



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

Research Commons

<http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

## Research Commons at the University of Waikato

### Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

**Te Mana Motuhake o Ngāi Tamarāwaho  
and the challenges of education.  
Whakapūmautia te tangata i tōna ake mana**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
**Doctor of Philosophy in Education**

at

**The University of Waikato**

by

**PAUL WOLLER**



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

2016



## **Abstract**

Throughout history, colonisation has deliberately suppressed and subordinated the knowledge, languages and identities of indigenous peoples. Colonial education policies were designed, at best, to domesticate indigenous children to create subjugated and compliant labouring classes. These historical policies have intentionally consigned successive generations of indigenous families and communities to the socio-economic margins of the societies created by colonisation (Shields, Bishop & Masawi, 2005).

This thesis explores the intergenerational educational experiences of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, an indigenous Māori community in New Zealand, their relationship with Pākehā (colonial settlers of European descent) and their place, as Māori, in the society created by colonialism. At the heart of this story is the inter-generational societal abuse of a small indigenous community and the active resistance of that community to colonisation. To survive as a people, Ngāi Tamarāwaho created a space at the intercultural interface between Māori and Pākehā by maintaining and revitalising their cultural identity and language. The intergenerational struggles of the whānau (families) of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, to engage with an imposed system of western education, are related through the narratives of hapū whānau (sub-tribal families) and from archival records. These stories demonstrate that educational failure was not because of the limitations of hapū whānau, but rather a result of the limiting conditions imposed on them.

Despite these limitations, over the past 180 years, hapū leadership has focussed on maintaining the independent identity of the hapū and their mana motuhake, i.e. their right to be self-determining; seen as critical for whānau and hapū development and successful participation in wider society. To enable the success of future generations, Ngāi Tamarāwaho have accommodated new ideas and learning into their existing cultural framework by weaving together elements of learning from both Māori and Pākehā funds of knowledge. This hapū story has implications for current education settings intended to engage indigenous and minority students in learning and improve academic achievement. Strong cultural identities, and the ability to be self-determining, promote indigenous students' self-esteem and the confidence to accommodate new learning into their existing cultural frameworks, thereby providing a platform for education success.

## **He Karakia**

He hōnore, he korōria ki te Atua  
He maungārongo ki te whenua  
He whakaaro pai ki ngā tāngata katoa  
Hangā e te Atua he ngākau hou  
Ki roto, ki tēnā, ki tēnā o mātou  
Whakatōngia to wairua tapu  
Hei awhina, hei tohutohu i a mātou  
i roto i a mātou mahi katoa

## **He poroporoaki**

E po, e po  
E tangi tonu ana te po  
E heke, e heke  
E heke tonu ana te roimata me te hūpe.  
Ahakoa kua rere atu ki rerenga wairua  
Ahakoa kua hoki atu koutou ki te tini o te mano  
Kei roto i te hinengaro tonu koutou  
Haere, haere, haere atu ra

## **Acknowledgements**

Nōku te tūranga, nō koutou te mana  
Mine is the position, yours is the prestige

Ngā mihi aroha ki a koutou, o Ngāi Tamarāwaho, koutou kua āwhina, koutou kua tautoko tēnei mahi rangahau. As the story teller I have brought myself and my research to this telling but the stories belong to Ngāi Tamarāwaho and I have been able to tell these stories only because of what has been shared with me, over many years, by numerous individuals from the hapū. I owe a debt of gratitude to those many individuals and groups, including Huria Trust, who I have interviewed, questioned and held discussions with over the years, thank you. This research is truly the work of many and would never have been completed without your support. Much appreciation is also due to my supervisors Associate Professor Mere Berryman and Emeritus Professor Ted Glynn who have guided and supported this research. A special thanks and aroha to my wife who has patiently listened to my complaints, read and given feedback on draft chapters and endured my messy office on our kitchen table. He mihi nui ki a koutou katoa.

## Contents

Abstract .....	iii
He Karakia .....	iv
He poroporoaki.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Contents .....	vi
List of Tables.....	x
List of Figures .....	x
Introduction .....	2
The Hūria Trust.....	3
Cultural understandings and identity.....	5
Mana, mana whenua and mana motuhake .....	6
Kopurererua ki Waikareao .....	7
Taurikura .....	7
Mauao and the Battle of the Kokowai .....	8
Ngāi Tamarāwaho and Colonisation .....	9
Raupatu: Land Wars and land confiscations .....	9
The Treaty of Waitangi and the Waitangi Tribunal.....	12
Chapter 1: E kore koe e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea .....	17
The Polynesian Heritage.....	17
Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge and philosophy): A Māori world-view.....	18
The source of knowledge .....	19
Myth messages: conveying mana .....	19
Whakapapa manaakitanga and whanaungatanga.....	21
The Missionaries, literacy and Christianity .....	22
Māori Pākehā relationships and the process of colonisation .....	23
Engaging in Education .....	23
Native Schools 1867 - 1969.....	24
Power imbalances in education and the impacts on Māori children .....	26
Racial bias in education and intergenerational disparities .....	27
Racial bias in the community .....	29
The impact of education on identity.....	30
The intercultural interface .....	31
Summary .....	33

Chapter 2: Kaupapa Māori: research that enhances mana .....	35
Finding space at the intercultural interface .....	35
Empowering relationships .....	36
The suppression of mātauranga Māori .....	36
Kaupapa Māori praxis: research that enhances mana.....	37
Manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga: kaupapa Māori research in action .....	38
Developing my place in multiple whānau of interest .....	39
Manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga: relationships and ways of participating.....	41
Te Komiti Wāhine.....	42
Wānanga and ako: the intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge .....	43
Whakawhanaungatanga: Kaupapa Māori Research and the non-Māori researcher .....	45
Developing my place as a non-Māori researcher .....	46
Ways of Working.....	48
Issues of insider/outsider, power and control.....	50
Autoethnography and critical family history .....	51
Methods.....	51
Retelling hapū stories.....	51
Historical research.....	52
Narratives: whānau stories .....	52
Dissemination and Ownership of Information.....	54
Summary .....	54
Chapter 3: Ngāi Tamarāwaho and the missionaries .....	56
The Missionaries in Tauranga 1830s to 1860s .....	56
Native teachers .....	57
Religious and literacy instruction: New knowledge and Māori sense making.....	58
The Missionaries and Ngāi Tamarāwaho .....	62
New spiritual understandings .....	63
Seeking new directions: blending the new with the old.....	66
Land Wars and Raupatu .....	68
The Bush Campaign.....	69
Summary .....	74
Chapter 4: Hūria Native School 1883 to 1900.....	77
The cultural deficits explanation.....	77
A school for Hūria.....	78
Economic pressures .....	83

The deadly impacts of colonisation.....	86
Maintaining hapū identity and mana.....	88
“The time to close this school has fully come” .....	90
Enforcing power and control: colonisation at work.....	93
Summary .....	95
Chapter 5: Te Reo Māori and hapū identity.....	97
The demise of te reo Māori.....	97
Hapū language loss .....	99
Labelled as “Natives” .....	100
Otumoetai School 1920s to 1939.....	100
Achievement against the odds.....	101
Hapū memories of Otumoetai School in the 1930s.....	102
A ‘white only’ school .....	105
Unequal opportunities and double standards .....	108
Health disparities .....	109
Hapū battles with bureaucracy: The fight for clean water .....	110
Summary .....	111
Chapter 6: Intergenerational impact of destructive educational experiences: Ngā kōrero o te hapū – Four whānau case studies .....	114
Case study 1: Te whānau a Piripi.....	115
Case study 2: Te whānau a Tukaokao .....	136
Case study 3: Te whānau a Ngatoko .....	156
Case study 4: Te whānau a Te Hikuwai .....	173
Summary of four whānau case studies .....	184
Chapter 7: Hapū education aspirations and cultural revitalisation .....	189
The maintenance of cultural identity and language .....	189
Cultural renaissance in Hūria: Adult education programmes.....	189
Hapū initiated learning in the 1950s.....	191
Māori Language revitalisation: hapū initiatives.....	196
Kōhanga Reo .....	196
Rebuilding Tamateapokaiwhenua.....	197
Hūria Trust: hapū initiated and controlled development .....	198
Culturally responsive services to whānau.....	201
Wānanga: hapū initiated and focussed learning.....	206
Summary .....	208

Chapter 8: Discussion .....	210
Reflecting on the research questions.....	211
Attempts to engage with education by successive generations.....	211
Maintaining cultural identity.....	212
The education aspirations of Ngāi Tamarāwaho .....	213
Current and ongoing issues.....	213
Te mana o Ngāi Tamarāwaho: contexts, challenges and responses.....	214
1830s to 1850s .....	214
1860s to 1870s .....	215
1880s to 1910s .....	216
1920s to 1940s .....	217
1950s to 1970s .....	218
1980s to 1990s .....	219
The 2000s .....	220
Te mana motuhake o Ngāi Tamarāwaho .....	222
A genuine Treaty partnership? The case for non-dominating relations of interdependence. ....	223
Wānanga and ako: attempting to weave cultures together.....	225
Chapter 9: Conclusions.....	226
Te Mana Motuhake o Ngāi Tamarāwaho and the research process .....	226
Further implications .....	231
Glossary of Māori terms.....	234
Appendices.....	238
Appendix 1: Map of Tauranga Moana .....	238
Appendix 2: The Waikareao Estuary and the township of Tauranga c 1950s .....	239
Appendix 3: Hūria Marae in the early 1960s.....	240
References.....	241
Archival.....	241
Secondary.....	242

## List of Tables

Table 1: Case study 1, summary of intergenerational education experiences .....	135
Table 2: Case study 2, summary of intergenerational education experiences .....	155
Table 3: Case study 3, summary of intergenerational education experiences .....	172
Table 4: Case study 4, summary of intergenerational education experiences .....	184
Table 5: Summary of intergenerational education case studies.....	187
<b>Table 6: Education time periods .....</b>	<b>214</b>
Table 7: 1830s - 1850s.....	215
Table 8: 1860s - 1870s.....	216
Table 9: 1880s - 1910s.....	217
Table 10: 1920s - 1940s.....	218
Table 11: 1950s - 1970s.....	219
Table 12: 1980s - 1990s.....	220
Table 13: The 2000s .....	221
Table 14: Contexts, challenges and responses .....	222
Table 15: The dual legacies .....	224

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Te whakapapa o te whānau a Piripi .....	115
Figure 2: Te whakapapa o te whānau a Tukaokao .....	136
Figure 3: Te whakapapa o te whānau a Ngatoko .....	156
Figure 4: Te whakapapa o te whānau a Te Hikuwai.....	173

# Introduction

Ngāi Tamarāwaho, he iwi mana motuhake, mai rānō

(Ngāi Tamarāwaho have always been an independent and self-determining people)

For centuries, generations of the indigenous Māori community of Ngāi Tamarāwaho have lived in settlements located in the coastal region of Tauranga Moana on the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand. This thesis explores the intergenerational experiences of whānau (families) of the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū (sub-tribe or clan) and their struggle to engage with an introduced system of education; from their initial engagement with Pākehā (colonial settlers of European descent) in the 1830s and the subsequent impacts of colonisation, to the present day. This hapū education story is told through the narratives of hapū members and the archival records of New Zealand government departments. It highlights the challenges faced as eight generations of hapū whānau (sub-tribal families), have attempted to manage their relationships with Pākehā and their subsequent place in the new society created by colonisation. The participants' stories and the archival records of intergenerational struggles, as outlined in this thesis, demonstrate that educational failure was not because of the limitations of hapū whānau but instead a result of the limiting conditions imposed on them.

This thesis shows that colonial policies supported the suppression and subordination of Māori knowledge, language and identity that limited educational achievement by successive generations of hapū whānau. The purpose of these policies was to civilise or domesticate Māori children in order to create a subjugated and compliant labouring class; policies that have subsequently limited the economic advancement of hapū whānau.

Despite these limitations, over the past 180 years hapū leadership has focussed on maintaining the mana motuhake of the hapū, (independence and authority) that enabled the hapū to maintain their unique identity while accommodating new ideas and learning. In the contested space between the often conflicting world-views of Māori and European colonisers, the people of Ngāi Tamarāwaho have always believed that it was possible to have a relationship of equality with the Pākehā colonisers.

This is the story of Ngāi Tamarāwaho and how strong cultural identity has helped them to maintain the collective mana (prestige and authority) of the hapū. This introductory chapter provides a brief historical overview of the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho and also provides some background to the work of the Hūria Trust, the hapū organisation that guided this hapū focussed research.

## **The Hūria Trust**

This research has stemmed from the work of the Hūria Trust (formally Hūria Management Trust) a hapū controlled and mandated organisation. The Trust's vision is to assist members of the hapū to realise their potential and to facilitate hapū development. The Trust was formed in 1986 following a hui-a-hapū (tribal community meeting) to discuss the need to rebuild the whare tupuna (ancestral house). The kaumātua (elders) present decided that apart from the need to raise money to finance the rebuilding program, hapū members needed to be up-skilled to undertake and administer the project. Names of hapū members and outsiders associated with the hapū, seen to have the skills required to assist with the project, were put forward at that meeting. After much discussion the meeting agreed on twelve names. The majority of these individuals were not at the hui-a-hapū so a kaumātua volunteered to inform those selected of the task that the hapū had allocated to them. I was visited in my home by that kaumātua, Anaru Kohu, who informed me of my nomination and my role.

At the Trust's first meeting, members agreed to be more than just a fund raising committee; equally important was raising people's skills and establishing the infrastructure to manage the physical rebuilding of the whare tupuna. The wider goal became the physical and spiritual strengthening of the hapū with the Trust facilitating and coordinating hapū development. Building skills and infrastructure were developed by operating a work skills programme promoted by the Government to provide training and employment opportunities for the unemployed. Involvement in the Government sponsored programme eventually saw Hūria Trust gain registration as a Private Training Establishment (PTE) in 1993. With the skills and infrastructure gained from the PTE the Trust took advantage of further opportunities to gain Government health contracts to promote whānau health and well-being. The health contracts added to the Trust's credibility with Government funding providers and the further establishment of resources and capabilities. Hūria Trust has become a small, marae based, non-profit organisation that has a diverse portfolio of income streams. Traditionally the term "marae" was used to describe a meeting place, the sacred courtyard at the centre of a community. However, more recent usage has seen the term used to include the buildings that surround the marae e.g. the whare tupuna and whare kai (dining hall) that are central to Māori communities. Largely reliant on Government contracts to survive, the efficient operation of the Hūria Trust has been a major test of hapū management systems. Expertise gained over 25 years of operation is now a valuable hapū asset and a key factor in hapū development (see Chapter 7).

The research undertaken for this thesis was initiated by the members of Hūria Trust who have worked on behalf of the hapū to initiate hapū development. Their ideas are represented in the research questions posed in this thesis. Findings from the research will be used to help develop a hapū education strategy to benefit on-going hapū development. The needs, interests and concerns of the hapū are strongly represented in the research thereby ensuring the project's legitimacy. Although the research has been approved by Hūria Trust and has been conducted under the Trust's supervision, the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū Rūnanga (tribal council), who have overall authority in hapū affairs, was also consulted and their approval gained. The sub-title of this thesis "whakapūmautia te tangata i tōna ake mana" is the mission statement of Hūria Trust and stemmed from a discussion about the original wording of the statement to "empower Māori" (Hūria Management Trust, 2009). In an attempt to translate this statement into Māori the word whakamana had been used for the English word 'empower'. However Trust members (including kaumātua) were uncomfortable with the concept of whakamana in this context because it implied that as a Trust we could instil mana or personal prestige in the people we were working with. The concept whakamana, to authorise or empower, is often used in reference to objects or documents rather than people. In contrast, people are seen to be born with mana as an inherent part of their birth right. Hence, the Trust preferred the term "whakapūmautia te tangata i tōna ake mana" which is "to confirm or establish the mana that each individual already possesses" and thereby assist them achieve their potential.

The research was framed around the following research questions:

- 1 How has the whānau of one hapū attempted to engage with an imposed colonial system of education over eight generations?
- 2 How has the identity of the hapū continued to be maintained over this period and how are the tamariki/mokopuna (children/grandchildren) of the hapū understanding their identity today?
- 3 What are the current education aspirations of Ngāi Tamarāwaho?

This thesis explores the history of hapū experiences of colonisation with a special emphasis on education and negative impacts of education contexts experienced by hapū whānau. The findings provide future pathways for whānau and hapū development and celebrate the achievements that have been made despite the threats to the mana motuhake of the hapū.

## **Cultural understandings and identity**

The challenge for Ngāi Tamarāwaho has been to survive and thrive in the contested space between the knowledge system inherited from their ancestors and the knowledge system imposed by colonisation. This introduction explores the knowledge, philosophies and understandings, or mātauranga Māori and mātauranga ā iwi (Doherty, 2009) maintained by Ngāi Tamarāwaho as an integral part of their hapū identity. These taonga tuku iho (treasures handed down) provide the threads that allow the past, present and future of hapū whānau to be woven together, creating an unbroken continuity that protects and nurtures individual and communal hapū identity by maintaining their mana motuhake.

The following pepeha (tribal sayings or proverbs) exemplify how the oral history of Ngāi Tamarāwaho supports the cultural identity of the hapū i.e. their relationships both to the land and waterways of their environment and to the wider tribal grouping of the Ngāti Ranginui iwi.

Ko Mauao te Maunga, (Mauao is the mountain)

Ko Tauranga te Moana, (Tauranga is the sea/harbour)

Ko Takitimu te Waka, (Takitimu is the canoe)

Ko Ngāti Ranginui te Iwi, (Ngāti Ranginui is the tribe)

Ko Tamateapokaiwhenua te Tangata, (Tamateapokaiwhenua is the man/person, as personified in the ancestral house)

Ko Ngāi Tamarāwaho te Hapū (Ngāi Tamarāwaho is the sub-tribe/clan)

Ko Hūria te Marae (Hūria is the marae; the traditional hapū meeting place).

The oral history represented in this pepeha, includes recited genealogy, storytelling and songs that have been passed from generation to generation. The pepeha relates some of the historical relationships of Ngāi Tamarāwaho including the arrival of their ancestors in Aotearoa/New Zealand from the Pacific Islands in the waka Takitimu over 1,000 years ago.

The story of their ancestor Tamateapokaiwhenua is remembered in the Ngāi Tamarāwaho whare tupuna or carved ancestral house that stands in their community at Hūria. This ancestral house is the embodiment of the ancestor Tamateapokaiwhenua; representing the living link between current generations and their ancestors. It is the centre of the hapū community; a place where hapū meetings are held and where visitors can be welcomed. It also serves as a church for religious services, funerals, and as a place of learning where oral history is related (Opening Ceremonies, 1956).

## **Mana, mana whenua and mana motuhake**

While hapū as a social unit are classed as sub-tribes or clans who affiliate to larger tribal grouping, hapū were identified historically as the key political and social units of Māori society. These kinship based communities that maintained their independence and authority over their own affairs, were similar in structure and function to kinship groupings found throughout Polynesia (Ballara, 1998; Davidson, 1992). In current Māori society hapū still provide mutual support or whanaungatanga for their affiliated whānau. In spite of the negative impacts of colonial policies, the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho has been able to maintain their mana motuhake. Royal (2002), in an exploration of the Treaty relationship between Māori and the Crown, describes mana motuhake as:

the ‘independent Māori position of (or in) mana’ [that] implicitly underlines Māori independence and authority (often used for mana) to see the world as Māori wish to and to design and implement cultural institutions, tangible and intangible, as Māori sees fit. It is in this sense of freedom to live in the world as one sees fit, not beholden to the caprice of another party that is captured in the term mana motuhake (p. 1). Mana motuhake or a ‘position of mana’ is a position that sees Māori as a vibrant and alive people emboldened with self-esteem and self-worth (p. 2).

Williams (2010) further describes mana motuhake as an essential element of individual, hapū and iwi identity. “Mana motuhake is [about] maintaining ... your identity, your customs, your tikanga [cultural beliefs and practices], your language... [the] survival of all those ideals” (p. 18). Maintaining hapū mana motuhake is seen by hapū leadership as a critical part of maintaining cultural identity and therefore essential to the ongoing survival of the kinship based community.

The story of the people of Ngāi Tamarāwaho began long before the arrival of European missionaries in the 1830s, along with their cultural world-view and their knowledge and understanding of their environment, both physical and spiritual. This thesis focuses on the varied responses of Ngāi Tamarāwaho to the initial introduction of literacy, to the impacts of assimilative educational policies and to more recent education initiatives and challenges. The hapū possessed a knowledge system and methods of learning that were well established before the arrival of Pākehā in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Elements of that traditional knowledge are still retained today. As stated by Owens (1992), while the impacts of colonialism saw huge changes take place in Māori society these changes:

took place within a Māori framework of values representing a continuity with pre-European Māori ways... The ability of Māori tribes to withstand powerful cultural pressures from outside lay partly in the nature of their social structure and controls. Māori kinship groups were equipped to survive stress and even disasters such as war and famine at the local level (p. 40).

Kinship groups, like the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, have survived and adapted by maintaining the framework of their traditional cultural values, including their mana whenua, their status as the occupiers and guardians of the tribal land upon which they have lived for generations. Knowledge and understanding of this cultural framework, or mātauranga-ā-iwi, allows hapū whānau to be “more grounded in their identity and therefore more likely to have higher self-esteem” (Doherty, 2009, p. 254).

The following purākau (story) connects the mana whenua of the hapū through their relationship to the Kopurererua river and the taniwha (a fierce, lizard-like creature) known as Taurikura. It is an example of the ‘living history’ that is part of the mātauranga-ā-iwi of Ngāi Tamarāwaho.

### **Kopurererua ki Waikareao**

Hūria is located next to the Waikareao estuary, named for its shimmering, sparkling waters and also known as the Kete Kai o Ngāi Tamarāwaho (the food basket of Ngāi Tamarāwaho). Waikareao sits like a gem on the edge of the greater Tauranga harbour and is linked to the bush covered inland boundary of the hapū by the Kopurererua River that winds like an umbilical cord through the centre of the hapū estate. The sea, the estuary, the river that winds its way from the inland mountains of Otanewainuku and Puwhenua; these are some of the physical and spiritual markers that locate the people of Ngāi Tamarāwaho within their landscape, the setting for the story of Taurikura.

### **Taurikura**

A young woman, Taurikura, lived in the settlement of Kahakaharoa at Taumata with her koroua (grandfather) who treasured and spoilt her. One day he asked her to fetch water from the puna (spring) below the settlement. However, she told her koroua that it was too far to walk down the steep path and that she was too tired. So the koroua took his empty gourd and slowly made his way down the path to the puna where he quenched his thirst and filled the gourd. When he returned, Taurikura took the gourd from him and drank the water. The koroua was angry and scolded Taurikura for her laziness. Shamed and shocked by her grandfather's anger, Taurikura fled. Later, as his anger subsided, the

koroua felt sorry for his mokopuna (grandchild) and he went to look for her. He found her at the puna and was shocked to discover that Taurikura was transforming herself into a taniwha. Although the transformation was incomplete, it could not be stopped. So the koroua wept for his mokopuna and told her to leave her home. As Taurikura departed he told her not to harm any of her whānau.

This story is remembered through a waiata (song), composed by Rihi Ngatoko, that relates how Taurikura lived in a cave at Parikarangaranga and that she travelled the Kopurererua river between the Waikareao and Taumata. However, one day Taurikura accidentally killed a woman who was fishing at Tukarere, close to the mouth of the river. Because of this incident and the parting words of her koroua, Taurikura left the river and made her home on the island of Karewa, off the coast of Tauranga Moana. A carved figure of Taurikura stands in the roro (porch) of the whare tupuna Tamateapokaiwhenua at Hūria linking through whakapapa (genealogy) the taniwha Taurikura with the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho.

Hapū oral history and cultural knowledge also convey the relationships of the hapū with other tribal groups in the region and includes the following story of the inter-tribal battle over the prominent coastal mountain of the region, Mauao. The alliances and the conflicts with other tribal groups shaped how the hapū sustained their lives as an independent and self-determining people over the generations.

### **Mauao and the Battle of the Kokowai**

The iwi of Ngāti Ranginui maintained their position in Tauranga Moana by creating alliances through intermarriage with Waitaha and some hapū of Te Arawa; Ngāti Haua and Ngāti Raukawa of Tainui; and Ngāti Maru of Hauraki. In the late 1600s Ngāi te Rangi, an iwi from the Opotiki region, made their way to Maketu after being forced along the coast by pressure from other iwi. During a battle with Te Arawa at Poporohumea, near Maketu, their leader Te Rangihouhiri was killed. Ngāi te Rangi decided to move to Tauranga Moana. This decision was spurred by the earlier killing of two of their people by Ngāti Ranginui. Led by Kotorerua, Ngāi te Rangi used clever deception to take the Ngāti Ranginui pa of Mauao in the Battle of the Kokowai (Steedman, 1984).

By taking Mauao, Ngāi te Rangi gained a strong foothold in the region. Through a series of arranged marriages and alliances they consolidated their position over succeeding generations to maintain peace and secure their future. Ngāti Ranginui maintained the fertile lands overlooking the harbour at Te Papa, Otumoetai and Poike. They also controlled access to the important food and timber sources of the hinterland.

This was the complex political and social context that existed in 1834 when the missionaries arrived to establish their mission station in Tauranga, an area occupied by over 30 independent hapū (Mair, 1937). Tauranga was a resource rich but geographically small area.

### **Ngāi Tamarāwaho and Colonisation**

From the early 1800s Ngāi Tamarāwaho, like other Māori communities throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand, actively sought to engage with new European knowledge, technology, livestock and crops that reached the Tauranga district before any Pākehā traders or missionaries. From the 1830s to the 1850s Māori and European missionaries were in close contact with members of the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū. Reverend Brown wrote of his frequent visits to the hapū settlements of Motuopae and Matarawa (later named Hūria after the biblical name Judea) (Brown, 1835 -1850). Brown relates the discussions and disagreements over theology and land that he had with Ngāi Tamarāwaho leader Piripi te Kaponga (Riseborough, 1999).

Piripi's son, Ranginui Te Kaponga, giving evidence to the Land Court in 1882 stated that his father “was a lay teacher of the Church of England and Ngāi Tamarāwaho were the people who were converted first” (Rotorua Minute Book, 1882, p. 324). However, this was often an uneasy relationship and not a case of unquestioning acceptance of missionary teachings as hapū members attempted to accommodate new teachings within a framework of their traditional values and beliefs (see Chapter 3).

### **Raupatu: Land Wars and land confiscations**

While Māori had to adapt to introduced technology and recover from the impacts of new European diseases, by the late 1850s many Māori communities, including Hūria, were successfully participating in a new commercial environment. Trade between tribal groups was long established and widespread in traditional Māori society, so trade in newly introduced crops, like potatoes, new technology and ideas was rapid following the arrival of Pākehā (Davidson, 1992, King, 2003). However, the determination of tribal groups to incorporate new ideas and technologies while maintaining their cultural integrity, threatened the planned expansion of settlement by Pākehā settlers.

In an attempt to maintain control of the colonisation process a treaty had been signed on 6 February 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and by Māori chiefs from various tribes throughout New Zealand. Known as the Treaty of Waitangi it allowed for the establishment of British governance in New Zealand but also guaranteed Māori the same rights as British citizens and recognised Māori ownership of land and other

resources. However, the rapidly increasing demand for land for settlement and the growing reluctance of iwi to sell land to the colonial government led to the 1860s conflicts in the North Island districts of Taranaki, Waikato and Tauranga (Belich, 1986; King, 2003; Petrie, 2006).

Although commonly known as the Land Wars (Sorrenson, 1992) or the New Zealand Wars (Belich, 1986), a recent leader of the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū, Maharaia Winiata (1954), labelled the 1860s conflicts as the “inter-race wars” (p. 261). This possibly reflects the inter-generational grievances held by members of the hapū and the sense of betrayal that the hapū felt towards Pākehā, especially towards the missionaries. The missionaries had set aside their long standing relationships with the hapū to side with government troops. While land was an important issue in these conflicts, Sorrenson (1992) considers they were ultimately about power and control:

The rivalry that developed between the races was more than a naked contest for land, important though this was. It was also a contest for authority, for mana, for authority over the land and the men and women it sustained (p. 148).

Pākehā colonial leaders were in no doubt that they needed to dominate Māori and to suppress any initiatives by iwi that might threaten Pākehā control of the land.

While initially these conflicts took place outside their region, the people of Ngāi Tamarāwaho had whakapapa links to both Taranaki and Tainui iwi so they inevitably supported their distant relatives. The emerging Kingitanga movement was also strongly supported in Tauranga. The Kingitanga or ‘King Movement’ was a pan tribal alliance formed in the 1850s to restrict land sales to the growing Pākehā population. The selected leader of this alliance was given the title of King to reflect the partnership and equal ranking that Māori saw they had with the Queen of England, who represented Pākehā, in accord with the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi.

Many of the hapū of Tauranga Moana responded to requests for support by providing man-power, weapons and food to the iwi in the conflict areas. Ngāi Tamarāwaho were one of these hapū who became involved in both the Taranaki and Waikato conflicts. An 1864 census of Tauranga Moana by government officials listed the number of men from each hapū who had joined the conflict in Waikato, and noted that eighteen of the thirty Ngāi Tamarāwaho males from the Hūria settlement had left to assist Waikato iwi (Mair, 1937).

The Tauranga conflict became an extension of the Waikato campaign in January 1864 when British troops occupied the Te Papa peninsula and blockaded the harbour to

stop the flow of supplies from Tauranga Moana to the Kingitanga tribes of Waikato. The arrival of these troops was seen as a declaration of war by the hapū of Tauranga Moana. They constructed a fortified position at Pukehinahina (Gate Pā) and issued a written challenge to the British troops. This challenge was seen by the British General, Cameron, as his best opportunity to gain a decisive and comprehensive victory against a fortified Māori position, in what had been a frustrating campaign for the General. The battle site at Pukehinahina suited Cameron's plans. Pukehinahina provided easy access for troops, artillery and supplies and it was also possible to partially encircle the site to prevent the Māori defenders escaping (Belich, 1986).

However, the battle at Pukehinahina on the 29th April 1864 is remembered as a decisive victory by 220 to 240 Māori warriors over 1,650 British troops (Mair, 1937). The Māori force consisted mainly of Tauranga iwi (Ngāi te Rangi and Ngāti Ranginui) and included Ngāi Tamarāwaho warriors under the leadership of Paraone Koikoi. Cameron's objective had been to achieve a decisive victory by destroying the Māori force at Pukehinahina, firstly by using his artillery to shatter the outward defences of the pa and then to kill as many of the defenders as possible. After a ten-hour barrage troops were ordered to storm the pa with a force that greatly outnumbered the Māori defenders.

However the defenders used tactics that had proved successful against British artillery and storming tactics in other battles in the Northern Wars and in Taranaki and Waikato. After the battle a British soldier commented "you might as well drive men into a sheep pen and shoot them down as let them assault a place like that" (Belich, 1986, p. 187). Following the rout of the British storming party no counter attack by the defenders was possible as they were still greatly outnumbered and were low on supplies of ammunition and powder. This meant the position could not be successfully held for any length of time so the defenders made a strategic withdrawal as soon as night fell.

In the weeks following this battle some Ngāi te Rangi hapū leaders held peace talks with British colonial leaders who were warned of a further fortification being built by other Tauranga Māori at Te Ranga and advised to attack before the position could be strengthened (Woller, 2005). Seven weeks after Gate Pa, on the 21 June 1864, the British troops successfully attacked the Te Ranga position with the defenders being forced to stand and fight so that women and children, who were helping with the earthworks, could flee to the relative safety of their inland settlements. The betrayal of the uncompleted fortifications at Te Ranga resulted in a politically advantageous outcome for some hapū

of Ngāi te Rangi when the punitive confiscation of tribal lands that followed the battles in Tauranga Moana took place.

These confiscations saw the iwi of Ngāti Ranginui legislated out of existence by the Tauranga District Lands Act (1867). The Crown refused to recognise Ngāti Ranginui as a separate iwi and they were instead defined as a hapū of Ngāi te Rangi, effectively suppressing the separate identity and therefore the mana of Ngāti Ranginui hapū (Riseborough, 1999). The loss of land through the confiscation impoverished the hapū of Ngāti Ranginui, especially Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Ngāi Tamarāwaho were left landless and dependent on small reserves allocated by the government in the 1880s (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). It was not until the opening of their new whare tupuna, at Hūria in 1956 by Ngāi Tamarāwaho that the mana whenua of Ngāti Ranginui (of the waka Takitimu) and their separate identity from Ngāi te Rangi (of the waka Mataatua) was affirmed (Opening Ceremonies, 1956).

The building of the whare tupuna, Tamateapokaiwhenua, at Hūria took place under the leadership of Maharaia Winiata, of Ngāi Tamarāwaho and Ngāti Ruahine descent. This followed many years of hapū protest at the unfair confiscation of land and numerous petitions to parliament to seek justice, recognition, and the return of their confiscated lands. In 1885 Ngāi Tamarāwaho had been granted 42 acres of land at Hūria as a native reserve. Half the block was swamp and marshy ground that was covered by sea water at high tide. In 1920 another 40 acres were allocated to hapū whānau at Te Reti (O'Malley, 1995). The severe economic and social consequences of the Raupatu (land confiscations) drove the hapū struggle to seek justice for the unfair confiscation of their land. These issues have dominated the collective thoughts and actions of the hapū leadership and have affected many aspects of hapū life (Riseborough, 1999; Rose, 1997; Waitangi Tribunal, 2004).

### **The Treaty of Waitangi and the Waitangi Tribunal**

The ongoing political lobbying by tribal groups throughout New Zealand seeking redress for breaches of the protections promised in the Treaty of Waitangi finally saw the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) that gave legal recognition to the Treaty of Waitangi and enabled the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal. The Waitangi Tribunal was sanctioned to investigate possible breaches of the Treaty by the New Zealand government or any state-controlled body that occurred after 1975. In 1985 the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act (1985) allowed for Treaty of Waitangi claims by Māori,

through the Waitangi Tribunal, for breaches of the Treaty back to 1840 when the Treaty was first signed (King, 2003).

The legal and political recognition afforded the Treaty of Waitangi since the 1970s has seen the Treaty become regarded as a living document. The Treaty still shapes relationships between Māori and Pākehā and also influences government policy in contemporary New Zealand society (Hayward, 1997; Tawhai & Gray-Sharp, 2011). In New Zealand society “the Treaty of Waitangi provides a touch-stone upon which two world-views, two sets of traditions, and two understandings can create a society where indigeneity and modern democratic practices can meet” (Durie, 2011,p. ix).

The Ngāi Tamarāwaho claim for redress of Treaty breaches (Waitangi Tribunal, 1997) was initially heard by the Tribunal in 2001 as part of a wider Ngāti Ranginui iwi claim (Woller, 2005). The claim was finalised following negotiation with the government in 2012 when the Ngāti Ranginui Deed of Settlement between the iwi and the Crown was signed. That document stressed the historical wrongs of the Crown and the need to establish a new set of relationships based on the partnership originally expressed in the Treaty of Waitangi:

The relationship between Ngāti Ranginui and the Crown, which should have been defined by the mutual respect and partnership inherent in te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi, was instead blighted by the injustices of war, Raupatu, the bush campaign, and the severe deprivation that flowed from these Crown actions. The Crown apologises for its actions and the burden carried by generations of Ngāti Ranginui who have suffered the consequences of war and Raupatu which they continue to feel today.

Through this apology the Crown seeks atonement for the wrongs of the past and to establish a new relationship with the hapū of Ngāti Ranginui based upon mutual trust, co-operation, and respect for te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi and its principles (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2012, pp. 33-34).

This statement by the Crown was official recognition of the injustices suffered by Ngāi Tamarāwaho and other Ngāti Ranginui hapū as a result of the 1860s Land Wars and the subsequent confiscation of tribal land. The settlement also marked the beginning of a post-settlement period for Ngāi Tamarāwaho, creating the potential for future hapū social and economic development and more equitable relationships with the government organisations.

The battle for mana motuhake formed part of the resistance by hapū leadership to the injustice of land confiscations and is indicative of the resilience of indigenous communities internationally against the impacts of colonialism (Hokowhitu et al., 2010). The resistance to colonisation was also largely a grassroots response that was “born and nurtured over generations” (Smith, 1999, p. 110). The loss of land resulted in a loss of mana that compelled the hapū leadership to restore the mana of their people.

This Introduction has provided a brief historical overview of the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. The following chapter outlines provide an overview of the content of the rest of this thesis.

Chapter One provides a brief overview of the Polynesian ancestry of Māori and the knowledge systems, social structures and values that were developed out of that history. The impacts of colonisation on indigenous communities, both nationally and internationally, are also explored with specific emphasis on the colonial policies of exerting domination and control over those communities.

Chapter Two shows that positive hapū development and resources for improving the cultural, social and educational outcomes for current and future hapū generations are to be found in te ao Māori (a Māori world view), supported by kaupapa Māori theory and praxis (Bishop, 1994; Irwin, 1994; Smith, G., 1997; Smith, L., 1991, 1999). I also explore how, as a Pākehā (non-Māori), I was able to research hapū history using kaupapa Māori research methods (research methods that express Māori aspirations, values and principles). From my lived experiences within the hapū community I show how this research was facilitated and guided by my participation in hapū events as part of multiple whānau of interest (Bishop, 1996). Whānau of interest adhere to the tikanga (cultural beliefs and practices) of manaakitanga (commitment and care) and whakawhanaungatanga (establishing relationships) as defined and demonstrated by hapū leaders (Mead, 2003). I discuss how issues of power and control over the research were addressed so that the mana of the hapū, the participants and the kaupapa (purpose of the research) were maintained.

The findings of this research commence in Chapter Three. This chapter draws on archival records to explore the interactions between the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho and Christian missionaries (both Māori and Pākehā). Chapter Three shows that hapū members actively engaged with the learning opportunities offered by the missionaries from the early 1830s yet did not compromise their own beliefs. This chapter will also show that the hapū became enthusiastic and successful traders, conducting business with the growing

Pākehā population in Auckland. However this initial engagement and trading success came to an end in the 1860s when the hapū became involved in the armed conflicts between Māori and Pākehā in the central North Island. These battles for power and control led to the confiscation of hapū land, an action that marginalised the opportunity for Ngāi Tamarāwaho to participate as partners in the growing, new society created by the arrival and settlement of Pākehā in New Zealand.

In Chapter Four archival records are used to explore hapū history in the post confiscation period of the 1880s and 1890s with a special focus on the Hūria Native School. These records document hapū struggles to maintain the welfare and wellbeing of their families and their mana motuhake in relationships with government agencies. Hapū leadership saw education in English as a potential pathway to economic and social advancement to mitigate the growing dominance of Pākehā. However, the struggle by the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho to access the perceived benefits of education in English, while retaining their identity and control over the education of their children, was marginalised by government officials and teachers who saw the role of Native schools as the ‘civilising’ or domination and control of Māori.

Chapter Five explores the education experiences of the hapū children who attended schools from the 1920s to the 1940s and the profound effect those experiences had on their subsequent willingness to speak te reo Māori (Māori language), especially to their own children. This chapter also explores the unequal power relations that existed between hapū leadership and government agents and agencies as exemplified by hapū attempts to have access to clean water supplies from the 1920s to the 1940s.

Chapter Six presents four whānau case studies that explore the intergenerational education experiences of 32 hapū members over a seventy year period from the late 1930s to 2011. The personal recollections of these individuals at primary and secondary schools have been grouped together by extended whānau to provide an overview of the education contexts and the relationships experienced by hapū children in schools.

Chapter Seven provides examples of ongoing hapū resistance and agency in response to the continuing destructive impacts of colonisation. These include initiatives that furthered hapū development by providing marae based learning opportunities for hapū whānau through adult education programmes in the 1940s and 1950s, and again from the 1980s onwards. While funding for these programmes came from government providers, hapū leaders were able to adapt these programmes to maintain and advance hapū language and cultural development.

In spite of multiple imposed limitations, the actions of hapū leadership over the past 180 years have focussed on maintaining the community's independent identity and strengthening their self-determination. This thesis shows that strong cultural identity and a desire for self-determination promotes self-esteem and confidence in education settings that facilitates the education success of Māori students as Māori.

