes being offered, it is presumed that the growth refers to the types of programmes offered. As Timoti Karetu (1989:75), former head of the Department of Maori, wrote in commemorating 25 years of the University’s existence in 1989, “Waikato has the reputation for being the speakers of the language. It has a reputation from which there should be no veering, for it is what makes the Maori Department of the University of Waikato unique among the country’s universities.”

Aside from the depth shown in the Maori department, the University of Waikato was also praised for the establishment of the School of Maori and Pacific Development,

an initiative that, according to the report “incorporates some long-standing and successful UW activities” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:9).<sup>2</sup> Equally impressive were the figures given for Maori student enrolments at the University of Waikato, although the panel noted that those Maori who made up 22 percent of the student population were “still less than the Maori proportion of the local population (31%)” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:10). Whilst the report found that the enrolment figures were “testimony to UW’s success in providing access,” it also expressed concern that “the retention rate of Maori students” during the final years of study and further on to higher study “is only half that of other students” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:10). The panel subsequently recommended that the University of Waikato “investigate the reasons for this” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:10).

### Te Roopu Manukura

The report stated that 19 iwi authorities were represented on the Maori advisory body to the University Council, Te Roopu Manukura. Theoretically, according to the report, the role of Te Roopu Manukura was to ensure that Maori “concerns, comments and desires from every iwi” were put before the Council (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:9). In practice, however, the report showed quite a different picture. Instead of a body that was able to inform and advise the University Council decisively and with some authority on issues of Maori concern, it was beset with problems due to its large size, and a lack of clarity about its role, and about the actualities of student life and university life in general. While it was attempting to address these issues, the report also indicated mixed response as to the relationship between the University and individual iwi, which may then have impacted on the ability of iwi to see themselves effectively represented in a forum such as Te Roopu Manukura.

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<sup>2</sup> UW refers to the University of Waikato.

Specifically, these concerns were identified through the high value placed on the University by Tainui, which had “some negative consequences for other tribes’ attitudes” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:9). This issue in particular raises concern regarding the University’s ability to service the needs of its wider Maori constituency. The establishment of the Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi in Whakatane (part of the catchment region of the University), and the Wananga o Aotearoa, with campuses in Te Awamutu, Rotorua and Hamilton (again all part of the catchment region of the University), all have the capability of impacting on Maori student enrolments at the University of Waikato, as well as the University’s ability to maintain its relationships with iwi, as mentioned.

#### Implications of Academic Audit Report for Maori

Briefly, it could be stated that the Academic Audit report highlighted, again, some of the issues that had been present at the University of Waikato for some time. The report indicated that the acceptance and incorporation of Maori values, knowledge and ways of doing things, as recommended by Kingsbury in 1984 and 1993, were not yet clearly understood across the University, and some felt that the University was “essentially monocultural, with some polarisation on bicultural issues” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:12). In short, it highlighted the gap between the good intentions of the University, as indicated in the Charter and strategic plan, and the reality.

For Maori, the issues are complex. The development of Maori programmes and initiatives was identified as a positive by the report, although it cautioned of the stress created for Maori staff with multiple functions to fulfil. The report also identified that Maori issues and the provision of advice and support on things Maori should not be the sole responsibility of the School of Maori and Pacific Development. Instead, such responsibilities should be spread campus-wide. The reality of this initiative being implemented, however, in my opinion, would be slim. There appears to be little

recognition within the university community of the obligations of Maori academics, despite increasing literature on the issue (see for example, Irwin 1991; Smith 1993).

The effectiveness of Te Roopu Manukura, and its defined purpose and objectives, was also questionable, particularly in light of the reports findings. If, as the report identified, there was little clarity or understanding among the members of Te Roopu Manukura, then attention should have been paid to the iwi authorities that were representatives. Maori students, I am sure, would have been most dismayed that such a group had not been as effective as it had the potential to be. It may have been proactive of these iwi authorities to spend time with their tribal members enrolled as students at the University of Waikato, to find out what their needs were and how best they may have wanted to be represented. Equally, pressure should have been maintained on the University to ensure that Te Roopu Manukura was not merely a vehicle for boxing Maori interests together with little or no intention of listening to Maori concerns or advice. Clearer parameters as to what Te Roopu Manukura stood for and what it represented had yet to be clearly defined by all parties concerned – the University, iwi authorities and Maori students. It would also have been useful if the University took heed of the 1997 audit report’s recommendation to ensure a periodic “updated comparison of any disparities between vision and reality” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:4).

### **A cautionary note – there is change and there is CHANGE**

At a glance, it would be questionable as to the level of commitment and amount of progress that the University of Waikato has made regarding issues concerning Maori. However, the reports and policy documents just described need to be viewed in context with the events that were shaping the national direction for higher education. In particular, the mid-1980s to 1990s was a period of major policy reform, which, according to Peters & Roberts (1999:27), produced “momentous” changes to the

economic, social and educational life of the country. Peters & Roberts (1999:14-16) describe such changes as having been “premised on a set of neo-liberal philosophical assumptions,” where the “primacy of the market” became the sole focus and priority of progress, and where education became a “commodity,” which was for “private rather than public good.” Butterworth & Butterworth (1998) on the other hand, describe these changes as being mere reflections on what the education system was originally supposed to be and how it was to be implemented. According to them, “the founders of the New Zealand system explicitly distrusted the state as an agency of education” (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:21). The intention was to move the control out to the areas and provinces, with only a small number of services being handled centrally. This was to avoid the problem associated with having “universal state funding” that tended to make “the system focus on the centre, and to become dependent on it” (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:23).

Despite these oppositional views the fact remains that the education system has, as a result of the policy reforms, become more in tune (with much vociferous opposition) with the neo-liberal, ‘New Right’, forces. Peters & Roberts (1999:19) describe the opening up (and subsequent ‘bleeding’) of the tertiary education system in New Zealand as a result of these reforms, which has meant that universities are no longer the sole degree-awarding institution. Butterworth & Butterworth (1998) have regarded this period where the issues of accountability, equality and equity, and more importantly – who pays? – were paramount in policy development and implementation (1998:25). This emphasis on who pays, or who should pay (the individual versus the state), has led towards more competitiveness between and among institutions (university, polytechnic and the like), creating a “pressure-cooker situation” of stretched resources, increased workloads and lower staff morale (Peters & Roberts 1999:19).

More importantly, however, the reforms served to unleash a new debate about the ‘elitism’ of university – couched in the guise of protecting high quality academic

standards – and the need to become more ‘entrepreneurial’ – more in pursuit of student dollars and external revenue generation than reliance on government (and taxpayer) funding. Peters & Roberts (1999:25) claim that if such an approach should continue, “traditional canons of scholarly rigour could be placed under increasing threat, not just because standards will have been lowered in an environment where any organisation can set itself up as a university, but also because they will no longer matter for many people.”

For Maori, the upholding of principles like quality, equality and accountability seem to have become less important as a result of these reforms, although the neo-liberal argument would argue otherwise. In effect, the reforms have seen changes in how principles like quality, equality and accountability have been defined. The new thinking regards accountability in a way where institutions must justify their ‘taking’ of public money; where equality is defined as being available to all who can afford (with loans for those who cannot), and quality based on the idea that competition will inevitably breed better quality.

No institution escaped unscathed by the changes introduced during this major reform period. While the growth of the University of Waikato was staggering over the decade of the 1990s, especially for Maori, the measuring of outputs and effectiveness of initiatives and programmes must be viewed in light of the system over which the University itself has had little or no control. Indeed, while there is an acknowledgement that effective change must be implemented from ‘top-down’, it must be remembered that the top of the university tree does not finish at the council level. In short, then, change must be instituted higher up, at the government level.

### **A summary: Thirty-odd years and three documents – What has it meant for Maori?**

The University of Waikato was established in the early 1960s with pomp and ceremony. In 1965, the Governor-General put forward the challenge to the University of Waikato to make full use of its location within the heart of Maori and the strength of their tribal traditions. Over the years, the University of Waikato can (and does) claim to have a high-quality Maori language programme, initiatives to attract Maori students (such as Te Timatanga Hou), and quality bilingual and immersion teaching programmes, plus high quality Maori research. However, has the University of Waikato met the challenge laid down by the Governor-General during its foundation year?

This thesis gives particular attention to the years 1992 to 1997. During this period, the University of Waikato was involved in three significant documents, all of which had impact on Maori. The Charter, a government requirement, was produced in 1991 to provide a corporate plan for the University, which would make it accountable for the public funds it received while also maintaining some degree of autonomy. The commissioning of the strategic plan, Paetawhiti, in 1993 was an attempt by the University to move on from the Charter and to chart some way forward, identifying key constituents, key issues and putting forward recommendations for action and implementation. Finally, the invitation to the Academic Audit Unit to conduct an audit and report its findings in 1997 was an initiative of the University in order to assess its progress regarding its academic quality procedures. All of these documents consistently placed a high emphasis on the needs of Maori. But have they been met?

Having read the three documents, I am drawn to one statement time and time again. To me it is descriptive of the University of Waikato's action (or inaction) regarding Maori issues since its establishment: "the panel found that the evident goodwill has not always been translated into structures that will ensure an environment that is

congenial for Maori students” (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:2). Historically, this was shown through the length of time taken in establishing the Centre for Maori Studies and Research, the Maori Department and the School of Maori and Pacific Development. While external influences can be partially blamed for much of the early inaction, the University of Waikato must look at itself and assess the true extent of its willingness to contribute to the advancement and development of Maori through their access to and participation in Maori society. Indeed, as Karetu (1989:73) described, “there is much about the academic world that is unattractive: its pettiness, its vindictiveness and its constant striving for one-upmanship.” In essence, this statement reflects the University’s position as a derivative of its colonial past, where power imbalances, through members of the academy, have maintained their hold on determining what counts as knowledge, and therefore have maintained the status quo of western domination in an institutional setting.

Overseas literature has identified that increasing minority student retention has to be reflected at all levels of an institution rather than being isolated to particular schools, disciplines or alternative programmes (American Council on Education 1993:32). In the context of the Paetawhiti report, the University of Waikato needed to ensure an institutional commitment to Maori that was reflected, accepted and incorporated in all aspects of the University and how it operated.

If one traces the history of the University of Waikato, which has been provided briefly within this chapter, one can see that treatment of and reference to Maori has been due to the persistence of key Maori and non-Maori figures. There have been repeated calls for the University, since its establishment, to take advantage of its unique positioning within the heart of very strong Maori tribal traditions. Despite the positive initiatives established by the University, the implications of the 1997 Academic Audit Unit report were that, by and large the University consistently missed opportunities to stamp its authority in university education as the premier

institution for Maori to study. It did not appear to heed the calls of Kingsbury to ensure that a Maori ethos was present throughout campus, nor has it been evident that the University has been receptive to the alternative, or Maori ways, of knowing.

While it is acknowledged that government constraints (such as the University Grants Committee) and reforms (such as those in the 1980s and 1990s) have gradually and effectively changed the ways universities cater for their indigenous population, it still seems apparent that the University has not managed over time to entrench its position as the “Maori university,” as described by Karetu (1989).

Effectively, the progress of the University up to 1997 appears to have slowed in its momentum. The only way of measuring such progress would be to ensure that key policy documents such as the Charter, Paetawhiti and the 1997 audit reporting processes, remain as benchmarks. In this way, a clearer picture of the University’s response to increasing the participation and retention of Maori students through to graduation will emerge.

The thesis now turns to examine how a Maori organisation has tried to effect change for its tribal members in the area of higher education.

## **CHAPTER FIVE - THE TAINUI MAORI TRUST BOARD AND EDUCATION**

Maaku anoo e hanga tooku nei whare ko ngaa pou pou he maahoe he patete ko te taahuhu he hinau.

I shall build a house, the ridgepole will be of hinau and the supporting posts of maahoe, patete. Those who inhabit that house shall be raised on rengarenga and nurtured on kawariki.

In essence, what Taawhiao meant was that the sickness facing his people brought about by war, poverty and land alienation, likened them to the weakest trees in the forest, but he would shelter and nurture them back to strength. Maaori communities are only as strong as the weakest member. (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:90)

### **Introduction**

This saying by Tawhiao has underpinned the tribe's determination to move forward despite the Raupatu suffered as a consequence of the 1860s Land Wars. Culminating with the partial settlement achieved by Te Puea and others in 1946, the establishment of the Tainui Maori Trust Board was seen as one vehicle by which the tribe could return to its former strength.

The introductory chapter outlined briefly the origins and history of the Waikato tribe. Early historical accounts (such as Buck 1977; Gorst 1949; Kelly 1959) have interpreted Waikato tribal history from a mainly western perspective. National attention focused on the tribe in 1995 when it signed an agreement with the New Zealand government in regard to resolution of the Raupatu, spawning a number of articles about Tainui and Waikato tribal history and politics (The Listener; Mana; Kia Hiwa Ra; Waikato Times; New Zealand Herald). More recent accounts (Biggs 1995, using the words of Jones; Turongo House 2000) have added new insights into Waikato history, some seen through the eyes of tribal elders and leaders (Kukutai

1995; Turner 1995; Mahuta 1995), in a process that Smith (1999:7) describes as “researching back.”

Further to this theme of ‘researching back,’ this chapter illustrates the efforts of a tribal governing authority to be decolonised, and to find the most appropriate ways to achieve self-determination for the tribe. Ironically, the Tainui Maori Trust Board, being a construction of the government (under the Maori Trust Boards Act 1955), was unable to become truly decolonised until after the signing of the settlement of Raupatu in 1995, which set about a course of action, transferring issues of governance, ownership and management away from the government to the Waikato people themselves.

Despite the constraints of operating under the mantle of, and being accountable to the government, the establishment of the Tainui Maori Trust Board in 1946 was seen by tribal leaders as a positive and pragmatic move towards redressing some of the imbalances of the past and towards the continued progression of the resolution of the land confiscations of the 1860s. The Tainui Maori Trust Board provided the financial vehicle that allowed for the provision of educational grants and scholarships as well as helping to realise the economic self-sufficiency of some of its tribal members. This chapter will illustrate the establishment, progress and development of the Tainui Maori Trust Board, with particular attention focused on its approaches and initiatives developed towards ensuring the education of its tribal members.

The 1980s were a major turning point for the Tainui Maori Trust Board, politically, tribally and socially. A number of reports were written during this time, which focused on aspects of health, development and education. This chapter will examine the Tainui Education Strategy, produced in two parts in 1986 and 1991. The positing of thoughts and the goals and objectives contained within the reports allow for a better understanding of the educational objectives not only of the Tainui Maori Trust Board but also the wider Maori community. The review of this document will also

track the achievements and the issues that have yet to be resolved by the Tainui Maori Trust Board.

The most significant achievement of the Tainui Maori Trust Board to date has been the settlement of the Raupatu land claim (in reference to the confiscation of lands suffered in the 1860s Land Wars) in 1995. No discussion on the development of the Waikato people can occur without reference to this significant achievement. A direct result of the settlement of the Raupatu was the establishment of a whole new range of education scholarships, and a substantive financial increase into education as a whole. Little formal analysis has been undertaken to examine the settlement of the Raupatu and its effects on the ability of the tribe to determine its own future development. However, the post-settlement emphasis has been to increase the educated base of the tribe, which was implemented through a greater financial investment in higher education through educational scholarships. This chapter identifies some of the initiatives developed since the Settlement, which will be examined in further detail in the following chapters.

Throughout the history of the Tainui Maori Trust Board, there has been an emphasis on education in general and in particular to the educational advancement of its tribal members. What should emerge from this chapter are a number of complex issues, some of which have been addressed, some of which wait to be addressed and analysis of others that have yet to be recognised. All these issues will be accorded some examination and weighting in this chapter. The intention is to emerge from this chapter with a greater understanding of how the Tainui Maori Trust Board has evolved over time, its educational policies and strategies and to determine whether the processes in place are adequate not only for the immediate future but whether they are relevant for future generations.

## **The Establishment of the Tainui Maori Trust Board**

Waikato formally accepted the government's offer in relation to the Raupatu grievances on 22 April 1946, concluding (at the time) nearly ninety years of discussions, disagreements and negotiations between the two parties. The Waikato-Maniapoto Maori Claims Settlement Act (1946) set out the legislative requirements under which the payments from the government were to be administered. From this legislative process emerged the Tainui Maori Trust Board.

The role of the Tainui Maori Trust Board was to receive the government's annual payment on behalf of the Waikato people and be responsible for its administration and distribution. Other requirements the first Board undertook were to provide funding for tribal members to further their agricultural pursuits and to establish educational scholarships to address the lack of education of tribal members (Tainui Maori Trust Board Annual Report 1993:9). The first Tainui Maori Trust Board comprised members nominated by Te Puea Herangi after which elections were held to determine the composition (Tainui Maori Trust Board Annual Report 1993:8).

## **The Introduction of Educational Scholarships**

At the Board's second meeting, the educational needs of tribal members were discussed at some length, which resulted in a motion being passed. This motion asserted that funds would be set aside annually for an "Educational Scholarship to be known as the 'Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship' to assist deserving cases among Maori Scholars of the Tainui Tribes" (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1947:11).<sup>1</sup> The sum of £240 was agreed as being the total amount for annual

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<sup>1</sup> Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book. Most of the meetings of the Tainui Maori Trust Board were recorded by hand or typewriter and bound into this Minute Book, from which most references for this chapter of the thesis have been taken. The Minute Book comprises the minutes of the meetings of the

distribution. The reason for naming the scholarship ‘Tumate Mahuta Memorial’ arose from the work that this leader had done in relation to the settlement of the confiscation issues, as outlined in the terms and conditions of the scholarship: “The late Tumate Mahuta was the leader of the Waikato delegations to the successive governments from the year 1935. He was a member of the kahui ariki, and he displayed high qualities of leadership in tribal affairs and in his negotiations with the Government in connection with the Waikato Confiscation Claim” (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1947:1). It is especially interesting to point out the reference to Tumate Mahuta as a leader who displayed this leadership in ‘high qualities’. This reference has particular relevance when looking at the analysis of the Board’s scholarships to the present day, which will be done later in the chapter.

Another interesting aspect in the establishment of the scholarship was the fact that it was modelled on the Rima Wakarua Memorial Fund that was offered by the Taranaki Maori Trust Board (which represented the mid-west coast region of the North Island of New Zealand). While no explanation is given as to why this was done, it could be that the similarities in terms of the actual Trust Board functions as well as the similar histories suffered by these two tribes at the hands of the colonial government may have allowed for some synergies to be reflected in the educational arena.

### Selection Criteria

The formation of the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship was to assist the educational pursuits of young Tainui people, although the pursuits to be supported were at the discretion of the Board. In the first instance, the Tainui Maori Trust Board members requested information from intending recipients on issues such as the desired future occupation as well as any ability to speak Maori (Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship Application Form, p4, Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1947). Having set out the terms and conditions for the scholarship, Board members

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Tainui Maori Trust Board from its establishment in 1946 to the late 1980s. It is an unpublished document held at the Tainui tribal headquarters.

appeared quite prudent in their selection of recipients. While it was noted that six applications were received for the inaugural scholarship (listed as being four educational, one general and one sports), not one was awarded (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1947:35-36). What the Board members deliberated on was the need for the applicants to maintain the high standard of educational achievement set down by the Board. This point appears to have been carried through to present day educational grants offered.

As a result of these first attempts at offering educational assistance, it becomes clear from the subsequent discussions held at Board meetings that the issue of 'standards' required further examination in particular relating to what areas of study constituted a high 'standard' and at what level this high 'standard' was to be carried out (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1947:45-46). Throughout 1947, in only its first year of operation, the Tainui Maori Trust Board members decided that the educational scholarship was to be restricted to university students only. The reasons given for this decision were:

- 1) Financial assistance from Government readily available to scholars and parents.
- 2) Indications that there would be large numbers of applications at secondary school thus rendering each individual grant of very little value.
- 3) Numerous High Schools in Tainui Area in close proximity to homes of Tainui scholars, therefore they should be within the means of parents to meet the educational requirements of their families (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1947:45-46).

### **The Board and Educational Scholarships: 1950s**

Once the parameters for the distribution of funding set aside for education were decided upon, Board attention turned to the processing of the applications as they were received. This process resulted in the Board having to process each application

at its Board meetings, which, during the first ten year period of the Board, were being held about three or four times a year. During the 1950s, the concentration of applicants was in the field of teaching, although a number of students had enrolled for study in the fields of medicine, dentistry, accounting and commerce.

#### The Ngarimu VC Memorial Scholarship

In 1950 the Ngarimu VC Scholarship Fund was established in memory of Moana Ngarimu, a Maori soldier of the 28th Maori Battalion who had fought and died in the Second World War. This distinguished soldier of Ngati Porou descent (from the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand) was the only Maori soldier to be awarded the Victoria Cross (posthumously) and the Scholarship Fund was established in order for other young Maori to achieve, as he had, except in the area of education. The qualities that were essential for the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship were also qualities that were being sought for applicants for this scholarship. The Tainui Maori Trust Board was approached, as were many tribal authorities, and a \$50 contribution was approved for payment on behalf of the Board and the people of Waikato toward the establishment of the Ngarimu VC Memorial Scholarship.

#### Boundary Changes for Scholarship Eligibility Criteria

Under the 1946 Waikato-Maniapoto Claims Settlement Act, the tribe was defined according to hapu affiliations. When the Tainui Maori Trust Board first established the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship, the tribal boundaries from which applicants were drawn extended from Tamaki in the north to Mokau in the southern region of the tribe. In 1951, the Board resolved to extend these boundaries to include Hauraki to the east of the tribal region for the purpose of including those “people who are closely allied to Waikato tribes” (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1951:124). At this meeting, the boundaries were rewritten to include the “northern extremity of Moehau Peninsula thence following the coast in an easterly and southerly direction to Ngakuriawharei thence in a westerly direction to Atiamuri on the Waikato River thence down the river to Arapuni” (Tainui Maori Trust Board

Minute Book 1951:124). In effect, the rewriting and extension of these tribal boundaries meant that Board members saw themselves as being responsible for providing educational assistance to those who belonged to the Tainui canoe as opposed to only those who had suffered from the Raupatu confiscations of the 1860s. Throughout the history of the educational scholarships, the boundaries from which applicants were drawn have played a prominent, if at times political, part in determining the recipients. This was to become particularly so immediately after the signing of the Raupatu settlement in 1995, where boundaries changed affiliation from the 33 identified hapu, to also include affiliation to one of 61 recognised marae.

The result of this change in boundaries allowed for a larger number of people to apply for funding. In 1955, as a direct result of the changes to the boundaries of affiliation, the Tainui Maori Trust Board awarded a grant to a student who had enrolled at the postgraduate level at a college in the United States (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1955:164). This was the Board's first involvement with university education beyond the first degree.

### Views on the First Ten Years

The first ten years of the Tainui Maori Trust Board's foray into education can be seen in two ways. Firstly, several changes were made during this period, a characteristic which some could say would not be unusual for a new organisation charting what would have been unfamiliar territories. Drawing up terms and references, setting the intent of scholarships (such as the attainment of high educational standards), the changing of boundaries (to accommodate a wider group of people) and assessing individual cases as they arose were all new and quite foreign for many of the Board members, especially as the Chairman (and then Secretary) of the Board, Pei Te Hurinui Jones, would have been the most qualified member in terms of educational training and experience.

Secondly certain achievements were accomplished. The refining of educational assistance forced Board members to become more knowledgeable and clear about the intentions with which they were awarding the scholarships. Board members were also required to contribute financially to new scholarships being offered - such as the Ngarimu – despite their own meagre financial resources from which to draw. Finally, Board members also entered into the arena of postgraduate study, as well as coming to grips with the requirements and expectations of overseas institutions. It was indeed an auspicious beginning for the Board.

### **The Board and Educational Scholarships: 1960s**

The 1960s was another period of development in education where Maori were concerned. For the Board, these changes reflected the impact of external influences. At the same time, the Board tried to maintain consistency in the funding of scholarships, as well as looking for new avenues in which tribal members could progress their education.

#### Implications of the Hunn Report for Waikato

The Hunn Report of 1960 had detailed the poor state of the Maori people in all areas of life. In 1961, a visit by the Minister of Maori Affairs, Mr Hanon, and Mr Hunn himself, to Turangawaewae Marae included an address by the Minister in relation to the various scholarships that were at that time available to Maori scholars. In particular, the Minister referred to the establishment of a new scholarship fund that had come about as a direct result of the recommendations from the Hunn Report. The Maori Education Foundation Fund, which offered scholarships to Maori in all areas of education, in particular at the tertiary level, was being established and the Minister was requesting assistance from the Waikato people in order for this fund to become operational. It would seem that, despite the findings of the Hunn Report, Maori were still being asked to be financially responsible for their educational advancement. This

approach was akin to how the colonial government expected Maori to contribute to the education of their children in the 1800s. In effect, it could be concluded that the government attitude to Maori educational advancement had made little real progress since that time.

The Board deliberated at some length before deciding upon an initial grant of £250, with the question of subsequent grants to be reviewed the following year (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1961:224). This was not the first time the Tainui Maori Trust Board had been asked to contribute to an educational fund for the benefit of all Maori, nor was it the last.

#### Postgraduate Education – Some Concerns

Nearly ten years after the first grant was made to a postgraduate student, the Board received another application for assistance from another postgraduate student. The Maori Education Foundation Fund had been in operation for a few years, and some members of the Board expressed concerns as to the Foundation's operations and methods for determining eligibility, which included means testing and certain levels of primary and secondary school attainment. One member in particular thought that the Maori Education Foundation Fund "should not take any part in pre-school, primary or secondary schools education unless there were surplus funds available after grants [had] been made for university and Teachers Training College students" (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1963:242). Despite the contribution made by Tainui to the Maori Education Fund, they did not have a say in its administration, nor the processes it adopted for the awarding of scholarships. Nevertheless, the applicant was given a significant contribution from the Board in recognition of the advanced level of study. The issue of prioritising the funding of the different education sectors, as expressed by one of the Board members, has been at the forefront of Board discussions in relation to education, maintaining a high priority to present day.

### Establishment of the University of Waikato

The University of Waikato was established in 1964 in Hamilton. While its establishment is discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, its relevance here relates to yet another contribution made by the Tainui Maori Trust Board towards the advancement of tertiary education, particularly where opportunities arose for tribal members to participate. In this instance, fundraising for the University Halls of Residence had at that time involved most sectors of the community and it appeared a natural progression that the Board, along with other Maori groups, would contribute too. In 1966, it was agreed that the Board grant £100 to the University of Waikato as a donation for the Halls of Residence Appeal (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1966:261).

### Adult Students

While the granting of educational scholarships may have been targeted mainly towards the younger student, the Tainui Maori Trust Board ensured that married students were also accorded respect. In fact, the Board awarded quite a significant sum of money in 1965 to a married, adult student, because the achievements of this particular student had “sparked off” other adult Maori students who had views of “emulating his success” (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1965:252). In later years, the awarding of educational grants to adult, or mature students has been viewed as the norm rather than the exception.

### Exceptional Awards

As with the scholarship awarded to adult students, the Tainui Maori Trust Board was also not shy in granting financial assistance to areas outside of the academic ‘norm’. While the majority of scholarships awarded since its establishment had been in the areas of teaching, medicine, law and other more traditional university pursuits, in 1969 the Board showed that it was not averse to giving funding to a tribal member to pursue study of a musical nature in New York (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute

Book 1969:278). However, in more recent years, the emphasis has returned towards awarding more traditional university pursuits.

While the Board was distributing grants annually to tribal members intent on furthering their tertiary education, it was not until the late 1960s that the total yearly amount being distributed was discussed with the view to change. At a meeting of the Board in 1968, reference was made to legislation under which the Board was operating. In particular, reference was made in relation to some of the recommendations made in the Hunn Report nearly ten years earlier, and specifically the fact that Trust Boards (such as Tainui) should devote at least half of their incomes towards the cause of Maori education. Given that the annual allowance received from the Government was \$6000, the Board distributed nearly one sixth of that in educational grants in 1968 (\$1000). While no firm decision was made either way at that meeting, the issue of how much funding the Board should be giving to the area of education has been raised many times since. Specifically, the discussion in later years has centred on the obligations of the government to provide certain aspects of education for Maori, rather than the need for Maori authorities such as the Tainui Maori Trust Board to replace the role and responsibility of the government.

### **The Board and Educational Scholarships: 1970s**

The beginning of the 1970s saw new conditions being added to the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship application form. Prospective recipients were asked to enrol as 'beneficiaries' or tribal members of the Tainui tribes before they could be deemed eligible to apply for grants (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1970:280).<sup>2</sup> Previously, membership to the Tainui tribes was restricted in some cases to the knowledge of the applicant by Board members, and whether applicants were living

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<sup>2</sup> It is unclear from the Minute Book whether the tribal roll, as it exists in its current form, was established during this time. It could be that the enrolment as tribal members was related only to the application for education scholarships.

within the tribal regions or not. As with many of the other issues raised so far relating to the terms and conditions of the scholarship offered by the Board, this new requirement impacted on the people belonging to the tribe.

External events included the opening of the Centre for Maori Studies and Research at the University of Waikato in 1972. The head of the Centre was Robert Mahuta, a tribal member, past recipient of a scholarship from the Board as well as being a Board member. Interestingly, no mention is made of this achievement in Board records, despite it being well recorded in University documents (see Day 1984).

#### Changes to Scholarship Administration

In 1974 a special meeting was held to discuss the educational grants, with specific reference to their effectiveness. It was resolved that there was a need to establish a sub-committee, whose responsibility would be to administer and process grant applications for the following year, as well as seek funding from the “Maori Study Centre” (presumably the Centre for Maori Studies and Research at the University of Waikato) “to bring down recommendations as to the future use of education grants” (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1974:312). While it took some time for Board minutes to reflect the changes that occurred in the scholarship application process, the setting up of an education sub-committee has been a lasting appointment in the operational structure of the Board. The focus of the education sub-committee was to ensure that tribal members had access to education through assisting in the removal of the financial barriers that often faced Maori. The education sub-committee however, found it quite difficult to match this need with the financial reality of what it was able to give students, and this was recorded with some concern:

Again we have quite a number of students attending our Universities. The standard grant is \$100 per student. Even so we still have not enough money to help those of our students who have qualified for some special help. Again some serious thinking needs to be focused on this area (Secretary’s Report to Tainui Maori Trust Board, 31-03-1977 to 31-03-1978, Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1978:6).

This issue was to become a major focus during the lean period of the following decade.

### **The Board and Educational Scholarships: 1980s**

The recommendations sought in 1974 by the education sub-committee from the Tainui Maori Trust Board in relation to the administration of the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship were not discussed until the early 1980s. These recommendations referred to a streamlining of the application form for the scholarship. This process was to ensure that the information being requested was not outdated and that the application form was relevant and modern. It should be noted that while substantial change had occurred in the scholarship application form during its first ten-year period, there is no record in Board minutes of the scholarship application form being updated or modified significantly since the 1950s.

During the 1980s the financial position of the Board became such that enquiries were made to the Department of Maori Affairs for a subsidy to supplement the education grant. The Department of Maori Affairs would not consider the proposal so the Board resolved to approach New Zealand Steel for funding.<sup>3</sup> This was the first time that outside companies were approached to assist in the funding of educational grants for Tainui tribal members, and it was not to be the last. It is also interesting to note here that the government which was keen to insist on Maori providing for their education back in the 1960s, was not interested in assisting in what was seen as a time of need by the Board.

Having no support from the Department of Maori Affairs, the Tainui Maori Trust Board nevertheless moved forward in developing its own direction, not only in the

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<sup>3</sup> New Zealand Steel was a major company in New Zealand during this period. It had a steel mill located within the tribal region at Glenbrook, south of Auckland.

area of education, but also in other social areas of concern to Tainui - health and welfare. In particular, the mid to late 1980s saw the production of several well-researched documents with the help of the Centre for Maori Studies and Research at the University of Waikato. The release of the Tainui Report in 1984 highlighted the actual level of suffering that the Waikato tribe had endured as a result of being landless. Many experienced poor health, and the majority of tribal members were in low paid employment (many of whom were not in employment at all) - all these issues were brought to the fore. Following the release of the Tainui Report, a team of educators, composed of tribal and non-tribal members, Maori and non-Maori, worked together to produce a comprehensive account of the education of tribal members. The Tainui Education Strategy, which was produced in 1986, not only highlighted the problems faced in the past, but also presented options from which the Board could focus its energies for the future.

### **The Tainui Education Strategy**

The Tainui Education Strategy “arose out of concerns expressed at the Hui Taumata regarding Maori educational achievement” (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986:1). These concerns specified the failure of the education system as it existed and called for a “bold, innovative approach” where the “responsibility for educational change would have to come from the people themselves” (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986:1). Produced in two parts, the Tainui Education Strategy was a blueprint for the Tainui Maori Trust Board in that it acknowledged the poor position of Maori within the education system as mentioned. More importantly, the Strategy sought to improve the position of Maori within this education system through positing possible ways in which the Board could attempt to overcome the deficiencies that were highlighted in the report.

### The First Report

The Tainui Maori Trust Board contracted the Centre for Maori Studies and Research to produce the first report. The covering letter accompanying the Tainui Education Strategy 1987-1997 report to the Tainui Maori Trust Board identified five areas of action:

- 1) To seek a meeting with the Minister of Education to discuss the contents of the paper;
- 2) To seek Cabinet support for the vesting of the Taupiri and Pirongia endowments into the Trust Board and the appropriate University Councils;
- 3) To discuss the updating of our raupatu case to provide additional supportive funds;
- 4) To devise a long-term strategic plan to meet Tainui educational objectives;
- 5) To ensure that Tainui is able to position its beneficiaries strategically to meet the challenges of the 21st Century.<sup>4</sup>

The focus of the first report outlined a proposal to establish two endowed Maori university colleges attached to the University of Auckland and the University of Waikato. The establishment of these colleges was based on the fact that two land blocks, which had been given to the Anglican Church for educational purposes, had never been used as such. The Board discussed a proposal that sought approval from the Cabinet of the Government for the vesting of Taupiri and Pirongia endowments back to the Board. The reason given, in Board minutes, was that the University of New Zealand was established on the Raupatu (confiscation) of the Pirongia, Taupiri, Whakatane and Taranaki lands (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986:8). The rental income from the Pirongia and Taupiri blocks (roughly 10,000 acres each) was used to fund the University of Auckland, and it was this money that the Board wanted redirected for the establishment of the two endowed colleges.

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<sup>4</sup> Letter from R T Mahuta, Director, Centre for Maori Studies and Research, to Chairman, Tainui Maori Trust Board, 1986.

The report identified the monocultural nature of universities, which serve “one set of values, those of the dominant culture within traditional western industrialised society, along with its institutions and its traditions,” and where the education system services the “interests of that society and its values” (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986:4). Providing a brief overview of the state of Maori education, the emphasis of the report was on the establishment of the two endowed colleges, which were seen as being positive changes counteracting the continuing assimilationist approach adopted by New Zealand universities which “virtually ignored the continuing realities of the Maori world” (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986:5). According to the report, the establishment of these endowed colleges would combine the resemblance of “the ‘College’ familiar within the older British universities” which would “grow naturally from component elements within existing New Zealand university structures” (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986:8). Specifically, these colleges were identified as being:

- 1) A physical entity within the university with its own residential, tutorial and study provisions.
- 2) A place of residence for a number of students predominantly but not exclusively Maori who elect to live within a College environment which would be Maori in as many aspects as can be provided for.
- 3) A tutorial staff working within the Waananga and offering some specialised lecturing to other departments and divisions of the university.
- 4) Through seminar and research activities, a “Think-Tank” where, in particular, national matters of policy and international matters of scholarship can be pursued at an advanced level.
- 5) A place where scholars of standing nationally and internationally may be in residence for whatever may be the varying and convenient length of stay (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986:8-9).

The report outlined five main recommendations ranging from the establishment of the endowed Maori university colleges, the establishment of a Maori Education Authority, the need to develop a comprehensive Maori education strategy, to the need for tribal authorities to involve themselves with such initiatives and an overall social justice approach (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986:14-15).

### The Second Report

Following on from the production of the first report, the Tainui Maori Trust Board took its second step, expanding the 1986 report “into a comprehensive strategy which will provide maximum support for the educational achievement of Tainui children and adults” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:2). An Education Committee was formed with the objective of producing the strategy. Made up of mainly Tainui educators, representing all education sectors, the Education Committee also drew on the experience and expertise of other Maori and non-Maori educators and academics. Working in a voluntary capacity, the Education Committee worked towards outlining how the educational advancement of Tainui tribal members might be achieved. Their strategy was outlined in six main recommendations:

- 1) New initiatives should utilise a community development approach wherein members of the indigenous group gain substantial authority to make decisions about the education of their children at all levels of schooling.
- 2) Schools should provide culturally appropriate instruction.
- 3) School curriculum should foster cultural identity and self-reliance.
- 4) High quality early childhood programmes should be supported.
- 5) High quality language instruction in the indigenous language should be supported.
- 6) Opportunities for training members of the indigenous groups as certified teachers should be maximised (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:2).

### Basis of the Objectives: Drawing on the Research

A cursory glance at the objectives listed in the Tainui Education Strategy reveals a wish list for Maori education. The reality within this wish list, and constantly identified as an ‘if’ was the issue of ‘appropriate funding’. The second report drew on the experience provided by international research to outline some of the issues and problems associated with the negative statistics relating to Maori education. Examples included the issue of low school achievement as defined by Ogbu’s (1978) work on minorities (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:41). The report referred to the relationship between low education and the associated high costs of maintaining

people through benefits and health and welfare requirements (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:42). The report also identified the “lack of cultural compatibility” as being another major reason for the dysfunction and low Maori academic achievement (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:42). A number of issues were identified as being contributors to the low academic achievement of Maori in education. One explanation, based on the biological identity of race was prevalent as a theory for intelligence in New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s. The theory of cultural deprivation was also promoted during the 1960s, suggesting “Maori and other minority children had been deprived of the learning experiences by which a child acquires culture and therefore the school must provide those experiences for them” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:42).

The report identified “culture conflict” as an issue contributing to the low academic achievement of Maori (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:43). Highlighting the conflicts between school and the home environment of the child, this theory proposed that by developing alternative programmes to reduce this conflict, the problem would lessen. The report argued against this notion, however, citing differences in experiences for minority cultures (such as Asian minorities) that were still able to exceed the academic performances of the dominant culture.

Another area, which the report highlighted in its research regarding factors contributing to poor Maori academic achievement, included that of the relationships between politics and economics (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:43). Drawing again from Ogbu’s assertions, the report stated that “it is the children of groups who have been politically and economically subordinated, often by conquest, who have difficulty in schools that are operated by descendants of the groups responsible for the subordination” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:43). The report related this to the experience of the Waikato tribe during the confiscation of its lands in the 1860s, where its land and subsequent economic base was stripped from its possession. However, the report stressed the need to “overcome the difficulties of the past by

establishing social and economic programmes, including this tribal education strategy, which will lead to a positive future for Tainui children and youth” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:44).

Finally, the report looked at the culture of the school as another explanation for the under-achievement of Maori in education. The approach of the Board to this was to develop a “critical stance toward the culture of schooling” through assisting in the reform process of schools (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:44).

The literature review provided the Board with the basis from which past education policies and research had been focused. In relation to minority and indigenous education, the Board was able to see the emphasis on the “Maori problem,” where responsibility was shifted away from educational systems and implementation programmes to specifically Maori-based problems, of family, of hereditary, or intelligence and, essentially, of Maori unwillingness to assimilate to the dominant culture. This identification allowed the Board to then determine what it saw as a better approach to achieving tino rangatiratanga for its tribal members, through the development of a tribal education strategy.

#### After the Research: Moving Forward

As a result of the reflection on what the literature had been able to highlight, the Board then worked towards establishing practical solutions to the problems identified. Overall the emphasis was towards developing community-based initiatives that were culturally appropriate and responsive to the needs of Maori children. While predominantly focusing on the early childhood and primary education sectors, the report cited the need for training more indigenous teachers to be able to provide the services outlined, and to enhance the objectives set out (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:49). The focus on training indigenous teachers was to counter what the research had identified as subtle ways in which teachers passed on their prejudices to children in their classrooms. Particularly, the report identified that “differences in

communication style between teachers from the dominant culture and children from minority cultures are known to handicap the performance of minority children in school” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:49). The report also identified that by using indigenous teachers, children were being exposed to positive role models, which would further enhance their educational experience.

Addressing all levels of the education system, that being from Kohanga Reo (early childhood) right through to tertiary education, the Tainui Education Strategy emphasised the need for the focus to be on achievement through the instigation of proactive measures as opposed to the more reactive initiatives that had been the general trend in the past.

Underlining the whole education strategy was the recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi as an essential component of the document. Specifically, the Treaty was seen as a “commitment to partnership between Maaori and Paakehaa” which “must be maintained if education for Maaori children is to be improved” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:2). The notion of partnership also implied that the government was equally responsible for ensuring the educational advancement of Maori. Similarly, the Board acknowledged the importance of the Kingitanga as the foundation for the strategy. The report saw the Kingitanga as being the central key to the identity of the Waikato people, reinforcing their cultural identity and integrity. In particular, it was felt that the Kingitanga was the “foundation” from which the implementation of the strategy was to be carried out and which took into account the Board’s commitment to the development of the tribe (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:3). Furthermore, it was viewed that as the Kingitanga was a pan-tribal movement, the role of the Kingitanga, through the Tainui Education Strategy, was to become an “effective and supportive poutokomanawa for tribal revival,” where the “restoration of mana Maaori motuhake or Maaori autonomous tribal identity” could be achieved (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:3). In this way, strength in identity was seen as a platform from which educational advancement could be achieved and tino rangatiratanga attained.

It was emphasised in the reports that the purpose of these documents proposing educational strategies for Maori arose out of the need to address the “educational attainment levels of Maori in the Board region” and the need for the government to recognise the importance of funding proactive rather than reactive or negative impact initiatives (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:13). While distinguishing the needs of the tribe within this report, it was also acknowledged that tribal members themselves had an obligation to advance their own education. With specific reference to tertiary education, it was noted that the pooling of funds among poorer families to ensure members were able to attend tertiary institutions was to be commended and encouraged. At the same time, it was also important to ensure that government funding was secured in order to fully implement the strategy, to the extent that the “education allocations for Maori students in the region should be progressively increased until all elements of this strategy are in place” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:11). The purpose of this statement, it would appear, was to ensure that while the Board would continue its contribution toward the advancement of education for its tribal members, it also wanted to ensure that the people themselves and more importantly, the government, also took their fair share of responsibility.

Overall, the objectives of the strategy were to ensure “organisational reform for the five-year period 1992-1997,” in effect being a strategic blueprint for the tribe and its approach to education (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:5). Provision was made within the strategy for an evaluation to assess its effectiveness to “emphasise formative evaluation of its implementation and monitoring of educational achievement of Maori children within the region over time” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:9). It was envisaged that the review would occur five years after the strategy had been implemented with the intention of modifying the objectives and refining the monitoring process.

Within the strategy, 14 goals and nine objectives were listed as integral to addressing the educational needs of tribal members. The goals were identified as the following:

- 1) To provide Tainui people with training and skills in critical thinking to enable them to become world citizens.
- 2) To empower Tainui in the intellectual and global pursuit of truth and knowledge.
- 3) To assist Tainui in striving for excellence in all their endeavours.
- 4) To recognise and develop individual talents in a tribal context through lifelong education.
- 5) To promote loyalty to the tribal traditions of Tainui and of Kiingitanga.
- 6) To support initiatives which enhance the realisation of the mission statement.
- 7) To support initiatives which enhance the academic achievement of Tainui people.
- 8) To support initiatives which enhance Te Reo me nga Tikanga o Tainui.
- 9) To promote positive attitudes toward education.
- 10) To encourage active parental participation in education.
- 11) To strengthen Tainui education networks.
- 12) To promote a range of education options for adults as well as children and youth.
- 13) To support individual learning from conception to death.
- 14) To increase the number of qualified Tainui professionals (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:4).

The objectives outlined in more detail specific areas in which these goals could be achieved. The objectives included the establishment of a regional Maori education authority, a Tainui Maori Trust Board education network, covered the area of special education, and included the early childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary education sectors. For this section, I will focus on the objectives that relate specifically to university education.

#### Tainui Maori Trust Board Education Network

The second of nine objectives, the Tainui Maori Trust Board Education Network referred to the development of initiatives that supported curriculum and resource development, appropriate teaching, assessment and research strategies (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:5). Using a diagram to indicate the flow of such initiatives, the aim of the network was to process requests from tribal members and produce resources as required back out to the communities through the identified processes (Tainui Maori

Trust Board 1991:55). Of particular interest in this objective was the identification of “specific objectives for the improvement of Maori achievement and retention rates at each level of the education system” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:5), where baseline data and monitoring would be established and implemented over time. It was stated that these objectives were achievable within five years “given appropriate funding” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:5).

The rationale for the inclusion of such an objective was to formalise networks in order for the “formation, dissemination, and implementation of education strategies and materials” that could “effectively strengthen and support initiatives at different levels” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:15). It was felt that while there was a strong informal network, some programmes and initiatives were operating in isolation, thus resulting, at times, in a duplication of the programmes, resources and without knowledge of others’ activities within the same area. The Board felt that in formalising such processes through the establishment of this network, that it would “effectively strengthen and improve educational achievement among Tainui children and youth” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:15).

### Teacher Training

Objective eight in the Tainui Education Strategy highlighted the need for more Maori teachers, and a desire to have Maori represented at all levels of the decision making process within teacher training education. Again, it was stated that this objective was achievable only with the appropriate funding. The Board felt that it was necessary to focus on the issue of Maori teacher training due to the large numbers of Maori children attending schools “where they are in the minority, where they have non-Maori teachers, and where their parents have little say in educational decision-making” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:34). Emphasis was placed on the need to change curriculum and teaching styles, to ensure that they were more culturally reflective and inclusive of how Maori live and learn.

Equally, the Board felt that this issue was one that needed to be addressed across the community. It identified the need for the community to retain its role in financially assisting teacher trainees through their education, as well as expanding opportunities within Maori communities for such trainees to practise. If funding was adequate, the Board proposed the provision of wananga for practising teachers, the establishment of a database of Tainui teachers, which would be used to measure the “progress in increasing the number of Maori teachers in the region” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:36).

The Board also identified the need for external agencies and government departments to become involved in this objective. Specifically, the Board saw the role of such agencies and departments as supporting the initiatives identified, and more importantly, to “accept that Tainui information is valid information and knowledge” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:36). The recruitment of Maori onto selection panels for teacher trainees and the acknowledgement of “relevant qualities” other than academic qualifications were also highlighted as being an integral to increasing the number of Maori within the teacher training sector while also reflecting Maori cultural values (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:36).

### The University of Waikato

The final objective to be included within the strategy was specifically focused on the University of Waikato. The objectives were wide-ranging and included the establishment of the endowed college at Waikato, the establishment of a “School of Maori Studies,” securing permanent funding for Te Timatanga Hou and the Maori Student Support Centre, increasing the number of Maori staff at the university (to 20%), as well as providing assistance to Tainui tribal members (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:9). One of the main intentions of this objective was to ensure that the University of Waikato increased the “proportion of its students who are Maori and to improve the distribution of Maori students across the schools of study and across degree levels” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:38). The other major intention of the

objective challenged the University of Waikato to “increase the Maori staff numbers at all levels and in all schools of study” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:38).

According to this report, the earlier proposal to establish two endowed colleges (contained within the first report on the Tainui Education Strategy to the Tainui Maori Trust Board) had been “endorsed throughout the university system and at the national level” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:38). Included within this latest report was the endorsement by the Tainui Maori Trust Board of a proposal to establish a new School of Maori Studies within the University of Waikato. The Board saw the establishment of such a school as being an effective way in which Maori interests within the University could be drawn together under the one umbrella. However, this objective did seem in conflict with the intention of ensuring that Maori staff and students were spread throughout the university system.

Conversely, while the Board was very supportive of the establishment of these new initiatives, it expressed its concerns at the lack of financial commitment displayed by the University of Waikato toward programmes that specifically addressed issues of recruitment and retention of Maori students at university. Specifically, the Board identified and stressed the need for programmes like Te Timatanga Hou and the Maori Student Support Centre to have “additional support and expansion” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:39). Te Timatanga Hou was described as having “demonstrated the effectiveness of Maori managed bridging courses in preparing Maori students for success at the tertiary level,” while the Maori Student Support Services Centre worked towards providing “academic assistance to students with the aim of increasing the Maori completion rate and otherwise improving academic performance” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:39).

In essence, the Board saw the role of increasing academic achievement as being wide-ranging, and this was reflected in the diverse options presented in the strategy. It also expressed confidence in the ability of the Maori community to satisfactorily

manage the tertiary initiatives described and it wanted to emphasise the need for the community to maintain and expand the financial assistance it was able to offer tribal members.

Overall, the Board saw a comprehensive approach in further developing the tertiary and university education sector for its tribal members, and for Maori as a whole. It pointed to past students, to national and international organisations, to Maori communities, to the University of Waikato community and to government to move collectively to support the initiatives it had outlined (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:40).

The two reports reflected the hopes and aspirations of the Tainui Maori Trust Board towards the better educational achievement of its tribal members. Drawing on the philosophies of the Kingitanga, the strategy for Tainui education was in the “development of equity and self-reliance by all Tainui descendants in educational, social, cultural, economic, and political aspects of life,” which took into consideration “Tainui’s commitment to rangatiratanga, Tainui’s role as kaitiaki of the Kiingatanga, and Tainui’s commitment to people as their major resource” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:4). The reality of being able to achieve what was stated, however, relied entirely on the availability of adequate financial resources, which the Board acknowledged as being very scarce.

As a blueprint document, the Tainui Education Strategy was a bold step forward by the Tainui Maori Trust Board in attempting to move its people towards a more positive future. The tangible outcomes from the objectives stated above have seen the establishment of the School of Maori and Pacific Development (referred to as the School of Maori Studies in the report) at the University of Waikato in 1996, and the establishment of the Waikato endowed college in 2000. Financial assistance to tribal members attending university has also increased substantially since the production of these reports and the settlement of the Raupatu in 1995, although it should be seen in

the context of the decrease in government funding (both in student allowances and in financial assistance in programmes like Manaaki Taurira).

Many of the databases and research activities that were envisaged within the strategy have not yet been implemented. It is debatable as to whether this is a result of the lack of funding from government and university sources, as the Board could also be questioned as to the prioritising of such objectives, especially given its assertion as people being the tribe's major resource and the development of its human resource as being its "priority objective" (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:90). Despite these intentions, there has been little follow-up as to the reprioritising of the tribe's educational objectives, or of its direction towards the year 2000 and beyond, in any substantial format similar to the two education reports examined in this chapter.

### **Preliminary Evaluation of the Tainui Education Strategy**

In 1993, a combined report was commissioned by the Ministry of Education to evaluate, among other things, the effectiveness of the Tainui Education Strategy. In short, this report found that despite endorsement in principle by the Ministry of Education and Members of Parliament, the strategy had had its progress "hindered by a lack of resources and a lack of financial commitment" (Ikin & Morgan 1993:7). It was also found that in order for the strategy to be realised, the Government also had to reciprocate the commitment (financially). In effect, the review of the Tainui Education Strategy focused on two areas: the development of a communication strategy and a progress report. The communication strategy was designed to "inform the Tainui population and the education community" about the Tainui Education Strategy (Ikin & Morgan 1993:4). The purpose of the progress report was to "discuss the progress of the objectives in the 'Tainui Education Strategy (Second Report) 1992-1997', (1991) and provide recommendations" (Ikin & Morgan 1993:17). This section will examine the progress report.

Ikin & Morgan (1993:4) were charged with the task of formulating a communication plan “to inform the Tainui population the education community” about the Tainui Education Strategy; producing a “progress report” on the “current position and progress” in achieving the objectives of the Tainui Education Strategy; and to “create a computerised database for education information.” They put forward four main recommendations. These recommendations included hosting a hui, forming education sub-committees, establishment of networks, and establishing a point of contact between the Education Committee and the community (Ikin & Morgan 1993:5-6). Ikin & Morgan also put forward five further recommendations with specific relevance to the Tainui Education Strategy. The five recommendations in the summary required that: “the Education Committee is restructured,” “the Tainui Education Strategy is refined and rewritten,” “a funding strategy is defined,” “a data collection strategy is established and implemented” and “a co-ordinator position is created” (Ikin & Morgan, 1993:19). More importantly, Ikin & Morgan identified that the recommendations could not be implemented if there was no real support or commitment toward realising the objectives stated in the strategy. Despite the identification of these recommendations, little detail was given as to how these recommendations might be achieved. In effect, due to the financial restrictions of the Board at the time, as well as the unwillingness of the government to commit financial assistance, these recommendations were paper only and of little real worth. The review of the strategy provided by Ikin & Morgan was ineffective because of the lack of financial resources and commitment that the report had already identified. Thus the state’s commitment, which Ikin & Morgan (1993:7) concluded to be “crucial to the fulfilment” of the positive vision of the Tainui Education Strategy, was not reciprocated.

What the review of the strategy identified was little more than what had already been identified with the production of the two earlier reports. The lack of government interest and involvement in moving the recommendations forward meant that the Board was left to find alternative ways to fund the objectives listed in the strategy. It

has been argued that perhaps the strategy was before its time. I agree. In effect, the review was unable to progress the educational advancement of Tainui tribal members further than what had already been achieved.

### **The Board and Educational Scholarships: 1990s**

The 1990s saw huge changes in the way the Board approached the funding and provision of tertiary education assistance for its tribal members. After the release of the Tainui Education Strategy, an intensive publicity drive followed to ensure that it would not be buried and forgotten. Activities were planned to ensure that the implementation of the strategy would be forthcoming and budgetary requirements, including staff needs, were taken into account. As the team responsible noted in its report to the Board, “the problem now is maintaining the momentum. The fear is that the good work and valuable contribution of members will slow down due to the added strains” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:61). The government was approached again in relation to some aspects of the strategy, and while the report was well received, it was reported to the Board meeting that little had progressed beyond the discussion stage (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:62).

At the same time as the Tainui Education Strategy was being pushed into the public forum, it appeared that work was being done on other activities relating to education. Board minutes note the introduction of a formal education policy for adoption by the Tainui Maori Trust Board (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1992:58). Presented to the Board in draft in early 1992, the rationale for this policy was that the Board had an “iwi obligation to initiate and co-ordinate Education Programmes for our people,” with the overriding intention that the policy “empowers Tainui people in the intellectual and global pursuit of truth and knowledge” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1992:58-59). Underpinning the success of the policy and its implementation, great reliance was placed on the funding of this policy by the Board. It is unclear how this

draft policy related to the Tainui Education Strategy, if at all. It does seem strange to have expended such effort on the research and production of the Tainui Education Strategy to then try and introduce a new education policy direction for the Board. In any case, external pressures for the Board, which was caught up with the direct negotiations for the settlement of its Raupatu claim, ensured that whatever spare money was available was being channelled to pay the costs for the claim.

Despite these setbacks, the Education Committee members continued to work for what they perceived to be ways forward in the educational opportunities of the tribe. In particular, the Education Committee reported to the Board that the tertiary education scholarship, the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship, was inadequate, especially when considering the “future Iwi requirements in terms of a skilled and educated workforce” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1992:64). While the suggestion was mooted that the scholarship programme needed to be expanded to reflect the future requirements, there is no record in Board minutes of any support being given. Again, I would suggest that the preoccupation with the settlement of the Raupatu claim would have overshadowed any future planning.

Internal processes to the way the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship was being administered were still being discussed and refined during the first few years of the 1990s. As with earlier attempts at defining tribal boundaries, Board staff found it increasingly difficult to process and award grants to those who appeared to be non-tribal members when Board members themselves were endorsing the applications.<sup>5</sup> In the Education Report to the May 1993 meeting of the Tainui Maori Trust Board, concern was expressed at the number of people being involved in the scholarship allocation process, to the extent that “the right hand doesn’t know what the left hand is doing” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1993:28). The concern was expressed in the

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<sup>5</sup> The process at that point required whakapapa, or genealogy, affiliating the applicant with one of the 33 hapu that suffered under the Raupatu, monies from which the earlier 1946 settlement had allowed for the establishment of the Tainui Maori Trust Board. In 1993, it was required that Board members who represented these 33 hapu verify applicants’ whakapapa.

context that the Education Committee, who were charged with the responsibility of selecting the scholarship recipients, were at times being left out of some of the decisions that were being made which directly affected their ability to fulfil the requirements of their job. Later in 1993, the Board decided to give the Education Committee delegated authority to negotiate with the Hopuhopu Trustees in order to complete their tasks (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1993:9). The Hopuhopu Trustees were appointed after the return of Hopuhopu, a former army base, by the government to the Tainui Maori Trust Board in 1992. Some of the funds for the scholarships had been taken from the income generated by its management. The Hopuhopu Trustees included the three senior members of the kahui ariki, namely Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu, her uncle Tumate Mahuta and Sir Robert Te Kotahi Mahuta.

The main focus of the administration of the scholarships leading up to the settlement of Raupatu in 1995 was the constant need for a “suitable process” for the applications (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1994:18). This process identified a number of issues: whakapapa, accountability (both from the student and the Board) and money available from year to year. These issues needed resolution in order to make any effective changes to the way the scholarships were administered and awarded.

### The Issue of Whakapapa

Ever since the scholarships were established in 1947 the issue of whakapapa has been a constant concern. In particular, changes in tribal boundaries that determined the inclusion and/or exclusion of hapu to access resources administered by the Board were the basis of much discussion throughout the Board’s history. Arising from the validation of whakapapa, Board experience in administering the scholarship application process saw some students change aspects of their whakapapa on an annual basis - in particular, which hapu or marae they were affiliated to. In part, this arose due to the Board’s insistence that recipients affiliate to only one principal marae and one principal hapu within the Raupatu boundaries. What has emerged is that some students have resisted linking themselves to one marae or hapu, and in other

instances, students have changed their information as they learn more about themselves and where they come from. The Board's concern has been that some students have tried to link their whakapapa in order to be eligible for a scholarship. This issue had still not been resolved satisfactorily by 1997.

### Accountability

There are two areas within this issue that need to be discussed. Firstly, to follow on from the previous issue of whakapapa, is accountability from the Board and secondly, accountability from the student.

In determining eligibility for receiving a scholarship, the Board resolved back in 1947 that only tribal members were eligible to receive financial assistance (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1947). Since then, the boundaries were changed several times, and have alternated from being more inclusive to being more exclusive. One of the conditions when applying for a scholarship was the requirement that a Board member verified the application in terms of whakapapa and association to the hapu and marae. In reality, some Board members verified applicants' whakapapa outside of the tribal boundaries they represented. Others refused to sign because they did not know the applicant or their family, while others did not sign because they did not recognise the whakapapa supplied. This highlighted the internal division within the Board on the issue of determining whakapapa eligibility. While it could be argued that the Board were being meticulous in their response to this issue, it could also be argued that the Board was being pedantic and in some cases, erratic and inconsistent in the way it operated.

The points raised in the discussion, however, point to the question (which has often been raised) as to the accountability of the Board, and Board members, when deciding on these sorts of issues. In particular, between the 1992-1994 period when the Hopuhopu Trustees determined the financial allocation, some valid questioning of the process arose. It would appear that during this period, the Education Committee was responsible for the administration of the scholarship process, making

recommendations to the Board as to the outcome. The Board did not have the final say in regard to how much money was to be allocated or indeed, who was and was not to receive a scholarship. This was left to the Hopuhopu Trustees who were also able to influence the scholarship process. In effect, it appeared that the body that did most of the work (the Education Committee) had the least say.

From a Board member's perspective it could be argued that they had a responsibility to the Board to ensure that they were carrying out their duties in an effective and responsible manner. One could also argue, however, that these Board members also had a responsibility to the tribal members who elected them to their position. While the issue is not quite as simple as this, a fundamental question as to the accountability of Board members needed to be addressed in relation to the role they played in the scholarship process.

Equally unclear has been the lack of definition regarding the responsibility or accountability that students who were awarded scholarships have back to the Board, or to the tribe. Opinion has been divided as to whether scholarship funding to tribal members is theirs as 'of right' or whether it is an honour. There has been no clear direction from the Board itself as to how it might want to approach this rather thorny topic. In reality, this issue reflects the more complex issue as to the exact intention of the Board in assisting its tribal members to become educated: achievement for the individual or achievement for the tribe. Tribal members who have either chosen not to, or feel that they have been incapable of accessing tertiary education can also be drawn into this debate. For them, the advantage of using tribal funds to educate tribal members may not be so easy to see, especially if they struggle to survive on a daily basis.

Student opinion may also be divided as to their views on accountability for monies received. The graduates' responses, which are discussed in the next chapter, are varied on this issue. Some of the main issues question the relevance of tribal funds

assisting individuals to pursue higher education, if the benefits are transferred back to the individual and not the tribe.

### Financing the Scholarships

It is worthwhile noting that when the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship was first established in 1947, a conscious decision was made by the Board to set aside a certain amount of funding to maintain the scholarship. Since then, it would seem that the Board, even during lean periods, attempted to financially support tribal members through their tertiary education. During the 1980s and early 1990s, the Board continued to place importance on the education of tribal members, yet this was not followed through consistently with funding.