# **Chapter 1: E kore koe e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea**

The title of this chapter, “e kore koe e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea” (You will never be lost, for you are a seed sown in Rangiātea) is a whakataukī (traditional, metaphorical saying) that relates the physical, cultural and spiritual heritage of Māori that is so important to cultural and individual identity. Wikiriwhi (1955, p. 41) explains the meaning of the whakataukī as follows:

E kore tōku mana, tōku wehi e ngaro e pēhia rānei e ētahi atu mana, nō te mea, ko tōku mana, me tōku wehi i mauria mai e ōku tupuna i Hawaiki ra ano.

(My prestige and my strength shall not fade nor be replaced, for such prestige and strength has been derived from my ancestors even from Hawaiki).

This explanation stresses the importance of mana or individual prestige that has been passed down through the generations from the time of the very first ancestors who came from Hawaiki the spiritual homeland of Māori.

This chapter provides a brief overview of the Polynesian ancestry of Māori, including the arrival of Polynesian explorers and settlers to Aotearoa/New Zealand between 800AD and 1200AD. The social structures and cultural values of Māori, while adapted over centuries of isolation and the different living conditions found in the most southern and largest land mass settled by Polynesians, were similar to those found throughout Polynesia (Ballara, 1998; Davidson, 1992; King, 2003; Walker, 2004).

History shows that while Māori valued continuity and tradition, they were a people able to cope with challenges by adapting to change within the framework of their cultural values. This historical summary is followed by an overview of the impacts of colonisation and assimilation on indigenous communities, both nationally and internationally. It will show how colonial policies of power and control have negatively impacted on the ability of indigenous groups, including Māori, to participate equitably in colonial societies.

## **The Polynesian Heritage**

Māori tribal groups are the descendants of Polynesian settlers who arrived in Aotearoa/New Zealand over 1,000 years ago. While these early settlers rapidly adjusted to a new environment that differed markedly from their Pacific island homelands, they maintained the kinship based communities that were similar in structure and function to kinship groupings found throughout Polynesia. These small kinship based communities

maintained their independence and authority over their own affairs but also aligned with other related communities when the need arose; such as when under threat from rival communities or during food gathering or construction projects that needed the support of larger numbers (Ballara, 1998; Davidson, 1992). Membership of kinship groups are a key aspect of self-identity and personal esteem in a society where personal and group mana are highly valued. Māori lived their lives and made sense of their world through tikanga or cultural values such as tapu (sacred, restricted, set apart), noa (balance, ordinary, unrestricted), utu (reciprocation, to repay), manaakitanga and whanaungatanga (Mead, 2003).

### **Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge and philosophy): A Māori world-view**

These tikanga Māori are described as “appropriate ways of behaving and acting in everyday life” (Mead, 2003, p. 6). They are the values and actions that put into practice mātauranga Māori or Māori knowledge and philosophy. Royal (2006) defines mātauranga Māori as “a basket into which all kinds of knowledge created by our [Māori] ancestors is grouped and can be found” (p. 3). Also “mātauranga Māori retains much creative potential [that is] contained within the deep pools of iwi, hapū and whānau” (p. 7). Mātauranga Māori emphasises the relationships and the interconnections between all things. It is the cultural heritage and accumulated wisdom of a people who voyaged across the Pacific for several millennia before finally settling in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Mead, 2003; Royal, 2006). Mātauranga Māori is a way of understanding the world Māori inhabits, of explaining natural phenomena and provides a pathway to pursue further knowledge and understanding (Royal, 2009). As stated by Durie (2012, p. 23), “mātauranga Māori is an always evolving underlying body of knowledge that can guide practice and understanding.”

In Māori oral traditions knowledge was gifted from the Creator as a privilege not as a right therefore access to mātauranga or knowledge carried obligations and responsibilities. To ensure the worthiness of any recipient, tests and challenges were put in the path of those who sought knowledge. These protocols were important because those chosen to receive the gift of knowledge become a living link between the physical and spiritual worlds (Kruger, 1998; Marsden & Henare, 1992).

Traditional Māori stories, of the quest to acquire knowledge, provide the parameters of mātauranga Māori or Māori specific knowledge and how the acquisition and use of knowledge was understood and governed in Māori society. The guidelines

provided were not just indicators of past practice; they were also guidelines for future practices. The original quest for knowledge in these traditional histories (as related below) highlights the importance of research that is understood and valued by the community not just by an individual.

### **The source of knowledge**

The story of Tane-nui-a-rangi explains the source of knowledge, the protocols involved in obtaining knowledge and the reasons for acquiring knowledge. The purākau or oral tradition relates the cultural understanding that all knowledge has already been created and is held by Io, ‘the Supreme god’ (Buck, 1949; Marsden, 1975). The protocols described in the traditions of Tane set out the methods by which knowledge can be accessed. Firstly others approached Tane to bring back knowledge for the use of all people. It was other people who saw the potential in Tane and he humbly accepted the challenge. Io, as a gift to restore the relationship between Io the creator and the children of Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatuanuku (Earth Mother), offered the knowledge to Tane in three kete (baskets) (Kruger, 1998; Marsden & Henare, 1992).

In one explanation of the three kete of knowledge Marsden and Henare (1992) describe these as the three interconnected worlds of te ao Māori; the worlds of the past, present and future. Tua-uri - “beyond in the world of darkness... The real world behind the world of sense perception” (p. 8). Te Aro-nui - “that before us, the natural world around us as apprehended by the senses” (p. 10) and Tua-Atea – “the world beyond space and time... infinite and eternal” (p. 11).

These concepts form part of a Māori world view that is the basis of all traditional knowledge or mātauranga Māori. All current knowledge has been built on and therefore influenced by this foundation.

### **Myth messages: conveying mana**

Marsden and Henare (1992) discuss the use of ‘story telling’ as a method of retaining knowledge. Mātauranga Māori and hence a Māori world view has been influenced by the landscape that surrounds them; the stories that are part of the oral heritage of each hapū and whānau. These stories link whānau to the land, rivers and mountains of their rohe (tribal district). The links between the past and present are remembered and maintained through waiata (songs), purākau, pepeha and other taonga tuku iho.

Myth and legend in the Māori cultural context are neither fables embodying primitive faith in the supernatural, nor marvellous fireside stories of ancient times.

They were deliberate constructs employed by the ancient seers and sages to encapsulate and condense into easily assimilable forms their view of the World, of ultimate reality and the relationship between the Creator, the universe and man (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p. 2).

The following description of the unique world view of Māori is related by Henare (2001);

The cosmic religious worldview of Māori is as old as the culture itself and constitutes a philosophy which is a love of wisdom and a search for knowledge of things and their causes (p. 198).

Henare (2001) uses the concept of religion to describe the worldview that shaped traditional Māori beliefs.

Māori religion is a belief in spiritual beings and is both a way of life and a view of life. It is found in rituals, ceremonies, religious objects, sacred places and sites, in art form and carvings, in songs and dances, proverbs, wise sayings and riddles, in the naming of people and places, in myths and legends, and in customs, beliefs and practices (p. 199).

Pratt (1993) uses the word myth to describe stories told to establish a sense of belonging and identity through relationships to natural and spiritual worlds inhabited by hapū and iwi.

Myth and religion are inseparable elements of the one overall reality of classical Māori society. Myths are located in the geography of natural features of the country. They narrate primeval origins that lie in a remote past. The repeated telling of the myth 'renews' the sense of primordial reality out of which present existence has sprung. Thus myth powerfully links the present to the past. The dimension of myth effects and establishes the present relation of the human to the world around and to the gods or sacred powers who function within and through world processes (p. 27).

The word 'myth' often purveys a meaning of a fairy tale or a fantasy story for children. However, in the context of traditional beliefs a more appropriate meaning for 'myth' would be "a value-bestowing area of belief" (Bullock, Stallybrass & Trombley, 1988, p. 556). This meaning is supported by Walker (1978, p. 19) who uses the phrase 'myth messages'. Binney (1984) expands on this concept by describing myths as "stories which recall a living history and suggest how the mana is conveyed from one generation to another... They are powerful, autonomous, life-giving knowledge systems" (pp. 383-

384). The oral traditions related to the creation of the earth and all life, with variations, are generally known across the country. There are also local oral traditions that are specific to certain regions and tribal groups such as the story of Taurikura related in the introduction of this thesis.

### **Whakapapa manaakitanga and whanaungatanga**

Relationships are a foundational concept of mātauranga Māori and therefore Māori society. For Māori “life depended on mana (prestige), generosity and the relationships between all things” (Durie, 1998, p. 65), concepts that still play an important part in contemporary Māori society. As stated by Mead (2003) the “whānau principle...underpins the whole social system [of Māori society], that is, one must be born into the fundamental building block of the system in order to be a member as of right” (p. 212). Mead (2003) further states that “even long association with a hapū, including years of toil at the local marae, do not qualify a person to membership of a hapū” (p. 218).

These statements by Mead are especially relevant for issues of leadership, decision making and issues concerning whenua (land) where the very tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) of the whānau, hapū or iwi is concerned. In these cases whakapapa is the sole and often only requirement for membership rights. Whakapapa has been described as “the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time; whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things” (Barlow, 1991, p. 173). Whakapapa also provides “orderliness, sequence, evolution and progress” (Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999, p. 41) that ties the past, present and future together. From whakapapa come the principles of whānau, hapū and iwi that provide the basis for the kinship based communities central to Māori society both past and present.

However, Mead (2003) states that the “whanaungatanga principle reached beyond actual whakapapa relationships and included relationships to non-kin persons who became like kin through shared experiences” (p. 28). The inclusion of spouses who do not whakapapa to the extended whānau or hapū is also discussed by Metge (1990), in her research into the multiple meanings of whānau.

In married spouses...played an active part as workers at ‘family’ hui, and, when doing so, were included “under the umbrella” (as the people put it) of the ‘family’ name. They might even be asked to step into the breach as kai-kōrero or kai-karanga in the absence of those qualified by descent (p. 64).

Linked with the tikanga of whanaungatanga is manaakitanga; another key value of tikanga Māori that is based on relationships. Manaakitanga is an expression used to describe “nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being careful how others are treated” (Mead, 2003, p. 29). Underpinning manaakitanga is the recognition that every individual has mana or personal prestige and that by treating people respectfully you not only uplift their mana but you also enhance your personal mana.

These and other tikanga and the traditional knowledge base of mātauranga Māori, which forms the foundation of Māori society, provided the cultural framework within which the changes introduced by colonisation took place (Owens, 1992). Māori welcomed new ideas and technology but have continually resisted cultural eradication that included the suppression and subordination of traditional Māori knowledge and values.

### **The Missionaries, literacy and Christianity**

The impact of European knowledge systems, which includes literacy, is part of the wider historical impact of colonisation and the tensions created by the clash of different worldviews. The historical process of colonisation in New Zealand began with the missionaries who were seen as “the cutting edge of colonialism,” secure in their belief of the “racial and cultural superiority” of British civilisation (Walker 2004, p. 85).

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was the predominant missionary society in England and played a key role in spreading the gospel and European civilisation to the far-flung corners of the British Empire (Glen, 1992). There has been much historical debate over the reasons for the acceptance of Christianity by Māori, especially in light of Māori indifference in the early contact period with missionaries from 1814 to the 1830s. King (2003) reasoned that during this initial contact period Māori were confident and secure in their own worldview and did not see the need to embrace Christianity.

The dramatic increase in interest in Christianity from the early 1830s onwards has been attributed by some historians to the fatalities and resulting cultural dislocation caused by the impact of new diseases and the musket wars (Binney, 1969; Wright, 1959). However, it has been argued that these were not the sole factors for the increased acceptance of Christianity by Māori (Binney, 1969; Howe, 1973; Owens, 1968). Howe (1973) specifically looked at the acceptance of Christianity by Māori in the Thames-Waikato areas during the period 1833 to 1840 when missionary activity commenced in Tauranga. He argued that the interest shown in Christianity by Māori in the Thames - Waikato area was a positive response “to the Christian ideas and techniques because they

were novel and intellectually exciting for them and that their response was aided by the improved effectiveness of the CMS in the 1830s” (Howe, 1973, p. 28).

Initially the CMS philosophy had been to convert Māori to Christianity by first civilising them through the introduction of western agriculture and technology. However, this was changed in 1823 to a focus on teaching literacy to Māori so they could learn the Christian message in their own language (Jones & Jenkins, 2011; King, 2003). By the 1830s the CMS had made the Māori language Bible increasingly available and the growing interest by Māori in literacy, rather than Christianity, during this period is seen as one of the reasons for the increased success of missionaries during the 1830s and 1840s. The increased demand by Māori throughout the country to learn to read and write saw literacy instruction spread from the north by Māori missionaries, who preceded their European counterparts, throughout the country (Jones & Jenkins, 2011).

### **Māori Pākehā relationships and the process of colonisation**

From the late 1700s and early 1800s Māori and Pākehā attempted to establish positive working relationships with each other. Pākehā missionaries, whalers and traders needed the support of hapū and iwi groupings to gain a foothold in the country. While hapū and iwi were also keen to gain access to new technology and agricultural crops and to engage in trade. However, the negative impacts of this contact on Māori included the effects of introduced diseases and the impact of muskets that destroyed the delicate balance of power between iwi. These impacts contributed to such a rapid decline in the Māori population that Pākehā commentators in the late nineteenth century consigned the Māori race to extinction (Consedine & Consedine, 2005; Lange, 1999).

This loss of Māori population, combined with a rapidly increasing Pākehā population, led to the loss of Māori control over tribal estates and resources and a change in the balance of power. There was a move by colonial governments from any perceived partnership to one of dominance and control over Māori. The conflicts in the central North Island during the 1860s, between iwi groups and the colonial government, confirmed Pākehā domination. This signalled the end of the partnership envisaged by Māori and written into the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi (Belich, 1986; Jenkins, 2000; King, 2003; Petrie, 2006).

### **Engaging in Education**

Following the 1860s Land Wars, the increasingly dominant, Pākehā controlled, colonial government saw European styled education as a way of controlling Māori to create a labouring underclass for the new colonial society that was being formed. While

this government led process was seen as a way of further controlling Māori participation in colonial society; Māori were not simply passive victims of colonial policy. Instead Māori actively sought to engage and embrace new technology and ideas by accommodating those ideas within their cultural framework. From the 1860s to the 1960s “Māori were active, rational, thoughtful, hopeful and positive players” (Jenkins, 2000, p. 43) in the schooling of their children. Māori communities had intended that schools would provide another opportunity for “a structured interface between Māori culture and European culture” (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 3) and provide their children with the means to prosper in a rapidly changing world. As part of this process, learning English was an attempt by whānau to “ensure they would not be disadvantaged by the growing dominance of Pākehā” (Jones & Jenkins, 2011, p. 160).

### **Native Schools 1867 - 1969**

The 1867 Native Schools Act created a separate schooling system for Māori children and marked the shift in the control of schooling for Māori by the missionaries, to a system controlled by the government. The Native School system was designed to ensure a more subservient and compliant native race by teaching Māori children the superiority of British culture and the English language. The system remained in place until 1969 when the remaining schools (by then named Māori Schools) were absorbed into the State funded, English medium system (Barrington, 2008). The ‘English only’ policy of the 1867 Native Schools Act emphasised the learning of English but the retention of Māori language and culture was seen by officials as not only unnecessary but also as detrimental to the progress of civilising Māori students.

The day-to-day operation of Native Schools was guided by the Native Schools Code (1880) and the curriculum was a modified version of that taught in all board (or public) primary schools during this period. However, there was an emphasis on teaching English as a second language with some important subjects such as history, elementary science and formal grammar (which were part of the board school curriculum) being omitted from the Native School curriculum. Student achievement in the Native Schools was assessed through Standards 1 to 4 (Years 3 to 6) whereas students in board schools were assessed to Standard 6 (Year 8). The subjects assessed for Standard 1 (Year 3) were the oral use and comprehension of English, reading, oral spelling, writing, dictation, and arithmetic. To achieve Standards 2 to 4 (Years 4 to 6) the extra subject of geography and, for girls, sewing were added to those already mentioned (AJHR, 1880, H-1F, pp. 1-7; Barrington, 2008).

Government education policy from the 1860s to the 1960s, that dictated the operation of Native Schools, was based on “a very limited view [by education officials and teachers] of Māori potential and the place of Māori in wider society” (Barrington, 2008, p. 297). Education Department officials actively discouraged any higher academic aspirations by Māori and were critical of any schools that promoted academic achievement for Māori students over the “teaching of English and manual instruction” (Barrington, 2008, p. 297).

The employment prospects for Māori were initially seen as limited to rural labouring and, after the 1940s, manual work.

Until the 1930s and 1940s Māori were officially discouraged from attending secondary school. In 1940 a Government official suggested that “after primary education is completed only a few [Māori] should be allowed to train for the professions...the majority must remain in their own communities as farmers, labourers, mechanics, or in domestic duties” (Barrington, 2008, p. 299). It was further suggested that even for the few Māori students who progressed to secondary school that their “education should be of a technical nature with training in hygiene, housecraft, agriculture and the skilled trades” (Barrington, 2008, p. 299). Limited opportunities existed for all students to attend secondary schooling during the early 1900s however, “the difference for Māori was the extent to which officials believed that virtually the entire Māori race, except for the occasional rare individual, was suited only to a practical kind of education” (Barrington, 2008, p. 300). This official limiting of education opportunities for successive generations of Māori whānau impacted on their “occupational and life opportunities” (Barrington, 2008, p. 300) and was a contributing factor in maintaining the lower socio economic status of whānau like the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho.

Barrington (2008) notes also that while the Native School system often poorly served Māori, they were not passive recipients of various education policies. Whānau and hapū actively sought to undermine repressive policies. As stated by Belich (in Simon & Smith, 2001) “Māori were always eager to engage with European things and thoughts, but in their own way, for their own ends, and at their own pace” (p. ix). However, ultimately, whether within the Native School or English medium system, the imposed power imbalances of the colonial system, have contributed to longstanding classroom practices that failed, not only to recognise Māori culture but actually devalued the culture that Māori children brought to the classroom (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Consedine & Consedine, 2005). As Freire (1970; 1972) theorised, education is never neutral and

instead either domesticates or liberates oppressed students. For Māori, education has certainly not been liberating as the system has continued to try and produce subservient, compliant Māori students.

### **Power imbalances in education and the impacts on Māori children**

In New Zealand a high percentage of Māori students still under achieve in education in comparison with majority ethnicity Pākehā students (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2013). This under achievement has been attributed to the low socio economic status of many Māori families which impacts on their ability to provide adequate resources at the home to promote learning (Nash, 1993; Thrupp, 2008) which leads to a lack of mental growth and stimulation in Māori children (Clark, 2006). However the focus on blaming Māori students and their home environments for ongoing and often intergenerational educational failure has increasingly shifted towards a focus on the long-term societal power imbalances, created by colonialism. These power imbalances have marginalised indigenous and minority communities in New Zealand and worldwide (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Castagno & Brayboy, 2008; Smith, 1997; Valencia, 1997).

It has been identified that the most significant influences on educational achievement lie within the classroom, and further within the relationships and interactions between the teachers and the students (Hattie, 2003; Alton-Lee, 2003). However, it has been stated that much of the under-achievement of Māori students is due to “the inequitable teaching of Māori learners over many decades” (Ministry of Education, 2005, p 73). Much of the inequity results from the low expectations that teachers have for the achievement of Māori students which directly impacts on those students’ achievement levels (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Rubie-Davies et al., 2012; Turner, 2013).

Māori students are also disproportionately represented in statistics relating to special educational needs within the New Zealand education system (Ministry of Education, 2005). As found in overseas findings regarding special education and minorities, (O’Connor & Fernandez, 2006) Māori are also underrepresented in ‘non-judgmental’ special education categories (categories that are medically identifiable) but are disproportionately represented in ‘judgemental’ special education categories such as learning and behavioural needs (Bevan-Brown et al, 1999). These indicators point to an education system that continues to embrace deficit thinking to explain the responses and

actions of Māori students who resist practices that devalue and threaten their cultural identity, i.e. their mana motuhake.

Education policy for Māori did not change in terms of its perceived purpose of assimilation until the 1970s and 1980s when concern was increasingly expressed about the ‘failure’ of Māori children within the education system (Hunn, 1961). Education, within this context, failed to address any aspirations of the ethnic minority (Spoonley, 1990). State controlled education resulted in Māori being educated within a system that not only devalued them as a people but also emphasised the adjudged negative features of Māori language and cultural knowledge.

### **Racial bias in education and intergenerational disparities**

In a historical overview of three colonised countries, Shields, Bishop and Mazawi (2005), argued that colonial practices generated policies that continue to pathologise the lived reality of colonised peoples. This has resulted in unequal education outcomes for their children. The authors drew upon the theoretical foundation of Bishop and Glynn (1999), which highlighted the continuing disparities in education achievement for Māori students caused by the imbalance of power relations within New Zealand’s education policies and systems. Bishop and Glynn (1999) suggested that it is “this pattern of dominance and subordination and its constituent classroom interaction patterns that perpetuates the non-participation of many young Māori people in the benefits that the education system has to offer” (p.131).

The intergenerational impacts of historical education disparities between students of dominant cultures and indigenous/ethnic minorities are discussed by Ladson-Billings (2006) who argued “that the historical, economic, socio-political, and moral decisions and policies that characterize our society have created an education debt” (p. 5) to indigenous minorities. The current underachievement of Māori students in education is also seen as the result of a historical, inter-generational, education debt that has been created by an education system designed to be responsive to the needs of the dominant, Pākehā, sector of society (Bishop, O’Sullivan & Berryman 2010; Walker, 2004). As stated by Ballard (2008),

a school system that consistently meets the needs and wishes of a dominant group, Pākehā, and consistently meets less well the needs and wishes of another group, Māori, should be analysed not from a deficit model of individual or group inadequacies but in terms of colonisation, oppression and racism.

Such attitudes of racial superiority and bias are historical and deeply entrenched within societies. Scheurich and Young (1997) state that while overt and covert racist behaviours by individuals are seen as socially unacceptable, the cultural history of dominant western societies is based on the presumption of the supremacy of white civilisation.

European colonial and territorial expansion was typically undertaken under the rationale of the supremacy of White civilization [and that] White racism or White supremacy became interlaced or interwoven into the founding fabric of modernist western civilization... Taking land from and killing Native Americans was justified by the Whites' definition of property as well as the supposed supremacy of White civilization (p. 7).

Scheurich and Young (1997) called this cultural and historical legacy of western domination and belief in racial superiority “civilizational racism” (p. 7). It is these “racially biased ways of knowing” (p. 4) that the authors have termed “epistemological racism” (p. 8).

Different social groups, races, cultures, societies, or civilizations evolve different epistemologies, each of which reflects the social history of that group, race, culture, society, or civilization; that is, no epistemology is context-free. Yet, all of the epistemologies currently legitimated in education arise exclusively out of the social history of the dominant White race. They do not arise out of the social history of ... other racial/cultural groups - social histories that are much different than that of the dominant race (a difference due at least partially to the historical experience of racism itself) (p. 8).

In New Zealand the colonial system, based on assumptions of the racial and moral superiority of white, Anglo-Saxon colonists over the brown, Māori population, has led to a system of power and authority that defines Pākehā cultural values and beliefs as ‘normal’ (Consedine & Consedine, 2005). This institutional racism, while reinforcing and maintaining ‘white privilege’, has marginalised Māori cultural values and beliefs to the on-going detriment of iwi, hapū and whānau who have wished to maintain their unique identities while participating in wider society (Milne, 2013). Inequalities between Māori and non-Māori, in socio-economic status, health and education, are a consequence of institutionalised racism (Reid & Robson, 2006). These deeply entrenched colonial attitudes of racial superiority have created a “structural inequality” that produces and

reproduces “a racialised social order” (Ministry of Health and University of Otago, 2006, p. 4).

### **Racial bias in the community**

Maharaia Winiata (1954) wrote of his experiences of the racist attitudes of the Pākehā community towards Māori in Tauranga during the 1950s, and the resentment this created in the Māori community.

The economic, social, educational and to a limited degree, the religious life of the people [of Ngāi Tamarāwaho] dovetail in with that of the European community [of Tauranga]. The lower standards of education and economic levels of the Māori, as compared with the Europeans, tend to create prejudice expressed in the form of patronage. The Māori, on his side, feels the superior attitude of the European and resents it (p. 259).

Winiata (1954) recalls being invited to address the local Rotary Club on “Māori problems.” While much was made of his status as “an old boy of the town” who had achieved academic success, members were very patronising towards him. Their comments about Māori were pessimistic and negative, claiming that Māori “can’t stick at anything” and that “their mental capacity is low and you can’t rely on them” (Winiata, 1954, p. 259).

While it might be concluded that these racist attitudes were an unfortunate part of New Zealand’s colonial history that no longer existed, the proposal to build a whare kura (Māori medium secondary school) opposite the Bethlehem Primary School in the Tauranga suburb of Bethlehem in 2009 created some angry exchanges at public meetings and became the subject of an Environment Court hearing.

Racial tensions spilt over at a meeting in Bethlehem last night to discuss a proposed new kaupapa Māori immersion secondary school in the suburb. Many wanted to know why a kura [school] where teachings would all be in te reo Māori was being built in a community of which the majority wouldn't use its services (Bay of Plenty Times, 2009).

Attendees also expressed concerns about the potential decrease in the value of their homes and an increase in tagging, theft and vandalism in the suburb (Bay of Plenty Times, 2009). Research has shown that deficit beliefs based on racial bias are also present in classes in New Zealand and that these attitudes impact negatively on the achievement of Māori students (Alton-Lee, Nuthall & Patrick, 1987; Turner, 2013).

## **The impact of education on identity**

The ethos of suppression and subordination that was imposed by colonial powers on indigenous communities has led to the “devaluation of identity for generations [of indigenous people], in both schools and society” (Cummins, 2001, p. 651). It is this ‘devaluation of identity’, through the marginalisation of culture, that is at the very core of the lack of success by indigenous and minority students in education settings.

It is the centrality of culture that is often belittled or ignored and this “invisibility of culture perpetuates the domination of the ‘invisible’ majority culture” by majority culture educators (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 78). Bruner (1996, p. 87) states that culture is “the way of life and thought that we construct, negotiate, institutionalise, and finally (after it is all settled) end up calling ‘reality’ to comfort ourselves.” Bruner (1996) also stresses the important link between individuals’ culture and their identity and self-esteem. He states that it is through culture that “we construct not only our worlds but our very conceptions of ourselves and our powers” (Bruner, 1996, p. x). The link between an individual’s culture and their identity is critical because if their cultural identity is devalued, then so will their agency and self-esteem be devalued. Bruner (1996) argues that, “any system of education, any theory of pedagogy, any ‘grand national policy’ that diminishes the school’s role in nurturing its pupils’ self-esteem fails one of its primary functions” (p. 38).

The interactions between students and teachers are never neutral in societies where unequal power relations exist. Cummins (2001) states that the interactions between majority culture teachers and indigenous and minority students;

either reinforce or challenge coercive relations of power in the wider society.

Traditionally schools have reflected the societal power structure and constricted student’s academic and intellectual possibilities in much the same way their communities have been devalued and excluded in wider society (p. 651).

The reproduction and perpetuation of societal power structures in schools has been called the ‘hidden curriculum’; “a network of assumptions that, when internalized by students, establishes the boundaries of legitimacy” (Apple, 1975, p. 99). In New Zealand, research into reasons for lower achievement rates by Māori students in science found that “the construction of a segmentalized and ethnicized pedagogical code in the hidden curriculum of science... marginalizes Maori learners” (Kidman, Yen & Abrams, 2013, p. 59). Despite education policies designed to raise Māori student achievement the research

by Kidman et al. (2013) revealed that science teachers “frame the kind of knowledge that is considered to be valid and legitimate” (p. 47) to the exclusion of mātauranga Māori.

In a study of the negative impacts of education process and policies on Mexican students in an American school, Valenzuela (1999) used the term ‘subtractive education’ to describe “subtractively assimilationist policies and practices that are designed to divest Mexican students of their culture and language” (p. 20). Education systems therefore often reinforce existing social inequities and devalue the cultural identity and language of already marginalised groups of students.

Notions of power sharing and mutual respect are seen as essential elements to the engagement and subsequent education success of Māori students (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2007). These authors identified the importance of relationships and responsive pedagogy in the interactions between teachers and students. They described a “culturally responsive pedagogy of relations”

where power is shared between self-determining individuals within non-dominating relations of interdependence; where culture counts; learning is interactive, dialogic and spirals; participants are connected and committed to one another through the establishment of a common vision for what constitutes excellence in educational outcomes (p. 15).

The importance of relationships is also stressed by Hoskins (2010) who states that “indigenous and Māori philosophy is underpinned by the logic of difference and relationality [in contrast to] the western preoccupation with autonomy and sameness” (p. 2). Within Māori society there was always an acknowledgement and respect for the difference of others, whereby productive relationships could be established and maintained by ensuring respect for, and the preservation of, the mana of others. Historically Māori communities established relationships with missionaries and other Pākehā in order to learn from them but, in response to these attempts to establish productive relationships, Pākehā only saw the need to learn “about Māori to the extent required to alter, break up or assimilate Māori” (Hoskins, 2010, p. 77). However, Māori have attempted to mitigate the devaluation of cultural identity and the subsequent devaluation of mana by maintaining cultural values that sit at the heart of whānau and hapū identity.

### **The intercultural interface**

The attempts by Māori to establish relationships with Pākehā were part of the historical processes at the intercultural interface where Māori have attempted to define and

establish their relationships with government agencies. Professor Martin Nakata, a Torres Strait islander and Chair of Australian Indigenous Education at the University of New South Wales, describes the cultural interface as the:

contested space between two knowledge systems... In this space are histories, politics, economics, multiple and interconnected discourses, social practices and knowledge technologies which condition how we all come to look at the world, how we come to know and understand our changing realities in the everyday, and how and what knowledge we operationalize in our daily lives (Nakata, 2007, p. 9).

Nakata (1997) states that indigenous people have lived and experienced life at the interface for generations “and against the odds, they have brought to their position a continuity with their pre-contact past, and this has maintained customary ways, it has maintained distinctiveness” (p. 25). Nakata (1997) stressed that the interface must be “conceptualised as a site of historical and on-going intervention” (p. 26). Indigenous people engaged in their relationships with Western colonisers and embraced new technologies and learnings “because they knew they were capable” [and that they embraced new ways] “to equalise the relations...not to erase their distinctiveness nor discontinue their connections to their own historical path” (p. 27). This statement by Nakata (1997) is reflective of the attitude of Māori, including the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, who sought to embrace new ideas and technologies while maintaining their distinctive identity and world view.

In an exploration of interface analysis Long (1999) states that “social interface interactions are...complex and multiple by nature” (p. 1). While there has to be a degree of common interest to initiate interactions at the interface between groups; contradictory objectives and unequal power relations can create the potential for conflict. For the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, and for other hapū and iwi, the issue of unequal power relations at the interface of intercultural relationships has caused not only conflict but hardship and poverty. These issues will be explored in more detail in the following chapters.

Winiata (1954), in the preface of his thesis, wrote of his conviction that participation by Māori, as Māori, in wider society was possible and achievable.

If my research has achieved no other purpose than to confirm...the conviction that it is possible for Māori people and their culture to assume an integral part of the wider New Zealand society, then my period of study has been worthwhile (preface).

Winiata (1954) stated that the solutions to issues preventing Māori from participating as Māori in the wider New Zealand society needed to come from a Māori perspective. Winiata (1954) acknowledged that Pākehā efforts to exert power and control over Māori were aimed at assimilating Māori into Pākehā society with the subsequent loss of their language and culture. However, he stated that Māori sought a position where they could participate as equals while maintaining their cultural identity and their ability to exert mana motuhake or control over their affairs.

## **Summary**

This chapter has shown that Māori cultural values, through which Māori lived their lives and made sense of their world, were influenced by their Polynesian ancestry. These values stressed the importance of establishing and maintaining relationships between individuals and groups through adherence to the concept of the mana tuku iho (the prestige and authority inherited from the ancestors) of individuals and groups. While Māori valued continuity and tradition, they were also a people used to facing adversity and challenges. They learnt to adapt to change within the framework of their cultural values. It was within this cultural framework of mātauranga Māori that whānau, hapū and iwi attempted to accommodate the new ideas and learnings introduced by missionaries and other European colonists.

However the struggles for power and control of the country ultimately led to the marginalisation of iwi and hapū. These conflicts led to the on-going, intergenerational, socio-economic difficulties that were a direct consequence of historical government policies that supported the suppression and subordination of Māori. Government policies officially limited education opportunities for Māori, and impacted on the ability of successive generations to achieve parity with Pākehā. As educational achievement is a “significant determinant of socio-economic advancement” (Durie, 2005, p. 38) the lack of achievement by successive generations of Māori students has limited the economic advancement of many Māori whānau which has led to an ‘education debt’ (Ladson-Billings, 2006) that has accumulated for successive generations of these whānau. Unequal societal power structures have impacted negatively on the potential for education achievement over successive generations of the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū. They have been impoverished by the confiscation of their land and then further condemned to low socio-economic status by an education system that failed to be culturally responsive to their needs and contributed strongly to the loss of their language. More critically, generations

of hapū whānau, believed that education success was achievable only by an exceptional few and that failure was both normal and the result of their inherent lack of ability.

## **Chapter 2: Kaupapa Māori: research that enhances mana**

**nōku te turanga, nō rātou te mana**

**(mine is the position, the prestige is theirs)**

On-going political resistance by Māori to the assimilation policies of majority society has ensured the recognition and revitalisation of Māori cultural values and partnership aspirations (Berryman, 2008; Bishop, 1994; Irwin, 1994; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1991, 1999). This “discourse of proactive theory and practice” (Bishop, O’Sullivan & Berryman, 2010, p. 13), called kaupapa Māori, has also led to increasing support for kaupapa Māori research that encapsulates a Māori world-view and supports resistance to hegemony and the marginalisation and suppression of Māori language, knowledge and culture (Smith, 1999). This chapter shows that kaupapa Māori research is empowering research that affirms both the mana of the participants and the mana of the research kaupapa (purpose). Drawing on my lived experiences within the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū community I show how this research was facilitated and guided by my participation in multiple whānau of interest following the kaupapa Māori tikanga of manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga (Bishop, 1996). Within whānau of interest the power and control over the research was located with the participants and the hapū. As reflected by the whakatauki above, while, “nōku te turanga,” I have a role or position as a researcher within the hapū, “nō rātou te mana”, the prestige and authority of the research belongs to the hapū.

### **Finding space at the intercultural interface**

As stated by many indigenous writers in New Zealand (Berryman, 2008; Bishop, 2005; Durie, 1998; Jenkins, 2000; Penetito, 2010; Smith, 1999) and internationally (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Kovach, 2009; Nakata, 1997), indigenous people have lived and experienced life at the interface of relationships with colonisers for generations. They have embraced new technologies and learning while maintaining their traditional cultural foundations. This willingness and ability to adapt new technology and ideas within existing cultural frameworks is evidenced in a 1901 letter written by Sir Apirana Ngata; published in the Māori language newspaper Te Pipiwharauoa (Royal, 2009). Sir Apirana Ngata was a prominent iwi leader, politician and lawyer He worked actively to promote and protect Māori culture and language until his death in 1950. The topic of his letter was the future directions and responsibilities of Māori leadership in a rapidly changing world. Ngata quoted a whakataukī, “ka pū te rūha, ka hao te rangatahi” (as an old net wears out a

new net goes fishing) to give emphasis to his claim that the time had come for a new generation of Māori leaders to seek new directions for Māori (Royal, 2009).

Ngata asked the rhetorical question “where shall we set our net? Where will these new leaders go fishing?” In answer to his own question Ngata wrote of two metaphorical fishing grounds, “the ancient fishing grounds of the time of our Māoritanga [and] the entirely new fishing grounds of the European”. Ngata then stated that the place to set the new nets was between these two fishing grounds, “because there the multitudes of the fish can be seen gathering”. Ngata went on to state that the kinds of experts entitled to fish in this area were those who were dedicated and educated in both European (mātauranga Pākehā) and Māori knowledge (mātauranga Māori ) (Royal, 2009). Therefore, with my own life experiences and those of Māori and non-Māori researchers to guide me, the net of this research has been set between the two metaphorical fishing grounds of mātauranga Māori and mātauranga Pākehā.

### **Empowering relationships**

Jenkins (2000), in an exploration of the history of relationships between Māori and Pākehā, stated that “Māori were active, rational, thoughtful, hopeful and positive players” (p. 43) rather than passive victims of colonial oppression. Māori sought to establish empowering relationships that were described by Jenkins (2000) as “a set of practices and processes which are played out in a meeting between people... a giving and receiving by both parties equally committed to a relationship” (p. 26). At the heart of such relationships was the belief by Māori that the mana of both parties would be increased and that tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) would be also maintained.

In research, relationships must also be mutually empowering and are critical to the “long term development of mutual purpose and intent between the researcher and the researched” (Bishop, 2005, p. 123). Mutually empowering research relationships confront the unequal societal power structures (Cummins, 2001) that have devalued the identity and culture of successive generations of Māori whānau and also help address “the current realities of marginalisation and the heritage of colonialism and neo-colonialism” (Bishop, 2005, p.120). Relationships modelled on tikanga Māori values such as manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga are critical to developing research relationships that uplift the mana of the research participants, the researcher and the kaupapa of the research.

### **The suppression of mātauranga Māori**

New Zealand society has been dominated by western theories of knowledge and imposed cultural norms since the beginnings of colonialism in the early 1800s (Bishop &

Glynn, 1999). This worldview, based on 19<sup>th</sup> century European beliefs, ranked races in hierarchal terms from civilised and superior to savage and inferior. It was a worldview that also devalued indigenous ways of knowing, thinking and ordering the world (Smith, 1999). Colonial suppression of Māori language, cultural identity and values also suppressed and marginalised mātauranga Māori in a process described by Smith (1991, p. 51) as “a stripping away of mana.”

Traditional western research defined what knowledge was important and “misrepresented Māori understandings and ways of knowing” (Bishop, 2005, p. 113) thereby contributing to the marginalisation of mātauranga Māori. Eurocentric research became an extension of the colonising process and instead asserted the power and domination inherent in colonialism. This contributed to the marginalisation and suppression of Māori identity (Smith, 1991) thereby denying “the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture” (Smith, 1999, p. 183). Research has belittled “Māori history, knowledge and learning [and reinforced] negative stereotypes by a system of research that unfavourably compares Māori in relation to other ethnic groups” (Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999, p. 48).

This view of things Māori as inferior is the source of the whakaiti or belittling of mana Māori. Graham Smith (1997) stated that “power and control over knowledge is exploited and ‘construed’ to maintain the interests of dominant groups through the assertion of power by the co-option of knowledge” (p. 145). However, he notes that Māori have resisted this control through “collective actions centred on mounting cultural responses, which mainly emphasise Māori language, knowledge and cultural revitalisation initiatives” (p. 144). A kaupapa Māori approach has required a shift from research methodologies that focus on risk and deficits to research methodologies that focus on the unique potential within Māori society and the multiple pathways to the realisation of that potential (Durie, 2006).

### **Kaupapa Māori praxis: research that enhances mana**

The development of kaupapa Māori initiatives and therefore kaupapa Māori research has stemmed from collective actions by Māori against continuing policies of assimilation and marginalisation, thus allowing Māori communities to play an increasing role in the revitalisation of their cultural identity and in determining their future (Berryman, 2008). Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis, in kaupapa Māori research, is firmly based on mātauranga Māori and is a mana enhancing rather than a mana belittling methodology.

This methodology creates the space for self-determination and the revitalisation of Māori cultural values.

The growing recognition of mātauranga Māori as a valid, legitimate and unique worldview has been associated with Māori driven initiatives such as the Kōhanga Reo movement (Māori language pre-schools) and the Waitangi Tribunal process (Smith, 1999). This reassertion of the validity of mātauranga Māori has enabled traditional knowledge and values to serve as the focus for the revitalisation of Māori cultural identity and to address issues of inequality that have impacted on Māori. Smith (1999) also asserts that kaupapa Māori has a political dimension where “to advance the kaupapa Māori stance is to acknowledge and resist the rapid and on-going assimilation of Māori language, knowledge and culture by dominant society” (p. 453). This acknowledgement of mātauranga Māori through kaupapa Māori has seen increasing support for kaupapa Māori research as a research methodology that is both complementary to Māori values and supportive of the future development needs of Māori.

While kaupapa Māori as a process has gained prominence politically throughout the last 30 years, Māori resistance to colonisation has existed since the arrival of Pākehā in New Zealand. Māori have always sought to accommodate new ideas within their existing cultural framework (Jenkins, 2000). So kaupapa Māori research is itself part of the kaupapa Māori process of seeking solutions from within Māori cultural understandings to issues created by colonisation. Principles that make kaupapa Māori research distinct from western research models include the principle of culturally safe research that is mentored by elders and is located in a Māori worldview. It is culturally relevant because it recognises and affirms the significance of Māori language and culture (Irwin, 1994). Other principles include the involvement of whānau (extended family) as “a supervisory and organisational structure for handling research” (Bishop, 1994, pp. 175-176) and the principle of mana motuhake that supports the self-determination of the cultural wellbeing of Māori (Smith, 1990).

### **Manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga: kaupapa Māori research in action**

Smith (1996) provided a set of guidelines for conducting research within Māori communities and Māori whānau that included having respect for people; presenting yourself to people face to face; observing and listening before speaking; being generous; being careful not to trample over people’s mana and not flaunting your knowledge. These guidelines are also practices that are utilised in the kaupapa Māori research approach of

whakawhanaungatanga, which is described by Bishop (2005) as “the process of establishing whānau (extended family), literally by means of identifying, through culturally appropriate means, your bodily linkage, your engagement, your connectedness, and, therefore, an unspoken but implicit commitment to other people” (p. 24).

While these kaupapa Māori practices were described by Smith (1996) as being useful guidelines for research, they are also cultural practices and values that facilitate the smooth operation of every day hapū activities. Interpersonal relationships that reflect mutual respect and understanding are vital if the multiple activities of the hapū are to run smoothly. The above guidelines all form an integral part of relationships and they form the basis of the research methodology for this research project. For people with an understanding of Māori cultural values these guidelines are common sense principles that allow individuals to move smoothly within Māori society. These practices are all examples of manaakitanga, a tikanga that I have continually experienced during my participation in multiple hapū activities, but especially while assisting my wife with the preparation of food in the hapū whare kai (community dining hall). This aligns with the concept described by Bishop (1996, p. 216) of “researcher involvement as lived experience [where] researchers are somatically involved in the research process; that is physically, ethically, morally and spiritually, and not just as a ‘researcher’ concerned with methodology.”

### **Developing my place in multiple whānau of interest**

While the consent and cooperation of hapū elders and hapū committees was given to me to undertake this research into aspects of hapū history, the involvement of non-Māori in kaupapa Māori research is an area of continuing debate (Barnes, 2013; Jones, 2012). I am part of the hapū as a Pākehā hunaonga (European in-law). I have lived and been associated with the extended Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū community since my teenage years; a period of over forty years. Through my wife and our tamariki mokopuna (children and grandchildren), I am connected to the families of this hapū community.

Through our involvement in hapū activities and living in the hapū community I have always sought to establish long standing reciprocal relationships of respect with hapū members. Because of those relationships I have been appointed, by the hapū community, as a trustee of the marae (hapū owned complex of land, buildings and facilities that are the centre of hapū activities). I have also been appointed as a trustee of a marae based health and education provider. These appointments suggest that my relationship with the wider hapū is seen by the hapū as beneficial to community goals and aspirations. In

support of my wife I assist with the operations of the whare kai where meals are prepared to feed visitors and local families during various hapū activities. My wife's parents and her older sister were actively involved with the operation of the marae and with their passing she 'inherited' a role in the whare kai, assisting other women to prepare meals for multiple types of hui including tangi (mourning period that precedes a funeral), unveilings (of memorial head stones), weddings, Poukai (annual celebrations that are held yearly at nearly 30 marae, mainly in the Waikato region but also in several other regions, that support the Māori King Movement), noho marae (marae stays) by schools and tertiary institutions and marae visits by tourists.

Because of my wife's long standing involvement in the operation of the whare kai, I have assumed greater responsibilities as part of the 'collective responsibility' that the hapū undertakes in caring for visitors. Although I have standing or a position within the hapū structure and processes, I understand that position is based on the mana of my wife and her extended whānau i.e. nōku te tūranga, nō rātou te mana (mine is the position, the prestige is theirs).

Whatever activities I have participated in, I remain part of a group or 'whānau'. Usually the members of these 'whānau' are closely related; although sometimes these 'whānau' have included outsiders or in-laws like me. This concept of a group working together to undertake a specific task, under the umbrella of kaupapa Māori tikanga such as manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga has been described as a 'whānau of interest' (Bishop, 1996). Whether the whānau is kin related or a metaphoric whānau as described by Metge (1990) the same kaupapa Māori values apply. These tikanga (values), protect and support both the mana of the participants and the mana of the kaupapa or purpose of the whānau of interest.

The inclusive kaupapa Māori concepts of whānau and whanaungatanga have meant that I have been included 'under the umbrella' of my wife's extended whānau and treated very much as a 'whānau' member although the qualifications stated by Mead (2003) still apply to me. I have no authority or status that comes from whakapapa, but certain obligations and responsibilities that have been afforded me through the relationships I have established through marriage, our tamariki and mokopuna, and through the multiple hapū activities I have participated in as 'lived experiences'.

## **Manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga: relationships and ways of participating**

The various committees and groups that exist within the hapū community play an important role in the functioning of hapū affairs; they also provide a sense of identity and belonging for hapū members. While whakapapa links individuals and families to the hapū, the status and profile of those individuals and families are linked to the extent of their participation in hapū events and affairs. Their continued participation in various hapū activities keeps the hapū ‘alive’ and active but also has the potential to create disagreements if individuals or whānau feel their mana is being threatened or belittled when various hapū committees, groups or individuals come into conflict. The application of the kaupapa Māori tikanga of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga minimise potential conflict that could damage hapū unity and the ability to cooperate to maintain hapū mana. In her research Metge (1990) discusses how kinship groups use the concept of whānau and its associated tikanga to express “the quality of their commitment to each other” (p. 74). Metge (1990) states that these tikanga comprise of “warm interpersonal interaction, group solidarity and shared responsibility for one another, summed up in the words aroha [love], awhi [embrace], manaaki [care] and tiaki [protect]; cheerful co-operation for group ends and group responsibility for group property” (p. 74).

The multiple roles played by whānau in the various committees and groups that undertake the different functions of the hapū, i.e. the way individuals interact and cooperate through kaupapa Māori values, has parallels with the communities of practice model (Wenger, 1998). Participation in communal activities has a strong social emphasis that helps define the identity of the community and the identity of individuals who participate in the community’s activities. Wenger (1998) states that identity:

is a layering of events of participation and reification by which our experience and its social interpretation inform each other. These layers build upon each other to produce our identity as a very complex interweaving of participation experience and reificative projections (p. 151).

Wenger goes on to state that: “we become who we are by being able to play a part in the relations of engagement that constitute our community” (p. 152).

Participation in different hapū committees over many years has enabled me to establish relationships with a wide range of individuals and whānau within the hapū community. However, my movement between different hapū committees or groups has always been at the invitation of individuals from within those groups. Sometimes the invitation has been formal, like my participation in Hūria Trust, but often it has been a

simple request for assistance with a job or task. Once it was a directive from a group of kuia (female elders) who appointed me as their spokesperson during their visit to the marae of another hapū community. The kuia were on an overnight stay as part of a hapū health initiative organised by Hūria Trust and I was the designated van driver for their trip home. Due to unforeseen circumstances the kaumātua (male elder), who had accompanied them on the trip, had to leave so they had no kaikōrero (speaker) for the poroporoākī (formal farewell) that traditionally takes place on marae when visitors leave. The kuia, after a brief discussion, (which I took no part in) informed me of my new role as their spokes-person as we assembled in the meeting house for karakia (prayers) and to say our farewells.

That initial introduction to the role of kaikōrero propelled me into the realms of another hapū function; very much on the periphery as a novice member. There, from time to time, I sit with the kaumātua to observe, listen and learn and, infrequently, at the ‘invitation’ of kuia and kaumātua, (because no one else is available) I have been called upon to stand and formally welcome visitors on behalf of the hapū; usually groups of students or tourists. The participation in these multiple activities over many years has given me an insight into a specific worldview; a worldview unique to the members of Ngāi Tamarāwaho and founded on mātauranga ā iwi and mātauranga Māori.

While the core of hapū identity is the whakapapa or genealogy that links the hapū whānau together, whakapapa alone will not hold the hapū together or enable hapū members to maintain their unique identity. Hapū members who are part of hapū activities or are aware of how the community functions, are also aware of the various committees and groups that facilitate these activities. So like other iwi and hapū, Ngāi Tamarāwaho require other resources and activities to maintain the legitimacy of its core vision, which are the maintenance of identity and the well-being of its members that are integral to the mana motuhake of the hapū. These core functions are centred on and around the marae complex. They include committees and other informal groups that organise, facilitate, oversee and generally undertake the various activities that happen on the marae and within the wider hapū community. They also maintain and transmit to other hapū members the knowledge that is required to undertake these multiple tasks.

### **Te Komiti Wāhine**

An example of an informal hapū group is the Komiti Wāhine (Women’s Committee) which is responsible for the marae facilities and all the activities that surround the central role of ‘manaaki manuhiri’ (caring for visitors). The role of the

Komiti Wāhine has a long ‘modern’ history but its purpose and role are firmly rooted in traditional Māori society (Winiata, 1954). The Komiti Wāhine members are committed to their role within the hapū community that includes the responsibilities associated with feeding and caring for visitors and the all-important maintenance of hapū mana. The hapū has a reputation to maintain, and any failure to properly care for visitors would bring whakamā (shame) upon the community that would impact on hapū mana. Interactions between the members of the Komiti Wāhine are dependent on the different functions that take place on the marae. During these interactions they share ideas and experiences about catering for various sized groups that attend the wide variety of hui (meetings that operate according to cultural protocols) that take place on the marae. Membership of the committee is informal; there is a core group who attend the majority of marae functions and in some cases there is a long history of intergenerational involvement. Other members participate less frequently; usually at tangi where participation is dependent on the individual’s family relationship to the deceased.

The members of the Komiti Wāhine are both the creators and the repository of a specific knowledge domain. Through collaborative discussions they write up menus and decide quantities of food items required; they organise shopping lists and places to purchase those items and arrange for hapū members to harvest traditional foods; they discuss the timing of meals and all the other multiple tasks that are required so that large numbers of visitors can be properly fed. During these discussions, members of the committee draw on their experiences of what has worked well in the past to formulate an overall plan, but these plans are always fluid and opportunities are available for those who want to try new dishes or alternative menus.

### **Wānanga and ako: the intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge**

The processes of the Komiti Wāhine described above are also examples of the kaupapa Māori process of wānanga, “a learning forum that involves a rich and dynamic sharing of knowledge” (Bishop & Berryman, 2009, p. 31). A key process of the sharing of learning is ako, a kaupapa Māori term for “a teaching – learning practice” that involves the co-construction of knowledge (Bishop & Berryman, 2009, p. 31). The cultural concepts and practices of wānanga and ako have and still play a key part in the maintenance of hapū identity by the intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge or mātauranga Māori. Durie (2006, p. 6) stated that a “primary whānau role is the transmission of culture, knowledge, values and skills”. He added that these “intergenerational transfers encompassing cultural values and experiences, including

associations with turangawaewae [birth place, a place to stand], are significant sources of identity and contribute to learning, development, and the realisation of potential” (p. 20).

While the intergenerational transfer of cultural knowledge was threatened by colonisation, aspects of cultural learning have been maintained and revitalised by the use of traditional learning contexts including wānanga and ako. Wānanga generally refers to a process, a forum or an activity that sets out to create knowledge and understanding, but at a deeper level it can also refer to a quality or an ethos (Bishop & Berryman, 2009; Royal, 2004). Ako has been described as learning contexts where teaching and learning are reciprocal activities where learning is interactive and knowledge is constructed between teachers and learners in both formal and informal situations (Bishop & Berryman, 2009; Pere, 1982; Pihama, Smith, Taki, & Lee, 2004). From a kaupapa Māori perspective “the purpose of education [learning] is to facilitate the flow and experience of mana in the individual and in his/her community” (Royal, 2007, p. 68). In a learning context mana equates to individual potential therefore learning and teaching need to enhance an individual’s mana thereby enhancing and further developing their potential (Royal, 2007).

While the older more experienced members of the Komiti Wāhine generally teach and guide younger hapū members, the cultural contexts of wānanga and ako facilitate the sharing of knowledge where the ‘teachers’ also learn from the ‘students’. The activities of the Komiti Wahine provide an example of the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and skills where traditional learning contexts, like wānanga and ako, have enabled knowledge to be retained by the community. These contexts also enable the input of new knowledge provided by younger hapū individuals who have gained catering knowledge from training and employment. Often the knowledge developed and maintained over generations in hapū groups like the Komiti Wāhine is judged to have little relevance in the Pākehā world. However, that knowledge is vital to the survival and development of the hapū community. Loss of this knowledge would mean a loss of strength and vitality for the community as a whole.

A range of committees and groups within the hapū community are the repositories of sections of historical hapū knowledge and they are also the creators of new knowledge that is relevant to their areas of responsibility. These committees and groups, together, maintain the identity and integrity or mana motuhake of the hapū community. These include formal committees (often incorporated entities), like Hūria Trust, Te Reti Trust, Te Kōhanga Reo o Hūria, and the Hūria Sports Club, which includes affiliated hapū sports clubs (e.g. rugby, netball, touch rugby and softball teams that all play in local

competitions and also participate in inter-hapū competitions). However, many informal groups also contribute to the life of the hapū community. These include the Komiti Wāhine and groups that organise the Poukai (the annual gathering to honour and acknowledge hapū allegiance to the Kingitanga movement), groups that meet to learn waiata (traditional songs), whaikōrero (traditional formal speeches), whakapapa, hapū history, hapū tikanga and kawa (cultural protocols), and the Raupatu team that led the hapū claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, to present their case for reclaiming land previously confiscated.

### **Whakawhanaungatanga: Kaupapa Māori Research and the non-Māori researcher**

Multiple cooperative relationships between individuals, whānau and groups are required to undertake the diverse activities that are part of hapū activities. In terms of communities of practice Wenger (1998) describes such activity as:

a complex social landscape of shared practices, boundaries, peripheries, overlaps, connections and encounters...the texture of continuities and discontinuities of this landscape is defined by practice...the landscape so defined is a weaving of both boundaries and peripheries (p. 118).

The multiple levels of interaction and connectedness that constitute the hapū community of Ngāi Tamarāwaho describe the 'complex social landscape' that I became associated with as a young man in the early 1970s. I was persuaded/recruited by school friends (who were hapū members) to play for a hapū junior rugby team. So at the age of 16 I entered, as a peripheral member, one of the many groups or whānau of interest that make up the hapū community. The rugby club provided me with an entry point into the social landscape of this community and from a position on the periphery I was able to participate as a member of a particular whānau of interest that was a group of young men who were passionate about playing rugby (and having a good time).

My initial participation as an under-21 rugby player could have started and finished there, but my involvement in the multiple and inter-related whānau of interest that make up the Hūria (Judea) Rugby Club was to continue to the present day. I have been at various times a player, a committee member, a club supporter and the unofficial club historian. I have been involved at the core of some of these groups and on the periphery of others, all within the particular whānau of interest that constitute the hapū sports club.

Through my involvement in the rugby club I became aware of the groups and committees outside the rugby club that were also part of the hapū community. I established relationships with individuals who were members of some of these committees which led to my participation in some of these groups. This long period of continuing participation has increased my learning and awareness to further participation, at multiple levels, within a variety of committees and groups. The process of gradual acceptance and participation was accelerated by my marriage to a member of the hapū community. Through marriage I became part of a whānau that had roles and responsibilities within the hapū community and I was seen as a useful addition to help my wife's extended whānau meet those responsibilities.

My involvement in the multiple whānau of interest that exist within the hapū community has generally been limited only by my desire to participate. But it has been a slow, gradual process that has seen me 'invited' into various groups, usually at a peripheral level, and then increasing involvement at the encouragement of hapū members. As a young man my early interests and knowledge base meant I was often unaware of the multiple, inter-woven strands of the complex social landscape that was and is the hapū community.

As I grew older, and gained more experience of this social and political landscape, I became more aware of the boundaries, or barriers, and sometimes conflicts of interest or conflicts for resources, between different hapū committees, groups and whānau. By participating as an active member of various committees or whānau of interest within the hapū I have learnt where the boundaries lie and how to negotiate and/or avoid potential conflict and also how the values of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga hold these groups together.

### **Developing my place as a non-Māori researcher**

It is critical that any researcher working with Maori communities undertakes research that is mutually empowering and therefore supports the active resistance to the impacts of colonisation and has not just 'ticked off' academic ethical requirements (Bishop, 1996; Mahuika, 2008). For education researcher Ted Glynn it was important to be clear about where power lies in decision making when working with Māori.

I don't make decisions for Māori. I will ask for a range of Māori views and respect these. It's not for me to make a decision. I can play a role in having different Māori perspectives emerge, but I make sure I never get to the point where I'm the arbiter (Barnes, 2013, p. 24).

Inevitably the ability of Pākehā researchers to work successfully with Māori participants has been based on establishing long standing relationships of respect that have extended beyond the scope of the research they were involved in. Anthropologist Anne Salmond, when discussing the relationships she established and experienced in Māori communities, stated that she “learnt as much through the skin, through the soles of my feet. Through sleeping on the marae, through being caught up, sometimes, in really emotional situations because you love people” (Wichtel, 2013). Research relationships at this personal level are supported by Māori academic and historian Monty Soutar (2000) who wrote that those who had “access to the heart and soul of the people” were those qualified to write “Māori perspectives of post-contact history” ( p. viii) irrespective of their race or academic qualifications.

My first hapū research experience grew out of an initial interest in the stories that relate to the whakairo (traditional carvings) in the carved whare tupuna, Tamateapokaiwhenua. Although the carvings were completed in the early 1950s very little information about them was retained by current generations. In collaboration with other interested hapū members, I was part of an informal group (that included kaumātua) who sought to piece together what remained of the names, stories and whakapapa that were attached to each carving.

This was an informal process with no structured or scheduled meetings. Rather stories were exchanged and different points of view discussed whenever the interested parties met and the discussion turned to the carvings at the instigation of any one of the group. This informal process of collaborative and spiralling research, over at least fifteen years, allowed the stories of the carvings to be re-told with increasing confidence and accuracy at different gatherings held in the whare tupuna. Those who participated in this process have ensured the clarification and maintenance of important hapū oral history. A small booklet was printed for a hapū wānanga and included photographs of the carvings and the names and whakapapa of these hapū tupuna.

I gained further experience as a ‘hapū researcher’ when I undertook an MA thesis to research the history of religion within the hapū community (Woller, 2005). The findings were presented at hapū wānanga and a meeting organised for hapū elders. The written thesis has become a historical resource for hapū members who are engaged in study. At the direction of hapū members I participated in compiling a centennial history of the hapū rugby club (Woller & Heke, 2010) and was granted access to personal diaries and photos held by different hapū families. In these examples I was always part of a whānau of

interest, a hapū group that supported the kaupapa and also ensured that the mana and interests of the wider hapū were maintained and that the power and control over the research activities remained with the community.

### **Ways of Working**

Bishop (1994) and Smith (1996) state that researchers need to act respectfully and with humility when dealing with people. Often being respectful of others is having the patience to wait for the appropriate time and place to ask questions. This requires observing and listening to what is happening in the hapū community at any given time; being aware that people often lead busy lives and that it is sometimes inconvenient for them to answer research questions. Also having a respect for all people and never assuming what they will or won't know about various subjects is important. This position was reinforced during my MA research (Woller, 2005), by a conversation between myself, a kaumātua and a master carver involved in the renovations of the carvings during the rebuilding of the whare tupuna.

The conversation, from my initial perspective, was informal and very general and was related to the progress of the rebuilding project. As we sat on the marae ātea (forecourt) and discussed various aspects of the project I became aware that the kaumātua was recalling his involvement as one of the junior carvers during the building of the original whare tupuna in the 1950s. I had previously heard this kaumātua talk about his involvement in that project but he had always stated that he couldn't recall much detail of the stories associated with the carvings. As I listened to his recollections it was clear that the time and place of the conversation were extremely important to his ability or perhaps willingness to recall and relate what he knew.

As he discussed various carvings with the master carver I asked about the carving above the window in the porch of the whare and who had carved it. The master carver responded first stating that he had been told that the carving represented those who had passed on and was part of Mormon theology. The response from the kaumātua (who belonged to the Mormon faith) was immediate. "Kao!" (No!) He then stated that while the carving did represent 'rātou kua haere atu ki tērā taha o te arai' (those who had gone beyond the veil); the symbolism predated the involvement of hapū whānau in the Mormon Church in the 1880s and instead represented traditions that predated the arrival of Christianity and the arrival of Europeans. He also recalled that the carving was carved by two hapū members who belonged to the Ringatū Church, a Christian faith that has maintained strong traditional Māori beliefs.

In that conversation a small but valuable part of hapū oral history and tradition was passed on by a kaumātua at a time and place that he felt was appropriate. The conversation was not planned but it demonstrated the intricacies of hapū research and both the advantages and difficulties of insider research. The most opportune times to engage in discussion and ask questions are often not the times that suit the researcher, but instead arise out of the relationships created by the inside researcher's extended role within the hapū. In the conversation related above I was not present or positioned as a 'researcher' but as a ringawera (kitchen worker; literally 'hot hands') helping to cook meals for the workers involved with the building of the new whare. By showing my face, 'he kanohi kitea', and because of my longstanding relationships with those involved, the opportunities and willingness of people to share their thoughts were increased.

In another experience, I was told by a kaumātua that he supported my research and the proposal to record in written form information that was previously oral history. He then related a story that I had not heard before that was relevant to my research project. However, he asked me not to record the information. While he felt there was a need to pass on this piece of oral history and he was comfortable sharing the information with me, he deemed that my academic, written research project was not the right forum to share it with others. What was important from my perspective was that he had entrusted the information to me and in doing so had created the obligation for me to treat the knowledge with respect. The kaumātua in the stories related above chose the topics of the conversations and they controlled what would be discussed and who it would be shared with. I was included on their terms and conditions.

Smith (1999) also discusses information sharing by participants and the obligations this creates.

I found that people entrusted me with information about themselves which was highly personal. I felt honoured by that trust, and somewhat obligated as well – in the sense of having to be very careful and very respectful about how I handled such information (p. 197).

This attitude is central to the tikanga Māori of koha (reciprocity) where the research participant has given a koha or gift of knowledge to the researcher and therefore there is an expectation for the researcher to reciprocate (Walker, 1997). This respect for the knowledge shared by others also extends to the recognition that the knowledge "acquired" by the researcher belongs to those who gifted it; they have shared their knowledge but have not given up their rights to it.

Ultimately there was no conscious decision to use kaupapa Māori research methodologies for this research because my worldview and my relationship to the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho defined the processes that were used. This is supported by Smith (1999) who describes kaupapa Māori as being distinct from Western philosophies because it:

frames the way we see the world, the way we organise ourselves in it, the questions we ask and the solutions which we seek. It is larger than the individual in it and the specific ‘moment’ in which we are currently living (p. 187).

In any programme of research it is critical to avoid any actions that whakaiti or diminish the mana of individuals or the wider community; instead research must provide the knowledge to empower individuals and communities. Once this aspect of kaupapa Māori research is understood then these values are transferable to other research contexts involving Māori or other marginalised groups.

### **Issues of insider/outsider, power and control**

I have undertaken this research in a manner that supports the philosophy of Walker (1997) who states that “research and therefore knowledge...is not about power but about responsibilities, obligations and relationships” (p. 6). As part of my on-going participation in hapū activities I have a responsibility to support positive hapū development and I cannot avoid the informants who have played a part in any hapū research I undertake. I have a responsibility and relationship with the hapū that extends beyond any research findings. I am aware that my research may impact on the dynamics of the hapū community. As stated by Smith (1997) this places the researcher and the research “in a unique and somewhat delicate position which can be generalised as a set of potentially contradictory oppositions” (p. 71).

Smith (1999) states that while both insider and outsider researchers have to be concerned with their processes and relationships, “the major difference is that insiders have to live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more” (p. 139). Smith also acknowledges the risk that any research “can unsettle beliefs, values, relationships and the knowledge of different histories” (p. 139). However, what is more important than whether a researcher can claim insider or outsider status is the type of relationship that exists between the researcher and those being researched and where the “power over issues of initiation, benefits, representation, and accountability” reside (Bishop, 2005, p. 113).

A particular challenge for non-Māori researchers is to understand how the “power over” these particular issues operates in Māori contexts, and positioning oneself accordingly. The examples of some of my research experiences, related above, demonstrate that my position, as a non-Māori researcher working within a Māori context, was often located on the periphery and I was invited into conversations where information was shared. The power in those examples was firmly located with the kaumātua who decided what would be shared, when it would be shared, and with whom.

### **Autoethnography and critical family history**

While research I have undertaken with hapū whānau has been conducted within kaupapa Māori frameworks I have also drawn on western research methodologies that are compatible and complementary with kaupapa Māori philosophies. My research has included elements of autoethnography where I have written about myself, “moving back and forth between self and other, self and history, self and social structure” (Denzin as cited in Smith, 2013, p. 16). While autoethnography allows the researcher to write about their place in the research it also provides a process “to understand how power and ideology operate through and across systems of discourse, cultural commodities and cultural texts” (Denzin as cited in Smith, 2013, p. 17).

In a related methodology called critical family history, Sleeter (2011) used insights from Critical Theory and Critical Race Theory (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2008) to discover “how one’s family has been constructed historically within and through relations of power” (Sleeter, 2011, p. 423) in the contexts of societal racism and the competition between groups for resources. This methodology was developed by Sleeter to help white teacher candidates better understand the historical contexts and impacts of racism and how historically white families have been privileged socially and economically over black and indigenous families. Sleeter’s work has also provided a useful methodology for this research as I have located different generations of hapū whānau within the historical and socio-cultural contexts and how these contexts have impacted on succeeding generations.

## **Methods**

### **Retelling hapū stories**

My role in this research has been that of a storyteller, entrusted with hapū stories into which I have woven new knowledge and understandings so that the stories’ of the hapū can be retold to and by future generations of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Smith (1999) describes storytelling as “an integral part of all indigenous research” (p. 144) and that

stories “are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further” (pp. 144-145). During my forty-plus years living in the hapū community of Hūria I have listened to many stories told in both formal and informal forums. The stories told in this thesis belong to the hapū but I am the story teller so I bring myself and my research to this telling.

### **Historical research**

My research, using published and unpublished written sources, has helped provide historical, social and cultural contexts to some of those stories by establishing, “what happened, where, and why from a trail of evidence left behind” (Newbold, 1999, p. 289). Published sources were generally used to establish New Zealand wide historical and socio-cultural contexts while other literature sources, like Māori newspapers, Māori Land Court Records and archival records were explored for more hapū and whānau specific information.

Using the Archway website ([www.archway.archives.govt.nz](http://www.archway.archives.govt.nz)) the names and locations of documents relevant to my research were found. Once this initial online search had been completed I made several visits to the Archives New Zealand facilities in Auckland and Wellington. At these facilities I requested the documents and folders I had located online and used a digital camera to photograph relevant documents for later use. Archival materials for some Tauranga schools were also found in the Tauranga Public Library - Local History Collection. Historical information relevant to this research was also retrieved from various newspapers using the National Library’s Papers Past website ([paperspast.natlib.govt.nz](http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz)). Word searches were made using the website to locate stories about the hapū, especially the involvement of the hapū in the 1867 Bush Campaign. Once this archival material had been collected it was organised and then used to expand and retell existing hapū stories. These stories are related in Chapters three to seven of this thesis.

### **Narratives: whānau stories**

As well as historical research, narratives were collected from 32 members of the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. In this research, participants’ narratives are their stories that communicate their points’ of view of what happened as expressed through their emotions, thoughts and interpretations (Chase, 2005). These individuals were selected from a range of age groups to give an intergenerational overview of the impacts of education. While the sample could not be called statistically representative of the extended hapū whānau it

is a purposive sample as the participants provided “information rich cases for study in depth...about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research” (Patton, 1990, p. 169). Some of the participants self-selected, that is they asked to be part of the research when they became aware of the study I was undertaking.

All participants were given an information sheet outlining the goals of the research and I also explained what I was attempting to achieve. Once relevant information had been explained and any questions answered, participants were asked to sign a consent form if they still wished to participate. At this time it was also made clear to the participants that they were free to withdraw at any stage; could refuse to answer any questions I asked and could ask any further questions about the research at any time.

A variety of methods were used to collate and co-construct participants’ stories. These methods were used over a series of formal and informal meetings that I had with the participants. Formal interviews were conducted in a process called collaborative storying, a process described by Bishop (1996, p. 23) as “a sequence of formal, in-depth, semi-structured interviews as conversations” [where] “there is an attempt within the interview and within a series of interviews to co-construct a mutual understanding by means of sharing experiences, thoughts and reflections” (Bishop, 1997, p. 41). Bishop (1997) adds that “interviews as collaborative storying goes beyond an approach that simply focuses on the cooperative sharing of experiences and focuses on the connectedness, engagement, and involvement with the other research participants” (p. 41) and is therefore a mana enhancing process.

In addition to this formal interview process and as part of the on-going relationships of ‘connectedness, engagement and involvement’ that I have with the hapū community, further discussions were conducted in a process described by Haig-Brown (1992) as ‘interviews as chat’; an informal process that can “occur at any time, once a researcher becomes familiar to and with other people in the place of study” (p. 31) and are a natural part of the on-going relationship. A very similar process using Māori metaphors is described by Berryman (2008, p. 86) as *whakawhitiwhiti kōrero*

a term used to describe the oral exchanges or discussions that occur in order to bring enlightenment to any given situation. Literally the two terms *whakawhiti* (to interact) and *kōrero* (to talk) provide a metaphor for collective sense making that is driven by discourse and is played out rather like a balanced conversation between people of equal status.

These informal whakawhitiwhiti kōrero have happened on an on-going and regular basis, over the six years taken to complete this thesis, with both the participants and the extended whānau of interest that has supported this work. In this extended and blended process of collaborative storying, interviews as chat and whakawhitiwhiti kōrero, the participants were partners or mutual storytellers in the production of their narratives.

As part of the interview process participants were asked the following general questions:

- 1 Tell me about your schooling experiences.
- 2 How were your education aspirations (goals and ambitions) fulfilled?
- 3 How are your education aspirations (goals and ambitions) for your tamariki mokopuna progressing? What do you put this down to?
- 4 How do these education aspirations support the maintenance of traditional knowledge and the tikanga and kawa practices of the hapū?

The annotated narratives were returned to participants for mutual restorying and theorising in a process that allowed the participants to make changes, corrections, alterations and additions, allowing them to maintain control over how their stories would be finally presented. These narratives are presented in Chapter Six.

### **Dissemination and Ownership of Information**

As part of the research process I am obliged to disseminate my research to hapū members through a variety of media including written and oral presentations because the information belongs to the hapū and also because there is an obligation to return the information in a way that can be easily accessed by all members of the hapū community. Sections of the research have already been used by whānau for their whānau wānanga; the material used adding to and complementing the whānau history and whakapapa that these whānau have conveyed to younger whānau members. The hapū team involved in Treaty of Waitangi negotiations also asked for access to some of the archival material that I had sourced. Even though my research was not complete at that stage I willingly shared what I had found and also what I had written. I saw this as part of my obligation and commitment to the hapū as an insider researcher.

### **Summary**

Researchers, whether they are Māori or non-Māori, who are undertaking research involving Māori need an understanding of methodologies that incorporate a Māori world-view and cultural values. These methodologies respect and support the revitalisation of

Māori language, knowledge and culture by seeking to support and affirm the mana motuhake of individuals and communities.

As a research methodology, kaupapa Māori is a Māori determined process underpinned by traditional Māori values and aimed at fulfilling the needs and aspirations of future Māori generations. In the society created by colonialism the challenge is to seek the acquisition of new knowledge that is compatible and complementary with the concepts and values of mātauranga Māori so that Māori can thrive as Māori. As stated by Mead (2003, p. 306) “mātauranga Māori has no ending; it will continue to grow for generations to come...It comes with the people, with the culture and with the language. Mātauranga Māori is and will be.”

In the process of Māori language and cultural revitalisation there needs to be a shift away from methodologies that focus negatively on the perceived risks and deficits towards those that focus on achieving the unique potential within Māori society (Durie, 2006). Researchers, whether Māori or non-Māori, who wish to assist Māori communities find those multiple pathways to the realisation of that potential need to engage with the tikanga of whakawhanaungatanga and manaakitanga. These are value based processes that treat people respectfully within caring and nurturing relationships that both uplift and up-hold mana. Over several decades I have been invited and guided into various hapū activities. Underpinning all my involvement have been the kaupapa Māori values of whakawhanaungatanga and manaakitanga. These values have facilitated caring, reciprocal relationships that have supported and bolstered individual and group mana. Through these relationships I have learnt and accepted that the community's needs always take precedence over any research agenda and that the manaakitanga shown to me by the hapū community comes with reciprocal responsibilities to that hapū.

Much of my research has been standard historical inquiry involving the collection and collation of archival material to retell hapū oral history to support the strengthening and continuation of hapū mana and identity. However, these historical accounts have been further extended by the narratives of current hapū members who participated in this research. My role as the storyteller has been to weave these elements together to provide a retelling of these hapū stories so they will speak to the upcoming generations of hapū members.

## **Chapter 3: Ngāi Tamarāwaho and the missionaries**

Me hoki whakamuri. Kia anga whakamua  
(Look to the past to forge the future)

This chapter and the following two chapters use archival material to explore aspects of hapū history relevant to this thesis and present the beginnings of my findings. As expressed by the whakataukī above “me hoki whakamuri, kia anga whakamua”, it is important to review the past to understand the reasons for the present day circumstances of communities like Ngāi Tamarāwaho. This chapter shows that the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho actively engaged on their own terms with the learning opportunities offered by the missionaries from the early 1830s to the late 1850s and became enthusiastic and successful traders with the growing Pākehā population. It will also show how this initial engagement and trading success came to an end in the 1860s when the hapū became involved in the power struggle that led to armed conflicts between Māori and Pākehā in the central North Island.

These conflicts resulted in the devastating confiscation of their tribal land; an action that marginalised the rights of the hapū to participate as equal Treaty of Waitangi partners in the new society created by the arrival and settlement of Pākehā in New Zealand. Finally it will consider the implications of this period of change, war and loss of land that was a battle for mana motuhake for the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho; a battle for their right to live on their ancestral lands and to maintain control over their destiny.

### **The Missionaries in Tauranga 1830s to 1860s**

In the 1820s several missionaries made fleeting visits to the Tauranga district but no permanent mission was established as the area was seen as high risk due to the continued raids by northern iwi during the highly volatile ‘musket war’ period. It was not until 1834 that W. R. Wade established the first mission station in Tauranga at Te Papa. In 1836 this mission was abandoned because of fighting in the area between Tauranga iwi and their Waikato allies against Te Arawa iwi. The missionaries did not return until January 1838 when the Reverend Alfred Brown finally established a permanent mission station at Te Papa (Gifford & Williams, 1940). While this chapter focuses on the history of Tauranga and the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, it must be noted that this was a period of huge change for Māori throughout New Zealand. These changes included the devastating effects of introduced diseases and the disturbing impact of musket warfare that destroyed the delicate balance of power between iwi and contributed to a drastic decline in the Māori population (Lange, 1999). It must be noted also that the missionaries saw

themselves at the forefront of the process of civilising Māori whom they viewed as racially and culturally inferior (Walker, 2004).

### **Native teachers**

As in other areas of New Zealand traditional trade links between iwi ensured that European tools and ideas had arrived in Tauranga well before any Pākehā traders or missionaries. In 1820, visiting missionaries had noted that Tauranga Māori were already growing crops of potatoes and raising pigs for trade (Gifford & Williams, 1940). The early introduction of Christianity and associated literacy to Tauranga Moana by Māori missionaries is confirmed in the writings of Wade in 1835. He relates the departure of the Ngāpuhi missionary Te Nganga who, due to illness, was returning north.

There was much crying among the Natives at his departure. Peka, our head man, made a speech saying that Tenganga had brought to his people the great thing, meaning the Missionaries, that they were sorry for his leaving them, that he had been good to the Natives of the Settlement in teaching them the Catechism; that he must not tell the Ngapuhis that they had been the cause of his illness, or that they had used him ill; but that if he got better it would be good for him to come back again (Wade, 22 November 1835).

Peka, a tupuna of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, was recorded by Brown as living at Ahiroa a traditional inland settlement of the hapū (Brown, 10 & 17 July 1848). The concern for the wellbeing of Te Nganga is surprising given that Ngāpuhi war parties had raided Tauranga Moana up to the early 1830s (Gifford & Williams, 1940) but it seems that interest in new knowledge and technology was strong enough to overcome traditional animosities.

From the late 1830s the CMS missionaries taught literacy in schools at the Te Papa mission and at various pā (fortified villages) throughout Tauranga and the wider Bay of Plenty. Instruction to classes of Māori children and adults, by Māori teachers and European missionaries, consisted of reading and writing in Māori. Brown also records giving English instruction to a group of Māori students. Brown's records indicate that there was great initial interest in learning not just to read and write, but also an interest in gaining a deeper understanding of the Bible. In the late 1830s Brown often refers to groups of 'enquiring Natives' who spent long hours with him discussing scriptures to gain a better understanding of their meaning (Brown, 24 February 1838). He notes that this "spirit of enquiry [was] much increased since the arrival of the Papists" in Tauranga (Brown, 19 November 1840) perhaps indicating that Tauranga Māori were interested in the differing theologies of Anglicans and Catholics.

### **Religious and literacy instruction: New knowledge and Māori sense making**

While the missionaries' focus was on spreading Christianity through the written word of the Bible, part of their mission was also seen as civilising Māori. So while religious instruction was the core of the missionaries' work, Brown records also that lessons in reading, writing and mathematics were part of the mission schools' curriculum (Brown, 1835-1850). As part of the teaching, examinations were conducted by Brown to test the understandings of the Māori students to ascertain their suitability for baptism. Annual examinations were conducted by the missionaries during the early 1840s, testing literacy and biblical knowledge. These annual examinations were attended by over 400 students and large numbers of supporters from seven Tauranga schools and were included celebratory feasts (Brown, 31 March 1841).

Annual examination of the different Tauranga schools. 800 Natives assembled, including the Heathen and RC [Roman Catholic] Natives. Of our party 466 were divided into 18 classes and examined in Catechisms, reading, writing, etc. (Brown, 16 May 1842).

Brown initially records the important teaching role played by the 'Native teachers' and their part in the success of Māori students in Tauranga schools during this period.

The whole examinations reflected great credit upon the Christian teachers upon whom so large a share of the religious instruction of their countryman devolves (Brown, 31 March 1841).

However, Māori self-determination in deciding what they wanted to learn and how they interpreted those learnings increasingly concerned Brown who wrote of the need to guard against Māori making their own (and therefore in his opinion, wrong) interpretations of biblical passages. He became especially concerned with the interpretations of the Native teachers; who had, through personal study, acquired a strong knowledge and understanding of the contents of the Bible.

Engaged during the afternoon with the baptised Natives, whom I have agreed to meet every Saturday in order to instruct and examine them on the text of Scripture from which they will have to address different parties of their countrymen on succeeding Sabbaths. This, with God's blessing, may check the dissemination of error and the springing up of heresies in our infant church (Brown, 20 April 1839).

The increasing self-determination expressed by the Native teachers worried Brown and he felt that close and careful supervision by European teachers was required if his standards were to be maintained. From Brown's comments it would seem that his

perception of good or “improved” Māori teachers were those who were subservient to the ideas and ideals of Brown and his fellow missionaries.

We sadly want an improved race of Native teachers and a more careful superintendence of them by European teachers. Without this our discipline will grow more and more lax (Brown, 25 November 1846).

Brown’s rigid and paternalistic beliefs caused him to be dismayed by Māori forming their own understandings of the learning. Brown increasingly saw a focus on teaching the children as the answer to a perceived lack of deference and servility by Tauranga Māori and the lack of assimilation of Christian and European ideals of civilisation. In 1845 he recorded his hopes for the infant school that the missionaries had established at the Te Papa mission station.

I am more than ever convinced of the wisdom of making the children the great object of our instruction and amidst much to discourage, we derive a gleam of comfort for the present and hope for the future in the establishment of the Tauranga Infant School...which still maintains an average attendance of more than 50 children (Brown, 14 April 1845).