The real issue did not appear to be the lack of funding. Rather, it appeared that uncertainty about the availability of funds available from year to year meant that the Education Committee was unable to plan with some foresight and decisiveness. Indeed, many a discussion prior to the settlement of Raupatu revolved around the issue of trying to stretch the resources to ensure that those who applied for funding were able to receive some assistance, albeit limited.

One of the major issues resulting from the funding of the scholarships was whether to award a little to everybody, so that nobody would miss out, or whether to award larger amounts to a more select group of academically able students. Prior to the settlement of Raupatu, this had been decided in favour of ensuring that as many able students who fulfilled the criteria specified in the scholarship application form received funding.

Post-settlement of the Raupatu, financial issues pertaining to the educational scholarships were resolved somewhat, although the issue of funding for all, and funding to award and encourage academic excellence became more of an issue.

### Initiatives Post-Raupatu Settlement

After the settlement of Raupatu in 1995, funding for scholarships increased dramatically. As a result, the number of students applying for and receiving educational scholarships increased. A whole range of new scholarships were established as a result, and the years immediately after the Raupatu settlement saw new directions being taken in the funding of university education initiatives. For the first time since its establishment, the Board also had an Education Manager, who started in 1996.

A major push by the Board saw the first changes in the scholarship format. In 1996, to commemorate the settlement of Raupatu, the Board announced the establishment of the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Waikato Raupatu Postgraduate Scholarship – available to students studying for Masters or Doctoral degrees at either the University of Auckland or the University of Waikato. The inaugural premier scholarships were valued at \$10,000 for Masters students and \$20,000 for Doctoral students. This was the highest amount ever awarded to any one person and signified the Board's determination to encourage students to move beyond their first degree: "There is a vast reservoir of untrained and untapped ability in the Maaori community. To ensure that Maaori talent and energies are not lost, all those involved in education must take bold steps" (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1995:39).

One of the criteria for these premier scholarships was that students had to be studying towards a topic that would contribute to tribal development. While the exact criteria as to what constituted tribal development were not defined, the first crop of scholarship recipients was drawn from a diverse range of academic subjects, ranging from science to management to law and social sciences. It would seem that the intention to spread the scholarships across the disciplines had worked in the first allocation.

In line with the establishment of these premier scholarships, the Board also made an endowment to the University of Waikato. The purpose of the endowment was to establish an Endowed Raupatu Chair, which was to be “the main driving force behind turning the concept of Endowed Colleges into reality” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1997:23). Sir Robert Te Kotahi Mahuta, was appointed as the first professor.

#### Establishment of the Seminar Series

In line with the awarding of these premier scholarships was the establishment of a seminar series. When the settlement occurred in 1995, written into the Deed document was the requirement for the Board to construct two endowed colleges, one in Auckland and one in Waikato. The establishment of the scholarship seminar series was seen as a precursor to the physical presence of the endowed colleges, and would give students a taste of what the endowed colleges would offer. Scholarship recipients were required to give one seminar each year about their research topics, and relate their research to tribal development. The seminars, which were open to the public, aimed to introduce the students to the world of public speaking, become familiar with presenting papers and presentations, and to encourage feedback from the community (both academic and tribal) on their research topics. The seminars were designed to provide mentoring to the students, both from their peers, and from members of the academic community and the wider tribal community.

Since establishment, there has been little analysis as to the effectiveness of the seminar series, particularly whether the research being done by the students has actually fulfilled tribal development needs. Also, there has been little input or feedback from the tribal marae communities (apart from those students whose topics include their marae as subjects). If, as Maori and indigenous research indicates, education is to be a model for empowerment, then the way such empowerment is transferred or translated through seminar programmes, for example, must be examined in terms of their perceived and real effectiveness to the communities concerned.

### Other Scholarships

During 1995 and 1996 numerous scholarships were established. The Pei Te Hurinui Jones Travel Scholarship was one of these. Acknowledging the increasing numbers of tribal members who were travelling to England to continue their higher education, this scholarship was to assist with the travel expenses to England.

Other scholarships also announced were the Nelson Mandela Scholarship – a scholarship that was designed to assist two historically disadvantaged South African students to study at either the University of Auckland or the University of Waikato for a year (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1995:29). This scholarship was established to commemorate the visit of then President of the Republic of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, to Turangawaewae Marae in late 1995, although it had not been awarded at the time of writing. A Tainui Sports Scholarship was announced and the Board also continued its association with Te Ohu Kai Moana (the Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission), which provided financial assistance to those who had expressed interest in studying towards careers that would enhance the fishing industry. Subjects included within this broad definition ranged from marine science to commerce and management.

Scholarships were also established for those tribal members enrolled at the University of Auckland and the University of Waikato who were acknowledged as being high achievers. Administered by the respective universities, these scholarships (at the Masters and Doctoral levels) were awarded to those who achieved high grades in their studies. These scholarships were established to “encourage diversity and also focus on areas where expertise will be needed for tribal development” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1998:21). A legal scholarship was established with the assistance of the Auckland law firm Rudd Watts and Stone. This scholarship was available to final year law students at the University of Waikato, and was established with the intention to assist the progression of tribal law students into bigger firms, such as Rudd Watts and Stone.

In keeping with its commitment as kaitiaki of the Kingitanga, the Board also established the Maori Development Corporation scholarships, based solely within the School of Maori and Pacific Development, at the University of Waikato. These scholarships were available to students of Maori descent who were studying towards a Masters or Doctoral degree in Maori and Pacific Development.

### The Endowed Colleges

After the settlement of the Raupatu in 1995, the Board was able to focus its attention on the establishment of the endowed colleges. As mentioned, the requirement to build two endowed colleges was written into the Deed of Settlement (1995). An Endowed College Working Party was set up, whose main task initially was to undertake feasibility studies, citing possible locations for the new colleges. While the initial emphasis was on establishing the Auckland endowed college, focus switched to Waikato, and a site at Hopuhopu was chosen. The Waikato University College (the name of the first endowed college) was opened in February 2000.

The aim of the colleges was expressed as being able to “create a collegial, living environment expressing Maaori cultural values and adapted to the social, educational and affective needs of Maaori students” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1995:38). Not intended solely for the benefit of Maori or tribal members, the Board saw the endowed colleges as a means by which students would be able to live and learn in a multicultural environment. The Board saw the endowed colleges as providing not only for the “intellectual, cultural and social needs of Maaori students” but also to “enrich the University and wider community” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1995:39).

### **The Board’s Approach to Education – An Analysis**

Since the establishment of the Tainui Maori Trust Board in 1946, it has kept to the fore its interest in education, and the need to assist in the advancement of the

education of its tribal members. This has been a consistent objective that has survived throughout the history of the Board, spanning some fifty-odd years. Throughout this period, however, there have been constraints (mainly financial) that have tested the Board's commitment to achieving its stated objective.

The early period of the Board's existence was highlighted with the establishment and implementation of the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship. The fact that few changes were made to the scholarship application form indicates its robustness in its establishment, and also the fact that it was fulfilling the need for which it was established. The original intention of the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship was to assist academically able students through higher education. During its early years, the Board grappled with the issue of what constituted deserving cases, and also which subjects were considered academic enough to enhance the scholarships themselves. The Board was seen to be looking at the issue of funding for education generally, particularly in light of other government assistance that was being provided at the time. In some cases, external funding availability determined the amounts of the awards and who were the recipients.

The earlier period of the Board's existence and foray into the area of providing financial assistance also included supporting the establishment of other scholarships and funding institutions. This was despite its own meagre sources of funds from which it drew for its tribal members. Some might argue that because of its investment in education, the Board was neglecting its duties towards the other needs of tribal members it represented. However, others would argue equally, that the Board was being mindful of its position as kaitiaki of the Kingitanga, lending its support when and where required, after careful consideration and debate.

The last two decades have seen considerable change to the way the Board has approached and implemented its original objective. With the production of the Tainui Education Strategy, the Board signalled its continued determination that education be

the key issue to advancing and enhancing development opportunities for its tribal members. What must be questioned, however, is the impact of the funding of education scholarships since the Board's inception to the present day. Where are those recipients now? Did they finish their courses of study? What contribution, if any, have these past recipients made back to the tribe and its development, be it at the marae level, hapu level, or iwi level? The lack of follow through on these earlier recipients has left gaps in determining whether the intentions of the Board have materialised. It also means that current and future Board members have little data from which to understand the history of the scholarships, the impact such funding has or has not made, and to analyse further how best to move forward in the future, thus maximising the resources of the tribe.

What can we learn from the experiences of these graduates? How have things changed since they were at university? How can their current career paths contribute to tribal development? Are they able to act as mentors for the current crop of graduates, and for future graduates? A cursory glance back through the pages of the Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book would reveal a wealth of academic intellect that had earlier been awarded scholarships from the Board. Where are they now? It would seem that a major failing of the Board, past and present, has been its inability to focus on the movements of such recipients, not only as they progress through university, but after they finish. A comprehensive analysis of the subjects studied, the number of students who moved on to postgraduate education and current employment activities would only serve to enhance the Board's tribal development, and test the direction of such development. The catch cry of the Centre for Maori Studies and Research "there will be no research without development and no development without research" seems to have been missed in tracking the development of what it identified as the tribe's major resource: its people.

## Summary

The intention of this chapter was to track through the years the initiatives relating to education undertaken by the Tainui Maori Trust Board, particularly in relation to university education. Right from the Board's establishment, it has maintained a determined interest in university education. The Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship provided an opportunity for the Board to assist deserving tribal members through their university education. Over the fifty-odd years of the Board's existence, this premise has changed little.

The main aspect to the Board's approach to education has been in two areas: academic excellence and participation for all. At once they can be seen in contradiction to the other. How does one achieve academic excellence if the historical educational scenario for tribal members has been dismal? Indeed, how does one push through participation for all, if one's objective is to aspire to academic excellence? In more recent years, the Board has attempted to work around these issues, through the creation of new scholarships which reward academic excellence. Has it worked? The next chapter will attempt to answer this question from the perspective of Tainui graduates who received education scholarships from the Board.

In my opinion, the issue of excellence needs to be clearly and carefully defined. It also needs to be viewed in context with the wider objective of tribal development. By encouraging and promoting excellence, are we then promoting and enhancing tribal development? Terminology has been bandied to and fro with perhaps scant attention paid as to what is actually meant and realised in tangible terms for the thousands of tribal members who have yet to experience such development. A clear definition in tangible terms, I believe, would be the greatest challenge for the Board.

## **CHAPTER SIX - TAINUI GRADUATES FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO**

Traditionally, Tainui have not fared well within the Paakeha education system. Yet...Tainui has tremendous human talent awaiting release (Centre for Maori Studies and Research 1986:1).

### **Introduction**

Before introducing the voices of the Tainui graduates, it is important that a number of issues are set out. The first issue is that these graduates come from a tribal setting, thus do not necessarily share a universal 'Maori' experience, and as such their history and aspirations for advancement are quite distinct. In Chapter Three, I described hooks' (1992) anger at how some black women related a uniform experience, unwilling to acknowledge the diversity that existed within their own community. Similarly, Smith (1995) expresses disdain at government policy that assumes Maori homogeneity, despite the tribal, hapu and whanau structures that exist within Maori society. This research is explicitly located from within a tribal perspective (my own and that of the participants), based on tribal members' recollections and opinions. The research, therefore, presents the lived experiences of the cultural, political and social perspectives of those interviewed (the graduates), located within, and influenced by a tribal paradigm, one created by a unique relationship to the coexisting forces that affected and that continue to affect New Zealand.

A second issue is that as an insider researcher, I am consciously aware of Tsianina Lomawaima's (2000:7) observations about the impact of research on tribal communities, especially "the kinds of risks to interpersonal relationships within communities that may result from publication of data without adequate 'masking' of participants." Similarly, I had concerns about the "economies of truth" that I found

when analysing the data shared by the research participants (Te Hennepe 1993:197). As Te Hennepe (1993:197) aptly describes:

All phases of the research encounter, then, are governed by economies of truth. Each is a creation in its own right that only partially reflects what was encountered in the lived experiences of...our discussions,...my subsequent examination of the transcriptions, and my writing of a text based on my interpretation of the first two phases.

From this perspective the presentation of the graduates' voices, which I see as a focal part of the research, must be tempered with Te Hennepe's words of caution. Therefore, they are not the only voices from which experiences can be measured, critically analysed and learned from. Nor do their voices represent a harmonious chorus within the research. To that extent, I have also taken on board McPhillips' (1992) suggestion in not seeing the graduates' responses as the 'definitive truth', or from speaking within the "construction of a monolithic experience" (hooks 1992:44). The graduates' narratives have not been constructed and presented to compete with or against others' experiences. Rather, I encourage that they be seen as identities shaped by their own lived cultural, political and social experiences.

This chapter, therefore, sets out the responses to interviews I conducted with nine Tainui – affiliated members (the graduates) who received educational scholarships from the Tainui Maori Trust Board and who graduated from the University of Waikato between the years 1992 and 1997. An overview of the selection process and an outline of the interview structure are provided, as is a general overview of the graduates (age, gender, school of study and degree programme). A general picture is painted of their family background and prior educational experiences, which effectively sets the scene for the remainder of the chapter. This chapter will focus primarily on the graduates' responses to the key themes identified in the interview schedule: the University of Waikato, the Tainui Maori Trust Board, and finally, the graduates' thoughts on their experiences at university and what issues and factors impacted on them that helped them to succeed.

## Identifying and Selecting

The methodological journey undertaken to find participants for the research involved a complex process of identification, confirmation, crosschecking and reconfirmation. Between the years 1992 and 1997 around 45 Tainui students who received scholarships from the Tainui Maori Trust Board graduated from the University of Waikato. I say ‘around’ because the University of Waikato does not record iwi specific information, and therefore the process used to ascertain these figures has been a manual one rather than simply searching the University database. For this thesis, ‘Tainui graduate’ is defined as one whose whakapapa was validated at the time their applications for financial assistance were received and accepted.<sup>1</sup>

The manual process consisted of gathering together the annual reports of the Tainui Maori Trust Board as well as the Graduation booklets for the University of Waikato, between the years of 1992 and 1997, as these years were the parameters for my study.<sup>2</sup> There were two main challenges arising from this initial approach. The first challenge was just the time consuming effort of having to go through each annual report and each Graduation booklet to find matches between the scholarship recipient and the graduate. The second, and more difficult challenge, was in the actual matching process. What I found, especially in the annual reports were names of scholarship recipients which changed from year to year, but were in fact the same person, making me query my searches time and again to be sure I had the same person. In some instances I matched the wrong people, and in others, I identified two separate people when in fact they turned out to be the same person. I found this

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<sup>1</sup> Over the years that the Tainui Maori Trust Board scholarships have been in operation, a number of changes have been made to the eligibility criteria. The settlement of the Raupatu claim in 1995 saw the whole “beneficiary roll” or tribal register of the Board’s revamped, with the eligibility criteria being tightened. As a result of this process, some people who were eligible found themselves no longer so. A more detailed explanation of the issue of whakapapa was examined in Chapter Five.

<sup>2</sup> The annual reports that I used for Tainui were from 1993, a report dated 1993 but which included the 1994 scholarship recipient information, and the 1995, 1996 and 1997 annual reports. Annual reports had not been produced before then, although the 1993 annual report pulled together a comprehensive list of past education scholarship recipients, from which the information for earlier recipients who graduated before 1995 was taken.

peculiarity perhaps compounded by the fact that some graduates chose to refer to themselves in Maori for the Board scholarships, while in the University information they were identified with their names taken from official documents, which were usually Pakeha names.

Another issue around the identification of graduates included the changing of subtle information between the years they received scholarships. For example, in one year a graduate may have been from one hapu (tribal sub-group), but the next year the hapu affiliation had changed to that of another. Did that mean that there were two people of the same name who had different affiliations, or did it mean that these were completely different individuals? Another example of this also arose in the identification of degree programmes. On the whole, most of the degree programmes referred to by the graduate when receiving a scholarship were correct, however, in some instances, confusion did arise during course changes and the like. While it could be argued that this scenario could have been easily overcome, the point here is that the complete lack of synchronisation between the two systems, and even just in the Board system allowed for such peculiarities to emerge. The insistence of institutions to see Maori as homogenous hinders attempts by Maori/tribal organisations, and Maori/tribal researchers, to monitor the progress of their members in education contexts such as these. This in turn frustrates Maori/tribal efforts to seek tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and reinforces the power imbalances that exist between Maori and the dominant other.

Having identified the graduates, I then attempted to sort through the data I had in order to select the graduates to interview. I had decided not to interview all of them, because I initially wanted to try and get a diverse group of people to interview. That is, I wanted to have as even a gender split as possible, a good range in the ages and, I wanted to ensure I had good representation across the schools of study. I also wanted to make sure I had a variety in the courses of study taken as well as the different levels of study completed. Realising my wish list was rather optimistic, I tried as hard

as I could to achieve this goal. Several constraints to this approach hampered the process.

Of the whole list of graduates, there were more women than men and many were enrolled in the School of Education for either Diplomas or Bachelor of Education degrees. Due to the relatively small number of graduates, it was difficult to get a widespread representation of the degree programmes without actually compromising the confidentiality of the graduates interviewed. Despite the relatively small numbers of Tainui graduates enrolled in the Schools of Science and Technology, Management Studies and Computing and Mathematical Science, I specifically selected students from these schools of study in order to accommodate my wish to have representation across campus without compromising, as mentioned, their privacy. There were sufficient numbers between the 1992-1997 timeframe that allowed this objective to be achieved. However, such data does point to problems of Maori being relatively over represented in some areas of study and under represented in others, as discussed in Chapter One, and highlighted by the Ministry of Education (1997a), and Te Puni Kokiri (2000). A second consideration is that this sample is not really a traditional representative sample, which would be based on numbers being proportionately representational. Instead, I chose to represent students from across the campus, which means that the data from this study is reflective and representative of my selection criteria.

Having refined the list of the graduates to about 20 who represented the range of subjects and were relatively even in gender mix, I approached those I knew (12) and sent letters to those I did not, although all prospective interviewees were approached in writing. The information letter outlined the study, requested them to agree to participate in the study, and how information was to be collected, used and protected. Irwin (1994) argues that many social science research approaches are in fact not suited to Maori people. Describing her approach as the “first rituals of encounter”, Irwin (1994:36) believes that, in her case anyway, written contact could not be made

as it would have appeared that her “chosen *turangawaewae* was the world of academia and research.” I have acknowledged (in Chapter Three) my position as insider researcher, where this position is both within the world of academia (being an employee and a student), and the world of Maori, and more specifically, the Waikato tribe (as a tribal member and a tribal researcher). From my perspective, despite Maori being described as an oral culture, I felt that written contact was an appropriate way to initiate (and negotiate) my entry into the participants’ lives. I chose this approach because I knew some of the prospective interviewees and I did not wish to impose on them and have them feel obligated to participate because of our relationship. I did not want to impinge on the goodness of their natures, making them feel obligated that they had to participate in the study. In other words, I was conscious of the power relationship in my position as a researcher and I did not want to be seen to be taking advantage of our personal relationships.

This was particularly so for the people I knew. I was mindful of Tsianina Lomawaima’s (2000) cautions about relationships within tribal research, as well as being mindful of the fact that I would be maintaining some of these relationships well after the research finished. Therefore, I wanted to ensure that their decisions to participate were not influenced or pressured by our own personal relationships. Furthermore, I was conscious of my position as the researcher, and wanted to ensure that the decision to participate was based on the understanding that any information given to me would be treated with respect, and in an appropriate way. Thus, while the ‘*kanohi ki te kanohi*’ (face to face) approach is a preferred option for many kaupapa Maori researchers (Irwin 1994; Bishop 1996; Bishop & Glynn 1992, 1999a), I found that, in this case, it had the potential of creating a position of power over the research participants. Thus, I felt that a more impersonal, written ‘distancing’ approach provided by the letter enabled potential participants to consider for themselves, and in their own time, whether they wanted to become involved in the study without feeling that they had to justify their reasons if they chose not to participate. In fact, some of the people I did know and approached declined to participate. From these initial

stages, nine agreed to participate. Of the nine graduates, I had known five of them previously (through personal and professional associations).

The process I undertook to identify and choose possible participants for inclusion in the study was very specific and selective. I mentioned earlier the desire to interview graduates from a wide range of subjects, which meant that the group of graduates interviewed for this study couldn't be classed as representative of Maori university students, or even Tainui students, generally. Chapter One identified how most Maori students are over represented in areas such as social science, education and arts, and under represented in areas like science and management. Further, Maori students tend to be older than non-Maori. Part of the process for selecting possible participants meant that I had to sacrifice gaining a diverse range of ages amongst the graduates in order to gain a group of graduates that had participated in traditionally 'non-Maori' subjects, such as science and management. Therefore, the responses cannot be read as being representative of a general Maori experience, but rather as the voices of a small, but significant group of tribal members.

## **Interviewing**

While making contact with the participants for the study, I had also been drafting an interview schedule. Berg (1995) has suggested that the process of drafting interview schedules should include three main components. These components briefly expect the researcher to be sure of their research objectives; develop an outline of the study, listing all the broad categories relevant to the study; and then developing a set of questions relevant to each of the chosen categories (Berg 1995:36). As I had never conducted interviews before, I was advised to test the questions, through 'mock' interviews, in order to become more familiar with the interview process itself, as well as ensuring the categories I had chosen were adequate for the research project itself.

The mock interviews were conducted amongst colleagues who, aside from their tribal affiliations, were graduates from the University of Waikato. While they could not answer the questions relating to the Tainui Maori Trust Board, their contributions in the other categories gave me enough confidence to proceed cautiously. What I learned from these initial experiences was valuable in the way I approached the interviews with the graduates. Nisbet & Entwistle (1970:42) warn “all amateur interviewers talk when they should listen.” What I found during the mock interviews was that I indeed had a tendency to dominate the process – although I was assured from fellow colleagues that I was not the only one that suffered this predicament! As a consequence, I readjusted my interview schedule to ensure the flow of the questions was maintained and to keep some kind of sequence in the groups of questions that I had drafted. After this, I felt confident enough to proceed with the interviewing process.

Generally, the interviews ranged between one and two hours. Four of the interviews were tape-recorded, two were videotaped, and three were written accounts of the interview, where I wrote down the responses in as complete form as possible, ensuring that the answers were written verbatim. I also took notes during the interviews, mainly as prompts for myself to remember what I thought were important points. The reason why a range of equipment was used was purely to do with what equipment was available to me at the time. Before I began any interview, I discussed with the participants the type of equipment I would be using, and asked whether this was suitable or appropriate for them. All the graduates were comfortable with the equipment that I used, which, although not ideal for maintaining a consistent methodological approach to the research, appeared to be reasonable and not imposing upon the participants and allowed for an effective information gathering process.

The interview schedule contained four major groups of questions. The first group of questions covered the family background of the graduate and their reasons for attending university. The second group of questions focused on the University of

Waikato, their academic courses, their experiences and their knowledge of the programmes instituted by the University for Maori. This section also sought the opinion of the graduates' themselves as to the effectiveness, in their view, of the University toward attracting and maintaining Maori students through to graduation. The third group of questions focused on the Tainui Maori Trust Board and the scholarship application and selection process. The graduates were queried on their knowledge of the Tainui Education Strategy, other educational initiatives instituted by the Board, and their opinions on responsibilities of recipient to organisation, and organisation to recipient. Finally, the last group of questions focused around the notion of success, and whether the graduates' perceived themselves to be successful, academic achievers. The following section details more specifically the information that came out of these interviews.

### **Tainui Graduates from the University of Waikato 1992-1997**

#### Profile of Research Participants

As mentioned, there were around 45 people who received scholarships from the Tainui Maori Trust Board and who graduated from the University of Waikato between 1992 and 1997. From this group, nine people agreed to participate in the study. These nine people represent a unique group. They are unique firstly because they have graduated, whereas Maori are more likely than non-Maori to not complete their courses (Ministry of Education 1998a). Secondly, they are unique because they represent a number of subject areas where Maori are traditionally under represented. Thus, while they are a relatively small group that is not representative of Maori university students and graduates, this group provides an opportunity to explore, through their eyes, how they managed to survive their higher education experience and what aspects may help not only other Maori university students, but also higher education institutions and tribal organisations graduate more Maori students.

Of the nine graduates who agreed to participate in the study, four were male and five were female. The ages of the graduates ranged from the early twenties (two), mid to late twenties (six) through to early fifties (one). While at university, most described themselves as single with no children (six), two had been in long-term relationships and had children (prior to entering university), and one of the graduates was married with children. Since leaving university, of the six single graduates, three were in relationships and had since had children and the other three were in relationships with no children. Of the six single graduates, three of the graduates met their partners who had also been studying. The other three met their partners outside of the university setting. The marital/relationship status of the other three graduates interviewed had not changed since leaving university.

### Family

Four of the graduates came from families with six to ten children. Two graduates came from families with three children (the smallest family unit). Four of the graduates also had extended family members living with them during periods of their lives, mainly grandparents or elderly relatives, while one lived with siblings and their family. Two of the graduates were the oldest of the siblings. Two graduates were the youngest in their families. The other graduates were either second in the family (one) or about the middle of the family (four).

### Socio-economic status

One of the questions asked of the graduates was a description or classification of their family's socio-economic status. This question raised one unusual response. This graduate described the family's socio-economic status in two ways. Firstly, the graduate explained the perceived socio-economic status within the context of the extended family. To this extent, the status was described as "upper class." When compared to "how everyone else sees it," the graduate said that the family were middle class. This graduate's description of the family's upper class socio-economic

status was justified in comparison to the large numbers in the extended family being either unemployed and/or receiving welfare support from the government:

Most of our whanau would see us as being rich, because Mum and Dad both work. And compared to a lot of them, we are. Most of our whanau, our cousins and that, they're on benefits or not working, so we're really well-off compared to them.

Of the other graduates, three classed their family's socio-economic status as middle class. The other five described the socio-economic status of their family as being working class.

#### Parental/Family Academic Achievement and Attitudes to Education

One graduate was raised in a sole-parent family, the others in two-parent families. One graduate lived with an older sibling during high school years, which was in a different district to that of the rest of the family. All but one of the graduates described their fathers' occupations as being labour-intensive, while their mothers' occupations varied from voluntary work,<sup>3</sup> to professional employment. The higher status of the majority of the graduates' mothers' employment is reflected in their higher educational qualification achievements. None of the fathers of the graduates had been educated beyond high school, while four of the graduates' mothers had tertiary qualifications, in areas such as teaching and nursing. Three of the mothers had returned to higher education between the 1980s and 1990s, one had obtained a certificate, one a Bachelor and then a Masters degree, and the other was completing a Bachelors degree. Four of the graduates stated that their parents had the minimum requirements for secondary school education (such as School Certificate), while one of the graduates was unsure as to the highest educational qualification of the parents. The lowest educational qualification received by the parents of the graduates was finishing primary school. This parent (the father) left school aged 12.

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<sup>3</sup> By voluntary work, I mean people who are not working for pay but who are heavily involved in community activities. In these cases, I refer mainly to marae-based activities, which is most often unpaid, and can range from catering for functions to being the secretary of the marae committee.

The role of the mothers in the education of the graduates was interesting. One of the graduates summed up this role in the following way:

Mum wears the boots in the family. Dad was really supportive of us, but it was Mum who really pushed. She has always been like that, into education, things academic, that sort of focus.

Four of the graduates were the first of their siblings to go to University. Those that were not were following in the footsteps of older siblings.

Despite the lack of parental education in some instances, the graduates felt that their parents were very supportive of their decision to enter tertiary education. The common theme from the parents of the graduates was a desire to see their children achieve where they hadn't, more for the fact that they did not want their children to struggle as they had during their own lives:

Because Mum and Dad were from working class backgrounds and had no education, that was why I think they pushed us into going to varsity. They didn't force us or anything, but when we decided, they were all for it.

Dad left school when he was really young. He didn't want that for us, so he was really supportive of us in any area. Me going to varsity was a big bonus.

Another interesting aspect of this support was shown in a financial manner. Over half (five) of the graduates interviewed, who came from what they described as working class backgrounds, said that their parents continued to support them while they were at university. This support included on the most part the provision of accommodation and food (for those living at home), to supplies of food and money from time to time (for those who were flatting or boarding):

We would always go home for a decent feed. I was lucky, because Mum and Dad didn't live too far away from varsity, so even though I was flatting, I could still go home when I wanted. Sometimes if Mum was in

town, she would bring us some groceries, or bread, or stuff that we needed.

The other two graduates stated that their parents were not in a financial position to provide such support, and they did not want to further burden their parents in this way. In essence, these graduates tried to ‘go it alone’:

There were too many of us in our family for Mum and Dad to ever be able to help me. I would never have asked them to help me out.

### Education Experiences Prior to University

Two of the graduates had been to private church-run boarding schools (of different religious denominations) while the other seven had all been educated at state schools. One of these seven attended a single-sex state school, while the other six attended co-educational state schools. These six described these state schools as their local high school. Seven of the graduates left school with high enough grades to guarantee direct entrance to university. The other two had conditions attached to their enrolment at university – one due to the length in time passed since leaving school and the other due to insufficient grades.

One of the graduates entered University after a period of working and raising a family, while the other eight graduates entered University after completing the 7th form. This is not a typical situation from which Maori students enter university, as the Ministry of Education (1998a:29) notes: “Maori school leavers are less likely than non-Maori to progress directly on to further education or training” and of those who do, they are “concentrated in different institution types and in different programmes, with a tendency for Maori to be enrolled at polytechnics and wananga and non-Maori to attend colleges of education and universities” (Ministry of Education 1998a:59).

On the whole, the graduates’ descriptions of secondary school were fairly uneventful, although four felt that they had experienced some form of racism or negative attitude

that was believed to be racially inspired. One graduate described this experience as being “quite negative” and attributed its cause to a lack of commitment in anything Maori from the school Principal. During the course of this graduate’s secondary schooling, the Principal changed and the graduate described a newer, more positive attitude to Maori as a result. The other graduates recalled similar experiences, although one admitted to being “not very interested” in school. The other five graduates felt that their experiences were either relatively uneventful or unremarkable.

In recounting their experiences, particularly when asked about who advised them on their future direction, only two recalled having careers advisers or guidance counsellors. The others either said that they couldn’t remember (four) or were unsure if their school had dedicated (that is who weren’t also teachers) careers advisers or guidance counsellors (three). One graduate commented:

We had a really useless student counsellor ... really negative towards the whole bunch of us in our year. Some did really well, some not so good, but they put some students down. It got so bad that, in the end, some of the whanau intervened.

Another commented:

Our guidance counsellor was more sympathetic rather than being supportive. She didn’t really do anything for us.