However, Māori parents in Tauranga in the 1840s, while obviously keen to have their children exposed to new learning, wanted to maintain control over the learning and were not willing to accept the missionaries’ disciplinary methods.

The children are progressing [at the infant school] but they require to be removed from their parents before any necessary discipline can be introduced amongst them. On Tuesday last I was obliged to attend a stormy meeting at the pa in consequence of some of the natives withholding their children from school because they had been mildly punished for disobedience (Brown, 23 February 1846).

What Brown was proposing was reflective of the attitude of missionaries and colonial governments in other countries like Canada where indigenous students were taken away from their parents so that they could be civilised (Haig-Brown & Nock, 2006). Brown felt that the only way the ‘educate’ Māori children was to remove them from the influence of their parents to make them more malleable to assimilation.

Visited and examined the Otumoetai infants’ class. Only 13 present. To secure permanent benefit in these schools the children must be received as boarders (Brown, 10 October 1846).

Following examinations at the infant schools early in 1847 Brown again expressed the opinion that the greatest hope for missionary success lay with the children.

Examination of the Tauranga and Te Papa infant schools. Were these schools supported as they deserve to be they would form one of the most encouraging features in the mission (Brown, 18 January 1847).

While Brown is unclear in this entry of where he felt support should come from, the content of other Journal entries clarify that he is referring to the lack of support from the children's parents. Two months later he makes his feelings about Māori parents clear in the following Journal entry.

Attended the [Otumoetai Pa] infant school which is struggling amidst much discouragement arising from the situation of the school house in the midst of a noisy pa, the ill conduct of many of the children rendering their dismissal necessary, and the want of interest and support on the part of the parents of the children (Brown, 23 March 1847).

Brown's perception of the lack of Māori parent support for the education of their children while grounded in the historical views of the time, are still reflected in current perceptions of many teachers that Māori parents don't take an interest in their children's education. The practice of suspending Māori students to establish and maintain control over them is still currently reflected in the high rates of Māori student suspensions and stand downs from schools (Ministry of Education, 2012).

It is evident that Brown was disappointed by the lack of control he was able to exert over his Māori congregation in Tauranga and their lack of deference to his wishes. He was also concerned at the way Māori were making use of the new knowledge they were learning and this concern increased as time passed. The more whānau and hapū in Tauranga learnt, not just about the Bible and literacy but also new technology, agriculture and commerce, the more they were adapting their life styles in ways that they determined. In the evolving relationship that the hapū had with the missionaries it is clear that the hapū had agency in what they wanted to learn, how it would be learnt and how that knowledge would be implemented, much to the displeasure of Brown.

Initially Brown was amused at the way Māori were making use of new literacy skills.

The knowledge of writing imparted to the New Zealanders is of great use to them. I have been much amused at the various notices which we have read at different places during our journey [a round trip from Tauranga to Taupo]. They are for the

most part written with charcoal on the side of trees, the bark having for the purpose been first stripped off...One of these notices was addressed to a chief informing him that if he persisted in planting potatoes in that wood which did not belong to him, his head would be cut open by the hatchet of the writer (Brown, 2 December 1845).

While Brown expressed amusement at how Māori were using the new skills of reading and writing he was less amused by their increasing involvement in commerce. He complained that Tauranga Māori were “fixing their hearts too much on Mammon” with their purchases of horses and trading vessels (Brown, 23 December 1849). Earlier, in 1846, he had expressed concern about the commercial ventures of the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho.

Thomas Brown [Ngāi Tamarāwaho] and some other Natives called. His little party have no chapel at their residence and are growing lukewarm in their profession. Their thoughts seem fully occupied in growing wheat and salting pork for the Auckland market (Brown, 22 September 1846).

The following year Brown again expressed his paternalistic concern that “his Natives” were becoming increasingly focussed on earning money to purchase western goods and less interested in his spiritual teachings.

Long conversation with a party of our Natives who have just returned from Auckland, where they have been engaged for months in road making. They have returned with an abundance of clothing and money but with increased indifference to spiritual things (Brown, 17 June 1847).

While Brown saw the increased uptake of European agriculture as proof of the spread of civilisation in New Zealand, he was unhappy with the impact that this was having on the spiritual path that he wished for his congregation. He had little concern for what Māori wanted or for what they saw as important and continually pushed his evangelistic message. In 1843 Brown recorded that he was criticised by a group at Otumoetai Pa that included Tupaea, an acknowledged rangatira (leader), for not wanting to discuss political events of the time.

After holding divine service with the Christian Natives at Otumoetai Pa I went to converse with Tupaea and his party. They were in a most gainsaying humour, observing that they were tired of hearing the same story year after year and wished I could vary the subject by talking to them about the battle in Cook’s Strait (Brown, 30 July 1843).

The battle that this group had wanted to discuss with Brown was the armed confrontation between settlers and Ngāti Toa at Wairau in the Nelson district of the South Island (Belich, 1986). The battle had occurred only two weeks earlier on 17 June 1843 but Tauranga iwi were obviously aware of the incident and were keen to discuss possible outcomes from hostilities between Māori and Pākehā. However, Brown, like many of his fellow missionaries, was attempting to create an idyllic setting based on the humanitarian and Christian ideals of saving Māori from themselves and the impacts of colonialism. Brown gave little thought for the realities of national or international events or what Māori themselves wished.

Widespread dissatisfaction with the messages that the missionaries continued to preach was recorded by missionaries in other areas and was accompanied by a decline in enthusiasm for learning to read and write. Tauranga Māori were also discovering that the ability to read and write, while a useful tool, did not ensure equal authority and status in their relationships and ongoing engagement with the rapidly increasing number of Pākehā colonisers (Jones & Jenkins, 2011).

### **The Missionaries and Ngāi Tamarāwaho**

Brown had a long and sometimes turbulent relationship with members of the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, especially hapū leader Piripi Te Kaponga. Brown baptised Piripi at Maungatapu in 1839 and two of his children, Erihapeti and Hamuera, were baptised later in the same year. Another son Heneri (Ranginui Te Kaponga) was baptised in 1841 (Brown, Memo to Journal, 20 June 1841) and the discovery of a slate at Otumoetai Pa with Ranginui Te Kaponga's name on it suggests that he was one of the pupils at that school. It is presumed that Piripi's pre-baptismal name was Te Kaponga and that Brown gave him the name Phillip (Piripi).

Brown's records give some idea of the character and beliefs of Piripi during the 1838 to 1850 period, allowing a glimpse of the tension and cultural turmoil at the interface of hapū and missionary relationships. It is clear that much of the tension was created by the patronising attitude of Brown who gave little thought for cultural beliefs that men like Piripi held and the efforts that Māori were making to accommodate new ideas within their existing cultural framework. Brown often recorded heated exchanges with Piripi. One incident occurred when Piripi arrived late to church at Te Papa to find that Brown had closed the doors; "this caused great offence to those who came up afterwards, especially to Phillip, the teacher for the week" (Brown, 6 February 1843). The following day Brown wrote that he had sent for Piripi who refused to come, but that later

that evening while he was taking services at the chapel “Phillip went to our house and used very violent language to Mrs Brown stating his intention to throw off his profession, and take as many as he could with him outside” (Brown, 7 February 1843).

While Brown’s writings record the actions of Piripi as those of a petulant child; the action of closing the chapel door and thereby excluding Piripi from entering would have been seen by Piripi as a direct affront to his mana and standing within his community. Brown gave little thought to any cultural implications of his actions in attempting to enforce his discipline and authority over those he perceived as children.

### **New spiritual understandings**

Brown recorded incidents of changing belief systems that occurred at the hapū settlements of Matarawa (Hūria), Motuopae and the inland settlement of Ahiroa between February 1849 and April 1850. On 12 February 1849 Brown wrote that a woman from Matarawa had, following visions, declared, “that our Saviour was about to descend from the clouds at their village”. Further visions followed by predictions of “destructive whirlwinds and fire” are recorded by Brown on 29 September 1849.

The incidents are discussed by Elsmore (1989), in a study of Māori religious movements as responses to Christianity. She used material from Brown’s Journal to explore the religious responses within the Ngāi Tamarāwaho community of Matarawa and noted that;

[t]he people of Matarawa at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century were obviously in the process of absorbing the mission teachings into their own system. That they had to do this in their own way was an essential step in the process (Elsmore, 1989, p. 75).

Brown was unhappy at the way hapū members were absorbing and interpreting his teachings and he wrote of his concern over a period of several years.

In the morning Phillip [Piripi] came to consult with me respecting various disputes which are springing up amongst his party – the natural consequence of their having moved voluntarily to a distance from their spiritual guides and teachers (Brown, 27 January 1847).

Over a year later Brown again records what he perceives as problems in Matarawa.

Phillip came over for counsel. His small tribe are evidently becoming lukewarm, a very natural consequence of their having left a situation where they were in the constant habit of attending the means of grace, for one where they know they would be seldom visited by a missionary (Brown, 26 August 1848).

Only four months earlier Brown had recorded preaching at Matarawa “to a small assembly of 50 persons” (Brown, 16 April 1848), but during this period the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho were not passive recipients of missionary teachings and this lack of passivity and acceptance often led to periods of less than amicable relations with Brown.

In 1849 Brown recorded that he was “examining a class of 8 baptismal candidates from Matarawa” (Brown, 28 February 1849). However, in June he complained that he had been examining the same class from the hapū, “but their progress is very slow” (Brown, 7 June 1849). It is interesting to speculate as to the reasons for Brown’s assessment of the slow spiritual progress of these students from Ngāi Tamarāwaho and whether it was their desire to interpret the Christian message in their own way or perhaps, like Tupaea and his group at Otumoetai pa; they were interested in learning more than just Christian theology.

The following month Piripi requested a Prayer Book from Brown and when told that he must purchase the book Piripi stated that he had no money and told Brown that “[i]t is with my heart...as with your garden. If you had no spade the weeds would cover the ground. So also if I am kept without a book, sin will flourish in my heart till it is chocked” (Brown, 7 June 1849). It seemed that Piripi felt he needed support to accommodate Christian theology within his cultural framework.

Brown does not record whether he gave the Prayer Book to Piripi or whether Piripi purchased a copy as the missionary requested, however four months later another prophet emerged within Ngāi Tamarāwaho.

The Natives in the woods [Ahiroa] who in February last caused us so much trouble, are again led captive by Satan, or rather have become, I fear, his willing captives. Te Witu, a boy so ignorant that I have been obliged to refuse him baptism, has turned Prophet, and many of his tribe, including two Native teachers [Piripi and Joseph Brown] and several communicants, are under a strong delusion to believe his lies (Brown, 29 September 1849).

It is interesting to note that those from the hapū, who had the most contact with Brown and were deemed knowledgeable enough about the Scriptures that they became teachers, were those involved in the responses that so upset Brown.

Over a week later Brown met with a deputation of Ngāi Tamarāwaho leaders including Benjamin, Phillip (Piripi), Joseph Brown and C. Marsden.

They gave a long history of the commencement [and] progress of the way in which Te Witu had gained such a fearful ascendancy over their minds...They did

not attempt to justify their conduct, but yet seemed unwilling to acknowledge that there was no portion of truth in Te Witu's visions. I was obliged to forbid their continuing to act at present as Native teachers, but promised that either Mr Davies or myself would visit their village on alternate Sundays, if every second Sunday they would attend the services at the Settlement. This they declined doing, and stated their intention of holding service by themselves and never again to join in public worship with the Church (Brown, 5 October 1849).

Despite the vow of the hapū leadership not to attend any further Church services, five days later, Brown recorded that a hundred members of the hapū had attended service but that; "3 late teachers and 8 other Natives refused to attend" (Brown, 14 October 1849).

This service was Brown's normal Sunday service at Te Papa and he noted that the following Sunday only 30 members from Ngāi Tamarāwaho attended (Brown, 21 October 1849). Perhaps the hapū had discussed their relationship with Brown and the church during the intervening week and increasing numbers of the hapū whānau had decided not to attend the service at Te Papa.

Later in the month Brown visited Matarawa to see hapū members who were sick. During the visit he spoke with Piripi and recorded the following observations.

Met Phillip, with whom I had a long conversation as to the delusion under which he and his party have been labouring. He seems much ashamed of his conduct, too much, I fear, to allow of his speedy return... He consented however to send his infant to the Station on Sunday next to be baptized (Brown, 26 October 1849).

Whether Piripi was ashamed or not is difficult to know as the only record that remains are Brown's perceptions. However, less than a week later on his way to Rotorua, Brown encountered Piripi and tried to persuade him to assist with the transport of his luggage, "but as he demanded 5 shillings for his services I thought it would not be advisable to encourage his covetous spirit" (Brown, 1 November 1849). Obviously Brown was unaware of his own double standards in demanding payment for the prayer book and yet expecting Piripi's services for free, but it seems Piripi was very aware of another slight to his cultural beliefs of reciprocity.

It is important to note that it was not just Piripi who was questioning the CMS role in their spiritual salvation. Brown records visiting Joseph Brown at the Ngāi Tamarāwaho settlement of Matarawa and writes; "Although he [Joseph Brown] has long acted as a Native teacher, his views are sadly dark" (Brown, 8 April 1850). Earlier in the same year (1850), Brown noted that the Native teachers were becoming increasingly

troublesome. This indicated increasing dissatisfaction with the ability of Christianity, as delivered by the CMS, to cope with and explain the changes that Māori were facing, the active role that Māori wished to take in their new learning and their place in the new society.

However, there were times when Piripi seems to have succumbed to the pressures created by the continuing conflict of cultures and the on-going impact of epidemics. Viral diseases, such as measles, influenza and typhoid, introduced by Pākehā traders and settlers, had a devastating effect on the Māori population who had been previously isolated from these illnesses and therefore had limited immunity (Dow, 1999; Durie, 1994). Epidemics frequently swept the country from the 1830s to the late 1800s, while outbreaks of diseases like typhoid and tuberculosis still impacted on Māori communities like Hūria until the 1940s. Brown writes of speaking to Piripi at a time when illness ravaged the community.

Pulled over to Matarawa to visit Phillip who is very ill. I have never seen him manifest so subdued a tone, and trust that his affliction is being sanctified to him. 'I have two hearts' was one of his expressions. 'With one I am desiring to go to a world where there is perfect rest – with the other I am cleaving to a world where I know there is no rest (Brown, 10 May 1848).

While the assumption would be that Piripi, due to his suffering, was contemplating death as easier than living, the statement "I have two hearts" adds another dimension to Brown's record. It was not just physical suffering that afflicted Piripi; it was also the mental turmoil of being unsure of which path to follow. In Māori belief systems the heart or ngākau was the "seat of affections, feelings or the mind" (Williams, 1985, p. 227) so to have 'two hearts,' or ngākaurua, meant that a person was uncertain or wavering in their feelings and thoughts. For Piripi there was much to be uncertain about.

His father, Te Mokoroa, had been a tohunga (a title bestowed on expert practitioners of any skill or art including spiritual beliefs) yet Piripi had been faced with new knowledge and beliefs that challenged many of the traditional teachings of his father (Woller, 2005). During this time of uncertainty and ongoing epidemics Māori faced the dilemma of whether or not to seek new spiritual pathways to ensure physical and spiritual safety.

### **Seeking new directions: blending the new with the old**

It is interesting to speculate on the impact of new knowledge and Christian teachings on the hapū during the period up to the 1850s. Some conclusions can be drawn

from Brown's Journal entries in relation to Ngāi Tamarāwaho and the wider Tauranga Moana communities. Although there was acceptance of Christianity, it was not universal and the degree of acceptance varied. Early in 1842 Brown recorded that the inhabitants of the Otumoetai pa were a mixture of "Christians, Roman Catholics and Heathens" (Brown, 7 February 1842) and, given the similar circumstances, it would be reasonable to suggest that other settlements in Tauranga Moana during this period would have had similar mixes of beliefs.

Brown also frequently mentions "lapsed Natives"; those Māori converts to Christianity who still used traditional beliefs and karakia. He frequently linked what he saw as reversion to the epidemics that often struck Tauranga Moana communities during this period. In 1840 he notes;

Buried two more children today. The deaths of infants during the prevailing epidemic has been very fearful, and Satan is trying to turn it to his advantage, the Heathen Natives endeavouring to persuade the Christian ones that these deaths are the consequence of violation of Native Tapus and Ritengas (Brown, 2 May 1840).

A decade later Brown again noted that 'sickness is very prevalent' and he recorded a similar occurrence.

Several foolish Natives have been led astray during the prevailing sickness and returned to Native superstitions, hoping to cure their relatives by Native karakia [prayer] (Brown, 16 August 1849).

In the face of continuing sickness and death it is not surprising that many individuals' faith in Christianity would be strained, especially when traditional beliefs had not entirely succumbed to missionary pressure. For many Māori those were times of extreme pressure as belief systems were challenged and those challenges were difficult for a society where the spiritual was so much a part of daily life. The epidemics of introduced diseases must have seriously challenged Māori perceptions of faith and as stated by Elsmore (1985) it must have often seemed that the "problem lay in a celestial power-struggle between the gods of the Māori and Europeans" (p. 50).

However, the lapses and reversions to traditional beliefs reported by Brown were not entirely the result of epidemics. Clearly in some instances they were not lapses at all but indications that Māori in Tauranga were still maintaining traditional practices while incorporating new ideas and technologies into their lives on their terms. Evidence of this is found in Brown's Journal entries where he specifically writes of Māori who had been baptised but who still retained the practice of tā moko (facial tattoo).

Two of the baptised Natives, since their return with the fight have commenced having their faces tattooed (Brown, 14 August 1842).

Many are returning to Heathen customs. I allude especially to the young men, who in considerable numbers are having their faces tattooed (Brown, 14 April 1845).

Brown also wrote of the large number of un-baptised parents who wished to have their children baptised but also notes that:

The cases are not infrequent in which the children of Christian Natives are withheld from baptism because their parents are anxious that their children should be called by the names of some of their heathen ancestors who had obtained an unenviable distinction in war (Brown, 1 December 1847).

While Brown cultivated a strong initial following in the hapū, as is evidenced by the large numbers he reported attending his services, this support declined significantly in the 1860s. This is consistent with other areas that were impacted by the 1860s conflicts over Pākehā colonists' access to Māori land during a period known as the Land Wars (Belich, 1986). It is also evident from Brown's records that for sections of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, the decline in support occurred much earlier. According to Ngāi Tamarāwaho oral traditions, no hapū members remained with the Anglican Church following the 1864 battles in Tauranga (Woller, 2005).

Hapū members rejected Brown and the Anglican Church because the military had camped at Te Papa on missionary land, and Brown had hosted the officers at his home the night before the battle of Gate Pa (Gifford and Williams, 1940). However, from the records of Brown it would seem that the estrangement of hapū members from Brown's Church began well before this period. Twenty years before the arrival of the Pai Mārire and Ringatū religions, Piripi and other members of the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū were seeking alternative spiritual responses that would help them to adapt during a period of rapid change.

### **Land Wars and Raupatu**

While Brown had hoped to keep his Tauranga flock isolated from the wider political scene, including the spreading cash economy, the growing strength of European intrusion made this isolation impossible and it seems that Brown was also aware of this inevitability. In 1839 Brown recorded that the right of the missionaries to gather cockles from the harbour adjacent to the mission station was disputed by local Māori. While acknowledging that the missionaries had purchased the land on which the mission stood it

was argued that the missionaries had not purchased the tuangi (cockle) bed and therefore could not freely take seafood from there. In recording the incident Brown makes a somewhat prophetic statement.

Poor fellows! They will receive very different treatment from traders should this place be hereafter colonised. Collision must then take place and the weakest will suffer (Brown, 20 August 1839).

Brown's belief in the racial superiority of the English left little doubt that he thought Māori would be those who would suffer. The conflict over land had also been foreseen by Brown who recorded the thoughts of a chief from the Taupo region about the increasing conflict over land. "If we quarrel amongst ourselves, it is for land; if we fall out with the settlers, it is for land; if we fight with the soldiers, it is for land." Reflecting on these comments Brown noted that the confidence of the governor at the quantity of land available for settlement was perhaps too optimistic. "What a commentary upon Earl Grey's letter as to the waste lands [available for settlement] in New Zealand. Where are they?" (Brown, 27 August, 1847).

While the late 1840s and 1850s had seen growing peace and prosperity in Tauranga Moana this was to be threatened as the iwi of the area were caught up in the increasing conflict between Taranaki and Waikato iwi and Imperial and colonial forces as settler pressure for land increased. The threats became reality with the 1864 battles in Tauranga at Gate Pa and Te Ranga and the subsequent punitive confiscation of land by the colonial Government.

The hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho and other Ngāti Ranginui hapū were forced to withdraw to their inland settlements. To protect themselves the hapū created an 'aukati', a no go zone for Europeans, similar to the aukati in the King Country where the Māori King and Waikato people had retreated following the Waikato battles (King, 2003). The withdrawal of the hapū, to their isolated inland settlements, was their response to the threat from the settler colonists. These hapū had decided that they needed time to rebuild both spiritually and physically in order to maintain their mana motuhake in the face of increasing pressure from the colonial government.

### **The Bush Campaign**

The period following the 1860s Land Wars was a turbulent period in Tauranga history, especially for Ngāi Tamarāwaho. The hapū were now fighting for their very survival under the leadership of Paraone Koikoi. As stated by Gillingham (2001, p. 58) "during 1865, adherents of the Hauhau faith who were connected to the Kingitanga

spearheaded Māori resistance to the confiscation policy in Tauranga Moana.” None of the groups were large numerically and the combined fighting force of these Ngāti Ranginui hapū was estimated to have numbered only 50 to 70 men, with the number from Ngāi Tamarāwaho being no more than 30 men.

During this period these hapū were referred to as un-surrendered rebels or Hauhau in government and newspaper reports. Settlers in the Tauranga region felt extremely threatened and the township of Tauranga remained on a war footing. Troops and Te Arawa mercenaries were based at redoubts at Judea, Hairini and within the town itself (Durham Redoubt) to provide protection for the township and Pākehā settlers (Daily Southern Cross, 22 April 1867). When surveying of the 50,000 acre Tauranga confiscated block and the Katikati Te Puna purchase area commenced in late 1864 local hapū had expressed opposition.

This opposition included some stormy meetings with government officials and letters from Wiremu Tamihana requesting, on behalf of local iwi, that surveying cease. However, those Ngāti Ranginui hapū who had retreated inland stayed away from those meetings and it wasn't until the surveyors moved into the 'no go' areas declared by those hapū that hostilities commenced. These hapū had been pushed as far as they could go. There was no other place for them to live, so they stood their ground and threatened surveyors and confiscated their equipment.

As a result of those confrontations, hostilities resumed in a series of conflicts, over a three month period from December 1866 till February 1867, that have been called the 'Tauranga Bush Campaign' (Belich, 1986; Cowan, 1983). While those skirmishes have been described as “a small scale conflict” (Belich, 1986; Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, p. 225); for the hapū of Ngāti Ranginui who were attacked and harassed during this period it was anything but a small scale conflict. They were in a fight for their very survival in a campaign that has been described as 'genocide' (Riseborough, 1999). Against over-whelming odds hapū leaders like Paraone Koikoi of Ngāi Tamarāwaho had no choice but to defend their families and support other Ngāti Ranginui hapū in running battles in the bush covered hills of the region.

Newspaper reports of the time give details of Ngāi Tamarāwaho involvement in these confrontations. On the 30 December 1866 surveyors were ordered off land in Oropi by “natives from Taumota [Taumata]” (Daily Southern Cross, 8 January 1867), a Ngāi Tamarāwaho settlement. The Government's response to this action and the eviction of other surveyors from these disputed districts was to use military force. They quickly

assembled a force of 800 men that included colonial militia and Te Arawa mercenaries. In a scorched earth policy the government used these 800 armed men to attack villages, to loot and destroy all homes and crops by burning them, and to kill all those who resisted. On 15 February 1867 a large force of militia and Te Arawa attacked the Pirirakau settlements of Whakamarama and Te Irihanga, burning homes and destroying crops. Reports of the battle stated that “Paraone [Koikoi] the chief of the Akeake settlement was seen in the fight” (Daily Southern Cross, 1 March 1867). Repeated attacks took place on all the Ngāti Ranginui settlements in this area including the Ngāi Tamarāwaho settlements of Akeake and Taumata.

While newspaper reports of the day supported the government’s actions and stated that the villages attacked were “very hot-beds of Hauhauism [that] must be destroyed” (Daily Southern Cross, 1 March 1867) other correspondents questioned the reasons for such a brutal campaign.

I tried hard when in Auckland to find out what all this shooting and burning up of villages and destruction of food was about – what the natives are fighting for, and what we are fighting for. It surely is for some great principle, when we let loose the Arawas to burn and plunder, and drive crowds of women and children through the bush, houseless, and, possibly to starve. If the people of Auckland do not understand it, neither do the people at Tauranga. The one story is that it is an attempt to drive the Europeans into the sea, which, seeing that at first only about seventy men were opposed to us, is not very likely to be true. The other reason given is, that it is a question of land boundary, and the advocates of this are divided into two parties; one think we were right, and the other that we were wrong. I have despaired at finding out until the war is over (Daily Southern Cross, 11 February 1867).

After talking to local Māori the correspondent still seemed unclear about the causes of the conflict but one person he spoke to was very clear that the conflict was a struggle for mana motuhake; a struggle for power and control.

I have obtained considerable information, by personal observation, and by conversations with natives, respecting the conditions and feelings of the people who lived in the settlements at the bush near Tauranga. They were, there can be no doubt, fanatical Hauhaus, and were determined not to give in to the Government. No doubt they are sore about the taking of land, although extensive reserves have been set apart for them... There is a deal of mystery about the

matter and it is not very easy now to get to the motives of these men... I have seen Tareha Kiharoa who fought against us at Te Ranga, and I asked him what was the cause of the troubles. He said, “The cause is an old one and is the power of the island – te mana o te motu nei” (Daily Southern Cross, 1 March 1867).

After three months the military campaign ceased, the soldiers returned to their redoubts in Tauranga and the Ngāti Ranginui hapū reoccupied their inland settlements much to the disgust of the correspondent quoted below.

We have surely seen enough of war latterly at Tauranga...to be satisfied that, conducted as it has been, it brings with it neither glory nor gain... The result of the Tauranga operations have been to limit that settlement to a small circuit, the out-post points being Gate Pa, Judea, and Turner’s house, a little below the last named place. In short we have had our out-posts driven in and Te Papa is itself occupied by a large body of Arawas. We may be told that we defeated the Hauhaus at all points, and destroyed hundreds of tons of their food whilst in the ground, and played the incendiary with their whares [houses]. All this is true; but then we did not catch them. They retreated through the bush; and as soon as we returned to the camp at Tauranga, they came back to their old ground. We cannot conceal from our eyes that there has been a practical defeat. We cannot hold the ground we have conquered more than once, a portion of which has been ceded to us. We cannot occupy the ground we purchased and surveyed. It is not safe to go more than three or four miles from the camp at Tauranga (Daily Southern Cross, 22 April 1867).

The reputation of Paraone Koikoi and the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū as rebels and Hauhaus remained well after the 1860s. A newspaper article reporting the death of a mokopuna (grandchild) of Paraone Koikoi in 1897 stated that “the rebel chief Paraone gave the troops much trouble at Akeake” (Bay of Plenty Times, 30 July 1897). The suspicion and fear towards the hapū by government officials and European settlers in the area increased when it became known that they were also supporters of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki, a charismatic Māori prophet, founder of the Ringatū religion and a military leader (Binney, 1995). In an 1870 report regarding the activities of Te Kooti in the area it was stated that:

The Tauranga Hauhaus are divided into two factions; the Ngāiteahi, Ngāi Tamarāwaho and a section of Ngātihangarau. These are body and soul for Te

Kooti. The Pirirakau, Ngātitokotoko and Ngātirangi are watching the course of events (Daily Southern Cross, 15 January 1870).

The small Pākehā settler community in Tauranga and Ngāi te Rangi hapū remained on a war footing. The areas occupied by the Ngāti Ranginui hapū were largely out of bounds to Pākehā and also Māori who supported the government. As late as 1871 rumours were circulated within the Tauranga township that Ngāi Tamarāwaho were intending to block work on the Tauranga to Rotorua roadway.

There was a report that a number of Hauhaus were at Akeake intending to obstruct the road works. This seems hardly likely, for Brown [Paraone Koikoi], the chief from there, was in Te Papa only yesterday, seeing Mr Clark about a grant of land at Judea (Daily Southern Cross, 15 February 1871).

The talks referred to above must have been successfully completed because the following year (1872) the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū returned to their traditional settlement at Hūria; the land was allocated to the hapū by the government as a tribal reserve. A newspaper report records how peace in the district had finally been signalled by the return of the Ngāi Tamarāwaho people.

Native matters here are in a state of profound quietude. War's rude alarms have ceased to resound in this once eminently disturbed district. Hauhau, Queen Māori, and Pākehā dwell together in unity and on the most amicable terms. A tribe [Ngāi Tamarāwaho] against which, at one time, the entire male European population of Tauranga was marched, supported by hundreds of militia and the Native Contingent, have left their old settlement in the bush, and now at Judea occupy farms of their own which they have substantially fenced and planted. A cheerful village of many comfortable whares has sprung up below the cliff on which the old militia redoubt used to stand, all trace of which is fast disappearing. Even from the township of Te Papa can be seen smoke from the fires of many Māori families, giving evidence that they are securing comfort after their own fashion, and without doubt benefiting by a removal from the bush to proximity with civilised people, from whom they can obtain many articles of enjoyment and even luxury almost unknown to them before (Daily Southern Cross, 16 September 1872).

While the report of the “peace and unity” in Tauranga and the “cheerful village” of Hūria all suggested a happy and honourable conclusion to the armed conflicts, the

reality for the hapū was very different. While the hapū had been “allowed” to return to Tauranga by the government they were landless except for a few small blocks of land that had been set aside for the hapū as Native Reserves. So while the newspaper reports that the hapū had settled on their own farms, often these areas were blocks of traditional land that had been confiscated, given to soldier settlers and then on sold to speculators and not utilised until the township of Tauranga started to expand in the 1940s. It was at this stage that whānau were evicted from the land they had cultivated for generations.

## **Summary**

The education provided by Brown and other missionaries, both Māori and Pākehā, had a long-term effect on the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. The introduction of literacy and the strong knowledge and acceptance of the word of the Bible was to influence the acceptance and interpretations of later faiths. It is important to note that the CMS missionaries believed strongly in the literal interpretation of the Bible, “every sentence must be considered as the sure testimony of God” (Glen, 1992, p. 19), which is why they put so much emphasis on translating the Bible into te reo Māori and teaching literacy skills to Māori.

However, this emphasis on the Bible was to have consequences other than merely the acceptance of the word of God that the CMS missionaries expected of Māori. The missionaries had described the Bible as the source of truth and power (Lineham, 1992). For Māori communities faced with rapid cultural and social changes the Bible was seen as a potential source of knowledge to help navigate those changes.

Winiata (1967) states that;

[t]he resort to the bible is understandable since this was the main book in the Māori language, and it provided parallels between the children of Israel and the Māori people in similar historical circumstances. It provided a basis for religion and for political science (p. 76).

Pan tribal political/religious movements that emerged after the late 1850s included Pai Mārire and the Hāhi Ringatū led by Te Kooti Rikirangi, were supported by the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū. New knowledge from the teachings of the missionaries was woven into the fabric of existing traditional knowledge in an attempt to meet the increasing challenges of colonialism. Missionaries had hoped for the rejection of traditional knowledge in their attempts to ‘civilise Māori’ and were dismayed at this resistance to assimilation.

Ward (1995) also comments on the connection between the religious and the political in Māori society and the eventual abandonment of missionaries by many of their Māori flock.

Māori religious movements, part-Christian, part traditional, complemented and inspired much of their political activity. The Māori, whose traditional world view did not make such a separation between the earthly and spiritual order as the missionaries, considered that the Christ of the mission churches had not saved them from sin and misery (Ward, 1995, p. 273).

This statement by Ward seems to be borne out by the conflicts between Brown and Piripi and other Māori teachers during the 1840s and the eventual abandonment of the Anglican Church by the hapū.

As noted by Jenkins (2000), “Māori were eager to transform te ao Māori into the modern technological world” (p. 24) and their knowledge of Christianity and their understandings of this new religion played an important part in that transformation process. However, the acceptance of the Bible did not mean an acceptance of Christianity as promoted by the CMS; the religion and politics that evolved from the mission teachings was far removed from what the missionaries had intended. By the late 1850s Māori, including hapū in Tauranga Moana, were adapting so well to new knowledge and technology that they were threatening the expansion of Pākehā society in New Zealand, a situation that ultimately led to the 1860s wars.

For the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho this was a period of rapid and near fatal change. Apart from the impacts of introduced diseases they also experienced war with the colonial government and the loss of their ancestral land. They were involved in a battle for mana motuhake; their very right to live on their ancestral lands and to maintain control over their affairs and their destiny. It was a battle that they barely survived as a hapū, but they remained stubbornly determined to maintain their cultural identity in the face of threatened annihilation.

The politics and power relations at the interface of hapū and Pākehā relationships had altered drastically. From a position of agency and control the hapū was weakened by war and the confiscation of land that relegated them to a marginalised position. The struggle for the hapū then became one of attempting to strengthen their position as they continued interacting with Government agencies and agents. This struggle to survive and maintain hapū identity would continue for the next 150 years at the inter-cultural

interface of Māori and Pākehā relationships within many contexts, including education and health.

## Chapter 4: Hūria Native School 1883 to 1900

Te mātauranga o te Pākehā... Kia tūpato i ngā whakawai  
(European knowledge... Be wary of its treachery). From a song by Ngāti Porou composer  
Tuini Ngāwai in the 1930s.

This chapter draws on archival records to explore the history of the Hūria Native School that was opened by the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū in 1883 and closed by the Department of Education in 1900. The story of this Native School is used to explore the efforts of the hapū to re-establish their lives in the two decades following ten years of war and near genocide during their enforced exile in the hills between Tauranga and Rotorua. When the hapū were allowed to return to Hūria in 1872, their survival was dependent on small reserves of land that had been allocated by the government and on cash income earned for seasonal labouring work for Pākehā who now “owned” the land that was previously tribal estate (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004).

This chapter shows how the hapū struggled for the return of their economic base and their efforts to maintain their cultural identity, their dignity and their mana in the face of colonial dominance. As the hapū struggled with the unequal power relations at the interface of Pākehā and Māori interactions they faced the dilemma of attempting to engage with Pākehā education that promoted the superiority of English language and culture while degrading the language and culture of Māori. As related in the words of Tuini Ngawai above, the hapū experienced and learnt to be wary of the potential treachery and deceit inherent with Pākehā education; an education that did not reflect the partnership envisaged in the Treaty of Waitangi.

### **The cultural deficits explanation**

During the 1880s, Tauranga was a small township. In 1881 the Māori population was recorded as 1,020 individuals spread over 21 settlements throughout the Tauranga Moana district. A slightly larger number of Europeans (1,258) lived in the township and the surrounding borough. The 1881 census recorded that 72 members of the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū were living in the community of Hūria and 21 of these were children under 15 years of age (AJHR, 1881, G3. p. 20).

Following the 1860s wars, creating a more subservient and compliant indigenous population was seen as critical for the development of the New Zealand colony. The government saw education, including teaching Māori children English, as crucial to this civilising process and passed the Native Schools Act (1867). During the passing of this Act a Member of Parliament stated that Māori needed either to be civilised or exterminated. Such was the strength of colonial determination to ensure dominance and

control over Māori (Barrington, 2008). This policy was not about educating Māori children so they could participate as equals in Pākehā society. It was a policy designed to create a class of compliant manual labourers. As part of this policy Māori settlements were required to provide the land for their schools so that their children could be taught English. In contrast Pākehā communities benefited from free education provided by the government (Barrington, 2008).

In Tauranga the first Native School was opened in 1871 at the Whareroa settlement but was closed in 1877. In an 1878 report, local Government agent and judge, William Brabant commented that:

[Māori] show little interest in educational matters; the school which existed at Whareroa had to be given up on account of non-attendance of scholars (AJHR 1878. G1 p. 10).

This comment by Brabant is an early historical example of how perceived failure is attributed to deficits in a minoritised or marginalised group (Shields, Bishop, & Masawi, 2005). Māori were perceived as the victims of their own racial inferiority. Therefore, in the eyes of the colonialists, Māori were ultimately to blame for their plight. Locating the blame for the poverty and the associated lack of success in school is a “cultural deficit explanation” (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, & Richardson, 2003, p. 5), based on a history of colonial domination and the belief in the superiority of the white race.

Described as “civilisational racism” (Scheurich and Young, 1997, p. 7) this belief in the superiority of the white race over others is part of the process of colonisation that perpetuates power imbalances and perpetuates the domination and subordination of colonised peoples such as Māori (Bishop et al, 2003). This colonial discourse still continues as schools and wider society invoke cultural deficit theorising to blame perceived failure on the deficits in Māori students and their whānau (Bishop et al, 2003).

### **A school for Hūria**

In 1882 another Native School, taught by Mr and Mrs Duffus, was opened at Maungatapu. Other Tauranga Māori communities indicated an interest in establishing schools and in June of 1883, local Government agent Brabant was instructed by the Education Department to direct Mr Duffus to teach part-time at two new schools at Hairini and Hūria. Brabant’s replied as follows:

I beg to state that there are only two or three children at Hairini, but about 30 at or near Hūria. After the delay caused by the illness of a chief who was the only one

owning a suitable house at Hūria, a daily school has been started there and when I visited it yesterday, 20 children were present. Ranginui has given up a good sized room in a wooden house temporarily for the use of the school. I have authorised the expense of a new window to render it suitable and the old desks used at Maungatapu have been carted over. I have requested the Natives to form a committee and have given them a Māori copy of the Code (Maungatapu School, 16 August 1883).

The chief mentioned by Brabant, Ranginui Te Kapinga, had been a student at Brown's mission school and was the son of Piripi one of the teachers appointed by Brown (see Chapter 3). Ranginui Te Kapinga was extensively involved in Māori Land Court hearings and this would have confirmed for him the advantages of having hapū members' literate, not only in Māori, but also in English. No oral or written records could be found to tell us why the hapū decided to have a school within the Hūria community. However, as part of their struggle to overcome the economic difficulties of their enforced situation, perhaps hapū leaders decided, like leaders of many other Māori communities, that part of their future survival was necessarily dependent on acquiring increased access to European forms of knowledge including the English language (Simon, 1994).

While the hapū could have plausibly run their own school and educated their children in Māori, the desire to have an English speaking Pākehā teacher to give their children the opportunity to compete in the increasingly dominant Pākehā society was probably part of the reason for the hapū request to have a Government run school located within the hapū community. The fact that the Government would give financial support only for a school that was run by a government appointed teacher i.e. English speaking and Pākehā, would have also influenced their reasoning. The colonial government strongly stressed the importance of English language "as essential to civilise and assimilate Māori" (Barrington, 2008, p. 19).

In September of 1883 the Inspector of Native Schools, James Pope, described the small room that the Hūria community was using as a school.

The room in use at Hūria is part of a weather board cottage; it is 24' by 12' and will do well enough to try the experiment of establishing a school at Hūria (Maungatapu School, 26-27 September 1883).

Pope went on to discuss the possibility of opening another school at Te Wairoa, a community not far from Hūria.

The Natives at Wairoa are anxious to have a school similar to that at Hūria started in their district. W. Brabant thinks that if a second school is to be established in the district the Wairoa is the place for it (Maungatapu School, 26-27 September 1883).

Early in 1884 the decision was made to establish the school at Te Wairoa (later renamed Te Paeroa Native School and then again renamed Bethlehem Native School). It was further decided that the two schools, Te Wairoa and Hūria, would operate under one school master, Mr Duffus, who would teach at each school on alternate days, while the school mistress, Mrs Duffus would also alternate between the schools providing lessons at the school her husband was absent from.

In a letter to the Minister of Education Duffus listed the men chosen by the Hūria community to form the school committee:

I have the honour to forward to you the names of the Committee men now elected for the Hūria Native School. I may mention that those now chosen were not elected in strict accordance with instructions received from the Department. Many of the people preferring the old method which they maintain. However I believe a very useful set of men have been appointed.

The following Natives have been elected as a committee for the Hūria Native School:

Wi Piahana

Ranginui Te Kaponga

Te Reohau

Kahakore

Eruera Tawa

(Huria Native School, 6 February 1884).