Six of the graduates either drew their support from other teachers in the school, or had teachers cajoling them through school and in searching for further education opportunities. Interestingly, these graduates did not rely solely on the Maori staff members as their support mechanisms:

I got interested in doing science because of my teacher at school. He made it sound really choice, and he sort of got me thinking that I might be able to do it too.

One graduate recounted the ineffectiveness of the Maori teacher in providing advice or support in the academic activities of Maori students. This graduate stated that:

It was because of his inefficiencies that really made me want to be a Maori teacher. I thought that I could do a lot better than what he was doing for us. I wanted to go into mainstream (teaching) because I really felt for our Maori kids who are in mainstream.

This statement highlights the strength of the graduate whilst still at high school, and an ability to turn what could be viewed as an adverse situation into a positive, if not determined and focused, attempt at making positive change for other Maori students in the future.

The graduates referred to a diverse group of teachers who supported them through their secondary school education, and who were able to offer practical support and advice to these Maori students. Many of the teachers were non-Maori because of the lack of Maori staff in the schools these graduates attended. The graduate who remarked about the ineffectiveness of the Maori teacher, found support instead from the English teacher:

It was our English teacher who pushed us into going to university. He physically got the application forms, and helped us fill them in.

The belief of one person to instil self-worth and faith in the student's ability seems to have had a powerful impact on all of the graduates. The main point emerging was that these people were not necessarily Maori, but were sincerely attempting to support the students in making positive decisions for their futures.

### University Education

The information regarding the graduates' Schools of Study, degree programmes and other academic information will be described generally for deliberate reasons. This is to ensure the privacy of the graduates who were interviewed. Due to the small

number of graduates that I did interview for this study, identification has the potential of being an issue, especially as the Tainui Maori Trust Board does not award large numbers of grants to students in the fields of Science, Computing and Mathematical Science, Management and Law despite introducing targeted scholarships to attract more tribal members into these areas.

The University of Waikato, in 1997, had eight Schools of Study: Computing and Mathematical Sciences, Education, Humanities, Law, Management Studies, Maori and Pacific Development, Science and Technology, and Social Sciences. Of these Schools of Study, two were not represented in the sample interviewed. These were the School of Computing and Mathematical Sciences and the School of Maori and Pacific Development. The lack of graduates from the School of Maori and Pacific Development was because it was only established in 1996, and its first graduates came through late in 1997. Prior to its establishment, the teaching departments under its direction were previously under the administration of the School of Humanities, with the Centre for Maori Studies and Research under the administration of the School of Social Science. In effect, then, only the School of Computing and Mathematical Sciences has not been represented in this study because there were no graduates from this School during the time period of the study.

At the time of interviewing the graduates, all had completed a Bachelors degree in their chosen field of study and two had also completed a Diploma. One of the graduates had then continued and completed a Masters degree and another three had completed a Postgraduate Diploma (all of these subsequent qualifications were obtained at the University of Waikato). Two other graduates were enrolled for their Masters degree (one at another university). One of the graduates had obtained another qualification from another tertiary institution. None of the graduates interviewed had enrolled for a Doctoral degree programme, although two were considering the idea.

At the time the interviews were conducted, two of the graduates were studying full-time and the other seven were in full-time employment.

Two of the graduates did not enter directly into their University degree programme from high school. Instead, these graduates completed a one-year pre-entry course offered for Maori, called Te Timatanga Hou. Te Timatanga Hou is a bridging course offered to Maori students whose grades are not adequate for university entry. Available only to school leavers, Te Timatanga Hou structures its programme around courses that introduce students to university expectations and standards, such as writing for university purposes, as well as covering a range of subjects that allows the students to explore possible avenues for their future study at university.

Due to the variety of programmes the graduates were enrolled in, I totalled the combined number of years spent at university (35) and then divided it between the number of graduates (nine). Therefore, using this calculation, the graduates on average spent just less than four years at university completing their degree. A breakdown of their course enrolments and the total years spent at university, not including current enrolments or the qualifications from other institutions appears in Table 5.

***Table 5: Course Enrolments and Total Years of Study of Tainui Graduates from the University of Waikato, 1992 to 1997***

	Te Timata- nga Hou	Diploma	Bachelor	Postgrad. Diploma	Masters	Total Number of Graduates Represented:
3 yrs			a, b, c			3
4 yrs	d	e, f	d, e, f, g	g		4
5 yrs	h		h, i	h	i	2

Thus, three of the graduates took three years to complete their Bachelors degree (the minimum time to complete), four of the graduates took four years and two spent five years completing their university studies.

### Accommodation

While at university, four of the graduates went flatting, either with other family members or friends. One of these four graduates spent the first year in the student accommodation provided by the University of Waikato, before going flatting. For two of these graduates, they had no choice because their families were in a different city, and were thus unable to provide accommodation. For the other two, both had spent the first year of university at home, before making the decision to go flatting. One of these graduates was eager to leave home:

I couldn't wait to go flatting. It wasn't like it was hard at home, I just wanted the freedom to be with my mates, to do what I wanted. Plus it was closer to varsity.

Five of the graduates chose to live at home because "it was easier":

I had it pretty good, I was pretty lucky because I could stay at home, whereas some of my mates had no choice but to go flatting. I didn't have to worry about food, rent, power – any of that stuff – yeah, I had it pretty sweet.

Of those graduates who went flatting, two lived in homes at some point owned by family members, although they were still required to pay rent. In order to pay for the rent, the graduates either relied on part-time work and student loans, or were eligible for student allowances. Of the four who went flatting, one stated that there was no other financial support base to fall back on if finances were stretched. The other three were able to (and did from time to time) rely on their parents to help them through lean times.

### Financial Experiences while at University

The time period from which the graduates were drawn becomes important here, because it took people from among those who were affected by the changes introduced in 1991, and who had to pay substantially more for their tuition fees. Prior to 1991, university fees were minimal and student allowances were available to most students to cover these fees. In effect government policy up to this time was to subsidise the costs for university study. With the introduction of higher fees in 1991 as the result of the ideological shift in government policy to a New Right philosophy that emphasised private and individual good, and the means-tested student allowances in 1992, most of the graduates struggled financially. Seven of the graduates took out student loans over the years. Despite this struggle, only one acknowledged the amount of time spent working part-time to make ends meet. Significantly, this graduate was loath to take out a student loan, and preferred to work than be faced with debt at the end of the degree programme. This graduate described a typical weekly timetable:

I worked weekends when I could. During the week, I worked after hours, from 5 until 10pm. Study was done during the day. Basically, I went to varsity from 9 – 5pm, studying during breaks between classes. I didn't have a social life at varsity because I was always working. I could have done heaps better than I did if I didn't work but I didn't want a huge debt hanging over me when I finished.

This graduate did have to take out a student loan to pay for course materials, which cost about \$1,000 per year. Compromising the quality of the education because of the financial issues involved during the 1990s has proved topical, and finances have formed a large portion of the debate over government subsidies in the higher education arena, as discussed in Chapter Two.

The other graduates took out student loans to service their university tuition (which between 1992 and 1997 had risen annually from \$1,200 to over \$4000 depending on the programme of study) and living expenses:

I have a student loan – I took it out to pay for things that I wanted...I paid my own fees by working through the holidays. I was lucky because I was always able to get a holiday job through my Mum's job.

In my first year, I think I got about \$11 a week from my allowances. After that, I didn't qualify, so Mum and Dad helped me out when I was stuck.

I felt sorry for my mates from other areas. If I needed money I had my parents, so I was really lucky.

All of the graduates applied for a variety of scholarships in order to keep the costs of their education to a more manageable level:

One year I got a scholarship from the [Tainui Maori Trust] Board, and another through MEF [Maori Education Foundation]. I think it came to about \$3000 all up that year, so that was pretty good.

Not all of the graduates sought employment during the university year. Most (six) preferred to wait until the summer vacation in order to save for the following year. Of those who did work (three), two felt that they were fortunate to secure work within the University itself:

I got a job tutoring part time, which was choice. It was pretty good money, and the work wasn't that hard.

### Tribal Relationships

The graduates interviewed describe their connections and their relationships with the Kingitanga, with the Tainui Maori Trust Board and with their own marae communities. Six of the graduates whilst brought up in urban environments, described their links with their marae communities as "very strong." Also, four of the graduates lived within very close proximity of their marae and had close involvement with the marae activities, largely due to their family involvement:

We live quite close to the marae, so we usually find out what's going on, whether it's birthdays, meetings and the like.

Our whanau have always been involved in things to do with the Kingitanga, especially Koroneihana. I've had no choice but to be involved.

Two of the graduates stated that they didn't have a very close relationship with their marae communities, and were therefore not very involved or aware of the activities that occurred at their marae:

I go to more of the things happening at Turangawaewae, mainly because my own marae is too far away for me to get to all the time. Plus, I feel more comfortable at Turangawaewae than at my own marae.

The higher number of graduates with strong relationships with their marae, was reflected in their knowledge of the Tainui Maori Trust Board and the Kingitanga, which was described as "above average."

All but one of the graduates interviewed affiliated to marae communities that hosted poukai (tribal meetings for Kingitanga supporters).<sup>4</sup> Held annually, these poukai serve to reinforce the support of the marae community to the Kingitanga and to its present leader, Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu. Held over a day, the planning for these events is often begun as soon as their poukai has just finished. The graduates' involvement in the poukai ranged from being in the kitchen - washing and drying dishes, and peeling potatoes and the like to being involved in the actual organisation of the event:

When I was younger, I used to help out getting the marae set up for the poukai. But the older I've gotten, I've tended to stay away, and not get so involved, although sometimes I get a hard time from Mum and Dad about that.

All of the graduates expressed firm commitments to the Kingitanga, although many (five) did feel that their own personal involvement (as in the activities described

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<sup>4</sup> There are a total of 28 poukai held each year. Of these, four are held on marae outside of the tribal region.

above) was not particularly extensive. This involvement in its most limited sense was described as participation at tribal meetings and the annual Koroneihana celebrations:

Our family has always been involved in Koroneihana, it's just an expectation that we go and show our support for Te Arikinui, and the Kingitanga.

The middle weeks of May have always been marked off for Koroneihana. Even now I am working, I still take time off to go and *tautoko* (support) the *kaupapa* (event). It would seem wrong not to.

I usually go along to Koroneihana just to check out what's on, like the sports and kapa haka events.

I haven't been back to Coronation since the scholarship presentations. I should, but I haven't really been able to.

The graduates support the Kingitanga movement and its activities and are committed to ensuring the future preservation of the movement. The graduates agreed that the identity of the Kingitanga movement was unique and as such, it made their own identities that much stronger and, for some, more special to their own personal development:

I have been brought up in the Kingitanga. Ever since I can remember, it has always been about our duty to serve the Kingitanga, and to look after it.

Our whanau are staunch supporters of the Kingitanga. We do our bit when and where we can. Without Kingitanga I don't know what sort of identity we would have as a tribe.

We have to look after the Kingitanga, because we are the guardians of it – it's our job. If we don't do a good job, then the other tribes could come and take it from us.

When I was at varsity, there weren't many others from Tainui. But that wasn't a problem for me. I didn't need to go to varsity to find my Tainuitanga.

In relation to their marae affiliation and connection, all but one of the graduates felt that their marae connections were quite strong, although the depth of the association was variable from graduate to graduate. For five of the graduates, this connection was through family association to one particular marae, although most of the graduates (six) had active affiliations to other Tainui marae. This affiliation was location based, where the graduate grew up in the vicinity of one marae, thus participating in its activities, while still maintaining a strong link with their other marae, and participated in their activities when they could:

I affiliate to a number of marae in Tainui, but really am only involved on a regular basis with two of them. I don't usually go to meetings at the marae, but I have been to the big hui-a-iwi, like the Raupatu ones, and the consultation ones.

### Tribal Identification

One of the questions that was not included in the original interview schedule, but was added in as a result of the pilot interviews, was that of tribal affiliation. Due to the strong association with marae and Tainui affiliation, I was interested to see the graduates' association with other iwi. Of the nine graduates interviewed, five indicated their affiliation to other tribes. Of these five, only two felt that their identification to this other tribe was as strong as that of their identification to Tainui. The other three stated that their identification was through one parent coming from another tribe, but that association did not have a major impact in their family lives. Of these three, only one was able to identify their other tribal marae, while the other two were unsure about their other tribal links:

I know my other tribes and identify with them just as strong as I do my Tainui connection. When I was little I had a stronger connection with one of my other tribes because we were living in that area. My parents have also moved to where my mother is from, so I guess my links with my other tribes are pretty good.

My father is from another tribe, and my mother also affiliates to another tribe besides Tainui. We have always been aware of my dad's tribal links,

because my grandmother and other whanau still live there. On my mum's side, it's not really as strong, just the Tainui side.

I know that we affiliate to another tribe through my mum. I don't acknowledge that side unless I'm asked about it, like now, mainly because we've been brought up here.

According to Smith (1995), Maori are not homogenous, and as such often affiliate to numbers of tribes, rather than just one. The ability to affiliate to numbers of tribes reflects the fluidity of Maori kinship ties and is in contrast to the more restrictive legislative definitions of tribal membership evident particularly in First Nations people's experiences (Webster 1996). However, as discussed further in the following chapters, definitions of tribal membership, particularly for Tainui post-1995, have been redefined and appeared to become more restrictive as a result.

### Views on Success

The graduates had mixed opinions as to what they thought success meant. However, five of the graduates were in agreement that they did not view themselves necessarily as successful, although they did acknowledge that other people might have that impression of them:

In my eyes I think I am successful, because I am happy with my life. It has nothing to do with me going to varsity.

These graduates felt that their achievements were not remarkable. Rather, they saw themselves as ordinary students who happened to move through the university system, coming out the other side with a degree:

My mum always used to say to me, look how much money this tribe is investing in you. I don't think failing was an option.

My parents were stoked, especially my dad, I think he was really proud that I finished my degree. I suppose if that means I'm successful, then yeah, I guess I am.

I don't think it's for me to say whether I'm successful or not. Some of my whanau would probably shoot me down for getting too big for my boots if I said something like that!

The other four felt that if the definition of success was getting a degree, then they were successful.

Some of the comments relating to the graduates' perceptions of success included comments that success came from a sense of personal satisfaction, which was a combination of personal responsibility and how badly they wanted to get their degree:

Maoris are often the ones that are seen as the no hopers. I remember at school it was like that. In a way, I wanted to finish so I could prove them wrong.

However, one of the graduates felt that they had worked hard and sacrificed a lot to achieve their degree. This graduate also acknowledged their achievement in the following way:

Yes, I believe I am successful because I passed and I got through. I found it okay. When I think of all the others at school who could have done just as well as me, but they weren't encouraged. Basically they were told not to bother.

This, I think, is a telling point. How many Maori are not entering the university system purely because they have already been knocked back in secondary school?

The attitudes towards success from the graduates relate to seeing themselves as role models, if that would help other young Maori students achieve their own educational goals. While reluctant to class themselves as role models, when it came to the point of helping other students, only one of the graduates hesitated in using the "role model" tag. More importantly to the graduates was this positive impact on other people, as shown in this statement:

When I was going through varsity, people used to ask – what do you do? When I told them I was at varsity, they used to hassle me. Now, heaps of kids from home are at varsity – its like every second person is at varsity. Everyone is expected to go. I think that's choice.

Another graduate:

A lot of my cousins and aunties and uncles used to think I was really brainy for going to varsity. Now some of them have enrolled for study, doing papers. It has really opened up their horizons, knowing that they can do it too. They have heaps more confidence in themselves, a belief in themselves that they can do it too.

### Comment

In Chapter Two, I mentioned the lack of empirical data available about Maori academic success, particularly from a Maori position. However, it was acknowledged in Chapter Two of the value placed by Maori cultural notions, values and identification. Durie's (2001:4) framework suggested that two key goals - the need for Maori to "actively participate as citizens of the world" while also "enabling Maori to live as Maori" – were fundamental to Maori educational advancement. It would appear that the opinions of the graduates reflect such goals.

### **Responses on the Tainui Maori Trust Board**

The graduates were also asked about the Tainui Maori Trust Board. The questions were grouped into categories; the first category covering the scholarship application process and knowledge of the history of the scholarships. The second category queried the graduates' knowledge on the Tainui Education Strategy, which is often referred to as the founding document for Tainui on education. The final category referred to the graduates' opinions on the Tainui Maori Trust Board, particularly whether the Board was deemed supportive or not during their time at University. Equally, it was important that the extent to which contact between the Board and the

graduates has or had not been maintained was examined. The graduates were asked to assess the effectiveness of the scholarships in recruiting and retaining Tainui students through to graduation.

The main aim of this section was to gauge the graduates' responses in regard to their experiences of the Tainui Maori Trust Board scholarship process. I was also interested in their assessment of the effectiveness of the Board's scholarship process, as well as the overall effectiveness of a tribal strategy to educate its members.

### The Scholarships

All the graduates interviewed received a Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship (the amounts varied between \$400 to \$1000) from the Tainui Maori Trust Board. One graduate received a Tainui Education Grant (\$500), one received the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Waikato Raupatu Postgraduate Scholarship (\$10,000) and one other received the University of Waikato-administered Waikato Raupatu Graduate Scholarship (\$10,000). The average length of time that the graduates received their grant was for three years.

### The Application Process

Those graduates who went through the application process in the early 1990s indicated that the application forms were relatively uncomplicated. The applications consisted of an outline of past academic achievements, exam results, allowed for the inclusion of other relevant certificates or awards, and required completion of an essay question and a whakapapa form linking the student to the tribe.

Of all the parts to the process in the early 1990s, the graduates felt that the whakapapa process was the easiest to fulfil. Some of the graduates knew of other students who received funding from the Board when their whakapapa links were perhaps tenuous at best. While not denying anybody the opportunity to apply for funding if they could verify their tribal identification, some of the graduates thought it was a potential

problem on campus, especially given that others viewed the scholarship as ‘easy money.’

I knew of a couple of people who applied for a scholarship and got it. I was surprised because they had never acknowledged themselves as Tainui before. I thought it was a bit rich of them, because they used to slag us off about being Tainui, especially when everything was focused on the Raupatu and that.

When the Board changed the education scholarship process in 1995, only three of the graduates interviewed were affected. In short, the Board introduced the Tainui Education Grant, which was designed for those students who were studying at any NZQA (New Zealand Qualifications Authority) -recognised tertiary institution (including Polytechnics, Whare Wananga and Colleges of Education, as well as University). The Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship remained, but the eligibility criteria changed. In effect, this change meant that this scholarship was available for those students studying only at universities or Colleges of Education, and restricted to those students who were studying for their Masters, Postgraduate Diplomas or higher. This also meant that students applying for this scholarship received larger grants than those who received a Tainui Education Grant.

After 1995, these graduates experienced a significant change in the application process for the scholarships. Criteria were more explicit, as were the administrative processes, such as closing dates, requirement of correct information and accompanying documentation. Most noticeable was the introduction of the letters of consent into the application forms. This came about as a result of the passing of the Privacy Act in 1993 and the recognition from the Scholarship Committee that a more cohesive approach to the collation of examination results from the tertiary institutions was required. However, one graduate’s response to these changes was:

It (the scholarship) was simple as when I got it. Now I think there’s so much extra stuff you have to do, it’s putting people off applying.

### Reactions to the Application Process

The reaction of the graduates to the collection of personal information was minimal, a necessary function required in fulfilling the application criteria. I remember helping with the administration of the scholarship application process at the time and recall the protests by some students at what they perceived as being an invasion of their privacy.<sup>5</sup> The graduates that I interviewed, however, did not seem to view this as an issue:

I applied for other scholarships as well and the criteria was pretty much the same, they sort of wanted the same sorts of information, so it wasn't really any different with this one.

Another area where the application process became more refined was from 1995 in the identification of tribal members through whakapapa (or the tribal registration process – commonly referred to as the Benroll, a shortened version of Beneficiary Roll). The graduates, in their responses to the application process, felt that the verification of whakapapa prior to 1995 was too easy. For example, three of the graduates knew people who had tenuous links at best to Waikato and yet they were still receiving scholarships. Others recalled fellow recipients who used to laugh at the ease in obtaining a scholarship from the Board. Most (six) stated that they felt the identification and verification of whakapapa was a major factor in allowing so many people who weren't 'Waikato' to come through and receive a scholarship. In contrast, all of the graduates felt that the scholarship itself was a privilege and an honour to receive. One graduate stated:

I thought it was a real privilege for me to get a scholarship. Prior to my receiving one, I wasn't sure if I would be accepted because I didn't apply in previous years...I didn't apply before because I didn't think I should have. I thought it should be there for other people who really needed the money. When I applied, I really needed the money.

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<sup>5</sup> In 1995, I assisted with the processing of the scholarships and gained first hand experience of student reaction to the whole application process.

Only two of the graduates felt they deserved the scholarship as of right:

I think anyone who has a link to the tribe should be able to apply for one.  
It's our birthright.

One aspect of concern to two of the graduates was the exclusion of several marae, who did not support the 1995 signing of the Raupatu settlement. These marae (three in number) were excluded from the marae dividends that were distributed annually to those who supported the settlement. Tribal members of those marae were still entitled to receive individual benefits, however, either through education or through sport and cultural grants. One of the graduates was a member of one of the excluded marae, while the other was a member of a hapu which fought hard for the settlement to be returned to the few hapu that were most affected by the land losses. While these graduates experienced nothing adverse, their concern was the impact it might have on other potential students from these marae and hapu, if they assumed that they were ineligible:

I was okay, because I spent a lot of time at Turangawaewae anyway – I felt more at home at Turangawaewae than my own marae. But it'd be interesting to know whether any of the ones from my marae have been put off applying because of our marae being non-signatory. If so, that would be a shame.

One area that all the graduates were in agreement with was the essay question. The essay component of the scholarship application process was designed to test applicants' knowledge and understanding (or lack of it) of the tribe. It was also a process by which students were required to make an attempt to find out about topics relevant to the tribe. Over the years, the questions themselves have changed, although it could be stated safely that the questions were based broadly on the themes of the Kingitanga and of the history of the Raupatu. In more recent years, a marae question has also been inserted, and the questions themselves have been revamped. A

requirement to have the essay question typed, however, was seen as petty and could disadvantage those students who were not able to access typewriters and computers.<sup>6</sup>

The opinions of the graduates in relation to the essay question were evenly split as to whether it should be kept in the application form. Those who thought it a good idea to keep an essay component felt that it helped to keep everyone “up to play” with what was happening in the tribe; being aware of the tribal history and roots; and helping to link the students back with their marae:

It's not that hard writing an essay, I mean you have to write essays at varsity anyway. I think the essay topics have improved over the years, so that you actually have to do some work rather than just copy information out of a book.

Those who disagreed felt that the essay question was too specific, and queried whether the people reading and passing judgment on them were qualified to do so:

I didn't mind writing generally about the Kingitanga and that, but I think having the marae committees vet the essays is a bit too much. I mean, what's the purpose of the scholarship – to test what they know about their marae, or to help them get through varsity?

This type of comment raises two issues. Firstly, the graduate's querying of the 'validity' or 'legitimacy' of those who read the essays (particularly those from marae communities who may not be western educated) highlights perhaps a lack of understanding or - of more concern to the tribal/marae communities - an ignorance or arrogance of what constitutes knowledge. This point then raises issues about whether an investment in higher education is creating an educated elite that has little connection to the communities themselves. Secondly, it also examines the extent to which the graduates have understood the role marae were envisaged to play in future tribal development, as well as highlighting for the Board and the marae communities a lack of accountability and feeling of obligation some scholarship recipients may

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<sup>6</sup> This requirement was introduced as a result in the increasing numbers of essays being illegible.

have in contributing to tribal/marae development. These are issues that are as yet unresolved.

One other aspect of the application process, which affected only those graduates who received scholarships from 1995, was the inclusion of the letter of consent in the application forms. While I stated at the beginning of this section that most graduates felt comfortable with the collection of personal information, one did not understand the need to include the letter of consent in the form. Although familiar with the reason for why the letter of consent was included, the main point raised by the graduate was that if the letter of consent was not signed, then they would not be eligible to receive a scholarship. This graduate felt that the Board was being unnecessarily “heavy-handed” by adopting this approach and thought there should be a better way of obtaining the information required:

The way I feel is that it’s like either you do this to get a scholarship or, if you don’t, then no scholarship. It’s almost as if the Board’s putting in all these new things which is actually making it harder to apply for a grant.

#### Comments on Being Awarded the Scholarship

In contrast to the comment above, which questions the Board’s approach, but which also highlights perhaps a lack of accountability and sensitivity by the graduate to tribal development, most of the graduates felt privileged to receive a scholarship from the Board. Furthermore, most of the graduates felt that the ceremony of awarding the scholarships at the annual coronation celebrations of Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu was a great honour. For some, having the scholarships presented before the people was a good opportunity to show face to the tribe, as well as to honour the crowning of Te Arikinui:

It was really good, a good way for all your kaumatua to get to see your face. They may not know you but they may know your family. All students should see it as a privilege. It is such a big event.

Another graduate felt that the whole issue of kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) was very important due to the large amount of money being distributed by the Board:

I'm pretty much a local, so it was hard case when the nannies and koros on the pae used to comment when we got our scholarships. I got a buzz. I think even more so for those who aren't able to get back to the marae so much, it would be a good idea, because when the old people hear your name and where you're from, it's like they can connect you, and I think as a rangatahi that's a really positive thing.

The other graduates agreed in the need to continue this tradition, to "show the strength and mana of the tribe" as well as getting people involved, at least once a year, in a tribal forum:

I think it's a good idea, just so that the tribe can show something positive, especially to the knockers.

One graduate commented on the difference between receiving a scholarship at Turangawaewae Marae and at another venue where scholarships were awarded one year. This graduate expressed a sense of embarrassment at knowing "just about everybody" at this other venue, and preferred to be at Turangawaewae where other people were able to see their achievement and the intent of the Tainui Maori Trust Board in pursuing education as the way forward for the tribe:

I was really shamed when I got my scholarship at my marae, sort of getting comments and people making fun of me. I liked it better at Turangawaewae, it wasn't so personal.

This graduate's comments, however, could be countered with the thought that by knowing 'just about everybody,' this graduate may have unwittingly been a source of pride to the community and an inspiration or role model for others to pursue higher education.

One potential problem in being awarded a scholarship by the Board and receiving it at the annual coronation celebrations of Te Arikinui in May of each year is that the tertiary year is one quarter completed. Concern has been expressed from time to time as to whether the timing for receiving the scholarships was disadvantageous to the students for payment of fees. However, the graduates felt that this was a non-issue, stating quite unanimously that students always need money and other sources of funding are available for the payment of fees:

It's a hard one, because basically, as a student – you always need money!  
So maybe having the presentations in May isn't such a bad thing, although  
I know a lot of people used to just spend it on partying and that.

In saying that though, the graduates were divided when asked to comment on whether the scholarships should be used primarily for the payment of fees. Some (four) felt, quite strongly, that the Board should not dictate as to what the money could be spent on, others (three) thought the payment of the scholarship being credited directly to fees was a good idea; while the other two did not have an opinion on the issue:

The criteria for the scholarships is bad enough, let alone them dictating what you can and can't spend the money on. Especially with Student Loans now, I think most people use their Loans for their fees and use the scholarship money for bills and other stuff like that. Well, that's what I did anyway.

### Support from the Board

Within the interview schedule, I included a question about the level of support from the Board. In particular, I asked whether the graduates felt that, aside from the scholarships themselves, the Board had provided support during their time at university:

I never got any type of academic support from the Board, just the scholarship.

No, there was no other support after we got the scholarships.

I got one of the Raupatu scholarships and we had to present a seminar about our work. Aside from the seminars, we were given space up at varsity, although a lot of the students didn't use it because it was located in A Block (the Maori block). We also got computer support - does that count? - and we also had our coordinator. She advised us about things to do with our courses, and set up a couple of courses for us – like how to do a research proposal, and how to go about doing research – stuff like that. It was really useful. But I know it was only because we got the big scholarships. It would have been good to get that for everyone.

The graduates agreed that the Board was financially supportive because of the awarding of scholarships. From there, however, the graduates were divided in their opinion as to the level of support offered by the Board. Some (three) felt that the financial assistance offered by the Board was enough, while others (four) felt that the Board should take a more proactive role in supporting the students at tertiary institutions to safeguard the financial investment made:

I think what the Board does is pretty good. They could be more supportive other than just give money, but I don't know how in terms of academic support.

In relation to this last point, those graduates who suggested that the Board might take a more proactive role put forward ideas such as mentoring programmes, tutoring programmes as well as general career guidance. Some (five) graduates were of the opinion that the Board was giving out too much money and did not appear to be monitoring whether there was any impact on the recipients as a result of distributing the money:

They have been giving out heaps of money, especially since the Raupatu, but you don't really know how much use it's been. I mean it's good because more people are thinking about education and giving it a go, but what about those who finish? There isn't any way of knowing – or the tribe knowing. Introducing the thesis presentations was a good idea, but maybe they could look at a graduation thing for scholarship recipients – or something like that. I think that would bring more students back to Turangawaewae.

Indeed, the Board has done little to track the movements of the recipients of its scholarships, and there is no information available as to those who have graduated.

Many (five) of the graduates supported the activities of the Board and what it was trying to achieve through education:

Mum always used to say how much money the Board was investing in education, and how lucky we were as a tribe that they were able to do that.

However, some (four) of the graduates felt that this interest was only openly expressed once a year, during the Koroneihana celebrations. One graduate recalled having a difficult time accessing information from the Board to assist in their studies. This graduate felt confused that the Board was willing to help on the one hand, financially, but was less than willing to provide additional support, in the form of access to research materials and academic planning advice on the other:

I remember approaching the Board trying to see if I could access their archives. I was told that they weren't open to the public. I thought that was kind of strange because I didn't think that I was 'public' and I wasn't sure how else I was going to get the sort of information I needed. I felt a bit put out because here they are wanting you to research on things relevant to tribal development and that, but they didn't seem prepared to offer help in opening up the archives for us students.

Seven of the graduates commented that they had little knowledge of what the Board's strategic direction was in relation to education, nor of how they could help, as educated tribal members.

### Other Educational Initiatives

Not many (three) of the graduates actually knew of the extent to which the Board has been involved in the provision of education – be it through financial assistance, programmes or policies. Four of the graduates had some knowledge of the history of the Scholarships themselves. In this part of the interview I asked a series of questions

relating to the different education documents, the Scholarships themselves and any other educational initiatives the graduates were aware of. The responses are rather revealing.

### Knowledge of the Scholarships

I mentioned previously that four of the graduates had some knowledge of the history of the Scholarships. Of these graduates, two stated that they gathered this information from their families, and the other two through the Briefing Evenings held by the Board prior to the awarding of the Scholarships themselves. One of the graduates I interviewed also received the postgraduate award, the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Waikato Raupatu Postgraduate Scholarship. This graduate was familiar with why the Postgraduate Scholarship was established and its purpose and intent. Only one of the graduates, however, had what I would describe as a good understanding of the variety of scholarships offered by the Board. Not one of the graduates could list all the different names of the scholarships.