While the Education Department was obviously keen to dictate the rules pertaining to the administration of Native Schools the hapū were just as keen to play a part in the decision making processes and also maintain their traditional leadership structures. It was their school, for their children and was located within the hapū community. In spite of their perilous economic situation the hapū continued to assert their self-determination, their mana motuhake.

Later in the year Pope gave a brief description of the school in his August 1884 report and he recommended that the Department of Education provide a school house for the hapū.

The room now in use is quite unfit for school purposes: it is a portion of a Māori residence; it is long and narrow & unlined; generally too, it is in a very bad state of repair. The Natives are very anxious to have a proper school room and would, I have no doubt keep up a fair attendance if their wishes were complied with. I should be quite in favour of putting up a building similar to that proposed for Te Wairoa (Huria Native School, 18 August 1884).

While Pope expressed the view that the children from Hūria could walk to the nearby Tauranga Board School he stated that they had never attended that school and were unlikely to do so in the future as he felt that Māori children were often ‘uncomfortable’ in a European school.

The principal objection to founding a permanent school here is that the children might, in favourable weather, attend the Tauranga Board School, the distance being hardly two miles. The answer to that is that these Natives never have attended that school and in all probability never would attend it. I have no doubt that if the Natives here do not get a school for themselves their children will grow up quite uneducated. The difficulty is that the children of the two races cannot agree except when the Māoris [sic] are in a very large majority; when the reverse is the case the Māori children at a European school find themselves made uncomfortable in too many ways that they soon give up attending school altogether. Besides, although Māoris [sic] can be trained to be very orderly and industrious, the kind of discipline that produces this kind of result in the case of Europeans is altogether unfitted for Māori children (Huria Native School, 18 August 1884).

Given that Pope’s statement reflects an attitude prevalent both at the time and in later generations it is not surprising that Māori students continue to feel “uncomfortable” and continue to under achieve in main stream schools to the present day. Throughout the country there was some opposition to Māori children attending public schools and this opposition usually came from the parents of Pākehā children. This racial discrimination, while not officially sanctioned, remained prevalent in some districts until well into the 1930s (Barrington, 2008).

While the government agreed to establish the two schools at Hūria and Te Wairoa, the usual requirement that the Māori community provide at least 2 acres land for the school building and a teacher’s house, and provide for part of the cost of the building, had to be forgone in this situation. Legally the Ngāi Tamarāwaho and Ngāti Kahu hapū

owned no land following the 1867 confiscations, and therefore they could not give any land to the government for the schools. Instead the government used sections of the reserves that were in the process of being allocated to the two hapū. Local government agent Brabant clarified the situation in an 1884 letter to the Department of Education.

[W]ith reference to obtaining school sites at Hūria and Te Wairoa (Tauranga). I have arranged with the Natives as requested for a square chain for the former [Hūria] and two acres for the latter school [Te Wairoa]. I have pointed out the sites to the District surveyor and requested him to have the sites surveyed as soon as possible. They are in each case cut out of reserves out of Confiscated Lands which have been promised to the Natives but the actual title to which is not yet settled. I suggest that when surveyed and the plans are forwarded to you that they be gazetted reserves for Native School Sites (Huria Native School, 6 October 1884).

In a further letter Brabant informed the Secretary for the Department of Education that the District Surveyor had completed the survey and that the communities were anxious for the building of the schools to commence. He felt that there was no need to wait for the legal title of the land to be finalised as the government already owned the land.

It does not seem necessary to wait for the gazetting of the land as though under promise to Natives the lots out of which the Reserves are cut are really Crown Lands (Huria Native School, 23 October 1884).

It is interesting to note that the minimal size of the proposed Hūria reserve meant that only a square chain (404 square meters) could be allocated for the new school compared to the two acres (8,000 square meters) allocated for the Te Wairoa School. There was no equivalent requirement for Pākehā communities to supply land for schools, or to subsidise any buildings; this applied only to Māori communities.

At the Hūria Native School reading, writing, arithmetic and geography were the basic curriculum subjects, along with English, sewing for the girls and singing (in English). All the curriculum areas were reported on in the yearly inspection schedules and the school inspectors also made brief comments about teachers' methods and children's abilities. In his 1884 report, Pope stated that Mr Duffus was "a very effective teacher" and he goes on to describe the tone of the school:

Amongst the senior children [the tone] is excellent, the pupils show great interest in the work that is going on, right up to the end of the lesson. The juniors however

are rather listless and inattentive. This arises from the circumstances of the school; all the pupils have to be taken in one class and it is not possible to make the whole of the work interesting to all the children. A suitable building and proper appliances for working the school in two or three classes would cure this defect (Huria Native School, 18 August 1884).

The reason for the junior children being ‘listless and inattentive’ could have been a consequence of their limited knowledge of English as their first and only language would have been Māori. Further, the teaching practices described by Pope seem to indicate that the style of teaching would have done little to engage the children in their learning. Pope describes the writing lesson where the “children were made to copy from books and the black board but there was no general criticism or explanations given” and that in English “the master read English sentences which the pupils repeated and then translated into Māori.”

While the inspector felt that the arithmetic lesson was very good he noted that “the master did all the actual writing work on the black board”. In his final comments Pope writes that “[on] the whole the instruction has produced satisfactory results the time that the school has been open and the difficulties that the master has had to contend with being considered” (Huria Native School, 18 August 1884).

### **Economic pressures**

Pope was satisfied with the future prospects of the Hūria Native School and recommended that a school house be built at Hūria, at a cost of £220. He noted however “that the possessions of the Hūria Natives are very limited indeed” (Huria Native School, 18 August 1884). A series of reports and letters from various Government officials and members of the hapū over the 18 year life of the school all attested to the poverty and often dire economic circumstances of the hapū. While the extent of the poverty was readily acknowledged by various government officials, the Government’s role in creating that poverty was never acknowledged and neither was it seen as an adequate excuse for the failure of pupils to attend school and their subsequent failure to pass examinations. Instead the failure of the hapū students to achieve was attributed to the supposed deficits of an extremely marginalised community.

The poverty became ‘officially’ apparent when the school committee (Te Atatu, Te Rahipere and Wi Piahana) wrote to Brabant in May 1886 stating that the school was almost closed due to a lack of food and made a plea requesting food for their children (Huria Native School, 15 May 1886). The request was accompanied by the following

letter from the school master, Mr Duffus, who provided further evidence of the poor circumstances of the people in the Hūria community.

I may say that six of the pupils belonging to the Hūria School have lately, owing to scarcity of food, been taken with their friends to the gum fields... Those who have gone to the gum fields are to return in August. I am aware that the people are particularly hard up at Hūria just now as their crops were almost a complete failure last season in consequence of the very dry summer. Those who have not gone to the gum fields are now subsisting on what they can earn by doing washing and other work for Europeans. Unfortunately just at the present time ... little work is to be got (Huria Native School, 24 May 1886).

While Brabant expressed sympathy for the plight of the Hūria community he did not favour setting any precedent by supplying Māori children with food, an attitude that is reflective of official approaches to current socio economic issues facing many Māori whānau, including the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. It demonstrates the irony of a situation where a people who have been deliberately marginalised and impoverished are then blamed for the poverty that limits their life choices.

I forward at the request of the Hūria Native School Committee a letter from them asking for food for the school children on the grounds that if it is not given the attendance will fall off quickly. I also send Mr Duffus's report on this letter.

I feel much sympathy for the Natives who are very badly off for food this year but I cannot recommend the [department] to establish the precedent by supplying the children with food (Huria Native School, 25 May 1886).

The school inspector, Pope, visited Tauranga later in the year and he also commented on the poor circumstances of the hapū, but he was impressed with the progress that the children had made in spite of the difficulties.

There has been great sickness and much genuine want among the Natives at Hūria and the school has of course suffered with the settlement. Much pains must have been taken to produce such good results as the examination has produced (Huria Native School, 31 August 1886).

However, the problems of poverty that were created by the government's confiscation of hapū land were to be on-going and in 1888 the school master informed Brabant that 28 children had left the school to accompany their families to the Tairua gum fields.

I am sorry to inform you that during the last ten days, twenty-eight of the pupils attending the Hūria School have left with their people for the Tairua gum fields where they are to remain for three months. Only eight of the pupils have remained behind (Huria Native School, 2 May 1888).

Digging for kauri gum in the Coromandel area had become an important source of income for many Māori communities during this period and families from Ngāi Tamarāwaho as well as other Tauranga hapū often lived in the Coromandel region for several months each year to earn cash income critical for their survival.

In his 1892 report Pope again stressed the poverty of the hapū but rather than suggesting possible solutions to that poverty he instead commented that the limited success of the students, because of the poverty, was better than no success at all thereby justifying low expectations for any future academic success by hapū children.

It is very natural that a visitor to this school should be inclined to think little of it. The people of the district are exceedingly poor and means of sustenance are not, as in other Māori settlements, close at hand. The consequence is that the children have to go to work at an early age and the standard reached by them is very low still something [can be done] for them; they are [able] to make a start in English and arithmetic [so] some English ideas are implanted in their minds [and on] the whole it may be said while the absolute amount of work done is small the benefit derived by the children is great when ... in solution to the conditions of tremendous and [great poverty] ( Huria Native School, 14 May 1892).

Pope also noted that the plan to vary the hours of the school (early and late sessions) so that the older students could attend school and also work to help support their families, failed because the students lost interest in school thereby locating the blame for the failure on the deficits in the community and its children.

The plan that was tried with a view to increasing the attendance of the older pupils did not prove to be successful. These pupils were so frequently absent at other settlements or away working that they lost interest in their [school] work and now things are much as they were before (Huria Native School, 14 May 1892).

The following year members of the hapū wrote to the Government requesting a small piece of land (tetahi pīhi whenua), close to the school, so they could grow food for the school children. The land requested had formally been part of the tribal estate and the letter (written in Māori) politely reminded the government that the hapū now only possessed a very small reserve of land (Huria Native School, 20 September 1893). A

similar request had been made by hapū leaders in 1891 and the school master Duffus had supported the community's request for a piece of land and suggested that the school pupils could work the land to grow onions for a cash crop (Huria Native School, 7 September 1891). However no action was taken by any government department to address the poverty issue other than to acknowledge it as a reason for student failure. An 1891 report by the Education Department to parliament described the precarious conditions within the community and consigned the hapū children to inevitable academic failure.

These Natives lead miserable lives, partly at Hūria, while endeavouring to get something out of their ungrateful glebe [plot of cultivated land], or working precariously for Europeans in the neighbourhood; and, when such means of living fail, retiring inland and working in the bush or wearing out their constitutions on the gum fields. Children brought up under these circumstances are not likely to prove very bright scholars (AJHR, 1892 Session I. E-02, p. 9).

The officials of the day knew that the education of the children in this community was suffering because of their dire economic circumstances and yet still chose to do nothing, thereby setting in place the conditions for ongoing intergenerational failure in education for this hapū. The hapū were consigned by government officials to the status of second class citizens and this was to be the fate of the community for subsequent generations.

### **The deadly impacts of colonisation**

In his 1893 report Pope stated that no pupils were present at the Hūria Native School and that the school master Mr Duffus had left to open a new native school at Matapihi, another Tauranga settlement. In his report Pope lists the reasons for the absent pupils:

At the beginning of May [1893], 18 of the pupils left school to help their parents work in the maize fields at Te Puke. In June measles came; the disease was very fatal, five deaths of infants resulting. By 24<sup>th</sup> July three fourths of the school had left the settlement along with their parents and by the 9<sup>th</sup> of August the settlement was almost entirely forsaken. On 14<sup>th</sup> August there was not a single pupil in attendance. The rain, the measles epidemic, and the need for going far away to get food have been temporarily fatal to the school, which should be now closed. I cannot find any just cause for blaming Mr Duffus and I have elsewhere

recommended that he be allowed to open a school at Matapihi (Huria Native School, 26 August 1893).

The measles epidemic had affected the wider Tauranga district and had also forced the closure of Te Paeroa Native School. While more sympathy was expressed and statements made that the hapū should be given the opportunity to reopen the school if they were able in the future, it is also clear that Pope had little confidence that the community would ever benefit from the ‘educational advantages’ that the school offered. The near fatal impacts of colonisation are clearly detailed in his report with introduced diseases and the loss of land proving devastating for this community.

I cannot see that it would be right to desert the Hūria Natives. Their lot is an unhappy one and they will never be able to make full use of educational advantages, but something should be done for them (Huria Native School, 23 August 1893).

Pope recommended that if the hapū applied to reopen the school then a Mrs Stewart was available as a teacher. He stated that she was a ‘capable teacher’ and praised her ‘true missionary spirit’ which he thought was more suited to the needs of the hapū. It seems Pope, as other Pākehā of the time, had decided that this hapū, like the whole Māori race, were doomed as the unfortunate but inevitable victims of their contact with a superior race. Perhaps he felt that their demise would be eased by the kindly, missionary spirit of Mrs Stewart.

Mrs Stewart, formerly of Rangitukia has kindly feelings towards the Natives and much of the true missionary spirit; she is besides a capable teacher. She would also I think be willing to take the school and make the best of it. I propose therefore that, if the Natives on their return, apply to have the school reopened, their wish should be complied with and Mrs Stewart appointed their teacher (Huria Native School, 23 August 1893).

When the school did reopen in late 1893, with Mrs Stewart as the teacher, she also noted the poverty of the hapū in a letter to the Secretary of Education.

The Hūria Native children are most wretchedly clad. Their poor rags do not serve for purposes of decency much less for warmth. It goes to ones heart to see the children shivering on cold mornings, and to hear them crying “too cold, too cold.” I have to allow them to warm their chilled bodies at the school fire before they can do any work. Under the circumstances, I venture to ask for a little help to buy

some clothes. The poverty of the Hūria Natives is exceptional (Huria Native School, 8 September 1894).

At the bottom of her letter Pope added the following comment: “What Miss Stewart says about the exceptional poverty of the Hūria Natives is deplorably true; could the Justice Department give any help” (Huria Native School, 8 September 1894)? A search of the archival records has thus far not revealed whether any government department assisted with Stewart’s request. While it is obvious from these reports that the circumstances of the hapū were extremely dire, it is also obvious that their survival to the present day had little to do with official interventions, but instead has been the result of the tenacity and strength of the individuals and whānau of the hapū.

The on-going problems caused and exacerbated by continuing poverty and disease impacted on the ability of the children to attend school. In 1895 influenza and typhoid struck and in 1896 the deaths of a further seven hapū children caused a rift between hapū members and the teacher. It seems that endless government departments and officials had some comment to make about the obvious and exceptional plight of the Hūria community, including the Under Secretary of Crown Lands who was well aware of why the hapū was virtually landless; but none offered any solutions.

It is an indication of the very bad times that these people have had to pass through that no child has even reached the fourth standard [Year 6] of the school and only two or three have passed the [third] standard [Year 5] during the many years that the school has been open.

I would like to say that this office is of the opinion that of all the settlements he has had to deal with Judea [Hūria] is the most miserable cooped up on a [small] and poor piece of land near a small and by no means wealthy township (Huria Native School, 2 September 1897).

### **Maintaining hapū identity and mana**

By the late 1890s there was increasing criticism of the hapū in official reports and memos, indicating that the stubborn resilience of the hapū wasn’t appreciated. The failure of the hapū to quietly expire in the face of poverty and disease saw them now blamed for the lack of education success by hapū children. However, the reports indicate that the hapū was continuing to exert their mana motuhake; making decisions that they saw maintained their cultural identity and ensured their survival.

In an 1896 report Kirk, the assistant Native School inspector, stated that the reasons for pupil’s failures in the examinations at Hūria were “beyond the power of the

teacher to remove. In addition to poverty, kingism and fever, the brass-band evil has been rampant” (Huria Native School, 29 July 1896). In 1899 the teacher, Stewart, had despaired at the poor attendance by the children and she also blamed the band; “they seem to be away at one village or another with their band and they take no interest in school matters” (Huria Native School, 20 November 1899).

The band mentioned in these documents was the Ngāti Ranginui Drum and Fife Band, also known as the Judea Drum and Fife Band that was established as a hapū initiative. The band played an important role in establishing and maintaining hapū and iwi identity within both the wider Māori community and within the Pākehā community of Tauranga. Newspaper extracts provide examples of some of the events, including tangi (funerals), attended by the Band.

A chief named Te Awamutu belonging to the [Ngāti Rangiwewehi] tribe whose hapū is at Te Awahou died at Manoeka, Te Puke on Friday last. A very large tangi is to be held and the Judea Drum and Fife Band have been asked to attend (Bay of Plenty Times, 7 February 1898).

Political gatherings outside the district were also attended by the Band including the Kotahitanga or Māori parliament hui at the Pāpāwai Marae (Wairarapa) in 1898 (Bay of Plenty Times, 27 April 1898) and Kingitanga hui in the Waikato region.

The Drum and Fife Band of the Ngatiranginuis [sic], under the leadership of their chief Moanaroa Rahiperi [Rahipere] has been invited to attend some great Christmas festivities at Matamata Waikato to which a large number of Tauranga Māoris [sic] will also probably attend. They intend going by the Kaimai track and reckon to do the journey of some 35 miles in about 3 to 6 hours (Bay of Plenty Times, 15 November 1899).

They also performed at ‘official’ Pākehā functions when dignitaries arrived in the township or when celebrations took place in the township (Bay of Plenty Times, 18 June 1897).

While the Band was important in hapū affairs it was also a key point of interaction between the hapū and the neighbouring Pākehā community in the township of Tauranga. The band also helped maintain the separate identity of Ngāti Ranginui as opposed to Ngāi te Rangi iwi, who had a brass band, and publicly displayed that separate identity in the wider community. While being involved in various religious, political and community events was seen as important to members of the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, that importance was not obvious to the teachers and government officials associated with the

school. Politics and religion were entwined in the life of the hapū and were seen as an important part of the mana motuhake of the hapū. While education for the children was important to the hapū, so were hapū identity and the standing of the hapū in both the wider Māori and Pākehā communities. During this period of history the Judea Drum and Fife Band played a part in the maintenance of hapū identity and mana by publicly displaying the hapū and iwi name, a point lost on the teachers and officials.

### **“The time to close this school has fully come”**

By the late 1890s the Inspector of Native Schools, James Pope, had also lost his earlier sympathetic position towards the hapū and early in 1899 he recommended that the school be closed due to the ‘apathetic’ attitude the hapū had towards education.

It seems that the time to close this school has fully come. The Natives are thoroughly apathetic and have little intent in the education of their children. Government has lately given them a grant to enable them to form a road to their land at Akeake. It seems certain they will cultivate there and leave a few old people and some very young children at Hūria thus there is really no prospect of even partial success here and I think the school should be closed (Huria Native School, 16 May 1899).

Following the 1867 land confiscations, apart from the small piece of land at Hūria the only other substantial block of land returned to the hapū was at Akeake where the hapū had retreated after the 1864 land wars. This block of land was over 20 kilometres from Hūria, off the Pyes Pa road between Tauranga and Rotorua, which gave hapū members little choice about where they could grow crops. The contract to build a bridge and form a road to the block of land made a return to the isolated Akeake area more viable. The road, once completed, would have eased issues of access by horse and cart to and from the land.

It is interesting to note that in 1897 and 1898 Pope had made requests to local and national government officials, on behalf of the hapū, asking for road contracts to be allocated to the hapū to enable them to earn some income and to also gain access to the isolated Akeake land. At that time he had noted that the local council prioritised the needs of local Pākehā before the needs of Māori.

The Māoris [sic] again interviewed me with reference to the Ake Ake and Pyes Pa Road. It appears that last year, as a result of my note on this subject the Tauranga County Council was urged by the government to give the Māoris [sic] some road work. This well meant assistance was, I am informed, of no avail – poor pakehas

[sic] are numerous in the district and the Council naturally desires to help them rather than the Māoris [sic]. What the Māoris [sic] really want is to be able to grow food at Ake Ake and bring it by cart to Tauranga (for Hūria). This could be accomplished if Government would undertake the bridge over the Waimarire Creek and the approaches to it, leaving it to the Māoris [sic] themselves to make the work so done utilisable by them. I am told that the cost of the bridge would be between £50 & £100 and that the work would benefit European settlers as well as Māoris [sic]. I believe it would give the latter a chance of making a living, a chance they very really need (Huria Native School, 7 July 1898).

While the initial lobbying by Pope seems to have successful it also seems that he was less impressed when the hapū were successful in gaining the contract. However, the hapū was not disinterested in the education of their children. They had requested that the school building be shifted to Akeake but this request was denied and instead the hapū were threatened with the closure of their school and the removal of the school house. Letters from the teacher, Mary Stewart, to the Department of Education (Huria Native School, 7 September 1899) show that the hapū had again been struck by measles closing the school, she also reported that sick children had been taken to Akeake where it was sheltered and because of the availability of firewood they could build fires to keep the children warm (Huria Native School, 18 September 1899).

However, two months later Stewart stated that the children named as possible students for a school at Akeake were at Hūria and not attending the school and therefore she did not see that a school at Akeake would be any more successful than the school at Hūria.

They seem to be away at one village or another with their band and they take no interest in school matters. In fact ever since the Hūria Māoris [sic] have got the grant of money for the bridge [at Akeake] their attitude towards us has quite changed. They seem to have got what they wanted out of us and they have given themselves airs which makes it very disagreeable for us. I put no faith in their promises and I believe that a school at Akeake would be just as great a failure as the Hūria one has been (Huria Native School, 20 November 1899).

From the tone of the comments by Pope and Stewart it would seem that any hapū aspirations for self-determination were not appreciated by government officials who expected more servility from Māori.

In February of the following year (1900) the school was still closed and Stewart wrote to the Secretary of Education asking if the school should be reopened (Huria Native School, 17 February 1900). The official reply stated that “as an experiment please reopen the school” (Huria Native School, 16 March 1900). In March, Stewart reported that the children had been absent from school picking maize and harvesting potatoes on Pākehā owned farms (Huria Native School, 29 March 1900). In May she further requested that the school stay open till June (Huria Native School, 9 May 1900). After June the school remained closed and a request to the Secretary of Education by Henare Piahana on behalf of the hapū, to reopen the school was declined with the following comments to Piahana.

I have to inform you that the Government has very often been disappointed with regard to proposals and promises concerning the Hūria Native School, and that it does not see its way to make another trial (Huria Native School, 19 January 1901).

In response to further requests for the school to be reopened Pope stated that “[f]ew Māori schools have given us more trouble and less satisfaction” (Huria Native School, 14 April 1901). In June 1901 the teacher’s contract was terminated and she was advised to lock the school and leave the key with Colonel Roberts who lived close to the school (Huria Native School, 18 June 1901).

In a letter to the Inspector General of Schools, Kirk, the Assistant Inspector of Native Schools, reported on a meeting with the committee of the Hūria Native School. Obviously the committee’s request to reopen the school was seen by Kirk as one of his less important tasks and he clearly expressed that in his opinion the school should remain closed.

Excessive pressure of work has made it necessary for me to hold over some of the less important reports on matters dealt with in my journey to the Bay of Plenty. Of these matters one was the interview with the Hūria Māoris [sic]. Reviewing the history of Hūria school and find that, in my opinion, the Government would do nothing more for the people of Hūria (Huria Native School, 16 November 1901).

It difficult to understand how the government felt they couldn’t do any more when the archival record of the school shows that they actually did very little to help the hapū. In 1904 the school building was finally removed and taken to Te Paeroa Native School, but the hapū continued to petition for their own school. In 1901 and again in 1909 they offered to supply a suitably qualified hapū member as a teacher if the school was

reopened but the Education Department wasn't favourably inclined towards the hapū and the hapū children were forced to attend other schools (Huria Native School, 1888 – 1909).

### **Enforcing power and control: colonisation at work**

It is interesting to review the shifting attitudes of the government officials involved with the Hūria community of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. They had originally supported the establishment of the Hūria Native School in response to the community's request and had given 'official' recognition of the poverty that existed within the hapū. However, this initial understanding and sympathy towards low attendance rates and poor examination results, that existed in the 1880s and most of the 1890s, turned to frustration and the eventual closure of the school when officials wrote of the 'apathetic Natives' who had little interest in their children's education. It is interesting to speculate as to some of the reasons for this gradual shift in the official stance towards the hapū.

The poverty that forced the families to become transient labourers was not unique to this hapū. In other regions Māori families were also forced to travel to other areas to dig gum or to do seasonal work on farms. However, the statements made by Pope and others did seem to indicate that the poverty was more extreme for the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū than for other communities. Recognition of the extreme circumstances that existed in Hūria during this period are articulated in an 1891 memo from Pope to the Inspector General of Schools, W J Habens. The memo was in response to letter from Hūria Native School Committee to change school hours for older pupils to allow them to work as well as attend school. Pope stated that:

Generally I am in favour of very close adherence to the Code but the circumstances of this school are so exceptional that I should be in favour of adopting any exceptional measures in [saving] it. The extraordinary circumstances are (a) close proximity to a considerable town; (b) want of land; (c) all have to earn their living when at home by working for the Pākehā; (d) the Natives are of a low type, very Māori [though living near] Tauranga (Huria Native School, 13 August 1891).

Further acknowledgement of the poverty of the hapū was made in an 1891 report to parliament.

In most districts around Tauranga the Natives are turning their attention to wheat growing but as the people of Hūria have very little land, their property having been confiscated after the war, they have still to depend on gum-digging, or they

earn a precarious living by working about the town, the elder children have very often to stay away from school to help their parents; hence numerous high passes cannot be expected at Hūria (AJHR, 1891 Session II. E-02. p. 7).

While the exceptional poverty, and the reasons for it, are acknowledged from Pope's comments above, it is clear that the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho were identified by government officials as being 'very Māori' and presumably, therefore less civilised or less European than other Māori in the district (Huria Native School, 13 August 1891). In the same report to parliament, officials had stated enthusiastically that "the school is evidently beginning to act as a civilising agency" (AJHR, 1890 Session I. E-02, p. 5). However, this deficit theorised, "less civilised" or "less advanced" stigma was to be retained by officials towards the hapū until well into the 1940s. At this time comments were recorded about the poor educational standard of the Hūria children who were shifted to Bethlehem Native School (Bethlehem 1926-1947, 13 April 1940) (see Chapter 5).

It is possible that officials and teachers became increasingly frustrated because the hapū were not subservient or compliant (civilised) enough in submitting to colonisation because of their retention of their language and cultural identity. This resistance to colonisation, in turn, was interpreted by officials and teachers as evidence that the hapū was therefore responsible for their ongoing poverty.

However, it is difficult to justify the claim that the hapū was not interested in the education of their children when it was the hapū that had instigated the establishment of the Hūria School. There was also a long history of literacy within the hapū. Letters from various hapū members written in Māori to Government officials during the period from 1884 to 1901 attested to this uptake of literacy. However, just as hapū members had not been prepared to be passive recipients of the dominance of the colonial government they were also not prepared to be passive recipients of education. From the archival record it can be seen that the hapū were interested in how their children were taught and that they were not always satisfied with the standard of teaching. The record shows that they wrote several letters requesting that teachers be removed and replaced.

Only a year after the school opened the hapū wrote to the Department of Education requesting that a new teacher be appointed to the school (Huria Native School, 2 September 1885). Hapū leaders complained that the teacher Duffus was sleepy, that he sent the younger children home early and that he had been absent from the school for six weeks due to illness. The letter from the hapū was accompanied by a letter from Brabant who had clearly tried to discourage the laying of a formal complaint.

At the request of the Judea committee I forward the attached letter making certain complaints against Mr Duffus their teacher. As I think it right to discourage natives of making complaints of this nature, I proposed to them to defer action until the Inspector [of Native Schools] next came around, but they declined ... .. found that they made the same complaint to Inspector Pope when he was here last (Huria Native School, 2 September 1885).

As stated, Pope had already been approached by hapū leaders concerning this matter when he visited the school a few weeks earlier in August 1885 and he had obviously not responded favourably to the hapū request to replace Duffus. In a memo to the Secretary of Education, Pope advised taking a hard line with the Hūria Native School committee (Huria Native School, 15 September 1885). The response from the Secretary of Education to the hapū community's request, as advised by Pope, was swift and scathing. He directed Brabant to convey this message to the hapū:

The Government will be sorry if the Hūria Natives remove their children from the school that has lately been put up for them at very considerable cost expense, as such a step as this would render it [necessary] for the Government to remove the school and all the contents with it to some district where it would be better appreciated; it would be by no means difficult to find such a place in the immediate neighbourhood of Tauranga, but still the Government would hope that the school should stay where it is, and hopes that the conduct of the Hūria people will in the end be wiser than their words are. It may be added to this that it is very strange that the Hūria Natives should complain of the absence of the teacher when his absence was due to illness so complaints of this kind would be likely to make people think that the Hūria people are very unreasonable (Huria Native School, no date September 1885).

The letter demonstrated the colonial determination to maintain power and control over the "Natives" and clearly reflected the attitude of government officials of the time towards the hapū.

## **Summary**

Following a decade of war and enforced exile, the decades from the middle of the 1870s posed a different challenge to the survival of the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. They were forced to struggle against the impacts of colonialism and war that had relegated them to an impoverished situation. Consigned to the status of second class citizens in their own land and ravaged by introduced diseases there was little expectation by Pākehā

colonists for their survival let alone their economic or educational success. Government policy and the attitudes of teachers and government officials during this period gave little thought to the requirements and needs of hapū whānau, but instead strongly emphasised the need to ‘civilise’ this community. This was more than assimilation. It was a strategy to subdue and suppress a people who were perceived as a potential threat to Pākehā control and expansion in New Zealand.

However, the hapū continued to assert their mana motuhake that was critical to the maintenance of cultural identity and the ongoing survival of the kinship based community. Only through their own efforts could the hapū ensure their survival. While government officials expressed sympathy, the hapū were seen as the unfortunate victims of their own racial inferiority. In the eyes of the colonialists, Ngāi Tamarāwaho, and all Māori were ultimately to blame for their plight. European education proved to be a double edged sword that on one hand promised knowledge that would provide “the power and superiority of the European” (Winiata, 1954) while on the other hand education undermined the traditional knowledge and language that were the very heart of hapū and whānau identity.

Also, the struggle to gain those perceived benefits while still retaining mana motuhake and re-establishing a more equal partnership with Pākehā proved to be a battle that was unfairly stacked against the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. The hapū resisted being ‘civilised,’ which angered government officials who closed the school and labelled the hapū as apathetic towards the education of their children. These actions, grounded in deficit theorising impacted negatively on the educational achievement of successive generations of Ngāi Tamarāwaho families and kept them at the margins of New Zealand society.

## **Chapter 5: Te Reo Māori and hapū identity**

Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori

(Māori language is the life force of Māori prestige and authority)

This chapter draws on archival records to explore the schooling experiences of Ngāi Tamarāwaho children in Tauranga schools from the 1920s to the 1940s and the impact of those experiences in promoting the use of English language in the home at the expense of te reo Māori. It will show that these hapū children were subjected to duress and humiliation to become proficient in English by teachers who wanted to ‘cure’ the children of their “Māori impediment” (Otumoetai School, 23 November 1914). It shows that these destructive education experiences were a continuation of colonial policies designed to ensure dominance and control over Māori (Barrington, 2008). However, the English language only policy failed to deliver academic success that would lead to economic success for hapū whānau. Instead the belittling of te reo Māori was an attack on the life force of hapū mana and contributed to the degradation and marginalisation of hapū cultural identity.

The unequal power relations, that were evident in these education experiences, did not occur in isolation. This chapter also provides a context for the social and health conditions, endured by the hapū during this period; conditions that reflected the racist and uncaring attitude of many Pākehā, at both a community and official level, towards Māori communities. The eviction of hapū children from their local public school because they were Māori; and the struggles by the hapū to gain access to clean water provide examples of the social and health injustices inflicted on the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho.

### **The demise of te reo Māori**

The ‘English only’ education policy of the 1867 Native Schools Act (Barrington, 2008) led to a rapid decline in the use of the indigenous language within successive generations of whānau (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, 1999). There was intense pressure on Māori to learn English in order to survive in a Pākehā dominated society. From the 1940s Māori speaking communities began to break up as impoverished whānau from rural communities were forced to seek work in urban areas. These pressures all contributed to the use of English in Māori homes and threatened the survival of te reo Māori as a living language (Fishman, 1991).

However, ultimately it was the deep seated “civilisational racism” (Scheurich & Young, 1997, p. 7) that positioned Māori language, cultural values and identity as inferior to English language and culture. Therefore officially the retention of Māori language and

culture were actively discouraged as they were seen as an impediment to the process of civilising Māori. Schools reflected the power structures of colonial society. Colonial education attempted to remove or subtract from Māori children their indigenous identity, language and culture in a process that has been described as culturally subtractive education (Valenzuela, 1999, 2002). In the New Zealand colonial context the retention of indigenous language, culture and values were seen as threats that would inhibit the process of civilising or extending dominance over Māori children (Barrington, 2008). This culturally subtractive approach to education for Māori was to dominate education policy in New Zealand until the 1980s (May, Hill & Tiakiwai, 2004).

However, attempts were made by Māori leaders to change the English language only policy in schools from the late 1930s. Although initially reluctant to have Māori language introduced into schools, Māori leader and politician, Apirana Ngata, became increasingly concerned at the negative impact the English only curriculum was having on Māori language and identity. His strong support for Māori students to learn only English at school during the 1920s and early 1930s changed as he became aware of the increasing numbers of Māori who could not speak their language. In a 1939 report to the Young Māori Leaders conference, Ngata stated that “nothing was worse than for one to be with Māori features but without his own language” (cited in Barrington, 2008, p. 193). In a letter to Peter Fraser, the Minister of Education, Ngata further expressed his growing concerns that the inability of Māori youth to speak their language was “attacking the core of Māori culture.” He felt that unless changes were made to the education system that would allow for the development of a bicultural and bilingual people, “the inevitable result [will be] the rooting out of all that makes the Māori a Māori (cited in Barrington, 2008, p. 196).

Recommendations from the 1945 meeting of the Māori Education Committee included “the teaching of Māori [language] to retain Māori traditions, culture and personality and preserve and foster racial pride and dignity” (Barrington, 2008, p. 260). The committee included Maharaia Winiata (of Ngāi Tamarāwaho) and Pei te Hurunui Jones and received correspondence from Ngata supporting their recommendations. However, William Bird, a former Native School Inspector and Pākehā member of the Māori Education Committee, strongly rejected the call for teaching Māori language in schools to Māori students. He stressed that the whole purpose of providing English instruction to Māori students was to improve their English and thereby improve inter-

racial communication and avoid potential conflict due to misunderstandings. He arrogantly added that

if the result [of the English only policy] has been to make the Māori lose his language, don't forget that in its place he has the finest language in the world and that the retention of Māori is after all largely a matter of sentiment (cited in Barrington, 2008, p 262).

Despite increasing calls by Māori for the re-introduction of Māori language instruction in schools the status quo of English only instruction, as recommended by Bird, remained for the next 30 years. English acquisition by Māori students was seen as critical by government officials to prepare Māori as the labouring class of Pākehā society. This belief in the superiority of the English language and culture, over what was perceived as an inferior and hence redundant language and culture of Māori, pervaded New Zealand society and became the focus of education policy for Māori. It was Māori children who bore the brunt of those racist policies. Their often harrowing experiences of 'being Māori' in schools throughout New Zealand in the 1920s and 1930s have been called "stories of grief and loss [that] record trauma as the result of violence against small children" (Selby, 1999, p. 67).

### **Hapū language loss**

In the Ngāi Tamarāwaho community of Hūria te reo Māori was still the first language of individuals born in the 1920s and early 1930s, even though many of their parents had attended the Hūria Native School in the 1880s and 1890s, where lessons had been delivered in English (see Chapter 4). However, the majority of hapū children born after the 1940s were monolingual English speakers as a result of the increasing use of English in the home and wider society. This is understood as an attempt by hapū parents to protect their children from some of the negative schooling experiences that they themselves had endured and to also assist educational success and hopefully increase future employment opportunities for their children.

The shift by hapū whānau from communicating in te reo Māori to communicating in English was also a result of the nation-wide systemic attempt to suppress and eradicate Māori cultural identity and language by the dominant Pākehā society (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). English language was the language of power and authority and therefore the acquisition of English was seen by Māori at this time as a necessary pathway from marginalised status to socio economic advancement.

A search of the available rolls of local schools shows that only a small number of hapū children attended any of these schools until the 1920s. From the early 1920s increasing numbers of hapū children are recorded as attending Board (State funded) schools, especially Tauranga and Otumoetai schools. These records provide a glimpse of the duress these children suffered as they were streamed by their lack of ability in English. Hapū children were often located in classes with much younger Pākehā children, thereby reinforcing the perception that they were somehow inferior and less intelligent.

It also must be noted that although these hapū children were proficient in Māori, all instruction and examinations in schools was undertaken in English, further disadvantaging them. Further, only basic learning suitable for rural or manual type labouring was prescribed by education policy for Māori students. Education officials actively discouraged any initiatives by schools that sought to promote higher education for Māori students (Barrington, 2008).

### **Labelled as “Natives”**

Records from the Tauranga School in 1919 (Tauranga School - Auckland Education Board Class Lists 1880 – 1950) often listed the word ‘Native’ beside the name of the hapū children, especially younger children who had just entered school. This was not done simply to denote their ethnicity because other Māori children, including those from Ngāi Tamarāwaho, often did not have the same note next to their name. It indicated instead, that these children were deemed weak in English, because they were ‘Native’ speakers of te reo Māori, which also explained why they were usually older than their Pākehā class mates.

These children were streamed by their competence in English and with the “Native” note on their records; they were pathologised (Shields, Bishop & Mazawi, 2005) by teachers as deficient because they were Māori. A similar situation still exists today in special learning needs programmes that continue to define children only in terms of what they can’t do without any thought to the potential of the child (Bevan-Brown et al, 1999).

### **Otumoetai School 1920s to 1939**

By the 1920s Otumoetai School had become the preferred school for the majority of hapū children as it was the closest school to Hūria Pa (2.3 km). The records show that hapū children also had little or no English when they started school and that a similar classification was being used to identify these students (Otumoetai School - Auckland Education Board Class Lists 1880 – 1950). As at Tauranga School, this inconsistent use of the word ‘Native’ in class lists at Otumoetai School seems to have been used to explain

why students were either struggling or not achieving age appropriately when compared with Pākehā children.

After 1925 the column listed ‘Special Notes on Pupils’ in the ‘Teachers Annual Examination Report’ was amended to ‘Special Notes on Pupils and Explanations for Retardation’. Teachers used this column to explain students’ poor examination results. These explanations included time away from school due to illness or that the pupil had started school at a late age. However, the majority of comments referred to the pupils’ inability to learn because of some teacher perceived deficiency in the child.

Common teacher statements from the Otumoetai School during the period from 1900 to the late 1930s included ‘dull’; ‘slow development’; ‘mentally deficient’; ‘low mentality’; ‘mentally weak.’ These statements were used liberally to describe perceived deficiencies in both Pākehā and Māori children. However, for the children from the hapū, ‘explanations for retardation’ were usually signalled by the use of the word ‘native’ which was sometimes followed by further descriptions of deficiency and teacher concerns focussed on the children’s lack of ability in English and their late starting age at school.

### **Achievement against the odds**

In her report for the ‘General Estimate of Progress’ for the preparatory division, one head teacher stated that “progress in the lower primer division is necessarily slow, owing to the number of little Māoris (sic)” (Otumoetai School, 20 December 1929). This teacher’s comment is an example of the low expectations teachers had of Māori students and that Māori students were destined to slow academic progress, a self-fulfilling prophecy that remains to the present day. There was no acknowledgement of what these Māori students actually achieved under difficult social and economic circumstances or what strengths they brought with them to school.

An example of the achievement of a hapū student in the 1930s is my father in law, Hori Taituha Ngatoko, who was born in 1921 and lived with his parents and siblings at Hūria. He was the ninth child of a family of 14, seven of whom survived to adulthood. Hori started school at Otumoetai in 1926 aged 5 years 3 months where his name was anglicised to George Togo, the name he became widely known by for the rest of his life. An Annual Examination Report from the Otumoetai School is the first record of his schooling experiences when his name appears with five other hapū children in a class of 13 Year 1 and 2 students (Otumoetai School, 20 December, 1929).

Hori is listed as 8 years and 2 months old and had been at school for nearly three years. The teacher noted that Hori was weak in English and, along with the other four

hapū boys in the class, John Tata, Richard Matthews, Nephi Kohu and August Kohu, were streamed into the Year 3 'B' class. One hapū girl, Audrey Tarawa, along with six Pākehā students were streamed to the Year 3 'A' class. As seen in this example, the current high rate of academic failure of Māori boys (NZQA, 2013) has a long history.

The 1930 records show that Hori, now in Year 3, was still struggling with English, as he, along with the other hapū boys, failed to gain promotion to Year 4. Out of a possible score of 350 Hori scored 149 (43%) although the average score for the 11 pupils who sat the exam was only 166 (47%). A record for the 1931 year was not located, but in 1932 Hori, aged 11 years, is listed with 13 other Year 4 pupils in a class of 49. After five years in English immersion Hori was seemingly coming to grips with the school work as he scored 215 out of a possible 350 (61%), the class average was 185 (53%), and he gained entry to Year 5. Hori also scored well enough in 1933 to gain entry to Year 6 and in 1934 to gain entry to Year 7. However 1934 was the last school examination record for Hori. He was aged 13 years and in the following year he left school to begin work.

After eight years at Otumoetai School, Hori had gained a basic education and proficiency in English. His examination results show that he was on par academically with Pākehā students and he was, at the age of 13, bilingual in both Māori and English. However, in New Zealand society of the 1930s the ability of Hori to achieve any further academic success was not seen as necessary or even desirable. Hori left school to work as an orchard labourer (picking lemons) and other seasonal labouring positions until he gained employment as a watersider at the Tauranga port in the late 1950s.

As seen from the narratives of hapū members who attended Otumoetai School during this period (below), the school was not a welcoming or pleasant place for Māori students. Later, as an adult, Hori never asked his children how they fared in their day to day experiences in school; it was just something to be endured until you were old enough to leave (Korōria Woller, personal communication, 28 July 2014).

### **Hapū memories of Otumoetai School in the 1930s**

Ngāi Tamarāwaho kaumātua Morehu Ngatoko (younger brother of Hori) describes attending the Otumoetai School in the 1930s when the area, now residential suburbs, was all farmland. He also remembers that the school environment was very different from what he had experienced at home.

Otumoetai School was a mixture of Pākehā and Māori kids. There was us from Hūria and some of the Ngatai whānau from Otumoetai and the kids of all the

Pākehā farmers. Although we got on well with most of our Pākehā schoolmates we were always aware of the differences between us, that feeling of superiority from them, there was always a gap, prejudice I suppose. We slowly got used to their ways, learnt to adjust, it was a case of having to. I will always remember the stern teachers. Miss Thorpe was very strict and she taught us all about the British Empire; William the Conqueror, 1066, the Battle of the Roses and big maps of the world on the walls showing the British Empire. It has all stuck in my mind for a long time; it was colonial education and it was drummed in (Morehu Ngatoko, personal communication, 2 December 2010).

The patronising attitude of Pākehā towards Māori, as experienced by Morehu during the 1930s, was also related by hapū member Maharaia Winiata (1954) (see Chapter 1). As well as having to deal with elements of prejudice and the difficulty of adapting to a new environment, hapū children like Morehu also faced the exclusive use of English language within the school.

At first I had difficulty understanding te reo Pākehā because the language of the pa was te reo Māori although sometimes the adults would speak pidgin English. Miss Thorpe was very strict about te reo Māori; we were not to speak Māori at school. If we were caught we had to stand in front of the class and get the strap. Some of the Pākehā kids would tell on us if we spoke Māori, we would be singled out and punished. (Morehu Ngatoko, personal communication, 2 December 2010).

Ngāi Tamarāwaho kuia Heni Goldsmith also remembers her time at Otumoetai School (1936 – 1939) and the difficulties that arose between the Māori students and the teachers due to the students' lack of English. "The European teachers didn't understand that we were able to communicate but not in English" (Heni Goldsmith, personal communication, 16 April 2010).

Heni relates that having to learn English created problems not only at school but also at home.

That's where the punishments came, we went to school and we started learning English, we came back and spoke to my kuia and we used some English words and they got angry because they didn't know what they meant and they didn't want to lose te reo and so we reverted back to total Māori at home. But we had the same problem at school if they heard us speaking Māori they told us off, they punished us, by withdrawing us and making us sit on the steps, sit in the corner all

playtime, all lunchtime (Heni Goldsmith, personal communication, 16 April 2010).

In a 1926 report the school inspector specifically noted the lack of English that he saw as a problem with the hapū children at Otumoetai School.

Reading, Oral English and Arithmetic are mostly fair except in the case of some of the native scholars who have not been very long at school, the chief difficulty with them appears to be the fact that they do not understand English (Otumoetai School, 17 December 1926).

It wasn't just the lack of English that created problems for the hapū children; the difference in the economic status between hapū children and the children of the local Pākehā farmers was also obvious to Morehu when he attended school.

Our parents did their best to make us presentable, our clothes were always clean but they were always old and second hand. After the harvest my mother would go to the homes of the Pākehā to trade riwai [potatoes] and kumara [sweet potatoes] for second hand clothes. That was what we used to wear. We knew we had nothing compared to the Pākehā (Morehu Ngatoko, personal communication, 2 December 2010).

On reflecting back to his time in school Morehu states that there weren't any real choices about where they went to school and the type of education they received.

My mother and father always made me go to school; it was very rare for children not to go. Our parents were told by the school inspectors if the kids didn't go to school the law would be brought to bear on them. They didn't really understand the law they just didn't want any trouble, so we had to go. Not that staying home was any fun, if I stayed home I had to weed the kumara or do some other mahi [work]. What was the benefit of school? To teach us the ways of the Pākehā, get us away from our taha Māori in no uncertain terms. We went through hard times in education. The teachers were hard to get on with, they hammered the education into us and they would not be diverted from the system. Miss Thorpe was very severe, she had a big strap and we would get it if we didn't listen. We learnt all about colonialism, we also made a lot of friends [with the Pākehā students] but we always had that feeling of inferiority that people looked down on us (Morehu Ngatoko, personal communication, 2 December 2010).

Matiu Tarawa, a Ngāi Tamarāwaho kaumātua who attended the Otumoetai School during the early 1930s, also remembered that the school wasn't a friendly or welcoming

environment for Māori children and that the principal wasn't pleasant towards Māori (Television One, 20 June 2009).

The memories of these three hapū elders demonstrate how difficult school life was for them during this period. They weren't just made to feel unwelcome or uncomfortable within the school, they were made to feel inferior because they were Māori. Eighty years later Māori students told education researchers Bishop and Berryman (2006) a very similar story and "that being Māori in mainstream secondary schools was a negative experience" (p. 254).

### **A 'white only' school**

From the late 1920s the number of Māori students from Hūria attending the school increased and the records show that the majority of Māori students now had the special note 'Native' entered on their record, regardless of their academic achievement. Increasing concern was expressed by teachers and the parents of Pākehā children regarding the poor health of the Māori children and this resulted in petitions being sent to the Department of Education to make the Otumoetai School European only. This concern at being overwhelmed by increasing numbers of Māori children (with poor health) enrolling in the school possibly made the identification of the 'Native' children, in the Annual Examination returns to the Department of Education, part of the lobbying process.

In 1938 the school roll was reported to be 70 students with 40 (57%) of these students being Māori and predominately from the two Ngāi Tamarāwaho communities of Hūria and Te Reti. This rapidly increasing percentage of Māori students prompted the Otumoetai School Committee to discuss the possibility of making the school European only and the committee members instructed their secretary to write to the Department of Education putting forward this proposal.

The secretary was instructed to write to the Board re new lavatory for boys to keep Māoris [sic] and Europeans separate. Also re new school room and possibility of making the school purely European (Otumoetai School Committee Book 1927 – 1940, 2 March 1938).

At the following monthly meeting a petition from Pākehā parents was received requesting that Māori children be removed from the school. The parents proposed that the Department of Education should either provide a new school for the Māori children at Hūria or bus them to the Bethlehem Native School; legal advice was also sought by the school committee in their pursuit of this matter.

A petition from parents was received asking that the Board be asked to arrange for a Māori school at Judea, the [Pākehā] children's health being threatened by overcrowding especially with so many native children who frequently arrive wet and suffer constantly from colds. After considerable discussion it was decided to send a covering letter with the petition to the Board asking that the Native department be asked to provide a bus to take the Māori children to the new native school now in course of erection at Bethlehem (Otumoetai School Committee Book 1927 – 1940, 7 April 1938).

The native school at Bethlehem wasn't new and had been in operation since 1884 but the distance to that school and the fact that it lay in the district of another hapū meant very few Ngāi Tamarāwaho children had ever attended that school. Following the land confiscations of the 1860s the hapū had tried to maintain their links to their traditional lands by continuing to live and cultivate blocks of land that had been confiscated and were no longer legally theirs. Hapū parents therefore viewed Otumoetai School as a hapū school, because of its location within traditional hapū lands, which encouraged the concentration of hapū children at the school.

However, no parents from the Hūria or Te Reti communities were members of the school committee, either during this period or at any earlier time, so decisions regarding their children were made entirely by the Pākehā parents and the Department of Education. The concern about the 'wet children suffering from colds' didn't extend to suggesting that they be bussed to Otumoetai School, only that a bus be provided to send them to the Bethlehem Native School. The school committee were not concerned for the welfare of the hapū children, they were instead focussed on the potential health threat that these children posed to the Pākehā children.

The following week the school committee continued discussions aimed at "making the school purely European" (Otumoetai School Committee Book 1927 – 1940, 13 April 1938). The school committee approached the local Member of Parliament who promised to put pressure on the Department of Education to remove the Māori children (Otumoetai School Committee Book 1927 – 1940, no date April 1938). The school committee's campaign to either have Māori students removed from the school or extra (and separate) classrooms to accommodate the Māori students continued in 1939.

Interestingly the committee also asked for the appointment of 'male teachers' (Otumoetai School Committee Book 1927 – 1940, 15 Feb 1939). This suggests that Māori boys were seen as a problem best dealt with by enforcing harsher corporal

punishment. It has been shown that boys of indigenous or minority cultures in schools often openly resist the racist attitudes of teachers leading to increased behavioural issues (Dehyle, 1995).

As well as the campaign to remove the Māori students from the school two adult members of the hapū, employed as cleaners at the school for several years, also had their employment terminated which would suggest that the campaign to make the school white only also included the school staff.

The Māories [sic] cleaning being now most unsatisfactory their services would be dispensed with and endeavours made to get a European to clean monthly [the cleaners were Mrs Kohu and J Foster] (Otumoetai School Committee Book 1927 – 1940, 20 September 1939).

A letter from the Department of Education to the head master of the Bethlehem Native School (then named Paeroa Native School) in September 1939 shows that relocating the Ngāi Tamarāwaho children had been approved. While building a new school was seen as too expensive, bussing the children to the Native School was seen as a viable option and the headmaster was instructed to seek the agreement of the hapū communities for the proposed shift.

[I]t is apparent that the Department would experience great difficulty in securing, at reasonable cost, a suitable site for a Native School to meet the needs of the Māori children of the Judea [Hūria] and Cambridge Road [Te Reti] Pas. It has been decided, therefore, to give consideration to the question of conveying the children to your school, and I shall be glad if you will arrange to meet the Māoris [sic] concerned as soon as possible with a view to ascertaining whether they would agree to the conveyance of their children to Paeroa [Bethlehem Native School] (Bethlehem 1933-1947, 4 September 1939).

No record has been found of this meeting and therefore no record of any hapū response is available, but it can safely be presumed that hapū parents were left with little choice, other than agree to the move, especially when they knew that hapū children and adults were not welcome at Otumoetai School.

The school committee received the news that they had been successful in their endeavours in October 1939. The committee was doubly pleased because not only were the Māori children removed but they were left with 35 European children which meant the school also retained the two teachers that they employed (Otumoetai School Committee Book 1927 – 1940, 30 October 1939). No time was wasted by Otumoetai

School in removing the Hūria and Te Reti children and three weeks following the date of this committee book entry, on 20 November 1939, 42 Ngāi Tamarāwaho children ranging from six to 13 years of age were enrolled at the Bethlehem Native School.

Heni Goldsmith, a pupil at Otumoetai School at the time, remembers the teacher advising the Māori children in the class that they were going to another school.

We felt that we weren't wanted at Otumoetai School and I remember being made to stand up and being told that we were moving school. "All the Māori children will be going to another school" and all the Māori children had to stand up so everyone could see who the Māori children were and the next few days we were taken to Bethlehem. You weren't given a choice; it was a pure white school (Heni Goldsmith, personal communication, 16 April 2010).

### **Unequal opportunities and double standards**

While overcrowding was given as a reason for removing hapū children from Otumoetai School, the report of the Inspector of Native Schools on the Bethlehem Native School in April 1940 clearly states that the school's facilities were "severely overtaxed [and that] the influx of the large number of children from Judea had created many difficulties of organisation and has, temporarily affected the general efficiency" (Otumoetai School, 13 April 1940).

So while the Otumoetai School committee were celebrating because they had retained their two teachers, in spite of reducing their roll by 42 pupils, the headmaster at the Bethlehem Native School was forced to employ an assistant teacher at short notice to cope with the sudden influx of new students (Bethlehem 1926-1947, 30 November 1939). In a November 1940 report, the School Inspector again noted that "[t]he present overcrowded state of the [Bethlehem] school and the poor quality of the existing accommodation is a severe handicap" (Bethlehem 1926-1947, 4 November 1940).

The removal of hapū children from Otumoetai School in 1939 is not widely remembered, even within the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Only the few hapū elders who attended the school in the late 1930s, and now aged in their eighties, still remember the traumatic events of their childhood. Kaumātua Morehu Ngatoko, who was a pupil at Otumoetai School when the eviction happened, relates that he was often asked by his former Pākehā school friends why all the Māori pupils left the school. His response that they were 'kicked out by Pākehā', has always been met with denials that anything like that could happen, so he was surprised that documented evidence of the reasons for their removal actually existed (Morehu Ngatoko, personal communication, 2 December 2010).

It is only through the archival records of the school committee minutes that the intent of the Pākehā school committee, parents, teachers and politicians can be ascertained. Their racist attitude towards the children and whānau of Ngāi Tamarāwaho reflected the uncaring attitude of many Pākehā, at both a community and official level, towards Māori communities.

### **Health disparities**

While Pākehā parents were battling to remove Māori children from the school, the parents of the hapū children were battling to improve their basic living conditions by securing access to a clean water supply. The following 1914 newspaper report gives some indication of the health issues that confronted the hapū during this period and, although exact numbers are not clear, it is known that some whānau members died as a result of outbreaks of typhoid caused by contaminated water supplies.

We understand there are about twelve cases of typhoid fever at present at the Judea [Huria] Pa and that two deaths have already occurred... The cause of the outbreak is attributed to the water (Bay of Plenty Times, 4 Feb. 1914).

The issues caused by contaminated water continued until the 1940s when another major outbreak of typhoid forced the closure of the Bethlehem Native School in 1943. An entry in the school log book records that children were being inoculated against typhoid. Many children were absent from school and all the absentees were from the “Judea [Huria] and Te Reti Pa” (Bethlehem School Log Book, 14 December 1943).

Poor sanitary conditions in Māori communities nationally and the recurring incidences of typhoid had been an on-going concern for government officials since the 1870s (Dow, 1999). This concern was largely driven, as in the Otumoetai School case described above, by pressure from Pākehā constituents who were worried about the spread of diseases from unhygienic conditions in Māori communities. In 1911 Dr Robert Makgill, the District Officer of Health for the Auckland region, in a letter to the Native Department regarding the high incidence of typhoid among Māori, stated that “[a]s matters stand the Native race is a menace to the wellbeing of the European” (Dow, 1999, p. 142).

Calls for health initiatives by concerned Māori and Pākehā were hindered by the lack of government funding and resources allocated specifically for Māori health. This situation led to on-going bickering between the Native and Health Departments and local councils over who was financially responsible for the much needed health improvements in Māori communities (Dow, 1999). While the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed Māori

equity, and therefore a level of health and well-being at least the same as non-Māori, the history of unequal access to health initiatives and facilities has a direct bearing on current disparities in health statistics between Māori and non-Māori (Kingi, 2007). An analysis of the inequalities in mortality between ethnic and socioeconomic groups in New Zealand during the 1980s and 1990s showed that

ethnic inequalities in health reflect (in part) the unequal distribution of economic, social and political resources. Inequalities in the command over these resources are themselves rooted in historical social processes that entrench the privileged position of dominant groups (Ministry of Health and University of Otago, 2006, p. xii).

The struggles by the hapū to gain access to clean water supplies in the 1920s to 1940s should have been a basic human right. Instead, by being denied access to clean water supplies the hapū were denied social justice as well as the right to be treated equally with Pākehā as guaranteed by the Treaty of Waitangi.

### **Hapū battles with bureaucracy: The fight for clean water**

In 1925 Ngāi Tamarāwaho kaumātua Sam Kohu had written a letter to Sir Maui Pomare, the Minister of Health requesting that reticulated water be made available to the Huria community (Sanitation of Māori settlements, 17 April, 1925). The local council water supply was only 15 chains (300 meters) from the Hūria settlement and the community could have been connected for approximately £40 (\$80). However, council officials expressed concerns about how payment would be made for any water supplied and therefore declined the Health Department's request to connect the Ngāi Tamarāwaho settlement to the reticulated water supply (Bay of Plenty Times, September 1925). In response to the local council's refusal the Department of Health suggested that a bore could be sunk to give the hapū a more permanent supply of clean water (Sanitation of Māori settlements, 22 October, 1925).

So instead of connecting the hapū community to the council's reticulation scheme for £40, officials installed a bore costing £150 (\$300) and charged the hapū half the cost. However, the sinking of the bore wasn't to be the end of what was to become an on-going saga as the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho attempted to secure reliable and clean water supplies for the three hapū settlements of Huria, Matahoroa and Te Reti over the next twelve years. Over that twelve year period correspondence passed from the hapū to the Department of Health officials and between officials from the Department of Health, the

Department of Native Affairs, the Department of Public Works and the Tauranga Borough Council (Sanitation of Māori settlements – Judea, 1925 – 1926; 1931 – 1937).

It was not until September 1937 that the Medical Officer of Health was able to report that a breakthrough in negotiations had been achieved at a meeting between the hapū, health officials and local council officials including the Borough mayor. At this meeting it was reported that hapū whanau agreed to pay the money required by the council (Sanitation of Māori settlements, 16 February, 1937). This final meeting seems to have met the concerns of all the parties involved and in November 1937 the Medical Officer of Health was able to report that the water supply had been connected to Hūria Pa and that work was proceeding to connect the Te Reti community (Sanitation of Māori settlements, 30 November 1937).

While the provision of a clean and reliable water supply to Hūria and Te Reti obviously improved the living conditions it must be remembered what this actually meant. For the hapū communities in the late 1930s and early 1940s it meant that one tap was provided in each community to provide water for all the households. Even as late as the early 1960s water reticulation for the Hūria community meant one outside tap for each household. It wasn't until the Department of Māori Affairs building programme provided loans for new homes in the 1960s that inside taps and flush toilets became part of everyday life for hapū members (Korōria Woller, personal communication, 1 July 2010).

## **Summary**

New Zealand government and society have been dominated by Pākehā for the last 150 years. That control and power has been used to enforce the superiority of English language and culture by degrading the language and culture of Māori. This attitude still pervades New Zealand society. It was Māori children who bore the brunt of those racist policies in schools where they were subjected to the duress and humiliation of 'being Māori' with their culture and language being relegated as inferior and redundant. Education policies and officials also promoted the provision of limited education for Māori through policies and practices that were designed to create a labouring underclass.

The educational experiences of hapū children from the 1920s to the 1940s failed to deliver the many positive advantages promised to them as individuals in the way of academic success that led to economic success. Furthermore, the outcomes were worse for the culture, identity and language of these individuals and as a consequence, the wider hapū. The intercultural interactions experienced in schools by hapū whānau during this

period, as in earlier times, demonstrate the inequality they faced and are evidence of the “racialised social context” (Ballard, 2008) experienced by the hapū community as they persisted in their attempts “to equalise the relations” (Nakata, 1997, p. 27) between themselves and the Pākehā community that they lived alongside.

The removal of hapū children from the Otumoetai School was a further example of that degradation and continued the on-going racism that the hapū was subjected to following the 1860s Land Wars and land confiscations. It is not surprising, given their experiences both in school and the wider community, that this generation of hapū members did not use Māori language when communicating with their children. They spoke only English in the hope that the schooling experiences of their children would be less traumatic than they had experienced and to improve the educational success of their children.

Te reo Māori came to be perceived by these parents as detrimental to their children’s educational success demonstrating the destructive and hegemonic impact of the subtractive education policies. The children of this bilingual generation grew up monolingual in English and now, aged in their 50s and 60s; regret the fact that their parents never spoke Māori to them. The impact of English only in the homes and limited exposure to te reo Māori in the hapū community and wider society has meant that successive generations of hapū members from the 1940s have had limited opportunities to learn te reo Māori.

The inequalities experienced by the hapū are an example of the destructive historical social contexts created by the unequal distribution of economic, social and political resources that helped “entrench the privileged position” of Pākehā over Māori in New Zealand (Ministry of Health and University of Otago, 2006, p. xii). In amongst the bureaucracy and the inter-departmental memos that detailed the efforts of the hapū to gain access to clean water it is easy to forget that people’s health and lives were at real risk. Nevertheless, it is clear that neither government departments nor the local council were prepared to take any financial or moral responsibility for the water needs of the hapū.

From the tone of the official memos it is clear that the Council did not view the people of the settlements at Hūria, Matahoroa and Te Reti as useful citizens of the district (or citizens at all). Instead they were viewed as burdens on society and the responsibility of central government, especially the Department of Native Affairs. For over a decade the Borough Council refused to provide clean and reliable water to the Hūria Pa when the

reticulated supply was within 300 metres of the hapū community. This refusal was based on a lack of assurance from government departments to provide payments for the water. It is also clear that local council officials and officials from the Health and Native Departments had little knowledge of the communities of Hūria, Matahoroa and Te Reti and they often confused the first two.

At the same time as the hapū was battling with bureaucracy to gain a healthier water supply and ensure a healthier future for their community, members of the local Pākehā community were battling to remove the Ngāi Tamarāwaho children from the Otumoetai School because they viewed these children as a health risk to the Pākehā children. At a meeting with Peter Fraser, the Minister of Health and Education, in Tauranga in June of 1938, a member of the school committee outlined the committee's concerns about the health of the Māori children and their desire to have those children removed from Otumoetai School.

We want to approach you about the conditions of the Judea Pa. Our children are going to Otumoetai School with the Native children and there is a lot of TB in the Reserve. The Māori children suffer from malnutrition and the lice in the children's heads is appalling (Sanitation of Māori settlements, 1 June, 1938).

The members of the school committee were supported in their request by local Member of Parliament Mr C. Burnett who stated that "both the Judea and Bethlehem Pahs should be investigated" (Sanitation of Māori settlements, 1 June, 1938). It is difficult to find evidence of any concern for either the health or the education of the hapū children or the health of their families. Instead local and national officials focussed on what benefitted their Pākehā constituents. Only the ongoing persistence of hapū leaders forced government officials to both deal with the inequity of the hapū situation and to acknowledge that Ngāi Tamarāwaho still existed.

## **Chapter 6: Intergenerational impact of destructive educational experiences: Ngā kōrero o te hapū – Four whānau case studies**

E kore e taka te parapara a tātou tūpuna, tukua iho ki a tātou

(Abilities and qualities cannot be lost; they are passed down to us from our ancestors)

Through the narratives of hapū members the following four whānau case studies explore their intergenerational education experiences over a seventy year period from the late 1930s to 2011. The personal recollections of their experiences at primary and secondary schools have been grouped together in each case study. It is important to view the following narratives of this extended whānau against the history of hapū resilience outlined in the previous chapters. The case studies show that, despite the impacts of colonisation, the hapū qualities of resilience and perseverance have not been lost; they have been embraced and passed through the generations to the present day.

These interviews, as discussed in Chapter 2, were undertaken through a collaborative storying process (Bishop, 1996) where the participants were partners or mutual storytellers in the production of their narratives. Annotated narratives were returned to participants for mutual restorying and theorising in a process that allowed the participants to make changes, corrections, alterations and additions, giving them control over how their stories would be finally presented. Finally this chapter considers the effect of education on inter-generational whānau development over successive generations and how this has impacted on hapū and cultural identity.

## Case study 1: Te whānau a Piripi

The first case study explores the educational experiences of ten descendants of Piripi Te Kaponga (highlighted below) over a period of seventy years from the late 1930s to 2011. Piripi is recorded in the Journals of Reverend Brown as an adult student and a teacher in the 1840s and 1850s (see Chapter 3). It is assumed that Piripi's daughter Homai and her son Te Reohau were also students at the mission school located at Te Papa. In the 1880s Te Reohau and his father Wiremu Piahana were part of the Hūria Native School committee and the first school house was located in the home of Ranginui Te Kaponga (see Chapter 4) the uncle of Te Reohau. Several of Te Reohau's children including Te Hare Piahana and Kotiro Piahana were listed on the school's rolls in the 1880s and 1890s.

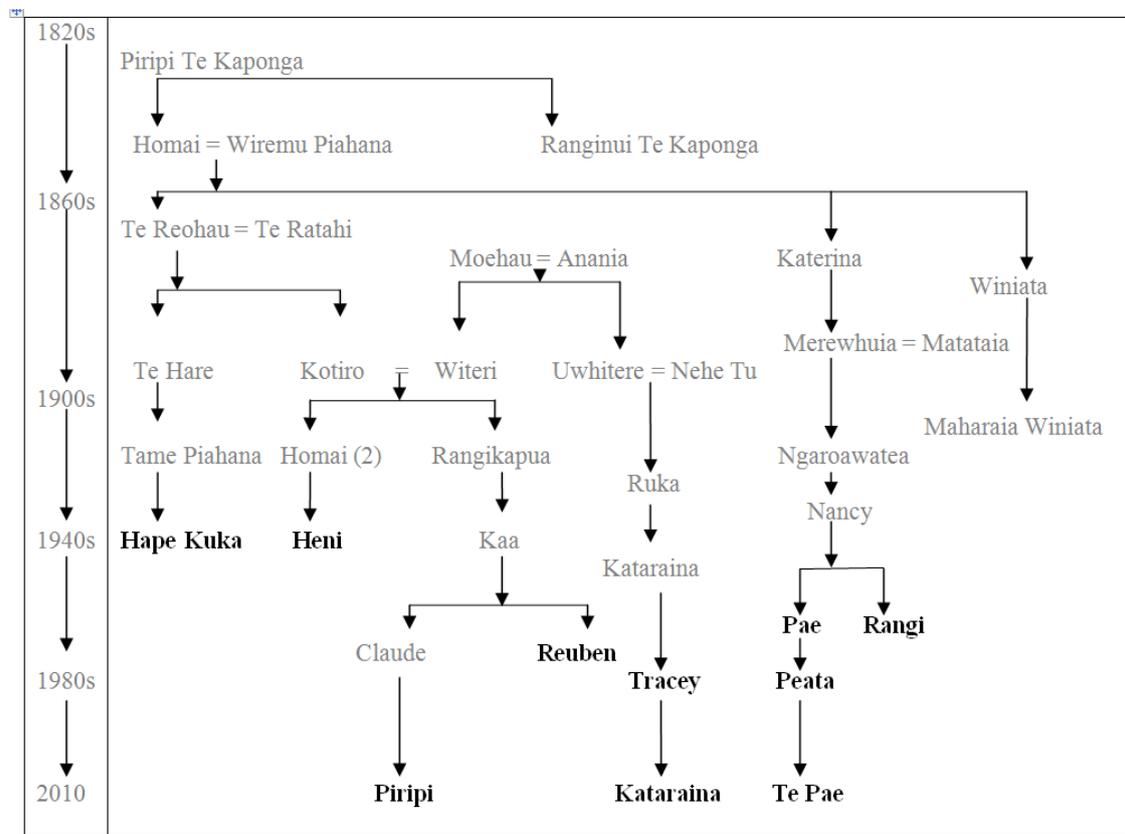


Figure 1: Te whakapapa o te whānau a Piripi

This case study begins with the narratives of Heni Goldsmith, a mokopuna of Kotiro Piahana, and her second cousin Ngāpati (Hape) Kuka, a mokopuna of Te Hare Piahana. Both these kuia attended school in the 1930s and 1940s. Two sisters, Pae and Rangi the descendants of Katerina, the sister of Te Reohau, and Reuben Ranui, a great-grandson of Kotiro Piahana, share their experiences of attending primary school in the 1960s and secondary school in the early 1970s.

The case study then focuses on the education experiences of Tracey Wright, a great great-granddaughter of Kotiro Piahana, and Peata Thompson, the daughter of Pae Harawira, in the 1980s and 1990s. The current education experiences of three descendants of Piripi Te Kaponga are explored in the narratives of Piripi Ranui, the nephew of Reuben Ranui; Te Pae Aporo, the daughter of Peata Thompson; and Kataraina Wright, the daughter of Tracey Wright.

## **Education in the 1930s and 1940s**

### **Heni Goldsmith (born 1931, interviewed 16 April 2010)**

Heni grew up in Hūria with her grandmother Kotiro Piahana in the 1930s and 1940s and attended the Otumoetai School from 1936 to 1939. Kotiro had attended the Hūria Native School in the 1890s where English was taught, but for Heni te reo Māori was the language of the home. Heni attended Otumoetai School until 1939 when hapū children were forcibly moved to the Bethlehem Native School (as discussed in Chapter 5). She remembers the English accents of the teachers and the strict discipline they enforced.

They had these real Pom [English] teachers at Bethlehem and they all spoke with a plum in their mouths. I remember being fascinated by the sound of words that were so foreign to us. It was very formal, we started when the bell rang at quarter to nine, we lined up and we sang the National anthem to salute the flag, we did marches round and into school and sat at our desks from nine to three.

In Heni's last year at Bethlehem Native School (1945) the headmaster asked her what she wanted to do. She had replied that she wanted to be a teacher. Heni remembers the conversation with the principal and what she perceived as his low expectations of her abilities.

He said 'No, you're not good enough to be a teacher; you are going to be a nurse.' So I did a year's nursing study at College and I hated it so I went into Commercial and I hated that because you just sat in front of these typewriters and I sneaked into Professional and you weren't supposed to do that but somehow I got in and so the last two years I spent in Professional trying to better myself.

Heni had no desire to be a nurse because of enduring childhood memories of the medical treatment she, along with other hapū whānau, had received during her childhood both at school and at the marae.

I remember if somebody got nits we were taken around to the back of the [school] building and we had kerosene poured on our heads to get rid of the nits.

During a typhoid epidemic in Tauranga in the late 1930s, Heni was waiting in line behind her aunt, Rangikapua, to receive a vaccination. When her aunt received her injection the blood spurted out of her arm, a sight Heni never forgot.

We used to have medical people come to the marae and they would line us all up and that's why I'm scared of injections because one of the needles went right through her vein and blood squirted everywhere and now every time I go to the doctor for a blood test I can see this needle going through the vein and blood spurting out, because they were crude and the medical people weren't experienced.

In 1946 Heni enrolled at Tauranga College and attended for three years. The secondary school had a roll 350 senior students and although Heni remembers that there were very few Māori in the school, the head boy at that time was Thompson Reweti, a member of the Ngāi te Ahi and Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū of Ngāti Ranginui iwi. The Tauranga College Year Book (vol. 1, 1946) lists 358 pupils of whom about 25 (less than seven per cent) were Māori, although Māori made up 25 per cent of the population of Tauranga at this time (Winiata, 1954).

During this period students attending the Tauranga College were streamed by ability. Those deemed of least ability were streamed General (girls) and Agricultural (boys), while those deemed of higher ability were streamed either Commercial or Vocational and the highest stream was Professional. Entries in the 1947 College Year Book, that list students by name, suggest that the majority of Māori students were concentrated in the lower stream classes (Tauranga College Year Book, vol. 2, 1947).

Heni saw higher education as a pathway to employment and an escape from the itinerant labouring or domestic cleaning jobs that were considered normal for hapū members. She had always wanted a better life and through the support and opportunities offered by the Open Brethren Church she believes she was able to achieve her goals. She recalls that on Sunday afternoons members of the Open Brethren Church came to the marae and taught scriptures to hapū children.

The Church was noted for its support and I wanted something better for myself... and through them I had opportunities.

She went on to relate how the support provided by church groups helped her whanaunga (relation) Maharaia Winiata, on his education journey.

Maharaia was mentored, he went to the Methodist Church and they made him feel welcome. There was this old guy who accepted him and mentored him and helped

him with his education from the time he was a teenager. Later he married Frances who was like a missionary with the Methodist church. We really needed those supports to get anywhere and the Mormon Church also did a lot for some of the other families.

When she passed School Certificate in 1948, Heni was still keen to pursue her goal to become a teacher but was advised that she had to work as a teacher aide so she took a position at the Maungatapu School. However, Maharaia arranged for her to attend the new Teachers Training College in Ardmore, Auckland.

They said to be a teacher you have to do a year as a personal assistant, with a teacher in a school and I said ok I'll do that, so I went to Maungatapu School. Maharaia came and he said 'what are you doing?' I said I'm a PA at the Maungatapu School and he said 'no you're not, leave it with me' and he got onto Teachers Training College. He told them this girl needs to come to training college and if you don't get her in we will lose her. So in March the same year, 1949, he told me that I had an opening in Teachers Training College in Auckland so I left Tauranga and went to Auckland and I did two years there. I scraped through and they sent me to Wairoa and I did five years teaching there.

Heni was grateful for the support that Maharaia provided to her and other hapū children and also for the support of fellow Māori students at the Teachers College.

Where a kid showed an interest or where he saw that a kid was doing more he helped them because he watched me go through all these schools. He found me board [accommodation] while I was at the Teachers College. There weren't many Māori at Teachers College. Ross Hotere was one of our group and Ranginui Walker; we were in the same class. We used to sit at the back and talk Māori to one another. He still thinks I'm his long lost sister.

For Heni education and a career as a teacher were her escape from the lack of life choices that was often the fate of many hapū members of her time, but there was a cost. While Heni has always acknowledged her hapū and iwi connections she has lived the majority of her life in Auckland with little interaction and contact with the hapū community she grew up in.

I feel guilty every time I come to the marae at Hūria because I'm not having an input. When my children left home I had to make my mind up if I should come back to Hūria or whether I should stay with my family and my grandchildren [in

Auckland] and the family won. So that's why I can't get back to Hūria and be as supportive as I would like to be.

Her children have become even more dislocated from their heritage and initially had little interest in anything Māori, although this attitude changed as they got older.

When [my children] were growing up they didn't want to be Māori, but since they have become parents they are asking for things Māori so I teach them what I can.

Heni had high aspirations to learn English and to get out of poverty and in many ways, because of the support she received as a young woman, she has been able to achieve the ideals set out by the Hui Taumata Mātauranga (Durie, 2001) that education should aim to equip Māori to be citizens of the world, to live as Māori, and to enjoy a high standard of living. However, Heni was an exception. Her success was due to her strength and perseverance; the support at critical times both from the Open Brethren Church, and support from Maharaia Winiata. She succeeded in spite of an education system that exposed her to racial discrimination and low expectations of her potential. While her achievements have been significant for her and her immediate family and she has experienced success as a Māori person, her skills and knowledge have not been readily available to her own hapū.

**Ngāpati (Hape) Kuka (born 1936, interviewed 14 July 2010)**

Hape is the grand-daughter of Te Hare Piahana, the older brother of Kotiro, Heni's grand-mother. Hape first attended Bethlehem School in 1942 at a time when extended whānau from the local Māori communities all attended the school and grew up knowing one another, unlike the current generations of hapū children.

We were all whānau at the school; all from Hūria, Te Reti, Wairoa, and Bethlehem. It's not like that now, the hapū kids are all scattered in different schools and they don't even know they are related, it's sad.

Like her cousin Heni, Hape had unpleasant memories of her learning experiences at Bethlehem School and the attitude of certain teachers. Sixty-five years later she can still remember the words of a book she had to read aloud in front of the class.

As far as learning was concerned that wasn't good, we had funny [bad] teachers. I can remember the book I read and if I didn't put expression into that reading I got a whack. "Can you see the frog?" If the writing reads as a question you have to make your voice go up. "Can you see the frog? The frog is in the tree." I can still remember because I used to get a whack. You have to express your reading. The best thing they did for me was they taught me how to write, they said "You

have good writing”. But the cruelty, you had to read with expression otherwise you got a hiding and it embarrassed you because they did it in front of the kids. We did a lot of English; we did comprehension, read a lot of books. Then you had to kōrero Pākehā at home and at the kura [school].

For this kuia the language of the home was predominately Māori because that was the only language her mother knew, although her father was bilingual in English and Māori.

My mother hardly went to school, she didn’t know how to write her name, she didn’t know how to speak English either, she just kōrero [spoke] Māori and every time she signed her name it was a cross until one day Lanis [Hape’s older brother] taught her how to write her name so every time she went into social welfare she could sign her name. But my dad was a very knowledgeable man [in English] and very cheeky.

As more Māori teachers joined the staff of Bethlehem School in the 1950s it became easier for the Māori students to establish relationships with these teachers. It was a transition that was experienced by Hape, although for her the changes came too late.

We started to have Māori teachers and then it all changed. I saw that change when they came in; everything changed for the Māori kids. They made it easier for the Māori kids to sit down and kōrero and easier for the Māori kids to put their hands up if they wanted to ask to go to the wharepaku [toilet] and it was lovely, they were lovely teachers. But by that time it was too late for me because tatania kua mutu te kura [I was nearly finished school]. I was in Standard 6 for four years...too dumb you see, I had to stay there. I was glad to finish school and I went to work straight away.

Hape’s language and culture as a hapū member were marginalised by her educational experiences and although she has remained a strong supporter of hapū activities she is part of the generation who, while fluent speakers of Māori language, never spoke Māori to their children. Due to her often traumatic learning experiences her main education aspiration was to finish school as soon as possible and she never attended secondary school.

For both Heni and Hape, the exposure to the racial discrimination and low expectations of Pākehā teachers was an added burden to the daily poverty that they experienced through their childhood. In spite of the injustice and poverty Heni was able to take advantage of the support offered by the Methodist Church to realise her dreams of

education success and access to a career as a teacher. However, for Hape her traumatic experiences at primary school left her convinced that she couldn't learn because she was "too dumb."

## **Education in the 1960s and 1970s**

### **Pae Harawira (born 1957) and Rangiherea Thompson (born 1959, both interviewed 5 July 2010)**

Pae and Rangi are descendants of Katerina, a sister of Te Reohau. The two sisters have lived all their lives within the Hūria community and were raised by their grandparents. Both attended Bethlehem School in the 1960s and, in contrast to Heni and Hape, have happy memories of their experiences there and the friendships they established with other pupils.

Bethlehem School was like a country school with all the whānau there (Pae).

It was like being at home [and] that is where we made all our best friends because we started in primers and finished after intermediate (Rangi).

They also commented that school was a good place to learn and the positive role that Māori teachers played in creating that environment.

I think we were made to learn, we had successful Māori teachers and they wanted us to be successful as well and they used to make us learn (Rangi).

Pae especially remembers the teaching of Frank Winiata, son of Maharaia Winiata and how he made learning exciting.

Frank Winiata had an amazing way of teaching us how to learn, he made it so exciting and we wanted to be in his class. He would line the kids up two at a time and every time you got an answer right you could move forward and if you got it wrong you moved back and you had to challenge your mind to go forward. It was just his way of teaching and no other teacher in the school taught like that and it made us go home and want to learn the book, because the answers were in this book but you didn't know which ones he was going to ask. And at the end of it he would give us a small bar of chocolate, so he made it worthwhile (Pae).

While Pae had found the predominately Māori teaching staff at Bethlehem Primary inspiring the shock of seeing only one Māori teacher in a much larger local secondary school was a disappointment.

Māori as teachers, that was something we could aspire to. Wow all these clever Māori in one place and then we got to [secondary school] and there was... one Māori teacher and he was teaching te reo Māori, it was so different (Pae).

There were subjects that Pae enjoyed at secondary school and also teachers with whom she felt comfortable.

I liked the learning part particularly the history and [physical education] and we had [a teacher] for Māori. My form teacher was a lovely lady because she was nice to the whole class and my maths teacher was nice. She was the older generation and she was partly deaf so we had a lot of fun with her (Pae).

Rangi remembers the few Pākehā teachers who had taught at Bethlehem Primary and her inability to form respectful relationships with them and how the situation became worse once they attended college.