What difference does it make whether students know about what sorts of scholarships are offered by the Board? In reality, I think little difference. However, the point of including this question was more to gain an idea of the graduates' knowledge about the variety of scholarships being offered, particularly since the Raupatu was signed in 1995. As the range of new scholarships established since 1995 didn't impact on many of the graduates, it is little wonder they knew so little about them. However, one graduate did highlight the fact that there were so many changes during this period, they didn't know which scholarship to apply for and ended up applying for several so as not to miss out completely. In particular, this related to the introduction of the Tainui Education Grant and the shifting of the Tumate Mahuta Memorial Scholarship to only postgraduate study.

If the purpose of the scholarships were to encourage tribal members to enrol for higher education, it would seem that the number of changes in the scholarships would

have done little to assist this aim. More importantly, it appeared that the Board was not very effective in communicating the new scholarships and its changes to tribal membership.

### The Tainui Education Strategy

The level of knowledge about the Tainui Education Strategy (TES) was interesting. While many of the graduates knew of an educational strategy produced by the Board, only two knew that the TES was actually in two parts, and only one graduate knew that a review of the strategy had been conducted. Only one graduate had actually read the strategy although the other graduates were not short of ideas for what the Board might do for education in the future:

I would say I am fairly familiar with the Strategy, although I am not quite sure how it actually applies in a real sense. I mean, beyond words, what can actually or really be achieved?

I only know about the Strategy because of the briefing evenings.

The fact that the graduates had limited knowledge of the Strategy would not, in my opinion, impact greatly on the Board's policy direction. However, there could be ways in which the Board could promote the objectives contained within the Strategy that may allay concerns expressed by critics of the educational approach adopted by the Board in recent years.

One other point about the lack of knowledge about the Strategy refers to tribal ownership of the document, and how it could be used as a basis for tribal development. When it was developed in the 1980s and early 1990s, it was seen as a blueprint from which the tribe could track its progress, and that of education institutions within the tribal region, in terms of education participation, advancement and achievement. One graduate queried the relevance of the Strategy to university participation:

I know a little about the Strategy, but how does it work with getting more of our people to uni? I can't answer that question, because I don't know enough about it, but is that one of the aims?

Another graduate felt that they didn't need to know about the Strategy because of its use as a policy document for the Board:

Unless there's something specific in there for us, I thought the Strategy was more about plotting a direction for the future – sort of like asking where we as a tribe want to be. It's more of a working document, rather than a discussion document isn't it?

However, these two responses raise the question as to how applicable should the Strategy be to tribal members? Is it just a working document, as described, or is it actually something that tribal members need to familiarise themselves with in order to understand the educational objectives and strategic direction of the Board? I would suggest that some of the aims and objectives of the Strategy need to be communicated to the tribal community, especially the milestones that have been achieved, and in relation to whether some aspects of the Strategy are still relevant.

### The Endowed College

All of the graduates I interviewed were familiar with or had heard of the Endowed College concept, as defined in Chapter Five. Most of the graduates stated that they had heard about the Endowed College through the briefing evenings, through reading the tribal newsletter Te Hookioi, through reading the Annual Reports of the Board, or attending tribal forums at which the Endowed College was discussed. While familiar with the Endowed College as a concept, none of the graduates could detail what academic discipline or disciplines were going to be offered there, or indeed, the purpose or reason for building an Endowed College:

We were told that the College was there for postgraduate study, something to do with tribal development. But they haven't said anything about how classes are going to be run, or what courses are going to be taught yet.

I heard that the College was going to be open for everybody – like people from other tribes, Pakeha and that. I don't see how that is going to further tribal development.

Two of the graduates could not understand why the Board had decided on the Endowed College concept, being of the opinion that the Board had already spent considerable resources on tertiary education. They felt that the Board should focus towards the other areas of the educational sector to achieve a more balanced approach. These graduates were also unsure as to what added value the Endowed College might have to offer as opposed to continuing their postgraduate work at the University of Waikato, or at some other tertiary institution. The other graduates were supportive of the Endowed College – as a concept – although they wanted to know in more detail what the College had to offer them:

It seems a bit scary that heaps of money is being spent on the College when they don't seem to know what they are going to be doing there – it sort of seems like eating the cake before its even cooked.

I like the idea of the College, but I'm not sure it warrants spending a whole lot of money on a new building for it. I mean the seminar series is doing okay isn't it?

I wonder who would actually stay at the College. If its postgraduate, most would already be set up. I've already got my own home, so I wouldn't move there to study, and I know heaps of others in the same boat, especially moving out to Hopuhopu – what facilities are there out there?

The main point derived from the responses to questions about the Endowed Colleges is simply as I stated earlier – that the Board has a lot of work to do to market the College as a viable proposition for postgraduate education.

### Final Comments

The graduates were quite supportive of the efforts the Board has made in the area of education. In particular, the Board's attitude and approach towards education generally was singled out as being a positive factor for tribal members:

The Board, through the scholarships is doing their darndest to get students there and keep them there. How many other tribal authorities are doing the same?

The graduates felt that the Board's emphasis on having to get an education – there was no choice – was an important step towards changing the current predicament of the tribe, and the attitudes of tribal members towards education. These graduates were firm believers that education was and is the key to a better way of life. Even without the financial support from the Board, most of the graduates stated that they still would have gone to university:

I was always going to go to uni. I think uni made me heaps more focussed. I was a pretty good student at school.

I think the more I went through varsity, the more I enjoyed it.

I was more focused on the process, like actually getting through, rather than the outcome. I think the process is heaps more important than what you come out with at the end of the day.

Many of the graduates believed that the large numbers of students going through tertiary education were a direct result of the Board's emphasis on education as a whole, and in particular, in its commitment to funding assistance for tertiary education:

I think the Board is doing heaps more now than when I was going through. I think it has really encouraged our people to stay on and develop themselves.

There is a greater awareness now of higher education, and what that means, and how it can be achieved.

There seems to be more of a focus on education now, and the iwi and hapu and that are more focussed of where to go in education.

### **Summary of Board Responses**

A number of points have emerged from the responses given by the graduates towards the Board's attempts to increase tribal participation in the tertiary sector. Most of the graduates felt that the application process wasn't anything more than what was required from other scholarship application forms. However, concern was expressed at what appeared to be a 'big brother' type approach in eliciting further information from the student's chosen tertiary institution in the form of the letters of consent.

It would be fair to say that all the graduates felt honoured in receiving a scholarship, and most were positive of receiving the scholarship at the annual coronation celebrations of Te Arikinui, seeing this as a privilege. Most also felt that this was a good forum for being presented to the people, especially the elders of the tribe.

Many of the graduates felt that the Board was supportive of their educational goals, although this was only expressed in the form of financial assistance. Some of the graduates felt that the Board needed to strengthen its investment in tertiary education by ensuring there were appropriate support services available at university to assist students if required.

In my opinion, very few of the graduates had a good understanding of the other educational initiatives that the Board was involved in. Only a small number of graduates knew of the Tainui Education Strategy; and even less knew of the contents or objectives the strategy espoused. Many were familiar with the Endowed College, although only a few could describe the detail to which the College had progressed to at the time of the interviews.

Overall, the graduates had a generally positive attitude towards the Board and were supportive of its attempts to provide assistance towards furthering the participation of its tribal members in tertiary education. Many comments and suggestions were made at ways in which the Board might improve or diversify, and these will be explored in further detail in the following chapter.

### **Responses on the University of Waikato**

This section will describe the graduates' views on the University of Waikato. In particular, this section seeks to summarise the graduates' opinions as to why they chose Waikato; their opinions as to the responsiveness of the University of Waikato to Maori needs; their knowledge of the recruitment programmes offered by the University which target Maori students; and other aspects of the University which may or may not have impacted on the graduates' experiences whilst there.

#### Reasons for Choosing the University of Waikato

Of the graduates interviewed, a number of reasons were given for choosing the University for their tertiary education. Some of the reasons were practical; very few of the reasons given were based purely on academic choices.

Some (four) graduates chose the University purely for geographical purposes, in that it was the university that was in close proximity to where their families lived. Others (two) chose the University for quite the opposite, in that they were able to move away from home to pursue their tertiary education. Three of the graduates had no choice but to move away from home, because the University of Waikato was their institution of choice and their families lived in other cities.

Other reasons offered by the graduates supported my feeling that the large population of Maori students was more attractive to new students. Seven of the graduates stated that, aside from the geographical location, they felt comfortable in attending the

University because there were more Maori students, more Maori lecturers and more Maori staff in general. When pushed as to how they came to find out this information, they stated from other friends and family members and from what they had heard “on the grapevine:”

I was lucky to be able to live close to varsity. I didn't have the hassles of trying to find accommodation like some of my mates. But they said they came here because there were heaps of Maoris, and they were right. There were heaps of us Maoris, so you didn't really feel out of place.

One reason that was not proffered readily by the graduates in choosing the University of Waikato for tertiary study were the courses offered by the University. In fact, many of the graduates were unfamiliar (until after some prodding on my part) with the positive recruitment programmes offered for Maori. This point will be discussed further in another part of this section.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect that can be taken from this brief discussion on the reasons for choosing the University of Waikato is the fact that the reasons given have been quite perfunctory. Of more concern perhaps has been the obvious lack of analysis within these responses by the graduates in relation to the academic programmes, types of degree programmes, and the courses and subjects offered, in order to fulfil the degree obligations of their chosen courses of study. This was across all academic disciplines and all Schools of Study. While explanations towards this may include responses such as a possible dismissive approach due to “youthful exuberance” and being unsure of the university system, I was mildly surprised that the graduates, especially those who enrolled at a time when the fees rose over \$2000, did not seem very concerned about their future directions. Some of the graduates had definite ideas about what they wanted to study at university (particularly those who did Education, Law and the Sciences), while others gave the impression that they “floated” through university, doing some papers at random and out of interest as opposed to a set course of study from beginning to end:

I knew what I didn't want to study, but I wasn't really sure what that left for me to do. So I sort of floated the first year, just trying out a few courses. In hindsight, I think it was good and bad. Good, because I got to do a number of subjects I probably wouldn't have done otherwise. Bad, because I ended up having too many papers at the end of my degree.

I can empathise with these experiences (remembering my own early tertiary education doing papers I wasn't really suited to or could pursue to a higher level), although my assumption that these graduates might have planned their tertiary education in a bit more detail was completely unfounded. Perhaps what this highlights is a lack of help in planning tertiary education prior to entry.

### The University of Waikato and Maori

After asking the graduates about their reasons for choosing the University of Waikato for their tertiary education, I asked them what their opinions were in regard to the University of Waikato responsiveness to Maori needs. Similar to the responses I received for the prior question, I was rather surprised at some of the replies to this question.

Some (three) of the graduates stated that they chose the University of Waikato for their tertiary study because it was "friendlier to Maori" and more sympathetic to Maori needs. Once the graduates were in the system, however, some (two) found that this was not quite the case. One graduate described their experience as thus:

I don't think the University cares at all about us Maoris. They say they do, but I don't reckon...Some of the lecturers, they can but they won't help Maori. Only one did, ...she was really good – straight up. Others weren't so supportive or willing to help. The non-Maori staff – some were okay, some were approachable, others weren't. The Maori staff weren't that great...There was a bias towards whiter looking Maori. They took it easier on the Pakehas and harder on the Maoris – I didn't think that was fair at all. Once, I complained about the marks I received, but they didn't see it like that, they thought it was fair. It put me off them.

It should be stated that this graduate was one of the few who were quite blunt in their analysis of the University staff, the different departments and perceived treatment of them as Maori students. Other graduates held less passionate views on this matter. For example, another graduate felt that the interest shown to them by their lecturers was more of a personal nature, where the lecturer genuinely expressed interest in the graduate's progress:

I got a shock when one of the professors on my course stopped me in the hall and asked how I was doing. It gave me a buzz knowing that he was taking an interest. I didn't think he'd know me from a bar of soap.

This graduate felt that on the whole the institution was not as openly supportive to Maori as was first believed:

I was under the impression that Maoris were like anybody else, no special treatment. It was sink or swim, which was pretty hard for a few people I knew – they didn't cope very well.

It was really hard at first, adjusting, especially to the freedom – not having anyone check up on you and that. It took me a while to click, and the lecturers didn't care, so long as your assignments came in – I don't think they worried about how we were coping.

The workload was a major shock and some of our lecturers were pretty useless – they wouldn't explain things very well, and I was too whakama (shy) to go and ask.

From these responses, it would seem that the University of Waikato took the *laissez-faire* approach described by Hurtado et al (1998) in Chapter Two. A report by the Minorities in Higher Education Committee (American Council on Education 1993:32) in the United States talks about how institutional responsiveness to minority needs must come from the "top down." If one were to transfer this approach across to the University of Waikato, is one making the assumption then that senior management are not sincere in their concerns for Maori? Certainly the experiences of the graduates, as highlighted above, seem to suggest so. However, this points more to

the institutional approach, and also questions the role of staff in supporting or guiding Maori through the higher education process. This will be examined in more detail, particularly, the role of Maori staff within academic institutions, in the next chapter.

### The University and Recruitment of Maori

It was interesting to note that six of the graduates interviewed did not view the University of Waikato as being proactive in its recruitment of Maori. Of those who did think so, one came from Te Timatanga Hou programme (a proactive Maori recruitment “bridging” programme), and one other from the School of Education. Some of the comments from the graduates in relation to the proactive nature of the University paint interesting pictures as to how the University has, I believe, evolved as an institution:

The University didn't come out to our school, and I only found out about TTH by chance. I got into varsity, but I wanted to do TTH, because I didn't think I was quite ready for the sort of work that I expected. I got into T.Coll, but I wasn't really sure that that was what I wanted to do, so that was another reason I did TTH.

In particular, a large number of the graduates were around when, particularly, the Schools of Law and Management instituted positive initiatives to encourage greater enrolment of Maori students. These initiatives included the introduction of Treaty papers in Law, the establishment of the Maori Resource Management programme in the School of Management; and the more inclusive approach for Maori in some departments within the School of Social Sciences; and the introduction of whanau and rumaki groups in the School of Education.<sup>7</sup>

### Retention Programmes for Maori at the University

Many of the graduates had difficulty answering this question, which I suspect was due to the way I had worded it. I found that I had to explain in more detail about what

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<sup>7</sup> The whanau and rumaki programme was designed by the School of Education to cater for the needs of delivering the national curriculum in Maori. Kana (1999) conducted a study on the effectiveness of this programme.

I meant, which in turn may have affected the responses. Nevertheless, most of the graduates (excluding those who were enrolled at the School of Education) were familiar with the Maori tutoring service that became operational at the University in 1991. The Maori Student Academic and Advisory Centre (MSAAC – now called Te Kaunuku Awhina) provides peer tutoring as well as collecting statistical information on Maori students, building profiles as to the status of Maori students on campus.

Five of the graduates were familiar with the Centre, although none had actually used its services. Two of the graduates were employed at one stage as peer tutors, an experience they described as insightful and enjoyable. Some (three) of the graduates couldn't give reasons as to why they didn't use the services of the Centre, although it was suspected that they just couldn't be bothered. A number of the graduates felt that they preferred the less formal peer tutoring groups that they organised themselves:

We had a whanau group, so we used to work on our assignments together. We used to cover for one another, because we all wanted everyone to pass.

We had heaps of readings to do for our course, so we used to give out the readings, so everyone had a different reading. Everyone was supposed to go and do the reading and come back and share it with the rest of the group. In that way, we could cut down on the time we spent doing the readings, analysing them and that, and keep up with the workload... There were some in our group who didn't come very often, some tried to come without doing the work – just sponging off everyone else – but we usually wouldn't give them anything.

This rather harsh response gives a good view of the realities of university life. In my opinion, this example characterises the generally helpful nature of most of the students and their inventive ways to help each other keep up with the coursework. Underlining this, however, was the expectation that in order to participate you still had to contribute your own piece of work. In short, nothing was for free. However, another aspect of this example is the resourcefulness of students to cope with the pressures of university. This graduate also felt that by helping each other, they pushed each other through the low points, ensuring that they all graduated together.

In keeping with the MSAAC, one other graduate commented that they thought the MSAAC was only available for those Maori students taking courses in the Maori department. This was due to the placement of MSAAC in the grounds of the department. Another graduate felt that there needed to be a MSAAC, or more Maori tutors available in all the different Schools across campus. This graduate thought that there weren't enough tutors at the MSAAC who could specialise in the different fields within each School, where answers could be provided and not just advice on procedural issues. In other words, this graduate did not want to learn about how to write essays, how to handle university pressures and so forth. This graduate wanted substantive assistance that they believed the MSAAC was not able to provide.

Some of the departments throughout the University offered tutoring, or set up tutoring programmes specifically for Maori students. Of those graduates whose departments provided this support, most used the services offered. The reasons given for using these services, however, arose from staff who were involved in establishing the programmes rather than the actual programmes themselves. For instance, one graduate felt that they gained a lot out of the changes that a particular staff member in their department had instigated, mainly because they felt that the staff member was genuinely concerned about their welfare and progress. It should also be stated that not all these staff members were Maori themselves. In fact, some graduates stated that they received guidance, tuition advice and support from a diverse range of people who held different positions of academic authority within the University.

#### Other Aspects of University Support/Responsiveness to Maori

There are two other areas within the University of Waikato structure on which I would like to comment: the Waikato Student Union and Komiti Awhina (Maori Students Association).

According to the graduates I interviewed, very few were familiar or had involvement with the Waikato Student Union (WSU). In four of the graduates' recollections, their

involvement would have extended to the social events organised by the WSU, such as Orientation Week and other socials throughout the year or through reading the University magazine, Nexus. From the interviews, I gained the impression that many of the graduates felt that the world of university student politics was more the domain of their non-Maori counterparts and beyond that, many were not interested in delving into the other activities WSU may have offered.

The graduates' opinions on Komiti Awhina were very different however. Most (six) of the graduates knew what Komiti Awhina was and the sorts of functions and activities it offered. While most were familiar with Komiti Awhina, four of the graduates chose not to involve themselves in the activities offered by them, for a number of reasons. It would be easier to categorise these reasons into "positive" and "negative" camps. Firstly, those whose reasons fell into the positive camp referred to the lack of time that they felt they had in their own schedule to commit to any of the activities offered by Komiti Awhina. Secondly, some of these graduates felt that they were too far away, or too isolated within their Schools of Study and thus didn't hear or weren't informed about the activities arranged by Komiti Awhina. Isolation, lack of time and also lack of interest were the main reasons proffered by the graduates for their lack of participation in the affairs of Komiti Awhina.

For those graduates who fell within the 'negative' camp of responses towards Komiti Awhina, specific reasons were given outlining why. Most of these reasons related to bad or negative experiences suffered by the graduates in relation to Komiti Awhina. For example, one graduate recalled an experience when funding was sought to assist with a hui that they were organising. The experience recounted by this graduate referred specifically to the School in which they were enrolled, and they were told by Komiti Awhina to get the funding from their School rather than approach them. While this could be seen as perhaps a trivial matter, the graduate stated that it was, until their committee organising the hui found out that Komiti Awhina had given quite a substantial amount of money to one individual for what appeared to be of less

benefit to Maori students in general (the person awarded the money was, according to the graduate, well known to Komiti Awhina). In the opinion of the graduate, it appeared that a definite bias by Komiti Awhina was displayed and from then, the graduate didn't bother with Komiti Awhina:

I was really disgusted with what happened. It may me really mad, because I thought that was what they were there for. But obviously it was who you knew, so I couldn't be bothered with them after that.

These experiences, both positive and negative, impacted on the activities of Komiti Awhina, especially when assessing its effectiveness and ability to reach the students it represented. This was especially important given that Komiti Awhina was funded by the union fees for Maori students who attended the University – in effect, Maori students did not have a say as to whether they could have been represented by the WSU (and thus have their union fees directed to WSU) or by the Komiti Awhina. The point being was that the option of choice (and perhaps effective representation) appeared to be missing.

### Final Comments

There were many other comments made by the graduates in relation to their experiences whilst at the University of Waikato. A lot of these comments related to wishing they had known about options and choices for degree programmes, wishing they had more guidance when choosing their options and so forth. Some of these comments are worth exploring further, and some I have chosen to form some recommendations that I believe may assist the University of Waikato in its future planning where Maori are concerned.

Overall, the graduates stated that their experiences at University were exactly that – experiences. Most thought that the mistakes they made helped them to grow and to learn, as well as learning not to make them again! While some felt that they could have done with less stress, most of the graduates were in agreement that the

university experience is unique and one has to endure both the positive and negative aspects associated with university life.

### Summary of University Responses

A number of areas were covered in the interviews that recounted the graduates' experiences whilst at the University of Waikato. These included the graduates' opinions and knowledge of why they chose to attend the University of Waikato, how responsive they thought the University was to Maori, their knowledge of the recruitment and retention programmes offered by the University and other aspects, which included the Waikato Student Union and Komiti Awhina. From this section, I think it becomes clear that some graduates appeared content to have a low-key, low-level of involvement of university life, while others were much more involved. For those whose involvement was much more than reading the University magazine, I have found their experiences offer insight into what the University is like as an institution which claims to be responsive to the needs of Maori. It appears clear from some of the responses given by the graduates that the University of Waikato still has a lot of work to do in meeting the aspirations of Maori students. The following chapters will explore how the University might go about meeting such aspirations.

### **Chapter Summary**

This chapter sought to examine the responses of the interviews from those graduates of the University of Waikato between 1992 and 1997 who had also received funding from the Tainui Maori Trust Board. The chapter outlined the approach adopted for the selection of the participants in the study, as well as how the interviews were conducted. A profile of the graduates was provided, giving an insight into the graduates' family background and prior educational experiences. The graduates' responses to the questions posed in the interviews, summarised in this chapter, highlighted their diverse range of experiences whilst attending the University of

Waikato. The lack of knowledge about the University and its responsiveness to Maori is a particularly revealing finding, which will be examined further in the following chapter. Similarly, the graduates' concern about aspects of the Tainui Maori Trust Board scholarship process questions its effectiveness and asks the question as to whether the educational objectives, as highlighted in the Tainui Education Strategy, are relevant. Again, this will be examined in the next chapter.

What can be drawn from the responses given within this chapter are a number of complex issues, related to knowledge of programmes, institutional responsiveness to Maori needs and aspirations. Furthermore, these responses query whether either institution has examined their respective policies and initiatives in relation to Maori education and participation since their inception, and whether there are any opportunities to monitor, evaluate and refine such policies and initiatives. In effect, this chapter has questioned to what extent has either the University of Waikato or the Tainui Maori Trust Board enhanced the participation and graduation of Maori students. Some of the key areas identified in this chapter will be critically evaluated in the following chapter. Essentially, it is posited that both the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board have much work to do to ensure that Maori students continue to participate in and graduate from university.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN - DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS**

Having a degree isolates one from the Maori community in the sense that having succeeded they think I belong to the Pakeha community and that I am too good for them. I had much trouble convincing them that I am a Maori and (also) a normal human being (Barrington 1987:80).

I never wanted to quit. I really enjoyed my time at varsity...In my eyes, I think I am successful, because I'm happy with my life. It's got nothing to do with varsity though (Tainui graduate).

### **Introduction**

The experiences of the nine Tainui graduates who graduated from the University of Waikato between 1992 and 1997 appears not to be too dissimilar to any other group or individual who has struggled through university in pursuit of a higher education. Striking features of this group included strong parental and family support, and a reliance on peers (a notion of whanau) while at university to pull each other through. These graduates had a very strong sense of who they were, where they come from, and who they belong to. To them, success was a complex issue. For some, there was a sense of collective achievement in that they worked together, not wanting anyone to fail. For others, they felt that they earned their success, making sacrifices and working hard. However, many were not comfortable calling themselves successful, unless it meant using their success as a way of encouraging other Maori into higher education. What do all these factors say about these Tainui graduates?

This chapter seeks to pull together a number of threads woven throughout the thesis thus far, to bring them together in an attempt to shape a more cohesive picture on how Maori academic success can be achieved. In Chapter Two, I examined what success and achievement meant from the perspective of two minority and two indigenous groups. In particular, Durie's (2001) framework for educational advancement suggested that academic achievement should not be at

the expense of one's cultural identity. Instead, Maori educational advancement was viewed as having the ability to attain western standards of education while also maintaining links and an identity as Maori. The previous chapter highlighted the importance of parents and family support – support that was offered in a variety of ways, including financial. To what extent did this type of support shape the graduates' experiences at university and influence their views on success? The previous chapter also examined the role of mentoring, from informal peer mentoring between cohorts to the more formal programme of the seminar series offered by the Tainui Maori Trust Board. How significant were these mentoring relationships in contributing to the academic success of the graduates? This chapter will examine what the graduates said about success. How did they succeed where others have failed?

One strong factor that emerged during the course of the interviews with the graduates was their identity – not only as Maori, or as Tainui, but also as members of the Kingitanga movement. Chapter Two's examination of cultural notions of success alluded to the need to maintain an identity during the education process, so as not to be caught up within the dominant paradigm of western knowledge and western values. hooks (1994), Mirza (1995), Takara (1991), L. Smith (1999) and others (Ballard 1973; Trask 1999) advocated adopting what they termed 'strategies for survival'. These strategies included maintaining one's cultural identity, and not allowing the agendas of others to detract from the pursuit and achievement of a higher education. In Chapter Three, I expanded upon this notion of developing strategies to survive, by surmising a tribal theory of success. This theory was based upon the resistance to the assimilatory practices of the dominant culture, using the sayings of tribal leaders to propel one through the complexities of the western higher education system. This chapter will examine in more detail the role of identity for minority and indigenous students. In particular, I will focus on how the Tainui graduates have maintained strong links with their family, their hapu, their marae, and the tribe. This strength of knowing who they are, their position within the tribe, the importance of tribal philosophies – has that contributed to their success? Has it been a strategy of survival, similar to that suggested in the literature?

The role that higher education institutions have played in the success of minority and indigenous academic achievement has been sporadic and at times entrenched in western perspectives that do not seem willing to accommodate different cultural perspectives. Chapter Two identified the need for such institutions to be more in tune with the needs of minority and indigenous perspectives and needs. In Chapter Four, I outlined the history of the University of Waikato, tracing its development since its establishment in 1964. At its opening, the Governor-General urged the University to be proactive in establishing itself as an institution well-tuned to Maori concerns and well-adjusted in how it could assist Maori in tino rangatiranga or determining their own futures. However, what eventuated was a number of half-hearted attempts by the University, where Maori initiatives were instigated not by the institution, but rather by dedicated staff (often Maori) and external organisations. The Academic Audit report (1997) identified this half-hearted approach, and the University's continued hold on a mainly monocultural approach despite aspiring to promote a bicultural, Treaty-based philosophy. Similarly, the Tainui graduates found that, despite a number of programmes that aimed to assist Maori through university, the University of Waikato was not, in their opinion, very proactive or responsive to the needs or aspirations of Maori. Essentially, therefore, the University, despite the opportunity to create a new environment for higher education, has instead clung to the traditions of western university education, entrenched in its colonial past. This chapter will examine in more detail the positive role institutions can play in assisting in the academic achievement of minority and indigenous peoples.

Further to the role institutions play in higher education, there have been increasing calls for Maori to play a greater role in determining and shaping their own futures (Durie 2001). The Tainui Maori Trust Board, since its establishment in 1946, has identified the need for its tribal members to embrace education, and in particular higher education, as a way of progressing tribal development. In Chapter Five, I identified how the Board developed an education strategy for the tribe, which covered all areas of the education system. Paying particular focus on tertiary education, the strategy foundered initially due to lack of government support and a difficulty in getting initiatives implemented. After the signing of the Raupatu

Settlement in 1995, however, financial investment in higher education was substantially increased through the expansion of the scholarship programme, which had been in place since 1947. Aside from this financial assistance, the Tainui graduates felt that the Board was not particularly supportive of their efforts to become better educated. Furthermore, the graduates felt that the requirements to enrol as tribal members and apply for scholarships became more restrictive and inhibiting after 1995. This chapter will examine the extent to which the Board's strategy of getting more tribal members into higher education has been successful, and how effective the Board's strategy has been in terms of responding to the needs of its tribal members who are undertaking higher education study. In particular, I focus on the extent to which the Board has adhered to its philosophies espoused under the Kingitanga, and whether the Board has developed a tribal strategy for success, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

## **Success**

The purpose for Barrington's (1987:5) study of "successful Ngarimu scholars" was to provide a "source of inspiration to other young Maoris." As identified in Chapter One, there is a lack of data about Maori university completions from which more comprehensive analysis of Maori academic achievement can be done. However, a report by the Ministry of Education (1997a:28) identified that despite the increase of Maori participation in university education, especially during the 1990s, there was a "corresponding reduction in rates of completion." To date, however, Barrington's study and one later report (Broughton 1993) commissioned by the Ngarimu VC Board, contain detailed accounts of Maori experiences at university as well as providing some insight as to perhaps why Maori achieve, and how Maori view success. One factor identified by Barrington about the Ngarimu scholarship recipients was that they were already on the path to academic success because they were high achievers at secondary school and fulfilled the strict criteria of academic merit set down by the Ngarimu VC Board. This assertion can also be applied to the Tainui graduates because, aside from one graduate, they all entered university directly from secondary school. However, whereas the

Ngarimu VC recipients all met the strict academic criteria of the Ngarimu VC Board, the same cannot be said about the Tainui graduates. As mentioned in the previous chapter, two of the graduates entered university via the University of Waikato bridging programme, Te Timatanga Hou.

hooks (1994), in Chapter Two, believed that minority students needed to develop strategies in order to transgress western definitions of how and who can achieve success. Mirza (1995), also in Chapter Two, mirrored this focus, paying particular attention to the development of strategies of survival. The experiences of the graduates, outlined in the previous chapter, also highlighted methods used to ensure they pulled through and succeeded. For example, one graduate recounted how a group was established, which worked together, dispersing readings to help each other keep up with the course work. Another graduate talked about working in whanau groups, where work was shared around to make sure everyone completed their assignments so that there was less chance of anyone failing. These two examples can be called 'strategies' in that they were able to progress through a system that was not always considerate of Maori needs. This chapter will now examine some of the factors or 'strategies' identified in Chapter Two as being positive contributors to academic success to see what effect, if any, they had on the graduates' experiences at university, and to see whether they influenced the graduates' perspectives on academic achievement and success.