At Bethlehem School there was maybe one or two Pākehā teachers who we were disrespectful to because they were disrespectful to us, so we would give it back, they couldn't beat us. We got to college and it was predominately Pākehā teachers (Rangi).

Pae commented that her younger sister's clashes with teachers weren't restricted to disrespectful teachers as she tested the boundaries with all teachers. However, for Rangi there were two kinds of teachers, not Māori and Pākehā, but those who demonstrated they cared about her and those who didn't care. She felt that there weren't many Pākehā teachers who cared for her as a Māori student.

Rangi has a clear memory of one Pākehā teacher at the secondary school who was different; who not only demonstrated she cared but also had high expectations of all her students.

There was one teacher who was nice to me, my English teacher, she was really nice. She was a young teacher, but she wanted to see everybody succeed and it was noticeable, she made it clear what she expected. She wasn't harsh, she was very well spoken. Her expectations for us to learn and understand were very clear (Rangi).

Teachers who displayed caring attitudes and also had high expectations of Māori students were rare. The majority of teachers also failed to make learning interesting for Pae and Rangi.

Science was so boring. I can't remember learning anything; there was no incentive to learn. The other thing was if you were asked a question at [secondary

school] no Māori would put their hand up because of that fear of failure or getting laughed at. We weren't forthcoming (Rangi).

Pae also remembers the boring classes and how she and other Māori students disengaged from the learning process by not attending classes.

I found maths and science boring. All those classes that you had to take so I used to wag. People in my class would act the clown; maybe it was just to get attention or maybe just to get kicked out and sent to the Dean's office to avoid the class.

There were a few Māori [students] who were natural jokers and it was so boring for them to be in class or to be at the school (Pae).

Rangi also questioned the relevance of some of what they learned.

I didn't know there was a Treaty [of Waitangi]; it was never taught to us. We were taught about America, Fiji, China (Rangi).

Pae initially enjoyed te reo Māori classes because she had a basic fluency in te reo but quickly found the classes boring when they failed to extend her knowledge.

[The Māori language teacher] and I could have a proper conversation because [her grandparents] always spoke te reo at home and so I was a bit better than the other kids at school and [teacher] always had a little conversation with me before the class started. But I found the books boring and you start to doodle and then you get into trouble and have to go to the Dean's office. I already knew that stuff and I wanted to move onto something else, something better or a bit more challenging (Pae).

Pae relates how they had been good learners at Bethlehem, but the academic success experienced at primary school was not continued at secondary school.

Although we came from a predominately Māori school we were put into classes that weren't down there, we were in the middle, so we were quite intelligent (Pae).

Teachers and the education system had low expectations of Māori student success and critically, those low expectations by the system were reflected by the inter-generational experiences of their grandparents and extended whānau giving them no confidence in their ability to succeed.

The expectation wasn't there from our whānau, my [grand] father didn't expect me to [succeed] and I didn't expect to [succeed] as well. It was myself, you turn 15 and you go get a job (Rangi).

Just go to school girl and if you don't like it, oh well you can finish (Pae).

Their grandfather, Edward Thompson (referred to by Pae and Rangi as their father) had attended the Tauranga District High School in the early 1920s.

I think dad [grandfather] went to the equivalent of Year 7, but he could still read and write, whereas our [grand] mother was totally illiterate, she could barely sign her name. She did everything for us, cooked, cleaned, and looked after us; it was just that she couldn't read and write so she had to rely on us (Pae).

At secondary school Rangi had found security with fellow Māori students and although she blamed herself for what she called segregation, her experiences are an example of how uncomfortable she, and other Māori students, were made to feel in the school environment.

There were five Māori in my class and we coped really well because we used to sit at the back and just listen. That was us segregating ourselves, nobody did that to us we did that to ourselves because I did my primary years with all Māori and when I got to college and there were just the five Māori. I think we were all of the same whakaaro [thoughts], there's another Māori. Just comfort. Pākehā were there but we stuck with the people we knew (Rangi).

Both Pae and Rangi finished secondary school around their fifteenth birthdays.

I stayed till the beginning of [Year 11, aged 14] then I got kicked out because I was smoking. I had many warnings but I didn't listen (Rangi).

Both admitted that they never really 'fitted in' to the education system and blamed themselves. However, the reality was that the education system they experienced made little attempt to ensure that they, or other Māori students, felt part of the education system and enjoyed educational success or even felt part of wider society.

I think for us it was fitting into the system; coping, [otherwise] the work was quite easy (Rangi).

I enjoyed the time at [secondary school] because all our friends were there; just the social interactions, [but] not with Pākehā, even at secondary school (Pae).

For Pae and Rangi growing up in the community of Hūria and the whakawhanaungatanga experienced through their participation in hapū activities has strengthened their identity as hapū members. It is this sense of belonging that was missing from the school experiences.

Knowing your marae and hapū is so important, it comes way ahead of school education, although I maintain we all need to learn to read and write. Having the

marae and the whānau and hapū on board with us has meant so much. I often think if we were brought up somewhere else with outsiders without what we have now, because knowing what I know has made me strong, ngā tikanga [values learnt on the marae] have made me strong, it's made me grow (Pae).

The marae is always there and it has always been important for us, the whakawhanaungatanga (Rangi).

**Reuben Ranui (born 1964, interviewed 2 January 2010)**

Reuben is the great-grandson of Kotiro Witeri and he grew up at Matahoroa, the Ngāi Tamarāwaho community just across the valley from Hūria Marae, with his parents Heno and Kaa Ranui and eight other siblings. Like other hapū children of his age group he attended Bethlehem Primary School and he remembers the happy times he had there.

My friends, kapa haka, I just liked primary, I felt more comfortable. Once we went to intermediate we had different people. Not many Pākehā kids at Bethlehem but when I went to intermediate there were heaps and when I went to [secondary school] there was more still. I think the teachers were the same you had the fun ones and the grumpy ones and the ones you didn't like.

Reuben attended the local secondary school from 1975 to 1979, but never gained any qualifications and he is still bewildered as to what he actually learnt throughout his time at school.

I really don't know what I got out of school to be honest, I don't know. I just went because I was told to go. I didn't know what I was going to do for a job.

Apart from sport he only enjoyed one subject.

At the time my favourite subject was maths. I didn't pass, I still failed but I liked maths. I just liked figures. I use a lot of figures with my job [store man]; measurements and the formulas we used back then are what we use today.

He remembers the maths teacher as the only teacher who took any interest in trying to teach him anything.

He was good guy. I can remember just the way he explained things. He was one of those who were one on one. He would do the whole class but, if he knew there were problems, he would sit with that person and that's what I can remember about him. We had other teachers, but I didn't like them because they expected you to know it there and then.

For Reuben his lasting memory of his secondary schooling experiences was his inability to succeed, even in the subject he enjoyed, and this lack of success has tempered Reuben's enthusiasm to consider any further learning as an adult.

I probably wasn't a very good listener. I wasn't very good at anything else but maths; it was the one thing I liked. But it was just me, I still failed. I just didn't like school at all to be honest.

While the primary school experiences of this 1960s and 1970s generation were more positive than the experiences of the generations before them, their secondary school experiences were no better than earlier generations. For Pae, Rangi and Reuben, secondary school was something they endured until they were old enough to finish.

They didn't talk of having expectations to succeed at secondary school and if they had any expectations when they started secondary school these were quickly suppressed by a mono-lingual, mono-cultural system that expected them to either adapt and conform, or leave. They could all name individual teachers who demonstrated they cared for Māori students, those who had high expectations of them, but those teachers were the exception and the secondary school system made little attempt to make these whānau members feel comfortable, let alone valued learners and contributors.

## **Education in the 1980s and 1990s**

### **Tracey Wright (born 1976, interviewed 20 May 2011)**

Tracey grew up in the semi-rural settlement of Matapihi in Tauranga but her grandfather, Ruka (Nicolai) Witeri, grew up in Hūria with his aunt Kotiro. Ruka attended Otumoetai School and the Bethlehem Native School in the late 1930s and early 1940s. He later married and lived at Matapihi. His grand-daughter, Tracey, attended a local secondary school from 1990 to 1994 and while she stayed till Year 13, apart from some subject passes in Years 12 and 13, she achieved only School Certificate level (NCEA Level 1 equivalent); not enough to enter tertiary education).

I went through to [Year 13] but all I got was School Certificate. I was supposed to study all the [Year 13] subjects, like calculus, physics, etc., to have a good chance to get into the air force but I was hanging out with all my Māori mates from the bilingual unit so at the last minute I switched to sewing, outdoor education and sports education.

While Tracey stayed in the school system she wasn't always comfortable within a system where she often felt like an outsider, sometimes ill-at-ease in classes where she was the only Māori student.

I went to Matapihi Primary school and it was mostly Māori kids although the teacher was Pākehā. I noticed a big difference when I went to intermediate; I hated it because [I was] leaving a small comfortable, whānau environment; it was just too much for me so I always stayed in my class or in a little area and I would only mingle with my cousins, so I just stayed in that little group because [otherwise] it was just too freaky.

By the time she went to secondary school Tracey had overcome much of her initial fear of 'big schools' but she was then faced with being one of the few Māori students in higher streamed classes. While most of her whānau from Matapihi School went into the bilingual unit she went into English medium. Tracey had decided not to go into the bilingual unit because of her perception [and the prevailing perception of wider society] that the bilingual class was an inferior education option. She was also faced with the choice of either learning Japanese or Māori and at that stage she preferred to learn Japanese.

I didn't want to go [to the bilingual unit] because [I thought] you don't learn anything, and you end up being dumb, and I really wanted to learn Japanese.

In spite of making the decision to attend the English medium classes, Tracey found that she was often made to feel out of place in the more academic streams.

There were only a few Māori [and] all my clever Pākehā class mates asked 'what are you doing here'. I asked the teacher one year "why am I in this class shouldn't I be in that one [with all the Māori students]?" But I was always stuck with the same clever kids for classes.

Tracey was never given the encouragement to develop the self-belief that she was just as clever as her classmates and she also found it difficult to cope with the extra attention shown by teachers who recognised her talent and expected more of her.

I was doing Japanese and I was doing very well but the teacher scared me off because he wanted to pick on me; not pick on me but make me work hard because I was top in the class.

Apart from the unwanted attention of being 'top in the class' she remembers only one incident where she actually came into conflict with a teacher and although she remembers it as 'nothing really' it resulted in her being removed from that class for the rest of the year.

I had a problem with one teacher but it was nothing really. I asked to go to the toilet and then this Pākehā boy threw a piece of rubbish at the bin and the teacher

said ‘pick that up’ on my way out and I said ‘nah, that’s his, he can pick it up.’ I was asked to stay outside the class when I got back from the toilet and I stood there for ages so I got my things and went to my Dean [a Māori teacher] who was teaching in the bi-lingual class. I told her I didn’t want to go back. After that incident it was like a petty little fight, but I didn’t care, he knew he was wrong and I wasn’t going to let him win! I knew he was out to get me because of his smart little remarks when no other teacher was around, so for me to have a better year, I stayed in the Dean’s class. I think, my relationship with my Māori bilingual whānau, hit me again, and that is when I started hanging out with them a bit more.

This incident with the Geography teacher and Tracey’s realisation that she was more comfortable with whānau in the bilingual unit marked the end of her involvement in academic subjects. So in spite of comfortably passing School Certificate, Tracey never considered going any further with school qualifications or onto university. Her senior years in school switched to having fun with friends in the outdoor education and sports classes. This teacher’s actions were the tipping point in Tracey’s schooling, where she had continually been made to feel out of place.

Tracey was left with no choice other than to withdraw, either from the school or from the academic stream. While the fact that she already had good relationships with the teacher and students in the bilingual class made the choice to stay at school easier, the actions of a teacher, who reflected the overall attitude of the school, resulted in Tracey being denied opportunities to access higher education. Tracey’s negative experiences in secondary school reflect the negative experiences of successive generations of her extended whānau and also parallel the findings of Bishop and Berryman (2006).

**Peata Thompson (born 1977, interviewed 6 July 2010)**

Peata Thompson is the daughter of Pae Harawira; she has five children and is training to be a teacher through Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa. She attended three local secondary schools over a three year period from 1990 to 1993. She had attended Bethlehem and Brookfield primary schools and then went to an intermediate school. She too remembers the cultural difference between primary school and intermediate.

At Bethlehem there were all the Ngāti Kahu lot and the Hūria lot, so you had that whānau thing going even though we didn’t have a bilingual unit. But when you got to intermediate there was just all these Pākehā. I liked it there because some of the cousins were there but I felt like I didn’t fit in with the Pākehā. I don’t know why that is.

When she enrolled in college Peata had wanted to attend the bilingual unit but her mother refused to enrol her in the unit because of the uncomplimentary feedback about the unit that she heard from a whanaunga.

Before I went to [secondary school] my mum asked me if I wanted to go to bilingual or [English medium] and straight away I said bilingual and then she had a talk to [a neighbour] who was a couple of years ahead [at the college] and she said to my mother “no” and gave her a run down about the bilingual unit and my mum refused to put me in there. So before I even started I didn’t want to go [into English medium classes] because I just liked being around Māori people. Even though I didn’t know the reo I just felt more comfortable in that environment.

Peata shifted to another local secondary school half way through Year 10 to stay with her father’s parents. In spite of her lack of te reo Māori she enrolled herself in the bilingual unit where she felt she would be more comfortable.

At the [secondary school] I went into a bilingual unit. I was staying with my father’s parents and they didn’t know what the bilingual unit was so I just put myself in there and I didn’t know anything. We had a spelling test in Māori and I remember spelling hui with a ‘q’ and I thought I must be dumb at te reo Māori yet I lived like a Māori. So the teacher wasn’t too happy, she thought I had come from a bilingual unit but I had lied about that because I just wanted to be there around them. I picked up a little from there but it was more the whakawhanaungatanga for me, being around your own, people who could pronounce your name properly. At the [secondary school] I did kapa haka and that made me feel at home even though I didn’t know anyone from there.

Peata finished Year 10 and then went to a third local secondary school for Year 11 where she finished school half way through the year when her grandmother died. During her schooling experiences only two teachers stood out for Peata; one was a Māori teacher.

[She] was Māori although she didn’t act like one, but when I didn’t understand something or I kept getting things wrong in class, if I told her I didn’t understand she would take the time to repeat everything and at the end I would get it right. Some Pākehā teachers would say it once and if you didn’t get it, well you weren’t listening, go to the principal. So you are going to play up, “f... you, you b...;” but it was more that I didn’t understand.

The other teacher who stood out for Peata was a Pākehā teacher at a local intermediate school who made the effort to pronounce her name correctly. The refusal of teachers to learn how to pronounce her name correctly was an on-going issue for Peata.

[A] teacher at [intermediate school] was choice; he would always mihi to you [greet you] and put that little bit of extra time in with homework and that. Just acknowledging me and not getting my name wrong, but some of them wouldn't try, they just continued to call me Pita and I'm thinking how the hell can you get that and that was a put off for me. It was an issue from primary, I used to get called 'Pita' and I hated that and I thought it was really cruel.

The childhood memories of having her name pronounced incorrectly were revived for Peata when her eldest son encountered the same issue at his intermediate school in 2010.

I went to the interviews and [the teacher] said "you're Creedence's mum." My son doesn't use that name, it's on his birth certificate but he's always called Iraihiā. When I came home and I asked my son. 'What do you like to be called?' [He said] "Iraihiā". "So what's wrong?" And he told me that [the teacher] pronounced it wrong the first time so he stuck with Creedence. I went to see the teacher the next day and told her that Creedence was not his name. She told me she was having problems with him, but he quietened down after that [when the teacher started using his Māori name correctly]. I didn't have any one to do that for me. I grew up hating my name.

The negative intergenerational experiences of Māori personal names in schools led to many Māori children being given English names by their parents to avoid ongoing embarrassment for the children. For Peata learning te reo and knowing about her marae, hapū and iwi provided a grounding that confirmed and consolidated her identity.

It's one of the things that holds it all together for me; at least I always knew who I was and where I was from. Because things used to happen at school and I used to move around a lot but the thing was I always came back to the marae. You don't realise it until you are older, we always had a place to come back to.

The secondary school experiences of Tracey and Peata in the 1990s perpetuated a level of exclusion from higher academic achievement for these young women. While both had access to te reo Māori as a curriculum option they experienced a system that made little attempt to make these women feel comfortable, let alone valued learners and contributors.

They had some expectations, or perhaps just hope, that they would do better at school and this expectation may have stemmed from the kaupapa Māori movement of the 1980s that encouraged an increasing positive attitude towards things Māori within Māori communities. However, from the experiences of Tracey and Peata, those positive attitudes were not present for them in the 1990s. So this hope was largely unfulfilled for these two women, although their education experiences have given them a strong resolve that it would be better for their children.

## **Education in the 2000s**

### **Piripi Ranui (born 1994, interviewed 6 July 2010)**

Piripi, a Year 11 student in 2010, is the great-great grandson of Kotiro Witeri and is named after his tupuna Piripi Te Kaponga. He has attended a mixture of English and Māori immersion settings since commencing school, including a bilingual unit at intermediate and a bilingual unit at the college where he enjoys the whānau environment.

[Secondary school] is a comfortable environment and the majority of my teachers are whānau and they are Māori which means they understand me when I need some help.

While he is comfortable in the bilingual unit he is less comfortable in the English medium classes that he attends outside the unit.

We don't know the Pākehā teachers very well so I don't know whether they are trying to get us to do well or whether they are just picking on us.

Piripi explained that when he started at the secondary school the first thing that happened was a process of establishing connections to allow for relationship building where everyone had the opportunity to get to know all the other Māori students and the Māori teachers.

I felt comfortable because we had a mihi and we had to hop in a circle and have whakawhanaungatanga just like kura kaupapa, but it doesn't happen outside [the bilingual unit] so the Pākehā teachers don't know us and we don't know them. We should have a little circle [in the English medium classes] as well.

For Piripi getting to know his teachers, both Māori and Pākehā, was important, he wanted to be able to have fun in class but also be aware of the boundaries, a situation that is only possible when students and teachers know each other well.

The Māori teachers are stricter and that's the cool thing because they can take a joke as well. That's the thing about Māori teachers they get to know their students. Most Pākehā teachers will just give you a detention straight away.

Inflexible timetabling by schools often means that students are locked into curriculum options after they have made initial subject choices. In his third year at secondary school, Piripi found that his course options were dependent on the choices he had made in Years 9 and 10 and that it was difficult to switch to a different option. The school had narrowed the curriculum options for students in the bilingual classes which set up a structural barrier for Māori students' academic options.

I want to become an audio engineer, but we had to do music last year in order to do it this year. Most of the Māori students couldn't do music last year because they were in [the bilingual unit].

Piripi's mother was also frustrated that schools assumed that Māori parents knew what courses their children should be in.

Keeping a child at school isn't going to make them a success, but to have education success they [have to] gain a lot of NCEA credits in order to get to those other pathways. So in order to make education a success, everything has to be transparent and understandable so parents can understand the school system. Pākehā teachers think if they know that stuff then everyone else must know (Perlin Ranui, 6 July 2010).

As a parent Piripi's mother had a clear idea of what education success might look like for her children.

Success would be to help them grow into what they want to be, not so much what they have already got in the schools, but trying to further them in what they want (Perlin Ranui, 6 July 2010).

At the time of his interview Piripi was in Year 11 and struggling to maintain any interest in school work. Instead of encouraging this student's enthusiasm in a subject area that he was passionate about, an inflexible school system had restricted him to subjects that failed to address his aspirations.

When you hit Year 11 you have just had enough.

For Piripi knowledge of te reo Māori, tikanga and his marae were important. This knowledge gives him self-assurance about who he is and where he belongs.

That's very important to me because I have to know where I come from and other people would like to know where I come from too.

**Kataraina Wright (born 1997, interviewed 20 May 2011)**

Kataraina is Tracey's daughter, a Year 10 student who enjoys sport, being with her friends and who describes her classes as 'fun'. She feels she is doing well at school,

especially in maths, geography and science but she isn't so sure about English. In spite of only being in Year 10 she has already set her sights on attending university because, in her words, "I want to do more learning."

While Kataraina enjoys learning and seems comfortable in the secondary school environment she is clear that some teachers are better than others and she has some definite ideas about what makes either a good teacher or a bad teacher.

Good teachers help you when you are stuck and they are really, really happy, but bad teachers are really grumpy and make you do lots of work.

When asked to consider that she might have a happy teacher and not learn anything because they didn't give her enough work, Kataraina was still clear about what made a bad teacher.

[Bad teachers] make you do stuff for no reason at all or they don't explain what the reason is.

While Kataraina has experienced differing teacher quality at primary and secondary level she is comfortable in her current school environment and has clear goals about going to university. Her mother, Tracey, is very proactive in her children's education because she remembers the problems she had at school and has made it a habit of making herself known to teachers within her children's schools and also volunteers as parent help.

[The teachers] know you are nosey so they won't do anything bad to [your] child. I walk into the college and ask if I can go and see whatever, I know where my daughter's class is and I can go in there because I want to make sure she is fine. I know how I felt [at school] when something went wrong and I wanted to hide away and stuff like that, but now I'm trying to help her get out there and if she doesn't like it, I let her pull back (Tracey Wright, 20 May 2011).

### **Te Pae Aporo (born 1997, interviewed 5 June, 2010)**

Te Pae, a Year 10 student in 2010, is Peata's daughter. She enjoys learning te reo Māori and making friends at school. Te Pae was interviewed with two other students from the hapū who were in the same class. These students were all part of a secondary school initiative to raise Māori student achievement by keeping Māori students in the same class by Year group where they attended the core subjects together. While the three students enjoyed being with other Māori students they were dissatisfied with the quality of teaching they were receiving and the low level of the work they were given.

When asked what she didn't like about school Te Pae replied "I don't like dramas and I don't like maths." The group all agreed that they didn't like the maths class where students with a wide range of maths ability were all taught at the lowest level, demonstrating the low expectations of the teacher. Te Pae also stated that "the teacher is brainless [and] doesn't care if we run out of class." Te Pae supported the group consensus that the teacher didn't seem to care whether they succeeded or not.

Te Pae didn't feel that her goals and ambitions were being met; she was missing classes and the subject she was really interested in, photography wasn't available to her.

I've been missing a lot of Māori and missing a lot of other classes. I wanted to do photography but my teacher was like 'we'll see' and I wanted to change classes but she said if I change classes I can't do photography.

While Te Pae has educational goals and ambitions, she lacks confidence in the ability of some of her teachers and struggles with the relevance of some of her subjects.

For the students of 2010 there remains a measure of unfulfilled expectations and a frustration at what they view as irrelevant subjects and uninspiring teachers. They had some clear goals and aspirations about their futures, but were often frustrated by what they saw as an inflexible system that didn't allow them to pursue those aspirations. For Piripi and Te Pae this growing frustration was compounded by an inability to relate to teachers who they often hadn't been given the opportunity to establish any relationships with.

The following table summarises the intergenerational education experiences of this extended whānau. Similar tables are introduced at the end of each case study. These tables demonstrate the consistent themes of imposed educational limitations and active discouragement, across multiple generations, which have resulted in limited education success for the whānau of Ngāi Tamarāwaho.

**Table 1:** Case study 1, summary of intergenerational education experiences

	<b>Cultural identity and language</b>	<b>Hapū expectations</b>	<b>Schools' expectations for hapū children</b>	<b>Education outcomes for hapū children</b>
<b>1930s and 1950s</b>  <b>Great-grandparents' generation</b>  Heni & Hape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1<sup>st</sup> language speakers of te reo Māori.</li> <li>Cultural identity and language devalued</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success to escape low socio economic status</li> <li>the need to learn English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not expected to succeed</li> <li>limited cultural activities</li> <li>Te reo Māori banned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Only Heni achieved education success</li> <li>Did not speak te reo Māori to their children</li> </ul>
<b>1960s and 1970s</b>  <b>Grandparents' generation</b>  Pae, Rangi & Reuben	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pae grew up bilingual while Rangi &amp; Reuben monolingual English generation</li> <li>Cultural identity and language devalued</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success</li> <li>access to te reo Māori and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not expected to succeed</li> <li>limited provision of cultural activities and te reo Māori</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Only learned basics at school</li> <li>Only Rangi has achieved some limited education success as an adult</li> </ul>
<b>1980s and 1990s</b>  <b>Parents' generation</b>  Tracey & Peata	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English their first language</li> <li>Some exposure to te reo Māori in school and for Peata as a Kōhanga parent and teacher</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success</li> <li>access to te reo Māori and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Low expectations of success</li> <li>Limited provision of cultural activities</li> <li>Limited provision of te reo Māori</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Limited success</li> <li>Both Tracey and Peata achieved higher education as adults</li> </ul>
<b>2000s</b>  <b>Tamariki mokopuna – current generation</b>  Piripi, Kataraina, Te Pae	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English their first language</li> <li>exposure to te reo Māori in kōhanga and immersion school for Piripi</li> <li>Hapū initiatives strengthen Māori and hapū cultural identity and language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success</li> <li>access to te reo Māori and hapū specific cultural knowledge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Variable expectations of success</li> <li>Variable take-up of “Māori success as Māori” as education policy.</li> <li>Uncertainty of place of Māori cultural identity and language in academic achievement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Variable success</li> </ul>

## Case study 2: Te whānau a Tukaokao

The following case study explores the educational experiences of ten descendants of Tukaokao, a grandson of Paraone Koikoi, (highlighted below) over a period of seventy years from the late 1940s to 2011. Paraone Koikoi was hapū leader during the turbulent period from the 1860s to the early 1870s. His grandson Tukaokao was named to remember a tupuna who was bayoneted in the armpit during those turbulent times.

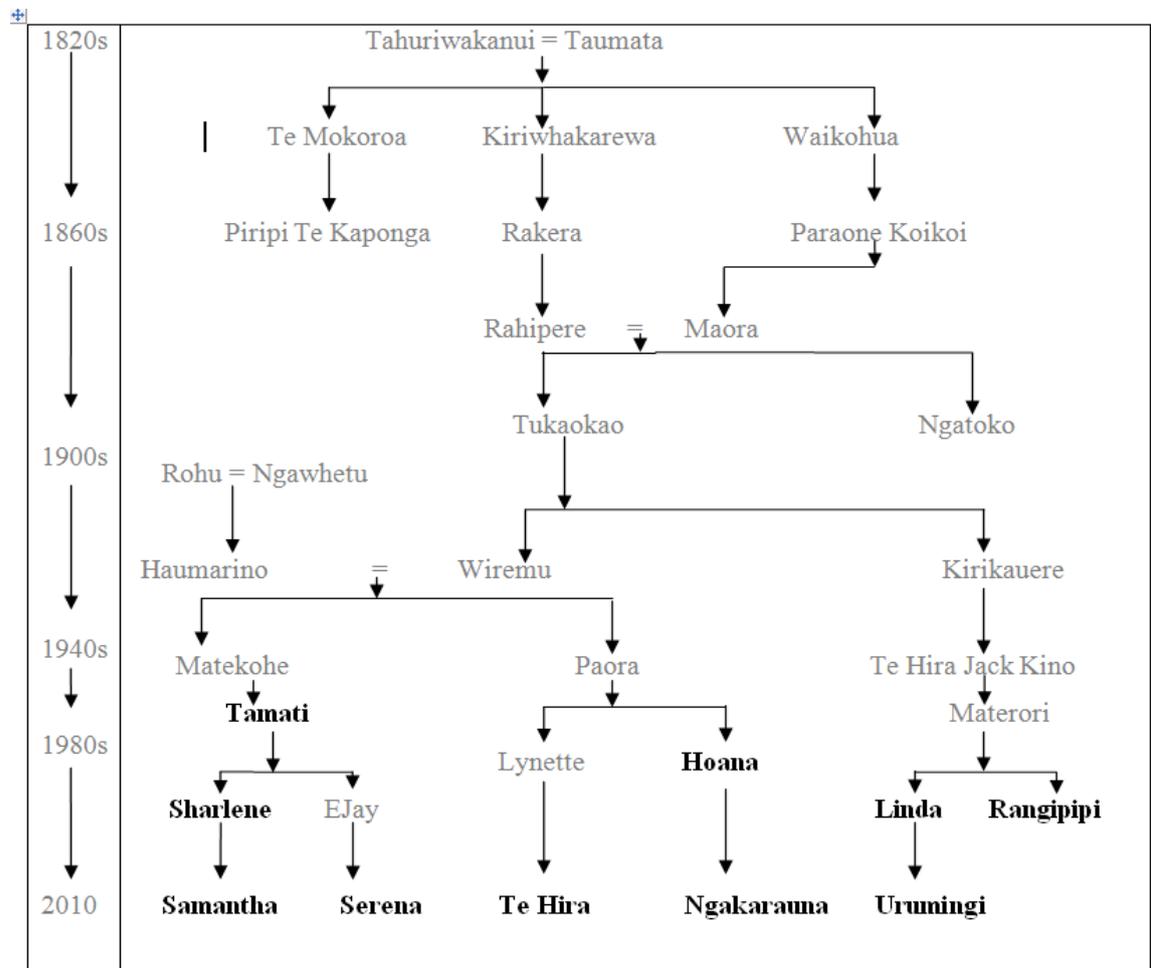


Figure 2: Te whakapapa o te whānau a Tukaokao

This case study begins with the narrative of Tamati Tata who attended school in the 1940s and 1950s. It then presents the narratives of his younger cousin Hoana Tukaokao; his daughter Sharlene Henare, and their whanaunga Linda Hemopo who all attended school during the 1970s and early 1980s. These narratives are followed by those of Linda's younger sister, Rangipipi, who attended secondary school in the early 1990s. The case study then focuses on the more recent educational narratives of Ngakarauna Williams (the daughter of Hoana), her cousin Te Hira and the grandchildren of Tamati, Samantha Henare and Serena Tata and Linda's daughter Te Urumingi.

### Education in the 1940s and 1950s

**Tamati Tata (born 1941, interviewed 1 June 2011)**

Tamati was raised in Hūria with his great-grandparents, Rohu and Ngawhetu and often travelled with them to Hāhi Ringatū gatherings throughout the central North Island.

Every first of July and every first of January they went to Whakatane or Ruatoki or Whatatutu in Gisborne and I always went with him and my nan. They took me places and I saw things travelling on buses or by train; other people, other marae. So for me that was a learning experience to see those other places and other people.

Tamati attended Bethlehem Native School in 1946 with the rest of his extended whānau. He enjoyed primary school and felt he was successful, especially in maths and English.

I went all the way through to [Year 8]. I used to love doing all my work at [primary] school, I can remember all my maths books were finished by June so they had to find me something to do and then I was writing essays and they all got published at primary school.

He attended Tauranga College in 1957, the last year the school was a co-ed school before it became Tauranga Boys College.

It was one year of a combined college, the girls were there, and then they moved to the Girls' College [1958]. There were quite a few who went from Bethlehem School, those from Cambridge Road, Wairoa, Bethlehem and some from Judea.

Tamati didn't experience the same transition trauma that other hapū members have described when they graduated to secondary school from Bethlehem Native School. He attributes this to both his involvement in the Mormon Church and also his involvement in the youth club started by Maharaia Winiata.

I think for me it was different, I was more outward going than a lot of others. A little bit was my involvement in the church, but it was more my involvement with the things we did at the marae. We had the Maharaia Youth Club at the marae in our time so we did heaps of things. We had a kapa haka group and we went out performing to raise money. The girls played netball and we played basketball... at Memorial Park, so there was a lot of activity for us other than just rugby during the winter, so you got to see things. We would get a bus and go to Auckland and do the same things like kapa haka and sports and compete with other whānau members who were living up there like the Tarawa whānau at Panmure. Maharaia was spearheading all those things for us. We had our kapa haka group, Ngāti Ranginui at that time, and Maharaia took us to Western Springs [Auckland] and we performed there all day and part of the night.

Tamati remembers that Maharaia played a direct role in promoting education and encouraged hapū children by talking with them about school.

Maharaia used to come down home to my mum and Nani Whetu and Nani Ngawaikaukau and just sit and talk to them and he would always look at the mokos [grandchildren] and then he would talk to us about going to school and things like that.

When he started secondary school Tamati was made team leader of a committee that organised activities for the school's third formers.

[The school] formed a committee of third formers and they were responsible for taking care of all the new third formers' activities; dances, barbeques and any other little activities. This group was like another student body and they had two prefects to make sure everything ran comparable to them. I was made the president for the boys and another student was the president for the girls. So between us, I think there were eight others, four boys and four girls, we would meet with the two prefects once a month to talk about some of the activities we would like as third formers. I was the only Māori on that committee.

While he felt that he coped well in secondary school he failed to gain the qualifications required for admittance to higher education and he realised that it was his competency in English that was the issue.

When we started in college in the third form you didn't know how you got put in a class but afterwards you realised that it was your level of understanding and comprehension of English and general knowledge, not how tidy your book was and how neat your writing was; although, they would always remark what lovely writing all the Māori kids have got.

Tamati had wanted to be a teacher but his failure to pass English in School Certificate meant that this career option was unavailable to him.

When it came to English I got kicked in the guts, so I never got School Certificate when I was at school, I had a lot of high marks in the other subjects to be well over the 280 mark but English was the lowest one and you had to get English to pass School Certificate. The teachers told me that [in exams] they either scale up or they scale down and when it came to English we all got scaled down that year because there were too many who passed. If they had left it alone I would have been alright I would have passed. I sort of stumbled when it came to English; not

poetry, I loved poetry, history and all those sort of things, geography, tech drawing, science they were all high marks, pass marks.

The education system discriminated against bilingual students like Tamati and his failure in English not only impacted on his academic progress but also impacted on his willingness to speak te reo Māori to his children who have all grown up monolingual English speakers. In spite of failing to gain School Certificate, Maharaia arranged for Tamati to work as a teacher aide in a Hawkes Bay school. However, the requirement to re-sit all the School Certificate subjects and the low pay of the teacher aide position saw Tamati return to Tauranga after one year in that position.

Maharaia enrolled me as a junior assistant teacher in this little school for a year, but I had to make sure I got my School Certificate. I said to them that I had passed all these subjects but they said it didn't matter, because I missed English I had to do it all again. So I sort of got hōhā [impatient] with that and I just played rugby. When I [first] got there I did all my work and sent it away to Correspondence School. I think if I had concentrated just on doing the work and not playing rugby I would have been alright, but that is just the way it turned out. I'm not kicking myself or blaming anyone, that's just the way it happened. I enjoyed being at the school. I enjoyed teaching kids, enjoyed preparing my monthly work book and weekly work and planning for the kids; I loved it and I thought this is what I want to do. But while I was there the money wasn't any good, I wanted to go and earn big money and maybe go back to teaching later on.

However, the opportunity for Tamati to go back to higher education was delayed when he got married and had children. His priority became earning enough money to not only support his family but to also give his children better educational opportunities. Working at the Rangiuru freezing works enabled him to earn the income needed to provide those opportunities and be able to determine how and where his children would be educated.

I thought if I went to the freezing works I can send all my kids to boarding school; so different to what I went through. So we sent them to Church College in Hamilton, it didn't matter which school they went to so long as they went to a school where they got some closer attention and all my kids did ok. That is why I am grateful to the freezing works because it was that income that allowed me to get my kids off to school. I knew what I wanted to do, but because of my

circumstances and I think for my kids they needed to be doing these things for mātauranga [knowledge, education].

Tamati was also aware that success in education had often meant a loss of Māoritanga for some of the hapū whānau who had striven for higher education, but he felt that for his children, like it had been for him, growing up next to the marae had provided that solid base of hapū identity.

There has been a cost for [some whānau], a loss of Māoritanga things in their lives because they have gone that way, whereas for me I can have this kaupapa Māori side any time I like, but this other field [te ao Pākehā] you go for it. The hapū and marae and te reo have always been there for me and it is the same for my kids, but they need to pick it up themselves. They know what the marae is about, so when they are here they know what is required and I have always said to my kids when they were growing up, your mum is Pākehā and I'm Māori so you choose, either you are doing both or you are doing one or the other, you choose, it's your life, it's your choice. So I have always left it up to them, but whatever they decide we will tautoko [support] them.

While Tamati has developed a philosophy of lifetime education he acknowledged the difficulty and complexity of multiple pathways and multiple demands on individuals' time and resources. This meant making choices and for Māori sometimes that meant giving up parts of their identity.

Learning is never ending, but you have to learn those things that you need at that time and you have to plan for your future and that is the bugbear for a lot of Māori; how do you give up [some things] to be able to continue with your other aspirations.

Tamati enjoyed education success at primary school and actively sought to engage in higher education at the secondary level to achieve his aspiration to become a teacher. However, the inflexible system denied Tamati an opportunity to move to higher education. Ironically later in life Tamati demonstrated his tenacity and resilience by pursuing an academic career. Until 2012 he was employed by a tertiary institute where his skills and knowledge in Māori language and culture became a sought after resource. In the same year, aged seventy, he completed his master's degree.

## **Education in the 1970s and 1980s**

**Hoana Tukaokao (born 1963, interviewed 6 July 2010)**

Hoana is Tamati's first cousin, her father Paora is the younger brother of Matekohe, Tamati's mother. Hoana grew up in Hūria and attended Bethlehem Primary School in 1969, then a local intermediate school and a local secondary school. Hoana enjoyed primary school but remembers that intermediate was different with predominately Pākehā students as opposed to the high percentage of Māori students at Bethlehem School.

I loved going to school and there was hardly a time when I took a day off and that was only if I was sick or if there was a tangi. Being predominately Māori at Bethlehem Primary the transition over to Intermediate was daunting. I suppose Intermediate set me up to know that there was more to education than just Māori students and Māori teachers in the school, so in that sense it wasn't so daunting when I got to [secondary school].

While Hoana enjoyed secondary school she stayed in the areas where she felt safe, especially sport and with other Māori students. While she enjoyed learning she struggled to achieve success in her subjects.

I fell into that safe mode where I stayed with the whānau and new Māori friends I had made and played sport and stayed within the confines of that environment just to keep myself safe.

Secondary school failed to engage Hoana and at the end of three years she left school having only achieved a pass in School Certificate Māori.

I stayed at college to the fifth form and I only passed Māori, which is what I came away with, otherwise life started to take a hold of me and I saw that there were other things than school that interested me.

While Hoana was poorly served in the secondary system, like her older cousin Tamati, she took charge of her learning as an adult student. In an act of self-determination she returned to education on her terms. She took a computer course at the PTE based at Hūria marae and the confidence gained in this environment prompted her to further her computing qualification at the local Polytechnic.

I was taking [my daughter] to Kōhanga and then coming to the computer courses at the marae, so it was working in nicely. It wasn't until [Hoana's youngest daughter] started school that I decided to go back into education. I had no direction of what I wanted to do or where I wanted to go, all I knew was that I was going to gain myself a tohu [qualification] in computing.

While doing her computing course at the Polytechnic, Hoana developed an interest in teaching and decided to further her studies by gaining an adult teaching qualification.

It was while I was at the Polytechnic that teaching grabbed me. I started my first papers in adult teaching. That is where I started my journey in education and teaching. I wasn't specifically looking for a job but because a friend knew that I had the *tohu* in computing and that I was also gaining a teaching *tohu* she asked for my CV and seven months later, just before the practicum was due, I was granted an interview with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. I was still doing my studies so I wasn't that encouraged that I would get the position but a month later they told me I had the position, so I started work with the Wānanga in April 2003 and did my practicum in June 2003, so it worked out nicely.

Hoana has a strong sense of hapū identity and feels that current generations have increased opportunities to learn about and through *te ao Māori*.

[As a result] of the struggles in the 1960s and 1970s [*kaupapa Māori*] has got stronger and will only get stronger and stronger; as a people our identity is in stone now and no one is going to take that away. I don't think anyone took it away from us, just that we couldn't affirm it as much as we can today. I think if we had had half the opportunities that these kids have today we would probably be a lot stronger in our knowledge than we are now because if we had known more we would have been able to share more, because Māori love to share information.

**Sharlene Henare (born 1967, interviewed 6 July 2010)**

Sharlene is the eldest of Tamati's children. She grew up in Hūria with her parents and six brothers and two sisters. Unlike many of her extended whānau Sharlene didn't attend Bethlehem School but attended Otumoetai Primary and then a local Intermediate. After completing her first year of secondary school at a local secondary school, she attended a private boarding school in Hamilton.

I hated [local secondary school]; the first thing I felt really hard was that it wasn't co-ed and so I couldn't cope with those extreme girl behaviours because with six brothers I'm used to boys. So I found that adjustment really difficult and also because everyone I knew went to [another local secondary school].