### Family and success

As with Barrington's (1987) study, the Tainui graduates found that parental and family support were positive factors during their time at university. The previous educational experiences of the graduates' parents were mixed, with notably the mothers having higher qualifications. However, the main aspect from those parents who had few educational qualifications was a desire not to see their experiences replicated by their children. Was this a motivating factor for the graduates to succeed? I would argue the prior educational experiences of the parents helped to shape their opinions of education, and the ways in which their parents supported them through university. For example, as mentioned, one father who had left school at 12, did not wish to see his children have to sacrifice

opportunities in life due to a lack of education. As a result, this father expressed support, and although unable to help with the academic content, offered his support in different ways:

I was the first in my family to go to varsity, and the only one...Me going to varsity was a big bonus...Dad was really supportive of us in any area, because he didn't want that for us, to have to struggle like he did.

It would appear that despite their own poor or negative educational experiences, the parents of these graduates tried to steer or support their children towards achieving what they hadn't been able to do – a western education. It is clear that as Maori parents, they have clear aspirations for their children to succeed at school and university, and are really no different from Pakeha parents.

I refer back to Okagaki & Frensch (1998), whose findings, which I described in Chapter Two, relate parental notions of academic success as being influenced by ethnic and cultural perceptions. Many of the parents of the nine Tainui graduates had mixed educational experiences. As a result of their lack of educational achievement, the parents appeared (from their children's perspectives) to ensure that their children did not follow in the same direction. A distinction perhaps needs to be made here between negative educational experiences and lack of educational achievement. Lack of achievement can easily be equated with a negative experience in education, and this may be true for the most part. However, it appears that the experiences of the graduates' parents, especially those who had not achieved at school may have formed a negative opinion of their experience, which in turn led to an increased desire for their children to experience education more positively, and thus successfully, where they had been unable to do so. In essence, therefore, it appears that those parents who had had these experiences had strength of character to overcome adverse circumstances. In a sense, it could be assumed that the parents developed their own 'strategy' to survive their educational experience, and have attempted to pass on that strategy to their children.

The role of family and parents in the academic success of minority and indigenous peoples has been acknowledged in Chapter Two as an important contributing factor. This was further highlighted through the experiences of the Tainui graduates, where the majority of the students relied upon their families and parents for support in a variety of ways. So to what extent does the role of families and parents play in shaping attitudes of success for the Tainui graduates? Can this role be a contributing factor to Maori academic success, or are there deeper, more culturally aligned notions which link familial and parental support and academic achievement? In other words, how much have the experiences and support of the parents, as described above and in the previous chapter, instilled and reinforced attitudes of success and academic achievement for the Tainui graduates?

I believe that the role parents and families play is important in guiding, supporting and nurturing Maori academic achievement. Given the emphasis Maori place on whanau relationships and the extended family environment, success in this context can be viewed as having a rippling effect. This type of rippling effect was explained in the previous chapter by one of the graduates, who acknowledged the increasing numbers of members from their community enrolling for higher education. This is also in line with Deyhle's (1995) study on the Navajo, where success was relative to the effect it had on the wider community, as outlined in Chapter Two. Therefore, does this mean that the Tainui graduates were successful because of their parental educational experiences, and/or their family and parental support? I think for some they were. Two of the graduates were very clear in relating their family experiences in education, and how these experiences served as reminders of what not to do. In effect, the negative experience was used as an example, thus creating a positive situation from which the graduates could move forward. However, these graduates did not appear to be held back by the fact that members of their family and some of their parents did not achieve. Certainly, I would venture that it was these very experiences that inspired them to achieve academic success.

The role of the family, therefore, has been found through the experiences of the graduates, to influence, shape and support their attitudes to academic achievement, and to the notion of success. The family history of education could be described as one mechanism that contributed to a strategy for success.

### Mentoring and success

Jacobi's (1991) literature review of the research conducted on mentoring, which was discussed in some detail in Chapter Two, identified the diverse range of variables that impacted on mentoring, and the problems associated with having such a diverse range in terms of being able to monitor mentoring effectiveness. Gandara's (1994) position, as a result of her study of educationally ambitious Chicanos, identified the existence of power/knowledge relationships given the context within which mentoring relationships are staged and as a result how such a position could be problematic for a mentoring relationship between student/teacher.

None of the graduates discussed 'formal' mentoring relationships. However, it would seem that many of the graduates were involved in a variety of mentoring relationships. In particular, these included group and peer mentoring – where work was shared and support was provided to ensure all managed their course loads; to casual, informal inquiries as to progress (from professor to student); to the mentoring provided through the seminar series run by the Tainui Maori Trust Board. These experiences were viewed positively by the graduates, and point to a mixture of relationships, combining Erkut & Mokros' (1984) findings about faculty and academic mentoring relationships with Pascarella's (1980) findings on peer relationships regarding mentoring.

The development of the seminar series for postgraduate scholarship recipients by the Tainui Maori Trust Board in 1996 was seen as a precursor to the establishment of the Endowed College, which opened in February 2000. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the seminars were designed to provide mentoring to the students, both from their peers, and from members of the academic community and the wider tribal community. This format was to allow students access to mentoring

figures that they may have otherwise been unable to access at a larger institution, like the University of Waikato. Given the lack of educated Maori (particularly those with higher degrees), there is the assumption that academic mentors would be drawn from the Pakeha, dominant community. Again, this raises the issue of power/knowledge – akin to the superior/subordinate relationship described earlier by Gandara (1994). Where Pakeha mentors may have the skills to advise from an academic capacity but not necessarily from a cultural/racial/ethnic perspective, this may be of concern to Maori organisations attempting to organise mentoring relationships, particularly in the area of tribal research. While the role of Pakeha mentors could be deemed problematic, the responsibility rests on tribal institutions to ensure that the positive contribution that Pakeha mentors can make is done so in a way that respects and upholds tribal principles and philosophies. Further, the role of tribal elders as mentors should also be explored, but again, issues of access to information, protection of tribal knowledge, accountability to the communities involved and so forth become relevant. These different approaches and the way mentor relationships are constructed, therefore, must bear in mind these differences, particularly in relation to the preservation and protection of tribal knowledge and future tribal self-determination.

From the graduates' perspectives, only one received a postgraduate scholarship and thus was affected directly by the seminar series run by the Board. This graduate, as highlighted in the previous chapter, felt that the way in which the programme was structured (which also, at that time included the provision of computer support, study space and access to an academic advisor) was positive and 'really useful.' However, the graduate lamented that this facility was not available to all the scholarship recipients. From this perspective, the seminar series offered a positive mentoring relationship for this graduate.

However, a different type of mentoring relationship could be viewed in terms of the provision of access to resources and mentoring from the tribal perspective that I described above. In particular, the previous chapter related an account from one of the graduates who was unable to access tribal archival material. How supportive was the Board in this respect? What type of knowledge/power

relationship existed which excluded this graduate from the very type of experience the Board was trying to initiate? In essence, this experience highlights a difference in aspirations between the Board and the graduates, which challenges and contradicts the Board's position on providing positive role modelling. The effectiveness of positive initiatives such as the seminar series, which promoted and celebrated the students' achievements, is undermined by such contradictory actions and does little to encourage Maori/tribal academic advancement and success. This type of experience emphasises the need for the Board to ensure its policies and initiatives are consistent in their message to tribal members, and is reflected and implemented in practical terms and in positive ways.

### The enigma of success

The graduates felt more comfortable to be tagged as role models only if it helped encourage more Maori into university, and only one of the graduates was quite open in acknowledging their achievement, although that achievement was put into perspective when they reflected on how many of their peers had missed the same opportunity, through lack of encouragement and support. This overriding opinion of the graduates of what might appear to be a rather subdued sense of achievement is in fact open to other interpretations. This self-effacement may in part be due to the reluctance of the graduates to appear whakahihi (arrogant) about their achievements, despite the difficulties Maori experience in completing university education. A Maori whakatauki (saying) embodies this reluctance to talk about one's own success:

Kaore te kumara e korero mo tona mangaro.

The kumara does not say how sweet it is (Brougham & Reed 1990:65).

This saying means that the kumara (sweet potato) does not talk about its own sweetness, or within this context, that the graduate does not talk about their academic success. This type of positioning shown by the graduates is a culturally appropriate positioning of humility and modesty, and therefore underlines the relevance that cultural values play in the achievements of these graduates, whereby the graduates appear unwilling to let such success override the

maintenance of their cultural identity and integrity. In essence, the saying also infers that it is for others to acknowledge one's achievements, and, via the scholarship and thesis presentation ceremonies held during Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu's annual Koroneihana (Coronation) celebrations, this is how the Board has chosen to acknowledge tribal success in education.

However, this is the only way in which the Board has acknowledged the educational achievements of its tribal members, and this has been undermined by the changing policy of the Board toward education in recent years, which has focused on traditionally western interpretations of benchmarking academic achievement. The past 50-odd years of the Tainui Maori Trust Board's operations have seen constant reference to higher education – whether there has been the ability to fund initiatives or not, and the Board maintained its emphasis on ensuring educational funding was “excellence” based (Tainui Maori Trust Board Minute Book 1948:1). In particular, the Board adopted after the 1995 settlement stricter academic criteria that meant success was defined according to rigorous definitions as determined by institutions such as the University of Waikato. In determining ‘excellence’ in the numerous education funding policies adopted by the Board, ‘excellence’ was in 1996 and 1997 defined as the ability to pass at least half the enrolled courses in any one year, maintain an average of B+ in consecutive years, or having a minimum grade point average (GPA) in academic subjects (as set by the University) at all times. This approach by the Board appears more in line with western definitions of success and seems to contradict tribal philosophies of unity and a weaving of traditions, as indicated through the tribal saying ‘kotahi te kohao o te ngira’ described in Chapter Three. The question, therefore, is what does the Board want more – educational excellence or a commitment to increase the human resource capacity that can contribute to tribal development and self-determination?

The increasing emphasis of the Board on academic excellence as a criterion for successful scholarship recipients is further contrasted with the Board's intention of using the postgraduate scholarships as research mechanisms by which theories and ideas about tribal development could be promulgated. In short, do only the

brightest tribal members know what paths are best suited for tribal development? What about those who work 'at the coalface,' whose experiences may be far richer than any academic qualification? The message of academic excellence, and thus success, while an admirable one, is contradictory and confusing for tribal members whose primary goal would surely be to complete university. Furthermore, this emphasis on academic criteria as a measure of success appears to take the Board further away from the tribal philosophies it espouses.

A fundamental question within this whole realm of academic criteria and balancing such criteria with the needs of encouraging tribal members to pursue higher education lies in an organisation's view of success. The Tainui Education Strategy purported to support initiatives "which enhance the academic achievement of Tainui people" (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:4). The seminar series has been one initiative that has achieved this goal. However, this has been offset by the Board's increasing reliance on western benchmarks of academic achievement from which education policies have been formulated and implemented. The resulting impression is one of confusion, where the Board, while establishing programmes (like the seminar series) that seem grounded in tribal philosophies and support notions of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), also seeks to cling to western constructs of success and thus continue to be burdened by the oppressive nature of the dominant culture.

From this discussion, and from the experiences of the graduates outlined in the previous chapter, there is a distinct difference between the Board's approach to success and those of the graduates. This raises concern as to the effectiveness of the Board's educational strategy, particularly in the area of higher education, and questions whether the approach being used by the Board is appropriate and relevant. In particular, it appears that the Board's approach in achieving academic success is more ideological rather than practical. Certainly, the experiences of the graduates point more to the adoption of 'strategies of survival' as discussed earlier in this chapter. To this extent, the notion of a tribal strategy or theory of success has yet to be effectively developed, which weaves together more coherently the

ideological aspirations of the Board with the more practical realities of the higher education experience.

## **Identity**

In his book, *Nga Tau Tohetohe*, Walker (1987:134-135) recounts how he came across a document about Maori identification, and what it said:

Being a Maori is –  
 Having the greatest grandparents in the world.  
 Respecting your elders because they have earned it.  
 Having 250,000 brothers and sisters.  
 Fouling up the Government and its statistics...  
 To know the difference between a Maori, a Maori-Pakeha, a Pakeha-Maori and a Pakeha and to beware of the last two...  
 Watching the teacher teach the other kids...  
 Belonging to a particular tribe which is the best in the country.

The identification and classification of Maori has been erratic and plagued with inconsistencies and lack of consensus on what the definition of a Maori means. It has been stated that Maori were a singular entity that over time, split and grew into tribal groups that linked themselves to the members of the original canoes that came over to New Zealand (Sinclair 1988). Indeed, Walker (1987:131) found that Maori only labelled themselves as such in order to “distinguish themselves from the white strangers whom they called Pakeha.” Further, Gould’s (1996) study of 16 major iwi revealed that their identification was mainly through tribal (iwi) or sub-tribal (hapu) affiliation, not as Maori. Thus, identification was seen as tribal first, and Maori second. For the Waikato tribe, there are a number of other associations that help distinguish it from other tribal groups. Firstly, there is the tribe itself, as its own entity. Secondly, there is Waikato sitting amongst three other iwi, which form the Tainui confederation of tribes - that is those tribes that voyaged on the Tainui canoe from Hawaiki to New Zealand. Finally, there is the role the Waikato tribe plays as kaitiaki of the Kingitanga movement. These three distinct but interwoven aspects help shape the identity and characteristics of the Waikato tribe.

The nine graduates interviewed for this thesis represented a number of tribal groups, in other words, their identification was not solely with Tainui. However, their association with Tainui was very strong, characterised by close associations between their families and their marae, and also through their ties with the Kingitanga movement. The role of the tribe, particularly in relation to the Kingitanga movement, is one of particular importance to some of the graduates. As described in the last chapter, the Kingitanga role defines the tribe, and essentially makes the tribe what it is: a guardian of the King movement, and in return, the people of the tribe are expected to look after other iwi, both in return for their support during the Land Wars of the 1860s and also in terms of their role as guardians of the Kingitanga.

It would appear that the Kingitanga and its relationship with the tribe have been strong points with which the graduates were able to attach themselves, and from which they drew strength in terms of their tribal and personal identity. While it does not appear that their identification as Tainui, as supporters of Kingitanga, defined their experiences at university, it does appear that these affiliations helped shape their family support mechanisms, and also contributed to their views on the tribe, and in supporting tribal activities. However, has this shaping also influenced the graduates' perceptions of success, and in particular, a tribal view of success? The results are mixed. Very few of the graduates referred to the tribe when acknowledging their academic achievement, although many of them were conscious of the Board's view on higher education. The graduates, for the most part, did not feel obligated to either the Board or the tribe in return for the investment made in their education, although one graduate stated that their families made them more conscious of the Board's (and thus the tribe's) investment in them. In short, the graduates separated their tribal identity from their university experience, a mechanism that perhaps would have allowed them to manage more comfortably in a university context, and to survive the university experience without compromising their tribal associations and identity as Maori and as Tainui.

From the Tainui Maori Trust Board's perspective, how would this separation of identities affect their aspirations for tribal development? As mentioned in Chapter Five, since 1995 tribal members have been required to affiliate to one of the 60-odd marae who supported the signing of the Raupatu, and who were from the 33 hapu that suffered under the confiscation. Board policy indicated that education, sport and cultural scholarships were the only forms of individual gain available to tribal members. Emphasis was on collective distribution, through marae grants. Therefore, the Board's distinction between individual responsibilities to the tribe (through education scholarships) and collective ones (through the marae grants) could perhaps explain the graduates' approach. However, the emphasis placed by the Board on identification in recent years has not found favour with the graduates interviewed. I agree with their concerns that perhaps such a focus contradicts the philosophies of the Kingitanga. This has been shown through tightening definitions of what it means to 'be' Tainui, and to 'belong' to the tribe.

The separation of identity during the higher education experience did not appear to be a conscious choice made by the graduates. Rather, as one graduate explained:

I have always been strong in my Tainui identity. It wasn't a problem for me. I didn't need to go to varsity to find my Tainuitanga.

In a sense, it could be explained that because of the strong family and parental support experienced by most of the graduates, and because of the graduates' quite stalwart involvement in tribal events, the need to maintain a sense of 'Tainuitanga' – or a Tainui identity – did not seem to be as important as finding strategies to get through the degree programme. Perhaps having the satisfaction of knowing one's cultural identity and having a strong and real link to the tribe and its events gave the graduates enough confidence to be able to stand alone within the university setting and survive the higher education experience. How many other Maori students are able to do the same?

The strength of identity associated with these graduates, however, must be tempered with what is seen as a lack of responsiveness by the University of Waikato (and the education system) to the needs of tribal authorities and the Maori communities they represent. As shown in Chapter Four, a hui of kaumatua in 1990 raised concern at the lack of Maori input into the establishment and subsequent development of the University since its inception in 1964. The lack of consultation by the University on issues, particularly its name, which refers not only to the region but to the tribe, appeared to have still been unresolved nearly 30 years after its establishment. Similarly, the lack of support given to the development of Maori programmes, as highlighted by Karetu (1989), suggest that the University failed to take advantage of its unique positioning within what the Governor-General Sir Bernard Fergusson called “the heart of the traditionally Maori community” (Day 1984:60). This is further reinforced by the length of time it took the University to set up the School of Maori and Pacific Development, which was established in 1996, and only after considerable input and pressure from Maori staff and Maori communities. In essence, therefore, the University has neglected its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi and has not sufficiently recognised or addressed satisfactorily the needs of nearly 20 percent of its student population.

According to Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991), institutions that respect indigenous students for who they are, that provide relevance and meaning for the world view of indigenous students, that promote and offer a reciprocal relationship and help indigenous students to exercise responsibility over their own lives, are institutions that truly reflect and are responsive to their needs. Unfortunately, it appears that the University has not provided this type of institutional environment for Maori, as indicated by the experiences of the Tainui graduates.

It appears that the graduates did not go to university to assert or reassert their identity, either as Maori or as Tainui. The graduates were confident enough in their own tribal and Maori identity to not be consumed by issues of identity during their university experiences. Indeed, the graduates’ focus was on their education, not the maintenance of their identity. However, is this the focus of many other

Tainui students? In recent years, Tainui students receiving scholarships and attending the University of Waikato have been enrolled for degrees in Maori. The assumption is that many of these students are seeking to reaffirm their identity as Maori, through language and culture, which then brings into question how effective the University will be able to cater for their needs as Maori, and as Tainui. Given the graduates responses outlined in the previous chapter, it would appear that the University has some way to go before any significant and positive change for Maori is achieved.

The role of identity in the academic achievement of indigenous and minority students has been found to be a significant factor in their success at university. For the graduates in this study, this identity – to the tribe and to the Kingitanga - has been strong, and has been reinforced by family links. Of concern to the graduates have been the changes since the settlement of the Raupatu in 1995, particularly in relation to tribal identification and who can and cannot belong to the tribe. In their opinion, it contradicts the philosophies of the Kingitanga, which preaches tribal unity and inclusiveness. Of less concern to the graduates has been the role of their identity during their experiences as students at the University of Waikato. This is because they did not feel their identity was an issue for them while they were at university. Further, the confidence and strength that they had in their identity meant that they could focus on what they saw as the task at hand – getting through university. While acknowledging the lack of responsiveness by the University to their needs as Maori, many of the graduates felt sufficiently strong enough in their identity not to be affected by the University's shortcomings. Despite this, there is a need for both the Tainui Maori Trust Board and the University of Waikato to be more proactive in their efforts to recognise the issues of tribal members and of Maori in higher education, and to instigate changes in their approaches to and resolution of these issues.

## **The University of Waikato and its contribution to Maori academic success**

The previous chapter described the general lack of knowledge that the graduates had regarding Maori targeted programmes offered by the University of Waikato. Most familiar to the graduates was Te Timatanga Hou, the bridging programme that sought to “help prepare disadvantaged Maori students for university education” (Avery 1989:45). Two of the graduates had participated in this programme prior to entering university, and their views of the programme were quite different from each other. One of the graduates felt that the programme offered a ‘cruisy year’ with few academic obligations, while the other felt that it was a worthwhile programme in that it allowed them to examine the different programmes offered throughout the university, and to test their suitability for these programmes.

Chaney et al (1998:197), described a federal support programme initiated in America, which assisted disadvantaged students to “stay in and complete college.” This study highlighted a number of retention issues that emerged as students progressed through their higher education, and looked at the implications of such issues. Of the several conclusions drawn, one point has merit in this discussion. Chaney et al (1998:211-212) state, “retention is not determined solely by academic factors, but also appears associated with students’ social integration on campus.” In effect then, it could be suggested that this is what Te Timatanga Hou offers Maori. Indeed, the experiences of the two graduates who participated in this programme, while very different, point towards a type of social integration, in terms of being made more aware of university expectations offered by the different programmes, and preparing the students for this.

One less positive aspect of Te Timatanga Hou, however, is that it has only been available to school leavers. The establishment in 1973 of the Certificate of Maori Studies, as described in Chapter Four, was seen as a positive move by the University in providing an opportunity for “people who might not have thought it within their capability to have access to the University” (Karetu 1989:74). At its peak, the Certificate was taught in various locations around the country, and

certificate holders were eligible to apply for entry into the degree programme offered by the Department of Maori. The demise of the Certificate and the establishment of Te Timatanga Hou has left a gap in the provision of a successful bridging course for mature Maori.

The importance of programmes like Te Timatanga Hou and the Certificate of Maori Studies is viewed in the literature as a “mandatory” service that should be offered to at-risk students in order to enhance retention (Abrams & Jernigan 1984:272). The New Zealand Universities Review Committee (1987) also recognised this need, especially in assisting Maori to prepare for university study. However, Te Timatanga Hou is a year-long programme, after which Maori students are essentially left to their own devices. Further, the stigma attached to being a Timatanga Hou student (in other words, someone whose grades were not adequate for direct entry into university), may in fact not appropriately reflect or support student aspirations for tino rangatiratanga, and perhaps is more an example of a rather outdated programme instead of an innovative and responsive one. Support programmes to ensure Maori stay in and complete, as Abrams & Jernigan (1984) suggested do exist at the University of Waikato. However, the experiences of the graduates point to a lack of knowledge about possible resources available to support them in getting through their university degree, thus raising questions as to the effectiveness of such programmes in reaching their target audiences.

According to Davies & Nicholls (1993), the ability of institutions to provide opportunities for Maori to access higher education, through programmes like Te Timatanga Hou, must be tempered with the ability of Maori to access mainstream university programmes. In particular, Davies & Nicholls (1993:90) suggest the need for programmes that “encourage the movement of Maori” into ‘non-traditional’ areas such as architecture, medicine, commerce and science. To what extent does Te Timatanga Hou provide this movement? One of the graduates entered Te Timatanga Hou despite having being accepted into the School of Education. This graduate said that as this wasn’t their preference, they decided to go to Te Timatanga Hou and use it as a stepping-stone to get into their course of

choice. In this instance, therefore, Te Timatanga Hou provided an opportunity to do what Davies & Nicholls suggested. However, this was more a calculated step on the graduate's part rather than the way Te Timatanga Hou was structured.

The suggestion that Davies & Nicholls make about the need for Maori to move into more mainstream courses brings into conflict the issue of Maori tino rangatiratanga, or self-determination, and especially the ability of Maori to define their own agenda for participation in higher education. In essence, the statement by Davies & Nicholls does little to emphasise the need for mainstream to be more reflective of Maori needs and aspirations, rather than the other way around. Bishop & Glynn (1999a:67) describe this as "another example of mainstream educators once again talking...about issues that concern *them* and leaving out those most vitally affected, Maori people." The fact that there are increasing enrolments in Whare Wananga as opposed to universities underlines the inability of mainstream to understand what it is Maori really want, or aspire to. Indeed, the New Zealand Universities Review Committee (1987:68) found that New Zealand institutions needed to "rethink their role and mission in terms of Maori cultural values and aspirations." Such rethinking has yet to occur. Mead (1997b:57) believes that this is because "Pakeha ideologies often get in the way...There is also the ideology of assimilation, which conspires to impose mainstreaming upon the Maori people." While there is no denying that there is a need for more Maori doctors, scientists and accountants, the call from Maori who have established Whare Wananga appears to focus on ensuring that education is not "an alienating experience but rather is to enhance Maori culture and build up the self-esteem of students as Maori persons" (Mead 1997b:62).

As an institution, the University of Waikato has a number of programmes aimed at meeting Maori needs, which arguably would appear to demonstrate that education for Maori is not such an alienating experience. For example, as mentioned, one of the graduates participated in the School of Education whanau programme, which meant that all the students in their class were Maori. This graduate spoke of the sensitivity of staff to Maori issues, and particularly how shocked they were at the open-mindedness of non-Maori staff towards things

Maori. They did wonder, however, if these staff had been especially selected. Asked how much of a difference this made to their experience at university, this graduate felt that it made a huge difference, particularly as they had been one of only three Maori students at secondary school. However, one other graduate spoke of the frustration at times of being Maori at the University of Waikato, and in particular being Tainui, especially after the signing of the Raupatu settlement in 1995. This graduate felt that they had to be the spokesperson for the tribe, explain why the Board made certain decisions and what its direction was, just because they were Tainui. This graduate felt that they were unfairly targeted because of their tribal affiliation, and felt that the lecturers did little to understand or even appear interested in the issues facing the tribe during that period. What can be learned from these two vastly different experiences?

Karetu (1989:78) wrote that “if the minorities are to be found in increased numbers in universities, then greater cognisance has to be taken of the minority concerned, its cultural differences appreciated for what they are, not for what society or a university believes they should be.” The examples above of the graduates’ experiences points to a lack of understanding and recognition of Maori issues, and how they should be approached in an institutional context. Indeed, the University of Waikato has initiated positive programmes for Maori, but unless they are developed across campus, and reflected and endorsed by the university hierarchy, then little will effectively be achieved. Miller (1999) stated in Chapter Two that institutional leadership was a critical factor if strategies related to minority academic achievement were to succeed. Similarly, Hurtado et al (1998) found that many education institutions adopt the *laissez-faire* approach, perhaps because it is easier to manage. The initiatives developed by the University of Waikato, as outlined in Chapter Four, point more to the efforts of Maori staff, rather than a well-developed institutional plan.

Despite attempts by the University of Waikato to develop Maori programmes and initiatives (such as the School of Maori and Pacific Development), these appear to have been the result of lengthy, drawn out processes rather than proactive stances. This, in turn, leads to questions about the commitment the University of Waikato

has in upholding the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, and thus assisting Maori in their desire for tino rangatiranga. In short, the University of Waikato has missed an opportunity to brand itself with the unique ethos that Kingsbury (1984) described in Chapter Four. Furthermore, the University of Waikato appears, from the graduates' experiences described in the previous chapter, to be ineffective in addressing Maori concerns. Therefore, it would seem that the University of Waikato has maintained its cling to its colonial past, and thus has missed its opportunity to effect real change for the Maori communities within its catchment district.

### **The Tainui Maori Trust Board**

I opened Chapter Five with a quote from Tawhiao, the second Maori King, which the Tainui Maori Trust Board interpreted as being that Maori communities are only as strong as their weakest member. The Board's efforts to strengthen the tribal population have resulted in an attempt to develop a tribal theory of educational success. The graduates' views were generally positive about the Board's backing of higher education. However, the graduates were not so positive about the processes adopted by the Board, such as selection criteria and affiliation criteria, during the application procedure. In particular, there was a differentiation in satisfaction levels between those who received funding prior to the settlement of Raupatu in 1995, and those who received funding after. The main point of differentiation revolved around the issue of eligibility and selection criteria, through whakapapa and affiliation, which was outlined in Chapter Five. The graduates' responses to this issue widened the discussion to include the issue of identification, and identity, which I examined earlier in this chapter.

The criteria for 'belonging' to Tainui, and thus being entitled to access scholarship funding prior to 1995, was according to the boundaries set out by the Tainui Maori Trust Board. While the boundaries changed over the years, the graduates felt that whakapapa was not an obstacle in obtaining education scholarships from the Board. Rather, prior to 1995, the opinion of the graduates

was the opposite. Believing that the whakapapa criteria were too loose, the graduates recalled seeing people with ‘tenuous’ links to the tribe receiving scholarships. In my opinion, this is a difficult area from which to try and make an assessment. All but one of the graduates I interviewed reported having quite strong ties with their marae, while all stated their strong ties to the tribe and to the Kingitanga, as discussed earlier in this chapter. In part, then, it could be explained that their disdain at seeing others whom they perceived as ‘outsiders’ receiving scholarships from the Board, could have been based on their interpretation on what whakapapa or affiliation meant, as opposed to the criteria set down by the Board.

Post-1995, however, the three graduates who were affected by the changes to the scholarship criteria reported a different slant on the issue of whakapapa and affiliation. The scholarship criteria were significantly changed, especially in the area of whakapapa and affiliation. This was as a direct result of the settlement of Raupatu. The Tainui Maori Trust Board stated quite explicitly that the collective financial benefits would only be dispersed to those marae that signed in support of the settlement.<sup>1</sup> However, it did allow individuals from these excluded marae to apply for education and cultural grants. Applicants had to be members of the tribal roll before being considered for educational funding. The 1995 annual report of the Board stated, “registration on the beneficiary roll is restricted to those beneficiaries who can whakapapa to one of the 33 principal Waikato Raupatu hapuu” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1995:46). Furthermore, the annual report also stated, “Raupatu marae are those that signed in support of the Deed of Settlement effected on 22 May 1995 at Tuurangawaewae Marae” (1995:46). As mentioned in the previous chapter, three marae did not sign in support of the Deed of Settlement that resolved the Raupatu claim in 1995.

Given the strict rules and regulations by which the Board defined whakapapa and affiliation, to what extent did this approach impact upon the individual? For example, one of the graduates was affiliated to a ‘non-signatory’ marae, while

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that while this exclusion exists, it does not preclude marae from joining at any time in the future – subject to their acceptance of the settlement terms.

another graduate belonged to a hapu that had argued for the return of settlement compensation to their hapu, as opposed to the tribe as a whole. While these two graduates did not feel that their funding was affected in any way, the graduate from the non-signatory marae did feel uncomfortable that their marae was labelled differently from the others.

The graduates also expressed concern at the exclusion of these marae and hapu, not from the point of whether they supported the settlement or not, but the perceived impact such an exclusion might have had on promoting higher education to the tribal members affiliated to these marae and hapu. It is a valid point, and one that the Board does not seem to have considered in any great detail. This appears in direct contrast to the Board proclamation that “all those involved in education must take bold steps” (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1995:39). That being the case, the Board certainly has taken bold steps, but perhaps at the expense of certain marae and hapu members.

The issues arising from this kind of scenario are thus: - the implications of such a policy on prospective students who are drawn from these non-signatory marae, – whether such prospective students suffer any negative classification due to the non-signatory status of their marae, – how other prospective ‘signatory marae’ students view those ‘non-signatory marae’ students. The list could go on. These issues were not actively explored amongst the graduates. They have been highlighted here to assess the Board’s equitable distribution of settlement funds, which points to an area where the limitations of one policy may have an unforeseen negative impact on another.

The graduates’ knowledge about the activities of the Board in relation to education were mixed. All were very aware of the Board’s intention for the tribe to become educated, and gave examples of how this was being filtered through to the tribal community. The aspirations of the Board in this respect were very clear to the graduates, and were well supported. However, the graduates’ were less knowledgeable about the Tainui Education Strategy, with one graduate querying its significance and relevance to tribal members. This raises the question as to

how applicable the Strategy should be to tribal members, and how relevant it is in advancing and promoting the Board's aspirations for the tribe.

The graduates' understanding of the wider educational objectives of the Board, as discussed in Chapter Five, was in my opinion quite poor. However, such lack of knowledge may have reflected the limited contact between the Board and its tribal members. The introduction of the tribal newsletter, Te Hookioi, sought to change that. One other area that the graduates identified regarding the Board pertained to the lack of follow-up between the Board and the graduate, aside from during the scholarship application process. The graduates comments on different ways in which they thought the Board might better assist in future planning, also raises the issue as to the possible contribution such students can make in assessing the effectiveness of education policies and initiatives. Again, it points to the closing remarks made in Chapter Five, and has been reinforced in the previous chapter, that perhaps the Board has not made effective use of its most important resource: its people.

## **Chapter Summary**

This chapter has sought to overview the main issues arising from the graduates' responses and to highlight the areas that deemed them successful. Perhaps the most significant finding of all was that the experiences of the graduates were not dissimilar to the experiences of other university students, regardless of race or ethnicity. This is contrary to what minority and indigenous researchers believe the case to be. This assertion must be viewed with caution, however, due to the small numbers interviewed in this thesis. Indeed, a wider survey may find otherwise.

The success of Maori students at university is a complex issue. This chapter described several elements that contributed to a notion of success. These elements included family support and mentoring, elements that are not unique to Maori or indigenous and minority peoples. The graduates' responses reaffirmed the need for family support, and highlighted the often-intangible aspects such support can

provide, like cooking meals. In terms of mentoring, the graduates responded more to informal programmes of mentoring, by establishing their own study-groups where necessary. The one graduate that it affected, however, viewed the role of the Board's seminar series programme, positively. Despite this positive initiative for mentoring support by the Board, the graduates' related experiences that questioned the types of mentoring support offered by the Board, and to whom. In particular, this related to access of tribal information and the Board's aspirations in encouraging tribal members to study issues relevant to tribal development. At times, it appeared that the Board's aspirations contradicted what it was actually prepared to do to assist tribal members in achieving these goals.

The graduates' experiences at the University of Waikato were mixed, and this was reflected in their opinions about the effectiveness of the University in recognising Maori needs and aspirations. Awareness of the variety of programmes offered by the University was low, and the graduates' responses indicated that more could be done for Maori at the University. In essence, the graduates were not initially attracted to the University as a result of the positive programmes offered to Maori students, although some did participate in such programmes.

The Tainui Maori Trust Board encapsulated its approach to education in the following way: "there is urgency about our educational catch-up. We cannot waste the talents of our people any more. Education is growth and growth must be in every arena, ...every possible avenue and pathway" (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1995:39). The intention of the Tainui Maori Trust Board, through its investment in higher education, is to remove what Howe (1974:45) labels as the "economic disqualification" due to minorities' occupancy on the lower rungs of the "economic ladder" as the "great inhibitor to learning opportunities," and to reaffirm amongst the tribal population that the way forward is through education itself. However, the graduates identified that in trying to remove the economic disqualification label, the Board inadvertently replaced it with two others – whakapapa (affiliation) and success through academic excellence. As a result, graduate opinion expressed concern about whether these approaches actually inhibited more tribal members from participating in higher education.

In summary, the graduates succeeded because of their own perseverance and determination. It appears that the University of Waikato was chosen as a place to study mainly because of its location, and that full advantage was taken of the ability to apply successfully for financial assistance from the Tainui Maori Trust Board. What has been identified however, are ways in which both the University and the Board might review their approaches toward Maori participation in higher education. This will be explored in the following, final chapter.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT - MAORI PARTICIPATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION – STRATEGIES FOR FUTURE SUCCESS**

Why do universities continue to perpetuate policies and practices that have historically produced abysmal results for First Nations students, when we have ample research and documentary evidence to indicate the availability of more appropriate and effective alternatives?...what are some of the obstacles that must be overcome if universities are to improve the levels of participation and completion of First Nations students? (Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991:2).

### **Introduction**

The constant trickle of information supplied by governments and their departments does little to alleviate the reality for Maori communities and for Maori participation in higher education. The continued emphasis on the dismal state of Maori achievement within the education system, and how Maori fail, rather than succeed is a constant feature of the dominant culture's control of media, political and social discourses. In addition, Te Puni Kokiri has identified that educational attainment for Maori affects their opportunities in "employment and income, with flow-on effects in housing, criminal justice and health" (2000:15). Therefore, it would seem that emphasis on education for Maori would support more positive outcomes for Maori throughout their lives.

A cursory analysis would suggest that the two organisations examined in this thesis were supportive in their policies and initiatives in ensuring effective, successful Maori participation in higher education. The University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board have been vocal in their efforts to encourage more Maori to attend university. However, when analysed more critically, this support is inadequate.

### The University of Waikato

A closer examination, both of the University's history and through the examination of the three policy documents developed for and by the University, has revealed that the University has clung to its traditional base of western knowledge, where alternative knowledges, or "other" ways of knowing are subordinated and are not recognised. This is characteristic of the power imbalances which exist in higher education institutions, and is indicative of what Scheurich & Young (1997) term epistemological racism (discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis). Another of the documents examined for the thesis, an external review of the University of Waikato conducted in 1997, reaffirms this approach, finding that apparent examples of goodwill had "not always been translated into structures that give the best support to Maori staff and ensure an environment that is always congenial for Maori students" (New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit 1997:9).

Despite the introduction of programmes like Te Timatanga Hou, it would seem that the University of Waikato has been in danger of falling into the trap described by Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:2), whereby policies that are not effective for Maori participation in higher education are still being perpetuated. In short, the establishment of such programmes and initiatives like Te Timatanga Hou, the Certificate of Maori Studies, Te Roopu Manukura, and the School of Maori and Pacific Development have battled against the dominant constructs of what counts as knowledge, and what counts as advancement. Effectively, the University of Waikato has continued to play the dominant role in this power construct, asserting its authority in terms of deciding what is best for Maori, rather than seeking collaborative ways in which Maori advancement may be achieved, or in assisting Maori to determine their own paths to tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) in a higher education setting. Such insistence on maintaining power, control and dominance over what constitutes higher education has been further reinforced with the University's insistent attempt in 1999/2000 at merging the School of Maori and Pacific Development with the School of Education, despite opposition from Maori, within and external to the University community.

The role an institution plays in enhancing and advancing minority and indigenous academic success is critical because, as Wright (1987:17) described in Chapter Two of the thesis, an “unsupportive campus environment contributes to a student’s lowered satisfaction with college and can result in a premature exit from campus without a degree.” The experiences of the graduates in this study, however, uncovered a scenario that was not always welcoming to them as Maori. Universities have been slow to seek and incorporate the alternatives described by Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:1), such as developing an institution that “*respects*” the students “for who they are, that is *relevant* to their view of the world, that offers *reciprocity* in their relationships with others, and that helps them exercise *responsibility* over their own lives.” This is due to the insistence by such institutions to maintain the status quo of superiority and dominance, which has characterised the approach of the University of Waikato since its inception. Repeated calls for the University to stamp itself as the Maori university have been resisted internally and only pockets within the University campus have attempted to create the Maori ethos and to incorporate Maori values and ways of knowing, as suggested by Kingsbury (1984, 1993). As a result, rather than an institution that has sought to address Maori issues in a progressive, collaborative and meaningful way, the thesis has found instead that the University of Waikato has not managed, to break away from its dominant, colonial past – a past that excluded Maori from higher education through processes of assimilation and subordination.

#### The Tainui Maori Trust Board

However, the University of Waikato has not been alone in missing opportunities to advance Maori academic achievement and success. The examination of the Tainui Maori Trust Board has shown a history of placing education high amongst its strategic priorities, although implementation of initiatives developed have confused attainment of and access to higher education with attainment based on western benchmarks and, particularly with the postgraduate scholarships developed post-1995, larger amounts of money being available to lesser numbers of tribal members. This leads one to question the success of the Board’s strategy, and adds weight to critics of the Board’s significant investment in higher education. In short, it would appear that the Board has yet to successfully combine

western elements of success (such as academic criteria) with tribal notions (such as maintenance of cultural identity, whakapapa and concept of belonging). The Board might take note of Durie's (2001:6) warning about benchmarking Maori success against non-Maori. Indeed, what is the Board aiming for more: for its tribal members to be as good as Pakeha, or for its tribal members to follow its own framework for success, based on tribal philosophies and knowledge?

This thesis has shown that the Board appears to have leaned more towards western constructs of success, particularly since 1995, but at the expense of tribal philosophies of inclusiveness and unity. The Board may well argue against this point, especially as the focus of scholarships in recent years has emphasised tribal development and how tribal members may facilitate in that process, and that is a valid point. However, the experiences of the graduates and the policies of the Board, particularly in relation to the tightening of criteria in relation to 'who' is or 'how' one can become Tainui seems to have contradicted and outweighed these key tribal philosophies, and in some cases negated any contribution that can be made to tribal development. In short, it appears that academic performance (measured in western forms and against western standards) and strict notions of belonging have become more important to the Board than the actual policy of providing assistance and encouragement to tribal members wanting to pursue higher education. Furthermore, it appears that in order to justify the significant amounts of spending on higher education, the Board has turned to the very (western) benchmarks that Durie (2001) describes.

In effect, the Board has struggled to break away from dominant power constructs in its desire for Maori and tribal advancement. The Board sought to change this dominance by establishing its own governance and management structure (Te Kauhanganui and the Waikato Raupatu Trustee Company) after the settlement in 1995. However, while the structures have changed, the Board appears to have been influenced by dominant attitudes pertaining to success, which has meant that development and progress for better tribal participation in higher education has not particularly reflected tribal philosophies and objectives. These influences in the higher education arena have influenced how scholarships have been awarded,

and have ensured that such scholarships are based around western definitions of success, instead of tribal definitions. The challenge for the Board lies in the ways it can change its approaches to ensure a more integrative approach, which combines the best of both worlds for its tribal members.

### The Tainui graduates

The successes of the graduates I interviewed have been due to their own tenacity and determination to 'make it' or to achieve success in the western colonial derivative that is the modern university. These graduates exhibited traits indicative of other minority and indigenous students in that they retained strong ties with the tribe as well as maintaining their sense of identity as a Tainui person. Significantly, these graduates' experiences were also similar to those of students generally, regardless of race, ethnic or social background.

On the surface it appeared that these were a group of successful school graduates, who had parental and family support, who identified strongly and maintained close connections with their tribe and who persevered with their university experience and graduated with few problems. Furthermore, these graduates could not really explain why they were successful when some of their cohort was not.

It appears that these graduates succeeded despite the best (although at times unclear) intentions of the Tainui Maori Trust Board, and despite the rhetoric and limited support from the University of Waikato. These graduates could survive in a Pakeha world, having achieved western notions of success. More importantly for the graduates, it appears that they could also survive in a tribal sense, due to their strength of identity as Tainui, and to their commitment to the tribe and to the Kingitanga. The graduates have resisted against the western ideal that in order to achieve one must assimilate into the dominant culture, and they have challenged western notions of success that exclude "other" ways of knowing and being. The graduates have achieved a western education without compromising their cultural identity and integrity. To that extent, they are successful in that they have managed to "inhabit comfortably two different worlds" (hooks 1994:183), concurrent objectives of Maori educational achievement (Durie 2001).

It should be made clear that the graduates' voices represent only nine Tainui, Maori graduates. While their voices have been significant in the course of this research, their voices are merely murmurs in the clatter of the wider research context of minority and indigenous higher education participation and academic achievement. The graduates' voices, therefore, are not the definitive answer as to what makes Maori succeed, more so because they combine both western notions of success (in that they achieved their degree), as well as tribal notions of success (in that they maintained a strong identity as Tainui and as Kingitanga supporters) – notions to which most Maori are still excluded (particularly in the attainment of western standards of attainment, as described by Te Puni Kokiri 2000; Ministry of Education 1998b).

These findings are significant for as Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991) say, the role institutions play in the academic achievement of minority and indigenous students has yet to be resolved satisfactorily. Institutions must recognise and address the different needs of minority and indigenous students, and must work with them in developing strategies for successful change, rather than assuming they know what is best for the students. The establishment, in 2000, of a Pro Vice-Chancellor (Maori) at the University of Waikato, and a Treaty of Waitangi advisory committee are steps forward, although the success of these positions depends on the outcomes achieved for Maori students. Similarly, the Tainui Maori Trust Board, while acknowledging the importance of its tribal members who participate in higher education have yet to include their voices within the policy planning and review processes, voices which may add critical perspectives to the future development of education policy directions for the tribe. It must be acknowledged that New Zealand universities have experienced considerable change since the government reforms of the 1980s and 1990s. This has seen higher education move away from notions of public good to private, where benefits are increasingly being seen as individual rather than collective. Gould (1999), (as discussed in Chapter Two of the thesis), described the paradoxical nature these changes have had on New Zealand society, where the middle classes were willing to contribute in taxes to higher education if their offspring were the primary beneficiaries, but not if wider societal groups were able to have access. Access to higher education

has been aligned with empowerment for minority and indigenous peoples (Howe 1974; Kirkness & Barnhardt 1991). However, for Maori, changes in higher education policy have restricted opportunities for greater participation and thus restricted Maori ability to be empowered and to seek tino rangatiratanga (self-determination). In short, these changes in higher education policy (such as increased tuition costs and restrictions on access to financial support such as student allowances) reflect the insistence of the dominant culture in asserting and maintaining the status quo – at the expense of Maori and other minority cultures.

The Tainui Maori Trust Board has also seen major change in the 1990s. The signing of the settlement of Raupatu in 1995 signalled the end of grievance, and was seen by the Board as being a practical way in which to re-establish the tribe and work towards its future, with education touted as being the key priority, and the key policy. Structural constraints, where Board accountability (under the Maori Trust Boards Act 1955) was to the Crown and not the people, changed with the introduction of Te Kauhanganui – a tribal governance structure, developed for and agreed to by the tribe. This was the tribe's way of moving forward, of asserting its status as tangata whenua (indigenous peoples), and of reaffirming its position as equal partners with the Crown, as indicated in the Treaty of Waitangi. However, in spite of this structure and intent, policy within the Board, especially with regard to higher education has, if anything, increased its emphasis on the adoption of western values and notions of academic achievement. It appears that the Board has displayed what McLaren (1994:124) calls, "all the ideological trappings of the older, Western bourgeoisie." Financial assistance for students since 1995, especially in the higher degree programmes, has been assessed in terms of student ability and their contribution or accountability to tribal development. This clashes with the policy of ensuring all tribal members become educated, where past focus has been on providing financial assistance in order to remove barriers that constrain tribal member participation in higher education – in other words, where education should be for all. It appears that the more money the Board has spent on higher education, the more justification required by the student to warrant financial assistance from the Board. Furthermore, it appears that the Board has been caught between a desire to provide opportunities for all

tribal members to become educated, with a desire to award greater financial assistance for a select few who 'fit' within very narrow, selective criteria that are increasingly being based on academic ability. In short, the Board has yet to find its own comfortable space – one that embraces tribal customs and values, while still aspiring to the achievement of western degrees, and thus western notions of success.

Has the Board been successful in attracting more tribal members into higher education? The results are mixed. Certainly, the continued emphasis on higher education is cause for celebration. What must temper this celebration however, is whether the Board has been able to quantify this emphasis, and whether the flow-on effects that Te Puni Kokiri's (2000) report refers to, have been evident for the Board and the tribal members it represents. Furthermore, it must be queried as to whether the Board has, in some of its education policies and particularly in relation to the scholarships, inadvertently duplicated what Durie (2001:12) has called the sectoral approach of the state, rather than maintaining a more holistic approach, as demonstrated in the Tainui Education Strategy.

### Strategies for Maori success

How does one construct a framework for Maori success? For the Tainui Maori Trust Board in particular, this question must be viewed within the context of tribal development and how increased higher education participation contributes to tribal development. The Board must also consider its own frameworks for success, outlined in the Tainui Education Strategy (1986, 1991), to ensure that the goals and objectives are still relevant and add value for tribal members. For the University of Waikato, the question of constructing a Maori framework of success is more complex. Firstly, the University must examine its own structures and acknowledge the power/dominance position from which it has asserted authority since its establishment in 1964. Its desire to maintain this position, as a colonial derivative, has not aided Maori advancement, and the University still appears unwilling to change, despite the rhetoric. The University must re-examine the initiatives and structures it has developed over the years, particularly in relation to Maori and admit that it has not been fully cooperative in its approach to assisting

Maori advancement and Maori tino rangatiratanga. From this position, the University must then determine whether it is truly committed to a partnership with Maori.

The intention of this chapter is to provide avenues from which the Tainui Maori Trust Board and University of Waikato may proceed in terms of increasing Maori participation at university, and in terms of addressing Maori advancement and academic success. These avenues are based on Durie's (2001) framework for Maori advancement, but are also informed by aspects specific to the tribe and to tribal development and philosophy. These avenues are also informed by the experiences of other indigenous and minority peoples, especially their experiences in working with the dominant 'other.'

### **Towards a framework of Maori success in higher education**

If one tracks the progress of Maori educational achievement since the arrival of Pakeha to New Zealand (examined in Chapter One), government policy has directly impacted upon Maori efforts to maintain their cultural identity. Policies of assimilation and contempt for the Treaty and what it entailed for Maori, in terms of partnership and equal status with the Crown, characterised the European attitude toward Maori advancement. The pattern of history has shown that Maori advancement was not to be at the expense of Pakeha dominance and superiority. The last 20 years have seen increased Maori resistance to these dominant constructs, fighting against the entrenched position of the colonial education system. As a result of this resistance, Maori have gained increasingly powerful positions from which Maori aspirations for education can be, and have been, heard and addressed. From this position, Maori have been able to achieve small victories, where tino rangatiratanga has redefined the notion of Maori academic success – one that seeks to better reflect Maori needs and aspirations.

Chapter Two identified Durie's (2001) framework as a model for future development in the advancement of Maori education. Using this model, the rest of

this chapter seeks to recommend changes in the ways both the Tainui Maori Trust Board and University of Waikato approach Maori participation in higher education. This chapter will examine the principles, pathways and capacity, as outlined in Durie's (2001:13) framework, in terms of how the Board and the University can make effective changes. These will be informed by the broad goals of Maori success, defined by Durie (2001:13) as being: to live as Maori; to participate as citizens of the world; and to have good health and a high standard of living. These goals will also be set against the tribal notions of success, underlined by the philosophies of the Kingitanga, and in particular, the two sayings of Potatau and Tawhiao, as described in Chapter Three.

#### Principles of success: Strategies for the Tainui Maori Trust Board

The Tainui Maori Trust Board has not been very consistent in its approach to implementing strategies for higher education. While excellence has always been aspired to, since the Board's establishment in 1946, western constructs, rather than Maori have determined this definition of excellence. Further, the Board has not effectively monitored its progress in relation to the education policies it has implemented and scholarships it has awarded over the years. It would make sense to track such progress (or lack of), having already produced the benchmarks, through the Tainui Report and the Tainui Education Strategy of the 1980s and early 1990s. As shown in Chapter One, the fact that there has been a decrease in the numbers of qualifications completed by Maori from 1996 to 1999 at the University of Waikato raises concern, particularly for the Board, given that nearly half of its scholarships awarded annually are to those enrolled at the University of Waikato.

Further to Durie's (2001) broad goals of Maori success, described above, are three key principles by which the goals of Maori success may be achieved. These principles being: best outcomes and zero tolerance of failure, integrated action, and indigeneity. In using these principles as a starting point for change, key issues for the Tainui Maori Trust Board begin to emerge.

The principle of best outcomes, as outlined by Durie (2001:6) refers to the need to focus “more on the product than on the packaging” and also ensuring that “the measures of progress actually quantify an outcome.” As stated earlier in this chapter and in Chapter One, the Board has little information about the students it assists financially in higher education, despite substantial investment in this area. This deficiency means that the Board has never been able to quantify to tribal members, let alone anyone else, the positive outcomes that participation in higher education has achieved – for the Board and for the tribe as a whole. In short, this means that the Board’s long-term plan for education for the tribe lacks any sufficient base from which to measure progress, according to tribal standards and aspirations. This, in turn, means that the Board is unable to develop further programmes for tribal development because there are little or no benchmarks to use to improve development.

The graduates have shown, through their experiences outlined in Chapters Six and Seven, that a principle of best outcomes for them was the ability to achieve *and* to be Maori/Tainui. These were benchmarks against which they felt comfortable, and against which they measured their own academic achievement. More importantly, these were the benchmarks that enabled them to survive the higher education experience culturally intact. As one graduate declared, they did not go to university to find their Tainuitanga – they already had it. Furthermore, the graduates did not accept failure as an option. Their attitudes to education were, in part, shaped and influenced by their parents’ experiences of educational failure. Similarly, the parents and families of the graduates, by providing positive support for the graduates, enabled the realisation of a zero tolerance of failure (as Durie labels it) and the pursuit and attainment of academic goals.

What the graduates have done is combined the best of both worlds, finding comfortable spaces of existence without compromising one or the other. In this way, the graduates have achieved tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), in that they have defined their own space, negotiated their presence, and resisted against dominant structures and settings that have traditionally sought to exclude and ostracise them. They have created new territories and new experiences in which

failure has not been tolerated. In short, the graduates have encapsulated the intentions of the Tainui Education Strategy, whereby “Kiingitanga has provided a focus” that has “allowed Tainui people to reinforce their own cultural integrity” and upon which the “foundation for the education of Tainui children and youth” is based (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:3).

#### Ways forward for the Tainui Maori Trust Board

In order for the Board to move forward, it must reflect back on the foundation documents it created for education. The relevance of the Tainui Education Strategy becomes very real, especially given the experiences of the graduates, and their affirmation of the need to maintain one’s cultural identity and integrity. While some of the objectives have been achieved (such as the Endowed College), it is important that the Board reflect on the mission statement and the goals it set for itself and the tribe back in 1991. Words such as “empower,” “assist,” “recognise,” “promote,” “support,” “encourage” and “strengthen” reflect the philosophy of the Kingitanga, and mirror the words of Potatau (kotahi te kohao o te ngira – there is but one eye of the needle – a saying that talks about collaborative relationships) and Tawhiao (maku ano e hanga toku nei whare – I will rebuild my house – a saying that talks about rebuilding, which, in this context refers to the tribal education base) in seeking progress and advancement for the tribe (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:4). In essence, the Board must return to its own tribal philosophies to guide and oversee its direction in relation to the educational advancement of the tribal members it represents. Rather than chasing western notions of academic achievement, the Board must revert to its own tribal notions of success, created by tribal ancestors over 100 years ago.

Once this has been achieved, the Board must then re-examine its approach to higher education, and in particular to university participation. The Board must be critical with itself and its approach, especially in acknowledging the role of tribal philosophies in this area. For example, is the Board willing to be guided by the words of Potatau and Tawhiao? What philosophy does the Board want to adopt in trying to encourage more academic success from tribal members? If, indeed, the Board is wishing to follow a more ‘western’ approach, then it must be honest in

its approach. The Board has leaned heavily towards western concepts, without realising that a weaving of the two – Tainui and western – can be achieved. This is what Potatau also referred to when he became the first Maori king. This is also a goal of kaupapa Maori.

Once the philosophical approach has been determined, the Board then needs to examine the issues surrounding its strategy for higher education. What are the fundamental issues for the Board in trying to get more of its tribal members into university education? The Board, in order for any real advancement to be made in education, must identify the issues concerning the tribe; relate this to tribal development and the individual and personal development of tribal members and attempt to develop policy that better reflects these tribal intentions. Furthermore, it must examine the role Tainui graduates have to tribal development and seek to include them in such an examination. There must be greater coordination in order to justify such significant investment of tribal monies.

#### Strategies for change: The University of Waikato

Campbell (1941) wrote that in order to understand New Zealand's education system, one had to understand the colonial constructs on which it was established. Specifically, Campbell (1941:2-3) described the "colonist's desire to hedge himself around a barrier of familiar social institutions...even when those institutions are ludicrously ill-adapted to their purpose in the new land." Chapter One examined the power structure from which institutions like the University of Waikato have asserted their dominant position, based on western traditions that have ignored and belittled "other" forms of knowledge. As a derivative of this colonial system, the University of Waikato has a number of challenges if it desires to seek effective and positive change for Maori. Firstly, as indicated earlier, it must acknowledge the dominant power position from which it has operated since its establishment in 1964. In essence, the University of Waikato chose to maintain a loftiness accorded to higher education institutions, in the western venerated tradition. Maher & Tetreault's (1997:325) notion of whiteness and how it shapes and dominates activities of the academy is useful to help explain this process:

[A] necessary part of perceiving how the assumption of Whiteness shapes the construction of classroom knowledge is understanding its centrality to the academy's practices of intellectual domination, namely, the *imposition of certain ways of constructing the world through the lenses of traditional disciplines* (emphasis added).

In essence, this imposition reinforces the existence of epistemological racism (Scheurich & Young 1997), which sees knowledge only from the lived and social experiences and histories of the dominant white culture and perpetuates the power imbalances between the dominant white culture and 'other' cultures. As a result of these attempts to assert intellectual domination, universities become oblivious to what Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:2) describe as "the existence of de facto forms of institutionalised discrimination," which means that they have been "unable to recognise the threat that some of their accustomed practices pose to their own existence." This threat has seen Maori assert their tino rangatiratanga, through the establishment of Whare Wananga, based on philosophies of Maori culture and language, on a national level, and through the establishment of the Endowed College by the Tainui Maori Trust Board, at a more local level.

### The role of Maori academics

Smith's (1997a:203) discussion about Maori working in academic institutions describes their experiences as a "spatial battleground," where Maori struggles are placed around issues of theoretical, pedagogical and structural space, which relate to "culture, history and power, about transforming, struggling against, making sense of the institutions within which we work." Furthermore, Smith (1997a:204) has found that "making space within institutional settings is a necessary part of Maori academic work."

The role of Maori academics within higher education settings is about negotiating space within the hierarchical structure of western academia, a structure that is based on cultural norms and values that exclude other ways of knowing and seeing the world. Further, many Maori academics are also often involved in research within their own tribal communities, and feel a sense of obligation to support Maori students enrolled at the institution, as well as ensure they contribute

to institutional activities, even if only to add a Maori presence. The workload of Maori staff was acknowledged by the Academic Audit report (1997) as being stressful, due to the multiplicity of functions Maori staff are expected to fulfil. Further, the report challenged the University to take more responsibility for ensuring that the resolution of Maori issues were not left for Maori staff and Maori departments.

If the University of Waikato is serious about implementing real and effective change for Maori, then it must acknowledge its apathy and indifference thus far in seeking real change based on the experiences of Maori students and staff at university. For example, when issues of Maori concern arise, institutional management must take ownership, rather than delegating (or perhaps in the university's opinion – empowering) or sidelining the issue to Maori and Maori staff. For Maori staff in particular, the dilemmas of fulfilling the expectations of the normal rigours of academic life, as well as fulfilling the expectations of the students and the communities they represent can weigh so heavily that they become ineffectual. It should not be for Maori academics alone to highlight the struggle, do the work, and be the super people that many of them are expected to be in an institutional environment. As Mirza (1995:152) states, the challenge for minority academics is to be “critical and selective about our involvement:”

It is an irony that antiracism can stop people in many ways from going forward and being productive; and productivity is important, because in Higher Education productivity is the yardstick for success. Finishing courses, publishing books – that is how success is measured. As black lecturers, we have to be critical and selective about our involvement in equal opportunities and antiracism. For while these are often the only forums that our white colleagues give us; our only legitimate institutional ‘space’; for while we are encouraged to sit in tribunals, take colleagues to task, and sit on committees and expend all our emotional and personal energies, our (white) colleagues get on with publishing and promotion and climbing up the ladder.

In effect Mirza argues that minority academics must fight strategically in order to make effective change. When these fights are located within the institutions in which they work, these strategies become more focused towards survival, rather

than change. In essence, these fights are against traditional dominant western beliefs, which have been entrenched in higher education since its inception in New Zealand. In short, Maori staff attempt to fight against philosophical beliefs of institutions that are more interested in maintaining their own dominance rather than looking towards the types of integrative measures that Durie (2001) advocates.

### **Strategies for integrative, collaborative development**

In order to move forward and achieve positive change in terms of Maori participation in higher education, and in terms of Maori advancement, there must at some stage be some integration between Maori and non-Maori efforts, as Durie (2001:7) states:

Lives in New Zealand are too closely intertwined to pretend that action in one sphere does not have repercussions in another. Unless there is some platform for integrated action, then development will be piecemeal and progress will be uneven.

Durie (2001:7) suggests that integration may be achieved once recognition occurs of the intertwining effect and crossovers that exist in the New Zealand education system. This thesis has followed a kaupapa Maori philosophy, which, as discussed in Chapter Three, weaves in and amongst different traditions, between western and indigenous frameworks. This sense of integration has also been encapsulated in Potatau Te Wherowhero's (the first Maori king) saying: kotahi te kohao o te ngira, as discussed in Chapter Three.

From this perspective, the Tainui Maori Trust Board has attempted to achieve some form of integration, through the support of tribal members in accessing university education. Furthermore, it has sought to combine what it has seen as positive elements of higher education with the practical needs of Maori students in its development and establishment of the Tainui Endowed College. This initiative, in particular, has recognised the need for Maori to be able to work across sectors

in order to move forward on tribal development, as identified by Durie (2001:7) and the Tainui Education Strategy (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1991:38). Unfortunately, this has been overshadowed by its emphasis on Pakeha constructs of achievement and Pakeha measurements of success.

The graduates have shown how they have managed to create spaces for themselves, whereby their cultural identity as Maori and as Tainui has remained intact during their pursuit of a western education. The graduates provide positive examples for Maori and for other Tainui of how integration, in their participation at university, has not been at the expense of their culture and values. However, is this the experience of most Maori? Indeed, the statistics for Maori completions discussed earlier indicate otherwise. The rise in Maori enrolments at Whare Wananga as opposed to university suggests that many Maori perhaps find it difficult to create spaces for themselves in a university environment that has been so traditionally hostile to them. Indeed, the question could be, why should Maori have to find spaces and strategies in order to survive their university experience? Why should Maori want integration if the dominant 'other' has been unwilling and inflexible in providing the means to achieve this?

The role of Te Roopu Manukura, the Maori advisory body to the University Council, appears to have been an appropriate vehicle from which integration could have been achieved. Te Roopu Manukura could have been, and could well be used as an advocate for both Maori staff and the Maori students enrolled at the University of Waikato. Instead, the function of Te Roopu Manukura appears to have been largely ceremonial, seemingly lost and inaccessible to the key groups that have direct impact on tribal development. The New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit (1997:9) were led to believe that the role of Te Roopu Manukura was to represent Maori "concerns, comments and desires from every iwi" at the University Council. As discussed in Chapter Four, however, the reality was somewhat different, as Te Roopu Manukura was besieged with problems of size, problems in terms of its clarity of structure and purpose, and a lack of understanding about the actualities of student life and university life in general. As a result, Te Roopu Manukura has been largely ineffective in its ability to

represent the two key groups within the University structure, and thus securing positive change for Maori within such a structure.

What the University of Waikato can do to work towards more positive change in this area is to give more acknowledgement of the role a body like Te Roopu Manukura can play. However, such acknowledgement must not be purely rhetorical. Specifically, the unique structure of Te Roopu Manukura enables it to be representative of Maori and tribal concerns within a university environment. Thus, in order for such a unique body to work, the University must first give it respect as Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:8) explain:

increasing the university's domain to include and respect First Nations cultural values and tradition is a formidable task, but it must be done if universities are to be more "user friendly" for First Nations students.

The experience of the Squamish Nation of British Columbia and the local community college (Capilano College) mirrors that of the Maori experience at the University of Waikato. In particular, Wright (1998:6) acknowledged that previous relationships between the Squamish Nation and Capilano College "had not achieved partnership status" where Capilano had attempted to create:

a positive learning environment without allowing the Squamish Nation to participate fully in the decision- and policy-making process. The college had not recognised the benefits from empowering the Squamish Nation and thus gaining from their insight and skill.

However, Capilano College has moved forward in creating a more responsive environment for First Nations students, which is something that the University of Waikato has still to address. What Capilano appears to have done that the University of Waikato has not is "accepted the principle that it is not what colleges can do for First Nations students, but what can happen when colleges join with First Nations students and leaders to effect success" (Wright 1998:6). Perhaps this is a significant starting point from which the University of Waikato may begin to effect meaningful change.

Similar to the University of Waikato, Capilano also established an advisory committee made up of First Nations representatives. However, the difference between the indigenous committees at the two institutions, and perhaps one area in which the University of Waikato may instigate change, was that the First Nations advisory committee at Capilano was maintained to “implement the college First Nations policy statement and respond to First Nations initiatives” (Wright 1998:2). What Capilano College has effected is the integration of First Nations beliefs into its philosophies for higher education. For the University of Waikato, such integration is a necessary step in implementing positive change for Maori, determined by Maori.

Other attempts by the University of Waikato to develop Maori programmes and initiatives (such as the School of Maori and Pacific Development) appear to have been lengthy, drawn out processes rather than proactive, integrative stances. Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991) outline a number of strategies in which institutions can be more effective for indigenous and minority peoples. These strategies seek respect of cultural identity and integrity; are relevant to indigenous and minority perspectives and experiences; endorse and promote reciprocal relationships between minority and dominant peoples; accept responsibility for the participation of minority students in higher education; and seek to empower minority participation in higher education. Until the University of Waikato seeks to develop programmes and initiatives which integrate these types of strategies, it cannot claim to uphold the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, nor can it truly claim it is effectively assisting Maori in their desire for tino rangatiranga.

Integration, or the principle of integrated action, according to Durie (2001:7), refers to a need for “greater co-operation between institutions” and “some consistency and a shared sense of direction” across a range of policies and programmes. Durie (2001:7) succinctly states that “messages about the value of education will not be well received where deculturation, loss of identity, and indifference prevail.” In the higher education arena, particularly in university education, as this thesis has shown, deculturation, identity loss and indifference are all experiences suffered by Maori. In order to move towards a model of

integration, such as that described by Durie, the University of Waikato must look beyond its traditional base and develop a more collaborative approach with Maori to ensure that Maori needs and aspirations can be met by the institution. Using the experience of the Squamish Nation, cited earlier, it would appear beneficial if the University of Waikato 'joined' with the Maori community, utilising structures already in place such as Te Roopu Manukura, to ensure that the institution's vision is one that is shared equally between the University and Maori. Kirkness & Barnhardt (1991:13) suggest that both groups exercise leadership and responsibility, whereby:

reconstruction and transformation of university culture to better serve First Nations people is really no more than a matter of shifting to a policy, posture and practice of actually working with First Nations people, attending to the four R's of respect, relevance, reciprocity and responsibility.

In this way, both groups can take responsibility for improving Maori student participation at university, and more importantly, can work together to provide opportunities for success. This was what the Squamish experience, as identified by Wright (1998:6), found:

to change and improve the opportunity for success, the college accepted the principle that it is not what colleges can do for First Nations students, but what can happen when colleges join with First Nations students and leaders to effect success.

These words provide valuable starting points from which both the Tainui Maori Trust Board and the University of Waikato can begin to make changes. However, both the Board and the University must ensure that this progress is collaborative, is empowering for both groups, and in particular for the Maori students who will benefit, and is accountable to the communities involved. More importantly, however, is the need for both groups to move beyond the rhetoric and move towards positive, proactive action.

## **Identity as a strategy for success**

The principle of indigeneity refers to Maori assertion of their tangata whenua status (Durie 2001:7). For the graduates, this principle is expanded further to include their assertion of “Tainuitanga” and of their role as kaitiaki of the Kingitanga. This thesis highlighted the strength the graduates had in asserting these principles of indigeneity. The strength of identity the graduates displayed is an important and notable achievement, in that it has become increasingly difficult to sustain such an identity following the effects of colonisation, and more recently, urbanisation.

The role of identity has played an important part in the lives of the graduates. As mentioned, their identity rests on being Tainui, and on what “being Tainui” means. From their perspective, being Tainui provided an intrinsic link to the Kingitanga. This link is what has distinguished them from other people, and what has helped, in some respects to define their roles within Tainui tribal society. The graduates’ notions of Kingitanga include notions of unity, notions of pride, and notions of humbleness and a sense of duty (in that Tainui are the guardians of the Kingitanga). In essence, the links to Kingitanga have reinforced links to the tribe. In this way, the graduates have maintained affiliation with their iwi, links which have been reinforced by their historical experience of confiscation and ostracism.

Bartolome & Macedo (1997:223) argue that the “fragmentation of ethnic and racial realities is part of the social organisation of knowledge.” Placed within the context of discourses on power relationships (White and other), if one looks at some of the current issues on identification it raises concerns as to the impact of such fragmentation. Government bodies are not interested in examining the intricate differences between tribal groups and then insist on viewing Maori as a homogenous group, despite their acknowledging that Maori social structure is tribal in nature. In short, government policy that continues to deny Maori tribal identities effectively reinforces the dominant viewpoint of mainstream society and asserts that identity can only be defined and practiced in certain ways. Bartolome & Macedo’s (1997) argument on the fragmentation of identities is part of the

dominant viewpoint, and not how Maori tribes, like Tainui, construct their social and cultural organisation. However, the difficulty that the graduates had with the Board's change in policy of identification post-1995 underscores the issue of fragmentation with the Board's insistence of, or adherence to, an organisational structure that is essentially non-Maori. In short, the Board has adopted non-Maori identification processes, which have been seen by the graduates as alienating and against the tribal philosophies of unity espoused by the Kingitanga. Giroux's (1997:292) discussion on Whiteness, recognises the type of position that these tribes occupy "as an ideology...exposing its privileged readings of history...and broader institutional power and its politically myopic forms of cultural criticism." The point being that as an indigenous and a minority people within New Zealand, the marginalisation of Maori, by Maori through this process of identification, would imply that Maori are adopting the very characteristics of the 'Whiteness' that Giroux talks about, which Maori have fought against. It would seem that Maori are falling into the seductive trap that Mirza (1995:150) believes characterises the patriarchal discourse of racism.

Practically, though, how does this type of discussion affect Maori organisations like the Tainui Maori Trust Board in their treatment of identification and belonging? Quite simply, it could be argued that emphasis on identification can lead to a muddying of the waters in relation to other policies or programmes and initiatives that are supposedly in place to support and enhance the lives of their communities. Specifically for an organisation like the Tainui Maori Trust Board, such fragmentation in identification appears in direct conflict with the tribal philosophies it espouses, and in direct conflict to the pride and association of the graduates interviewed for this thesis.

Essentially, the graduates displayed resilience and pride in their affiliation with the Tainui tribe and especially with the Kingitanga. In their opinion, the graduates' identities were strong enough to resist challenges they faced during their time at university. I concluded that their strength of identity was not only a strategy for surviving the university experience, but it was also a strategy that enabled them to achieve success.

### **Success: Final comments**

The literature states that there are cultural differences in perceptions of achievement. Milner (1972:19) categorises achievement in three ways: motivation: “Do people have a strong desire to do well?”; performance: “Do people in fact perform well?,” which is influenced by things such as tools and availability of resources, and the social reward system: “are people differentially rewarded for differential performance?” The motivational issue for Maori has been explored in New Zealand briefly, over 20 years ago. The performance factor for Maori in the New Zealand education system is acknowledged as being a real problem, and research has suggested many solutions, including access to and availability of resources. The social reward system, I believe actually impacts upon the types of responses one is able to give. Differential reward for differential performance is all-dependent on who defines such rewards and performances in the first place. In the New Zealand context, and indeed in most western countries such definitions are more likely to be made by those in dominant positions, thus leaving indigenous and minority aspirations out in the cold. Again, it points back to the core problem of finding agreed common definitions between and across cultures and cultural constructs and applications.

Milner (1972:12) stated that equality was a “derivative of achievement. Our commitment to achievement is primary, and our commitment to equality is in large measure a result of the former. Equality of opportunity is probably best understood as a mechanism for compromising and reconciling the contradictory aspects of equality and achievement.” Equality of opportunity implies fairness to all, although it is debatable as to whether equality can be deemed a derivative of achievement. The Tainui Maori Trust Board has grappled with this issue of achievement versus equality of opportunity in its education policies relating to scholarship for tribal members. Having not reached consensus on the issue has complicated the way in which the Board has approached the awarding of scholarships: by awarding both. Tierney’s (1997) discussion on the affirmative action policy in the United States has relevance here, as it could be stated that the Board has adopted an aggressive policy of affirmative action in getting tribal

members into higher education. Specifically, Tierney found three main elements of the affirmative action policy: compensation, correction and diversification. This approach acknowledged society's mistakes and sought to correct them and move forward. This has seen a similar approach adopted by the Board. Historically, as has been highlighted already, Waikato suffered as a result of the land confiscations of the 1860s. Through the benefits received from both the 1946 and 1995 settlements, the Board has attempted to correct this issue and to push the tribe forward in its development.

Campbell (1941:181) was of the opinion that the New Zealand education system was one of the most democratic in the world, where the issue of equality of opportunity was addressed in the "policy of easy access to post-primary and higher education." Butterworth & Butterworth (1998:24) found that the notion of equality of opportunity arose from the taxing system operated by the government in the early days of the education system, and from the fact that for "most of its first century, the New Zealand education system interpreted 'equality' very largely as 'uniformity of provision'."

Much has changed since Campbell's analysis, change that has come about largely due to the economy and to the increased influence of New Right theories, which promote user pays and individual gain (Butterworth & Butterworth 1998:26). The state and purpose of the education system has been queried through various tertiary reports, and the impact that the economy has had on how education has been structured noted (see Chapter One and Chapter Four for this discussion). The complex issues that institutions must now deal with include the issue of equality of opportunity without a reduction in the academic standards, creating a system that is more reflective of the community at large, and ensuring that access is not restricted only to those who have the financial means.

Butterworth & Butterworth (1998:24) state that the notion of equality of opportunity has changed through the increasing presence of Maori, Pacific Island and women in the education system, where it was claimed "equality was often an illusion, because 'the system' unthinkingly reflected male values and

requirements.” This reflection has been the all too common experience of Maori, indigenous and minority peoples in higher education, and little has changed in the tertiary education sector despite recognition of this as a problem back in the 1960s.

The University of Waikato has been in the unique position of having a proportionally large Maori student population. It has made some attempt at bringing in extra programmes, like Te Timatanga Hou, which attracted Maori who might not necessarily have been able to qualify for entrance into university. Two of the graduates interviewed for the thesis came to university by way of Te Timatanga Hou. Where would those graduates be now, if that programme had not been in existence? The recollections of these two graduates referred to an introduction to all that the University of Waikato had to offer, and from which they were able to choose. What have the experiences been of other Maori students who have come through Te Timatanga Hou? How can their experiences add to further develop and strengthen this programme – a programme that has been recognised nationally (see Davies & Nicholls 1993) in its ability to positively impact on Maori participation in higher education?

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Department of Maori demonstrated the popularity of the Certificate of Maori Studies programme it offered, which allowed Maori an opportunity to access higher education. Its success during that period was largely because the certificate programme was taken to the people. A suggestion for the University would be to determine whether such an approach has been considered for Te Timatanga Hou to be extended in this way, and to move into the tribal communities that are included within its catchment region. While finances would probably play a major factor in determining the viability of such a proposal, it might also be a good incentive for graduates of the University who have returned home to their communities, to be able to positively contribute to both the University community, and their own.

The University must work hard to re-establish its position as the centre of Maori higher learning, particularly with increased competition from the three Whare

Wananga, two of which are located within its catchment region. It will be interesting to see the effect of such Whare Wananga on future Maori enrolment figures for the University. If there is a marked decline at university, then it must be directed at the point of difference between what Whare Wananga offer to Maori as opposed to the University of Waikato, which at present is a Maori-centred approach to learning, that respects and integrates Maori cultural values, that legitimates Maori knowledge and that seeks tino rangatiratanga (self-determination).

#### Other Notions for Consideration

The complexities of achievement, equal opportunity and access in higher education cannot be isolated purely as organisational problems. This study has found that Maori, minority and indigenous peoples all view higher education as a double-edged sword. Families play a large part in pushing, cajoling and supporting their students through university, despite and because of their fear of what changes such an education might bring about; and this thesis has highlighted such examples. Ogbu & Simons (1998) state that such ambivalence can be characterised and expressed through a number of different identities. One, of which Dehyle's (1995) study on the Navajo is a good example, describes an "oppositional identity," which, because "identities were developed in response to discrimination and racism, these minorities are not anxious to give them up simply because their "oppressors require them to do so" (Ogbu & Simons 1998:178). Those who express the traits of oppositional identity fear that success is at the expense of maintaining one's cultural (minority) identity. The stories of Native American graduates are testament to this fear (Garrod & Larimore 1997). Moon (1993:105) suggests that the introduction of education to Maori by the European changed the traditional ways in which knowledge was transmitted:

Tohunga and Kaumatua were no longer the exclusive source of knowledge. Moreover, information which the missionaries brought with them was not only alternative, it was also attractive and empowering to the individual. As a consequence of this, some elements of Maori society began to tilt from a communal to an individual emphasis.

In essence, therefore, the role of education has undermined the preservation of cultural norms and traditions. The modern struggle seeks to maintain equilibrium between both.

Another area in which ambivalence is displayed, according to Ogbu & Simons' (1998) is the impact of community forces on identity. Specifically, Ogbu & Simons (1998:161) define community forces as being the "study of minority perceptions of and responses to schooling." They go on to state that, due to the largely assimilative and racist education many parents and community members have received, and subsequent difficulties in being employed, such experiences impact on the community, on the family, and on the individual, arriving at the ambivalence described. In practical terms, such ambivalence has resulted in "a strong negative peer group influence that more or less stigmatises academic success" (Ogbu & Simons 1998:179).

The graduates' experiences tended to negate such ambivalence, and instead sought to create a space in which survival became paramount. The implications of community, family and peer influence in the success and academic achievement of individuals cannot be discounted. For institutions grappling with the issue of minority academic success, Ogbu & Simons state the challenge lies in involving the "out-of-school forces" as influencing factors, whose ambivalence towards education would have to be changed in order to effect change.

### **Implications for Effective Policy Development**

Wilson's (1997) discussion on education versus society highlights a complex issue for government and for Maori regarding identification. Specifically, Wilson (1997:335) argues that "to base education on a specifically social or political ideology is peculiarly corrupting." Yet it is argued that education is intensely political, particularly for indigenous and minority peoples. The basis of Wilson's discussion concerns the meanings and justifications for education and its place within, and contribution to, society. Perhaps therein lies the problem. In the New

Zealand situation, there is an ever-increasing conflict between mainstream society and Maori over what education means within two very different cultural and societal contexts. Over time, the dominance of one cultural justification and meaning for education has been to the detriment of the other.

Wilson's assertion is correct in relation to the impact such social and political ideologies have on systems like education. Education is a pawn for both minority and dominant groups, based on the particular ideologies and philosophies held by those in positions of power. At the mainstream level, these ideologies shift according to which political party is in power. In New Zealand, the shift from Labour to National to Labour (in recent years) would leave those affected like a yo-yo in perpetual up/down motion, unsure of which direction education would follow at the next election. Similarly for Maori, it would seem that tribal philosophies towards education could be shaped and influenced by availability of money, prioritisation of strategic objectives and the like. The difference between the vision and actually getting there is the biggest challenge that both the government and Maori have yet to achieve. At times it could be argued that the education of Maori has less to do with actual advancement and more to do with political point scoring.

The contention here is that at best, Maori education policy has been piecemeal and fragmented. Therefore it has been unable to incorporate and affect the targeted population. At worst, it could be argued that this piecemeal and fragmented approach points to either an underlying policy of assimilation, or further highlights the use of policy relating to Maori as a political point scorer, as noted earlier. At a national level, the Ministry of Education has been moving towards assisting iwi (tribes) in developing education strategies as part of its overall Maori education strategy (1998b). While this is a positive move, such initiatives are countered by government persistence on developing policy that still view Maori as homogenous. These contrasting approaches therefore appear to work against each other, and thus, while giving the appearance of working for Maori and iwi (political point scoring), seem instead to be doing the opposite. The development of Maori-related policy at the University of Waikato has not been 'bad,' indeed,

there have been initiatives such as Paetawhiti that urged an incorporation of a Maori ethos and that sought to include Maori needs and aspirations. What has been missing from making such policies effective for Maori has been the lack of implementation. Further, as this thesis has found, policy developed by the Tainui Maori Trust Board has also not necessarily been 'bad' but has been characterised by inconsistencies, which in turn, have impacted on the effectiveness of the implementation.

Canen & Grant (1999:321) have identified the need for "recognition of cultural diversity in educational policies and practices...in the context of multicultural societies distorted by socio-economic and cultural exclusions and disparities." Specifically, Canen & Grant (1999:321) urge a shift in thinking to incorporate the "shift of cultural patterns" in order to "avoid a stagnant and deterministic view of cultural values as static, universal and essentialised." Education and education policy and practice should be used as a way of coming to a greater understanding about the unequal distributions of power and dominance, and as a way of challenging prejudices in these areas.

The difficulty in trying to attain the type of status Canen & Grant describe could simply be put down to lack of careful planning in how to implement policies. In particular, Dyer (1999:45) believes that policies can prove difficult to implement when there is "strong resistance to policy messages, and unexpected outcomes." In 2001, the Labour government provided a good example when it repositioned its Closing the Gaps policy in response to a public outcry against policies that appeared to benefit Maori only. The Closing the Gaps policy had originally sought to identify ways in which the 'gap' between Maori and non-Maori could be lessened, however, this was perceived by general society as being preferential treatment for Maori, and the policy was changed and repositioned to focus on poverty differences rather than what was perceived as cultural and racial differences. Dyer (1999:46) stresses the futility of policy development, given the lack of use of "cumulative and comparative knowledge of successful and less successful implementation experiences" when devising "new innovations."

However, how does one move beyond the blame, the finger pointing and the continual focus on the problem when developing policy for Maori education? According to Dyer (1999:47), one model of policy implementation recognises the contradictory sides that impact on the policy, and views the implementation process as a “process of mediation between competing interests.” It would seem such a simple process, yet one that still has not worked successfully. Johnstone (1987) has identified four key levels which influence and shape education policy-making. The four levels – normative, strategic, operational and administrative – reach across the spectrum and encompasses the broadest approach possible in policy development. However, the key reason why policy makers fail to develop good and effective policy, has been due to their inability to focus across the four levels, which as a result, “become isolated and progress is made difficult” (Johnstone 1987:90). In effect, Johnstone proposes that education policy development needs to be inclusive, citing the need for community participation as a key policy objective in policy development.

Canen & Grant (1999), Dyer (1999) and Johnstone (1987) have all identified the critical role of looking at the widest possible picture when developing and implementing policy. Particularly, they have all demonstrated how ineffective policy can be if simple steps, such as community participation, and broadening the theoretical and methodological framework beyond the dominant position, are not taken into account during the development of policy. The lack of evidence of this approach to policy development for Maori education would perhaps explain why Maori education initiatives have, by and large, failed. As Smith (1995) asserts, the problem has been in government policy-makers deflecting the critical issues towards narrow constructs of perceived Maori problems in their participation in the education system. Such deflection, according to Smith (1995:19), “relocates the problem of Maori underachievement away from implicating the state and its structures.” Similarly, the University of Waikato also appears to have maintained a dominant position during the development of policy initiatives, and have not used the simple steps, such as community participation, that Canen & Grant, Dyer and Johnstone advocate. As a result, Maori have become disconcerted by this approach, evident during the lack of consultation about the University’s name (as

highlighted in Chapter Four at the Kaumatua Hui held in 1990) and recently with the attempt to merge the School of Maori and Pacific Development with the School of Education.

So what are the solutions? Smith's (1995:20) statement that the issue of Maori education must be viewed in its complexity and entirety, particularly seeing the issue of poor Maori retention in education as being "symptomatic of a plethora of underlying problems which militate against Maori as they attempt to gain equality within the Pakeha dominant education system" is a good starting point. All sides within the debate must acknowledge the political situation in which education for Maori is positioned, and that competing ideologies must be worked through rather than against in order to achieve successful change for Maori. Given the number of political influences in the process (both Maori and non-Maori), this will not be easily achieved, or resolved in the near future. Johnstone's (1987) identification of four levels – normative, strategic, operational and administrative - which influence and shape policy making provide a basis for examination of how future policy-making processes may be better developed. Neither the University of Waikato nor the Tainui Maori Trust Board appeared to have encompassed the broadest spectrum (by incorporating these four levels) described by Johnstone. Instead, as the thesis has demonstrated, these two institutions have focused more on the normative and strategic levels of policy development, to the neglect of the operational and implementation aspects of the policies.

Johnstone's model is a possible base from which an explanation of why some of the more positive policies developed for the University of Waikato has not worked. The incorporation in 1991 of the Treaty of Waitangi in the University of Waikato illustrates this point. Walker (1991:12) posited that the inclusion of the Treaty in institutional charters reversed the "educational policy of exclusion" and was the "first clear signal of official commitment to the goal of racial equality through education." However, this study found that the inclusion of the Treaty was not an official commitment by the University to the goal of racial inequality, as suggested by Walker above, but rather as a step towards fulfilling government obligations initiated at that time. Further, Kingsbury's (1993) development of the

strategic plan, Paetawhiti, for the University was also unsuccessful because the University failed to shift its thinking beyond the dominant position, to incorporate 'other' worldviews, as Canen & Grant (1999) suggested. As a result of this dominant positioning, the University rejected the incorporation and inclusion of Maori and a Maori ethos, which underpinned Kingsbury's focus for Paetawhiti. In essence, the failure of the University to address Maori concerns and aspirations because of a fundamental disregard for Maori ways of knowing, has meant that, despite the appearance of Maori issues being addressed in the normative and strategic levels of policy development, this has not occurred in the operational and administrative levels of policy, as Johnstone's model suggests. Further, this has meant that the University has not been in a position from which to challenge the power imbalances created by its own inability to move outside of the dominant framework.

Similarly, the Tainui Maori Trust Board has not incorporated the broad approach to policy development that Johnstone suggests. Particularly since 1995, there appears to have been a lack of careful planning by the Board across policies, which has adversely impacted education policy initiatives. For example, the issue of identity and belonging to the tribe, as discussed in this thesis, has been redefined as a result of the 1995 settlement of Raupatu. Consequently, tribal membership has been restricted, which has been identified by one graduate as having the possibility of impacting negatively on tribal members' decisions to participate in higher education. In turn, this restriction has contrasted with earlier policy decisions, particularly those contained within the Tainui Education Strategy documents (1986, 1991), which are underlined by philosophies of the Kingitanga that include unity and inclusiveness. Further, by moving away from these core Kingitanga philosophies it appears that the education policy process has not asserted its own notion of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), but rather has become absorbed into the norms and values of the dominant, hegemonic culture.

In order to move beyond these inefficiencies, both the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board must look at how policy is developed, and more

importantly, approach policy development from a more comprehensive and inclusive position that acknowledges Maori ways of knowing that can be implemented in such a way that validates Maori experiences, and seeks to reverse the power imbalances that still exist in higher education. The University of Waikato must ensure that its hegemonic practices as a derivative of the dominant culture are acknowledged and set aside, and it must work alongside Maori, through collaborative partnerships, in developing policy that empowers Maori and realises Maori aspirations. Similarly, the Tainui Maori Trust Board must examine the extent to which its policies have been influenced by the hegemonic practices of the dominant culture, and the relationship of Kingitanga philosophies to policy initiatives. The Board must ensure that if the Kingitanga philosophies are to underline policy developed, then these philosophies must be extended and incorporated into the implementation and operational policy phases as well.

In order to work together to improve the experiences of Maori who participate at university, both institutions could use Dyer's (1999) model of mediation as a way forward. To make Dyer's model relevant to this context, a Treaty based model, such as that developed by Bishop (1994b) is suggested. A Treaty based model, promotes partnership and a sense of collaboration and cooperation in terms of addressing problems of Maori success. This type of partnership empowers Maori, because it provides a platform on which both Maori and non-Maori are equal, which then validates both Maori and non-Maori ways of knowing, and allows for the development of policy and development that recognises and validates these positions. A Treaty based partnership also acknowledges the tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) of the partners, legitimating each other's experiences and providing a foundation from which more collaborative and responsive policy can be developed and implemented.

## **In Conclusion**

Nearly thirty years ago, Milner (1972:24) stated, "we have relied primarily on the educational sector to bring about the actualisation of equality of opportunity in all

sectors of our society,” where it was assumed that “if individuals had a chance to increase their level of education, they would necessarily improve their opportunities with respect to occupational status and income.” This statement captures the essence of the Tainui Maori Trust Board belief, and reflects Maori opinion towards higher education institutions like the University of Waikato. Get educated and you get more chances at a better job. Get a better job, and then you get more money and move up the rungs of society’s ladder.

The intention of the Board, through its investment in higher education, has been to remove what Howe (1974:45) labels the “economic disqualification” factor, thereby emphasising and reaffirming that the way forward through higher education improves their life opportunities as Milner has suggested above. However, Milner (1972:65) was also of the opinion that money did not necessarily breed motivation let alone excellence in education, stating, “grants tended to be awarded according to ability rather than need.” Milner felt that merely removing financial barriers would not reduce inequalities within society.

The Board has, especially since the settlement in 1995, invested heavily in higher education, in defiance of Milner’s caution. The question is: has the Board received value for money? Indeed, has the tribe received value for money? This cannot be answered until the Board has clarified its process, its policies and its intentions for implementation. However, I would suggest that a more detailed examination is undertaken of the amounts of money being spent on higher education, and the outputs received, through graduating tribal members. The challenge would also be to ensure that such a process would not be at the expense of cultural identification and the maintenance of a tribal identity and unity.

The graduates’ experiences drew typical pictures of the struggling student. Reliance on student allowances, student loans and the family for financial support from time to time characterised the graduates’ financial struggles while simultaneously trying to struggle with the rigours of academic life. Despite these difficulties, the graduates seemed to cope with little or no adverse financial pressure. Instead, their responses in regard to the types of support initiatives lean

more towards identifying things like mentoring and support programmes rather than larger financial grants.

This thesis examined the issue of mentoring and found that the graduates were more likely to have used mentoring in a voluntary capacity. Race did not appear to be a factor in the types of people who provided mentoring services, and the mentoring was based on a more informal relationship-building capacity. One graduate found support from an unlikely source: a senior Pakeha academic. What this shows, therefore, is that the Tainui Maori Trust Board may want to look more at alternative types of programmes, in addition to the financial support that they already provide. Similarly, the University of Waikato must look at how, as an institution, it promotes such mentoring relationships and support mechanisms by creating academics who demonstrate a genuine desire to assist Maori students, through culturally responsive and sensitive advice, as well as critical expertise and support.

Equally, the Tainui Maori Trust Board might also want to look at the types of support programmes they offer their tribal members who participate in higher education, and reassess whether more money in the form of grants is the most effective way of ensuring successful completion.

A related point is the issue of graduates as role models or as examples of success. Again drawing from the findings of the research, the graduates felt uncomfortable acknowledging their success, although they had no problem in being identified as role models if it encouraged others in a positive manner. The graduates point to the need in ensuring that their success is not in isolation, and that is something that I think the Tainui Maori Trust Board has yet to explore. The University of Waikato has increasingly used senior Maori students as 'buddies' to help mentor or support younger students coming through. The Board has tried this through the scholarship seminar series, although the effectiveness of this programme has yet to be evaluated. In order to change the 'out-of-school' forces, which Ogbu & Simons (1998) say characterises the ambivalence of minorities towards education, the positive association between highlighting examples of success (as indicated

from the graduates' examples) and the communities must be an effort that both the University and the Board should consider. The flow-on effects may not be visible immediately, but the most important aspect must be a desire by all concerned to be genuine in their attempts to ensure the effective participation of Maori in higher education.

## **Summary**

The original objective of this thesis was to identify positive examples of Maori participation in higher education. I assumed that the University of Waikato, which has had a proportionally large Maori student population, was an organisation sincere in its attempts to work towards this objective. I assumed also that the Tainui Maori Trust Board, with its long history of involvement in Maori education and its public declarations of support for higher education, was also an organisation sincere in its efforts to promote Maori participation in higher education.

What the thesis has found is that both organisations have demonstrated valid attempts toward addressing this objective. However, what the thesis also found was that much more research is required in order to determine how such programmes and initiatives can be strengthened to focus not just on participation in higher education, but completion as well. The recommendations, as a result of the findings of the thesis, point to a need for all organisations to become involved in this issue – from the government level, down to organisations like the University of Waikato and the Tainui Maori Trust Board. Equally, the experiences of Maori graduates whilst at university help to form a more complete picture of the effect of policies and programmes, and additional experiences must be included within the debate that is yet to be had on finding definitive answers to these complex issues.

Overall, the main hope arising from the thesis is to ensure that future research, future policy and programme development are not made in isolation from the

types of experiences identified in the thesis. Otherwise, the advancement of Maori, minority and indigenous in education and across the social spectrum will forever be about closing the gaps.

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