At the local secondary school Sharlene was streamed into an academic class and faced the dilemma of being perceived as different by both her Pākehā class mates and fellow Māori students located in the lower streams.

I never noticed anything different at primary, we were just kids, but I became a bit more aware at Intermediate and that was mainly only with one or two teachers. But going to [secondary school], the only other person I knew was my friend and cousin, one of the Bryan girls from Pyes Pa. I was one of three Māori in my class and she was the only Māori in her class and we were in the two top streams and pretty much all the other Māori girls in our year were in what was commonly called 'G force'. So you couldn't fit with that grouping because although we were Māori we were perceived to be 'different' and we also didn't fit with our classmates. So I didn't feel that I fitted in either way so when my parents said I could go to [private secondary school], even though I didn't know much about the place, I was happy to go.

However, at the boarding school both her Māori and religious cultures were part of the wider school environment.

Eighty per cent of the teachers were Māori or Pacific Islander and eighty per cent of the student body was Māori and Pacific Islander, so as well as the church aspect there was a lot of things I had in common [with both teachers and fellow students]. I didn't realise it till I got there how much in the [State] school you have to explain yourself. In [the boarding school] you didn't have to explain yourself, the way they did things was in a Māori way and that was probably by default because the majority of the staff and students were Māori and if they weren't Māori they were white people, Australians, Americans or New Zealanders, who were married to Māori or church people who were used to Māori people.

Sharlene left secondary school having achieved University Entrance and Seventh Form Certificate and went on to gain tertiary qualifications later in life. She compares that with her father's academic journey and what she has promoted to her children.

I didn't do tertiary studies till my thirties and you have dad [aged 70 years] working on his Masters, I'm also working on my Masters and I'm pushing my girl to go to university, but to do it quicker not like my dad doing it the same time as me. I promote it to my kids that getting qualifications enhances your opportunities to increase your earning capacity which then gives you life choices. For some of our families their young people will be the first generation to achieve at a tertiary level, but I think once you can get there then you can shift the whole thinking around the choices for that whānau.

Sharlene and her husband determined the most suitable secondary schools for their children rather than just sending them to the nearest school. Their main consideration was that their children should experience some success in a secondary school that met their individual needs.

My boys didn't want to go [to boarding school] but we made the conscious decision to send them out of zone to [a local secondary school]. I think you have to be able to make conscious decisions about your children's schooling; that is important... give them the opportunity to excel in at least something, because the kids who are popular and excel seem to be less bullied, less affected by peer pressure and tend to get more support from the teachers. We really noticed that at [secondary school], because [her two sons] were good at rugby, they got into good classes with good teachers, who knew how to speak to parents, knew how to mix up their teaching and have some fun in the class. They were really looked after there and it helped keep them at school. For the girls [another local secondary school] is the right school for them from what is offered.

Sharlene has also been proactive by involving herself in school activities and making herself known to teachers.

I suppose my involvement in my children's schools was a conscious decision because I have been on the Brookfield Primary Board of Trustees, the Otumoetai Intermediate Board and I have been asked to sit on the Otumoetai College Board of Trustees. That's about being in teachers' faces and having a presence in the school so they know who my child is and that if there are any problems I want to know about it. It keeps them honest. We also try to do at least one school trip a year so teachers see your face in the school and if teachers ask about Māori issues I willingly give my perspective so they are more inclined to ask me something.

**Linda Hemopo (born 1969, interviewed 8 July 2010)**

Linda's grandfather and Tamati's mother are first cousins and although Linda was always aware of her connection to Hūria Marae she grew up in Greerton, a suburb of Tauranga, and was more involved in her parents' church than in marae or hapū activities.

I went to [local secondary school] and finished in the sixth form, which was 1985 or 1986. I got School Certificate (NCEA Level 1) and Higher School Certificate in English, Maths, Science, Geography and Typing. I didn't do Māori, it was available but I wasn't interested then.

Linda enjoyed school but admits that although she gained School Certificate she just achieved the pass marks. She would have stayed at school to the Year 13 but was offered employment in a Government Department.

I never remember mum pushing us into school or making us go to school we just did it. I didn't fully understand what was expected of me and why I was even at school; I just wanted to do the right thing. I didn't realise there was a bigger picture and if I had known what [a good education] could lead to maybe things would have been different. I enjoyed school, but when I say I got School Certificate, I got the bare fifty per cent on most of them. I just liked learning. I didn't have a problem with school. I enjoyed college and I would have carried on to Year 13, but they had offered jobs in government departments for Māori students, so I went straight into work at the Probation Office at the end of Year 12.

Linda can only remember one teacher who stood out for her and it was because he approached her parents when he felt she was having some problems at school, demonstrating a personal interest in her learning.

I think he must have noticed a change in my behaviour and he asked mum and dad to talk to me about it and I liked that because it seemed that he was concerned and took an interest.

Linda and her husband have nine children and they take a strong interest in their education. While learning te reo Māori wasn't a priority for Linda when she attended school it became a priority when she had children.

When I was in school [learning te reo] wasn't important at all. Now it is important and I think it might have always been there because ever since I had my first child I have always put them into kōhanga and immersion, but it wasn't until two years ago that I got this burning passion to go and learn te reo myself. Before that I just had no interest in it at all and to me why is that? God put that fire and that desire in me to learn, that's what I believe. [Learning te reo] has opened a whole new world to me, it has woken me up, and it's given me an appreciation of the earth.

Knowledge of te reo Māori wasn't strong in Linda's whānau but her desire for her children to be well educated was inclusive of both knowledge from te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā.

My mother and her brothers and sisters don't speak te reo. We never knew anything. My kids knew more than me and my mum. I remember I had to go and

look for [knowledge about hapū and iwi]. I just know I always wanted it for my kids. I don't know why. I think I just wanted them to know their Māori side and te reo.

Linda's decision to have her children educated in Māori immersion didn't go unchallenged by friends and family who questioned the relevance of te reo Māori in today's world.

That's a comment I used to get a lot when I first started [eldest daughter] in the immersion unit and even now I still get that. What's Māori going to do for them?

Linda's current education aspiration is to learn te reo Māori although she is less concerned with gaining qualifications.

One of the kaiako [teacher] at the wānanga said something to me about the tohu, the end of year certificate. And I said I don't want that, I just want to learn te reo. He said well it might be helpful one day. One day it might be, but that's a bonus, you never know. Getting the tohu is not my focus at the moment.

## **Education in the 1980s to the 1990s**

### **Rangipipi Kahui (born 1979, interviewed 2 January 2010)**

Rangipipi is Linda's younger sister. She attended a local secondary school from 1991 to 1996 and did Year 13 at a secondary school in Christchurch. She currently lives in Australia. She remembers enjoying sports and kapa haka at secondary school but was less enthusiastic about academic subjects.

I was good at certain things like singing and sport and that was what I enjoyed; the extra curricula activities like kapa haka, being a school DJ, sports, that kind of stuff.

She found the lack of interaction and the lecture style of teaching in some classes made it difficult for her to develop any interest in some subjects.

I didn't like science because I had to sit there and be talked to about stuff that just wasn't interesting to me. I loved home economics because we got to do stuff and it was actually experiencing what the teacher was telling us instead of just sitting at a desk, given a thick book and then being told to look on the board and read such and such chapters.

She recalled that some teachers were more supportive than others and took an interest and demonstrated that they cared about students.

I think good teachers were supportive and I could go to them if I had a problem.

In science I didn't ever ask him to explain anything to me.

Rangipipi remembers two teachers that she felt comfortable talking to about any issues she had. She feels that the relationship she developed with these teachers grew out of her involvement with them through sport and kapa haka.

If I had a problem or a friend had a problem I could take my issues up with them and it would get dealt with because I was doing other things in the school, like sports and kapa haka.

Rangipipi doesn't remember having any education goals or ambitions while she was at school as her focus was more on achieving in sport.

I don't think I ever really had any goals I was just trying to develop whatever I was good at to the best of my ability, so if I could get away with passing without having to go to too many classes and go on a [sports] trip, then that was more beneficial for me.

She felt the peer pressure of other Māori students was part of the reason for her lack of focus on academic subjects during her first two years at college.

At school it wasn't cool to be Māori and intelligent, you weren't accepted. In Year 9 and 10 it wasn't cool to sit up the front, you sat at the back and chucked things and didn't listen, because that was cool and that was how I fitted in.

Her stance towards learning changed in Year 11 when a teacher demonstrated a caring attitude when she had some issues at school.

I think what made me turnaround was when one of the teachers said something to me. He must have seen me upset and he came over and asked me what was wrong and we went to talk with this other teacher and after that it was fine and I thought if only I had just paid a little more attention before.

Unlike her older sister Linda, Rangipipi did take te reo Māori in her first three years at college, but it wasn't something that she saw as having any potential to lead to employment.

I only did te reo till Year 11. There is more opportunity now to use Māori. I missed that opportunity; it wasn't there for my age group. That was my perception, there wasn't much available for Māori speakers.

While her family did not attend the marae very often her connection to the hapū and the marae remains strong even though she now lives in Australia.

I know where I'm from and my marae is important for me. We only sometimes went [to the marae] when there were weddings or tangi and doing kapa haka in the hapū group. Now when I look back I realise I did miss out on something but I

know enough to know that I belong and at any stage I can come back and pick that up again.

Rangipipi is also clear that she wants her son to also have a strong connection to his marae and his culture and she sees it as an important part of his development.

I wouldn't want to see [my son] grow up and be successful but just be like a Pākehā. I'd be really proud that he had achieved but on the other side I'd be disappointed with what he could lose touch with. I want him to achieve in both worlds.

Like her older whanaunga, Hoana, Rangipipi struggled to engage with education at secondary school and they both experienced a level of exclusion from higher academic achievement. Both had access to te reo Māori and kapa haka at secondary school which helped strengthen their identity as Māori. However, Māori culture was seen as an alternative and not something that enhanced their academic achievement. While sport and kapa haka helped keep them at school both failed to achieve to the level they had aspired to and neither really felt connected to the wider school environment.

Sharlene and Linda both experienced reasonable success at secondary school. Sharlene attended a boarding school that supported both her cultural and religious backgrounds and while Linda coped in the secondary school system, that system never realised the potential that she displayed.

## **Education in the 2000s**

### **Ngakarauna Williams (born 1993, interviewed 6 July 2010)**

Ngakarauna is Hoana's daughter. She attended Kōhanga Reo at Hūria and then attended an English medium primary school, a local intermediate, and then spent a year at a local college, before attending a total immersion school for two years. Ngakarauna reflected on the different schooling environments and refers to feeling "out of place" in the English medium schools.

At intermediate I had Māori friends and when we felt out of place we just went to the Māori unit and hung out there. It wasn't until halfway through the year when we interacted with everybody, not just Māori.

Ngakarauna blames herself for not being engaged in leaning in her first year at secondary school. The fact that she, in her words, "wandered off" demonstrates that perhaps teachers did not make an attempt to get to know Ngakarauna or attempt to engage her in education.

[Secondary school] was easier for me to get into trouble because the teachers weren't really watching me I suppose, I just wandered off; I didn't like school in the third form.

Her mother, Hoana, felt that Ngakarauna wasn't motivated to learn in her first year at secondary school.

Ngakarauna had a lack of motivation and misdirection about what she perceived that secondary school would be [compared to] what she actually experienced (Hoana Tukaokao, 6 July 2010).

A shift to the total immersion school provided the motivation Ngakarauna needed by empowering her to take responsibility for her learning and made her more aware of education opportunities.

The Kura motivated us to learn. I learnt more at [Kura] than I learnt at [secondary school]. It was immersion but it didn't take long for my reo to come back to me from Kōhanga, for me to understand what was going on. The Kura changed me because I saw a lot of kids out of school who didn't have much and I didn't want that so I just changed and wanted to go to school.

The total immersion experience also strengthened her knowledge of te reo Māori, something Ngakarauna sees as an important part of her identity.

[Te reo and tikanga] are pretty important because when I go somewhere and people ask me where I'm from it would be pretty shameful if I didn't know. I learnt all of that in Kōhanga so it was easier for me to learn more as I've got older. Some of the older generations they just knew they were from Hūria, they didn't know their maunga [mountain] or stuff like that.

While Ngakarauna acknowledged that the immersion school had motivated her to learn and consolidated her reo Māori she decided to go back to English medium in Year 12 to gain NCEA English and maths credits. She found this transition difficult but achieved her goal of gaining the NCEA credits she wanted.

I went back to [secondary school] to get English and maths credits. It was harder for me to learn English to a higher academic level.

Hoana also felt that the learning experiences at the immersion school were positive for her daughter.

I could see how happier she was [in immersion] and when she wanted to go back to [English medium] for that year she was still happy in her learning. So I just tried to encourage her as much as I could [and] let her make choices and see

where that would lead her to and as she got older she has had more incentive to go for the things she wanted to go for (Hoana Tukaokao, 6 July 2010).

**Te Hira Jack-Kino (born 1993, interviewed 11 January 2010)**

Te Hira is Hoana's nephew. He attended an English medium secondary school in 2004 for two years and then went to an immersion school for three years. He discusses the impersonal nature of secondary school where he experienced limited agency and limited engagement with learning.

I just didn't like the environment at [secondary school] because it felt like you were just a number and they teach you like "this is what you have to do, do it and if you can't do it, well you are going to fail." Teachers just saw their point of view and they would just say "blah, blah, blah, here is your worksheet, fill it out."

In English medium Te Hira was streamed into a class with students who had learning or behavioural issues and he wasn't motivated or encouraged to learn.

I had friends and stuff, at lunch time. I didn't like anybody in my class. They were Māori but they weren't people I would hang out with. They were the ones that got into tagging and beating people up for no reason, all that kind of thing. I was with all the bad kids.

Te Hira was shifted to a kura kaupapa by his mother because he refused to attend college. The kura kaupapa provided a totally different learning environment for Te Hira and he was given more responsibility for his learning.

The difference with the Kura was that you felt more included. I knew what I wanted to learn and I could go and learn it. [The kura teachers] would ask you what you wanted to do when you left school. So I would tell them all the things I would like to do and they would help you try and get what you wanted. So it is more whānau based, you felt more at home, more relaxed.

Te Hira went on to explain how students in the immersion school were encouraged to take responsibility for their learning.

We learnt like everything operates on the marae, they have people delegated to this job and that job. In the mainstream schools the teachers will organise the trips, but at my school if the students want to go somewhere we have a big hui with all the whānau and parents and we tono [make a request]. We tell them where we want to go, but we can't just say we want to go there. We have to say why we want to go and this is what we will give to you education wise, to the whānau and the school. So, for instance, we went to Auckland. There was a

krumping [street dance] show there and we really wanted to go. We were allowed to go but when we came back to school we had to teach the [younger] kids how to krump and put on a show for the whole whānau and that is why we were allowed to do that.

From his different experiences in the immersion and English medium schools Te Hira was clear that the kura kaupapa environment was where he felt most comfortable and therefore able to learn.

My principal believes that the Pākehā system is failing our Māori children and I would back that to the bone. How many Māori students do you see going to Pākehā school and coming out at Year 13? They all drop out because they are not comfortable in the environment. That is what I like about the Kura, te rereketanga [the difference], it's cool. The Kura was much more relaxed and I didn't want to leave.

For Te Hira, part of his motivation to learn was related to the focus that the immersion school had on extending their pupils by encouraging them to attempt more challenging learning in te reo Māori.

At the College we didn't start NCEA level 1 until you were Year 11 but at the Kura you start NCEA Level 1 when you are in Year 8 and do levels 2, 3 and university papers [in te reo Māori]. It's hard, but it is rewarding. I love my language. That's how I feel. If I didn't have my language I don't know who I would be. I don't know where I would be. I love te reo and tikanga Māori.

**Samantha Henare (born 1995) and Serena Tata (born 1996, both interviewed 5 July 2010)**

Samantha and Serena, both Year 10 students in 2010, are mokopuna (grandchildren) of Tamati Tata, Samantha is Sharlene's daughter and Serena is her first cousin. They have both grown up in the Hūria community. They were interviewed as a group with their whanaunga Te Pae (case study 1). They attended the same school and were in the same class which was part of a secondary school initiative to raise Māori student achievement by keeping Māori students together by Year group to learn the core subjects. While the three students enjoyed being with other Māori students and whānau they were dissatisfied with the low expectations of some of their teachers and Samantha and Serena described the reasons for their dissatisfaction with their maths class.

I don't like maths because we work at different abilities but [teachers] don't focus on everyone's ability. We are all learning at the lowest person's level. (Samantha)

We already know the stuff, so we don't really want to go to that class, its stuff we did at intermediate. We are working at the lowest person's ability and [the teacher says] we are all going to get there together, say get to level six, but some of us are already at level six. Sometimes we ask for extra work but [the teachers] don't give it to us because they want us to work all together. (Serena).

While Samantha laid some of the blame on students who weren't prepared to work hard she felt that some teachers weren't prepared to make them work hard.

Some teachers want to push us to learn more and some are really laid back and willing to just leave us there. Some [students] don't want to work hard to learn and there are others who want to learn, want to get somewhere. So those not wanting to learn are holding the others back (Samantha).

Samantha's mother, Sharlene, spoke about the low expectations of some of the teachers.

The girls were quite vocal about [low expectations]. So there are some classes where the teacher needs to be able to teach to the different ability groups within the class. But the conversations I'm getting from my daughter is that the kids are capable but that they are allowed to be lazy and that frustrates her. If classes are streamed [teachers] can just teach at that level but if you have a mixture then you have to be able to extend all the students not just teach to the bottom, or the middle (Sharlene Henare, 6 July 2010).

In her first year in secondary school Samantha had been in classes with Pākehā students and while she felt it was better for her academically she sometimes felt that as a Māori student she was treated differently by some teachers.

There were only two Māori students in my class and [the teacher] was quite biased [against] us and we always worked together. In her class all the non-Māori students came first, so I would ask for her attention but the Pākehā kids seemed to always come first. We might not have been at the ability of the other kids but we still wanted to learn and it felt like she was leaving us out. I think mainstream was better for me, but I like the fact of being with my family to help me but it just doesn't feel serious and last year in mainstream I was able to reach out to other people and learn from them but it feels like this year I'm having to pull people to learn. Like fall back for them to help them when I want to learn more myself (Samantha).

Both girls wanted to do well at school and go onto higher education.

Something to do with business, become a manager or anything to do with sport (Serena). I want to go to university (Samantha).

**Te Urumingi Hemopo (Born 1996, interviewed 8 July 2010)**

Te Urumingi is Linda's daughter and was a Year 11 student when interviewed. She attended immersion units in English medium primary and intermediate schools before attending a local private secondary school for one year and then attended a public secondary school.

Te Urumingi found that the teachers at the private school were more accommodating of her needs and while she does not lack the confidence to ask questions when she needs help she often finds that the teachers at the public school are not always willing to respond to her queries.

They were good teachers at [private secondary school]. The [public secondary school] teachers are all right but I liked [private secondary school] teachers better. I think it is the way they taught, they made me understand better. I don't understand as much at [public secondary school]. I'll ask if I don't understand but then they just get sick of my questions and I get the brush off.

She felt she was doing well in some subjects but not so good in others.

I'm doing [NCEA] Level 2 Māori but that is because I was in immersion so I'm ahead of the other kids. I'm alright at maths, English is ok and social studies is not so good.

The secondary school Te Urumingi attends has been involved in a professional development programme aimed at raising Māori student achievement by developing the culturally responsive skills of the teachers in the school. Despite being in the school for two years Te Urumingi and her mother knew little about the programme or what it was trying to achieve, Te Urumingi only knew that the teachers were observed sometimes and that they were less grumpy when the observers were in the class.

They come in and observe the classroom and how the teacher is working because we got a newsletter saying if we wanted to be actually observed in classroom or not, they pick all the Māori kids. They [the teachers] are less grumpy [during observations] and they say "there are people coming in so you guys behave yourselves."

Te Urumingi already had some clear goals for her future career options.

I know what I want to do when I get older. I want to be an air hostess so I can travel.

Ngakarauna and Te Hira experienced higher expectations and greater agency in kura kaupapa compared with English medium secondary schools. However, in secondary school, Serena and Samantha were often frustrated by teachers who couldn't or wouldn't differentiate their teaching for the differing levels of ability in their classes, while Te Urumingi complained of teachers who were not always willing to respond to her queries. Yet, all were forming some clear goals and aspirations, including a willingness to engage with higher education as a pathway to secure their future employment success.

The following table summarises the intergenerational education experiences of this extended whānau and again demonstrates the consistent themes of imposed educational limitations for the whānau of Ngāi Tamarāwaho.

**Table 2:** Case study 2, summary of intergenerational education experiences

	<b>Cultural identity and language</b>	<b>Hapū expectations</b>	<b>Schools' expectations for hapū children</b>	<b>Education outcomes for hapū children</b>
<b>1940s and 1950s</b> <b>Great-grandparents' generation</b> Tamati	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1<sup>st</sup> language speaker of te reo Māori.</li> <li>Cultural identity and language devalued</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success to escape low socio economic status</li> <li>the need to learn English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not expected to succeed</li> <li>limited cultural activities</li> <li>Te reo Māori banned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tamati achieved education success as an adult</li> <li>Did not speak te reo Māori to his children</li> </ul>
<b>1970s and 1990s</b> <b>Parents' generation</b> Hoana, Sharlene, Linda & Rangipipi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English first language</li> <li>Some exposure to te reo Māori in school and for Hoana, Linda and Rangipipi as Kōhanga parents.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success</li> <li>access to te reo Māori and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Low expectations of success</li> <li>Limited provision of cultural activities</li> <li>Limited provision of te reo Māori</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sharlene and Linda achieved some education success at school. All have gained further qualifications as adults</li> </ul>
<b>2000s</b> <b>Tamariki mokopuna – current generation</b> Ngakarauna, Te Hira, Samantha and Serena	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ngakarauna &amp; Te Hira bilingual in English and Māori</li> <li>exposure to te reo Māori in kōhanga and immersion school</li> <li>Hapū initiatives strengthen Māori and hapū cultural identity and language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success</li> <li>access to te reo Māori and hapū specific cultural knowledge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Variable expectations of success</li> <li>Variable take-up of “Māori success as Māori” as education policy.</li> <li>Uncertainty of place of Māori cultural identity and language in academic achievement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Variable success</li> </ul>

### Case study 3: Te whānau a Ngatoko

This case study explores the educational experiences of eight descendants of Ngatoko, a grandson of Paraone Koikoi. Ngatoko attended the Hūria Native School in the 1880s and became a prominent spokesman for the hapū in the 1930s and 1940s.

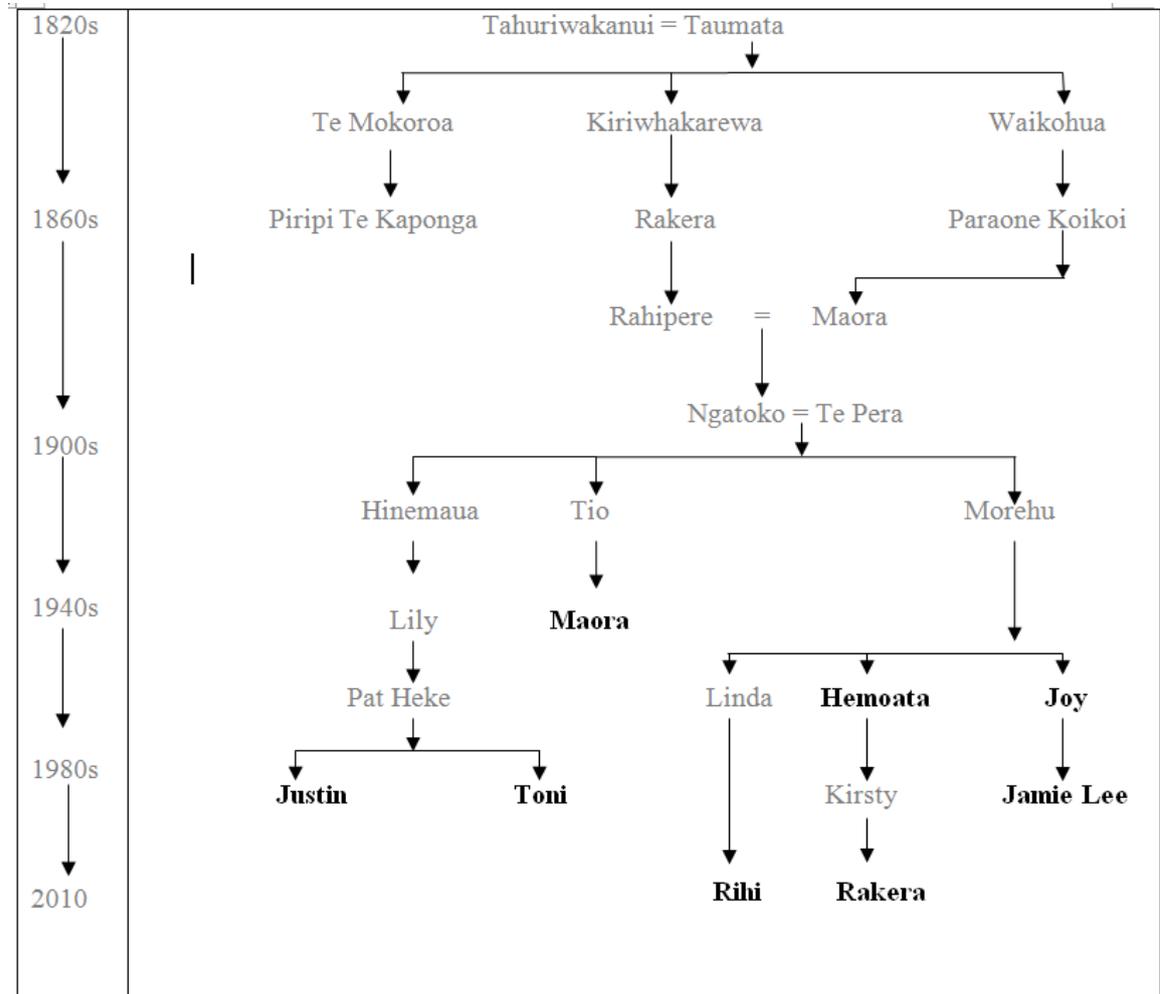


Figure 3: Te whakapapa o te whānau a Ngatoko

This case study begins with the narrative of Maora Reed, a grand-daughter of Ngatoko. She attended school in the 1940s and early 1950s. Her narrative is followed by those of her younger cousins, sisters Hemoata and Joy who attended secondary school in the 1970s. Justin Heke, a great-great-grandson of Ngatoko, relates his experiences of school during the 1980s. His younger sister Toni and their whanaunga Jamie-Lee (Joy's daughter) share their experiences of schooling in the 1990s and early 2000s. This case study concludes with the present-day schooling experiences of Rihi and Rakera.

### Education in the 1940s

**Maora Reed (born 1935, interviewed 8 December 2010)**

Maora grew up in the Ngāi Tamarāwaho communities of Hūria and Te Reti. She started school when she was seven in 1942 and remembers that many of the teachers at Bethlehem Native School made her feel uncomfortable. She remembers only one teacher who demonstrated she cared for students.

The teachers at Bethlehem were all Pākehā teachers when I was there. There was one... and she was quite nice; she used to take some of us out of the school for the weekend or maybe for a Friday night to her place to have dinner or lunch. She took us to the Elms [Reverend Brown's mission house] and then back to her place for tea and that was my experience with something other than our usual. But [another teacher] wasn't very popular with some of us. She just wasn't what I think a teacher should be because you either like someone or you don't like them and it depends on how they treat you.

Maora felt that the teachers were judgemental in their attitude towards Māori students and they did not attempt to get to know their students. This left her feeling uncomfortable in their classes.

Mainly I didn't like school. It wasn't the school it was the teachers. For me it was like no one really wanted to know you. I found I was quite uncomfortable with the teachers. For some of us, a lot of my age group, there were times when we were not ourselves in the sense that we weren't allowed to speak Māori. Things like getting rapped over the knuckles if your writing wasn't up to scratch and things like your hair. You had to be squeaky clean to them [and] have your hair combed.

As well as the strained relationships with teachers, the education of Maora and other hapū children from Hūria and Te Reti was interrupted during this period by enforced isolation. This was due to cases of typhoid and tuberculosis in the hapū community and also a national polio scare.

We weren't allowed to go to school because of the typhoid and the polio epidemics and I remember that every week we had to go to the hospital for a check-up or for injections or blood tests. I can't remember if any other family went, but I know my family went on a certain day of the week. The nurse would take us, we had a Public District Nurse and I think they were also checking for TB, because at that time there was quite a lot of that around. One of my uncles had TB. He went into hospital. I can't remember anyone else from home having TB but we all had to have check-ups for that and for other things. We were kind

of isolated because we weren't allowed to mingle with kids from other areas. I don't think I thought about why other than that we were isolated for no other reason than we were Māori, I don't know, maybe they didn't want us near anyone else.

Maora remembers that both her parents were bilingual but her mother spoke only English in the home while their father predominately spoke in te reo Māori. While both her parents were from the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho they had different attitudes to the use of English due to the different religious affiliations of their respective whānau. While the Mormon whānau of Maora's mother favoured a more Pākehā lifestyle, the Ringatū and Ratana whānau of Maora's father tended to be more traditional in their values including the use of te reo Māori (Woller, 2005).

Mum hardly spoke te reo, that's not to say she didn't know te reo but she mainly spoke English and for me I think that was because her parents were Mormon. My parents were both brought up here at Hūria, their grandmothers were sisters, but mum came from that Latter Day Saints environment. Dad came from initially a Ringatū background and then Ratana when my grandfather Ngatoko changed to Ratana. They were brought up in te reo Māori... so his reo was strong and I did hear him talk a lot [in te reo] and I must have understood some of it because now the understanding just comes naturally, I'm not saying I'm perfect, but pai haere taku reo [my reo is ok].

After primary school Maora briefly attended secondary school at Tauranga College until she turned 15 when she left to seek employment.

I was 14 when I started (1949). I only lasted a couple of years but that wasn't too bad; I got to [Year 10] and that was it. Even though I can't remember the teachers; I just seemed to fit in ok. I had a few Pākehā mates there and also Betty Thompson was my mate at college and we lived in each other's pockets. There were a few Māori, I know there were tamariki from here [Hūria] but there wasn't many. As soon as I turned 15 I found a job and went to work at the Tauranga Hospital in the nursing home. I was there for about four years as a house maid.

Consistent with government education policy there were no expectations from teachers for Maora to stay at school and gain higher qualifications. As the eldest of nine children it was also necessary that she find paid employment to help support the family. Maora's story highlights the inevitable cycle that perpetuated the low socio economic status of

subsequent generations of the whānau. Working in a Pākehā dominated environment also highlighted for Maora the economic difficulties her whānau faced.

I don't think Dad and Mum were that way inclined [towards higher education], for a start we were too poor. Dad was working for a market gardener and sometimes in an orchard and they weren't getting very much, I think they got about 10 shillings a week. We lived a day to day existence as far as I can remember. Potatoes day in, day out; kumara day in and day out; because that was plentiful. Puha [sow thistle often boiled with meat] and cheap meat like pork bones and brisket. It was all stuff you could get for a shilling and have a good feed out of it. I remember at work the meals were different, no boil ups, it was usually roast lamb and roast potatoes and so forth and I remember that because when you haven't had anything like that you think you are having Christmas.

Maora never enjoyed school and didn't like the teachers at the Bethlehem Native School where her experiences were similar to those of her whanaunga Heni and Hape, who also struggled to relate to teachers who rarely demonstrated a caring attitude. She attended school because she had to and when she turned 15 she went to work to help support her family.

## **Education in the 1970s**

### **Hemoata Willison (born 1956, interviewed 24 August 2010)**

Hemoata grew up in the Hūria community and attended a local secondary school from 1969 to 1972. Hemoata had attended Bethlehem School until Year 8 and found the initial transition to secondary school difficult.

It was quite scary going from a predominately Māori school to a predominately Pākehā school.

Hemoata attended this school until Year 12 but was disappointed that she only achieved School Certificate typing. Looking back she has some strong opinions about what she perceived as a lack of support from the school and also the streaming of most Māori students into lower classes.

I think a lot of [the lack of success] was because I didn't have the support from school that I needed. There was a whole group of us Māori students who tended to be dumped in the lower classes. It was so obvious that all the Māori kids were in the same classes from Year 9 right up till we got to Year 12 and those of us that showed, whatever, were put into different classes.

The streaming also impacted on the subject choices that Hemoata was able to make when she first started secondary school.

When I left Bethlehem School and went for my interview with mum at [secondary school] there were subjects that I was really interested in doing but unfortunately I wasn't able to do them because, however they rated you, I wasn't at the level to do certain subjects. I was always interested in office skills and I wanted to do shorthand and I wasn't allowed to and I was streamed into typing; just basic typing. That is the closest I got to it and then I had commercial practice. I have to say my first year at [secondary school] was a bit of a discovery, getting used to being part of that system.

For Hemoata not being able to take the subjects she was interested in and her lack of achievement at college were especially disappointing as she remembers achieving and enjoying learning at primary school.

At Bethlehem School I had been put up a class and that shows that I felt confident and I was developing quite well so that should have been a good indication that the ability was there to do better. You had that support system around you [at Bethlehem] with whānau as well as the teachers were ok.

Her passion for sport and the positive relationships that she made with the physical education teachers provided some success that kept her at school until Year 12. However, the sporting success was not enough to maintain her interest in other subjects and she became increasingly disengaged from learning.

I had a passion for sport and it is almost like I gravitated to the PE teachers, I had a natural love for sport so you kind of respected those teachers more.

However, Hemoata questioned the quality of teaching that Māori students received during this period, noting that while she did well in Commercial Practice in Year 9 and 10 she was unable to achieve with a different teacher in Year 11.

I loved Commercial Practice and I did really well in that subject but when I got to [Year 11] I had a different teacher so when I look back I wonder was the quality of teaching there for us? It is questionable. I just didn't get the support I needed in that School Certificate year. All we ended up doing was wagging school.

On reflection she describes her secondary school experiences as traumatic and that those experiences have left her with lingering doubts about what she could have achieved at secondary school if she had been given the opportunity to realise her potential.

In some ways our secondary school experience was traumatic. You might have thought you had the answer but you held it in, you were bursting to give a response but you just held it in because of that fear [of failure].

At the end of Year 12 Hemoata took advantage of a Māori Affairs programme to complete the administration qualifications that she felt she should have been able to complete at school.

I stayed and completed [Year 12] and then I went onto a Māori Affairs programme in Hamilton and did a course at the Waikato Polytechnic, but it was all to do with pre trade training and I did that for a year and then I went into employment. It was mainly to improve on my qualifications that I should have gained from school and to gain some skills in office administration.

Hemoata is strongly committed to the hapū and especially the operation of the marae facilities and she has a good understanding of tikanga and kawa on the marae. However, it has only been as an adult, that she has started learning and using te reo Māori. Through one of the Trust's marae based education programmes for rangatahi, she took the opportunity, as an adult, to sit and pass School Certificate English and Māori and has also sought to further up skill in work related management programmes. However, she has deep regrets about the lack of opportunities that she and others of her age group have had to learn te reo Māori.

You have got to have that balance [access to te reo and learning in English]; by not having it you are short changing our own. But what has happened to our language is blatant and obvious.

### **Joy Jack-Kino (born 1963, interviewed 24 August 2010)**

Joy is a younger sister of Hemoata and also grew up in the Hūria community. She also attended the primary school at Bethlehem and then attended a local Intermediate school for one year and then spent one year (Year 8) at a private school. While the transition from Bethlehem School to the Intermediate did not create any issues for Joy, her experiences at the private school were less positive.

Bethlehem Primary was quite a nurturing school. There were a whole lot of us from Hūria that shifted to Intermediate so I didn't feel that I was alone in going there. But then moving on to [private school] was a whole new experience for me and I think to a degree my little sister and I experienced a bit of discrimination in the school which was quite disappointing because it was a church school.

Although I liked it there with my mates from the church, we had grown up in the

church so we knew them really well, I told my mother straight up I'm never going back to that school. That is where I think I saw the difference between Māori and Pākehā, there was no respect for culture.

Joy then attended a local secondary school until Year 10 when she became pregnant.

It was 1976 when I started [secondary school] and I only did [Year 10] and then I got hapū [pregnant] with my girl. I left school with no qualifications [but] went back to night school after I had my first daughter.

At secondary school Joy remembers two Māori teachers who were especially supportive but only one other teacher stood out for her. He was a science teacher who made learning interesting and demonstrated that he cared about what his students learnt.

My science teacher was really passionate about what he wanted to teach us and I found him really helpful and supportive because I hated [science] and yet because of him I enjoyed it. I probably didn't start enjoying science until about four months into it. But it was the simple things he taught me like the weather patterns, the stuff I thought I would never be interested in; but there you go he piqued my interest in science. I went in there thinking, what do I know about science? But I think it was the way he put the lessons out in front of us. He put these things up on the board and he would always wait for one of us to ask a question about what he had written on the board before he would say anything and slowly I was beginning to put my hand up to be the first to ask a question whereas before I would just sit back and let everyone else ask. He was the only teacher I had during my schooling who taught that way. I don't think any of my other teachers actually showed that they cared. I guess he cared about what his students learnt.

Apart from the science classes there was little about secondary school that engaged her interest and unlike her older sister she had little interest in sport.

Secondary school was really a growing up experience in terms of peer pressure and you either went with it or you got left behind. So you had all those peer groups around you and you had a lot of choices about what group you wanted to be with and you had to choose quite carefully who you wanted to be mixed up with. You got caught up in just being a peer person and part of the group and never mind the school work. A lot of that was going on, a lot of wagging, and a lot of distractions outside of school.

As an adult Joy reflects on the cultural experiences of her childhood and she is able to use those experiences in her work to better understand the diverse society we live in.

However, she realises that her understanding of diversity and having respect for other cultural values is not something that is widely accepted or understood in New Zealand's mono-lingual and mono-cultural dominated society.

I grew up on the marae and so I just learnt the kawa, the protocols. But trying to combine te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā and for us the Hahi Ratana and Seven Day Adventist, we had the two religions from mum and dad that was also a learning curve. But I think that is how I learnt that it is not all the same, one size doesn't fit all and that I had to be different in my approach to things Pākehā because of my identity as a Māori. But now as an adult I feel comfortable in combining the two worlds together, where I know they can work together, but there is no point in cramming in another whole culture when it isn't going to work, when it is all falling on deaf ears, when they don't care where you are from.

While Hemoata remained at secondary school longer than Joy their academic achievement was similar, neither gained any qualifications. While Hemoata stayed at college until Year 12, her retention at school was due more to her success in sport and the good relationships she established with the sports instructors. For both sisters higher academic success came as adults and was driven by their life and work experiences.

## **Education in the 1980s**

### **Justin Heke (born 1973, interviewed 4 July 2010)**

Justin spent his first two years of primary school in Tauranga attending Brookfield Primary School with many of his extended whānau. He then shifted to Auckland with his mother and lived there and attended secondary school. Justin remembers secondary school in the 1980s as a place where there were few expectations or opportunities for Māori boys to succeed. He became aware of this fact the first time he truanted from school and discovered that no one really cared if he was there or not.

I think for me [secondary] school was where I started to go astray to be honest. I remember the first day I wagged [truanted] from school in [Year 9] with some friends. One of the boys said 'let's just go' and we left...we went to town to watch a movie, came back to school at the end of the day and no one had even noticed. From then on it started, we would wag and no one really noticed. There was a lack of interest in us by teachers, Māori boys especially.

Justin's experiences at secondary school were in contrast to the more positive learning environment he had experienced at primary and intermediate schools.

The part of my education I loved the most was my last years in primary and intermediate; I thrived in those schools. I still think about this because in those schools I learnt. I was one of the top students and all my mates were still there and I still hung out with them and I still learnt. But at secondary school there was less structure and direction and once I figured out you could wag and get away with it...that was the end of schooling, especially in [Year 11] that was when it really went haywire.

When he got to secondary school Justin found himself in different classes from his friends from primary and intermediate as he had been streamed into more academic classes. He was shocked to discover the basic learning they were receiving when he was sent to one of their classes as part of a disciplinary action and he remembers that the majority of his friends had left by the end of Year 10.

I was always a pretty good student but I got into a bit of trouble sometimes and once I got sent to the vice principal's class. I noticed all my mates from [primary] school were in his class. I had to sit in the corner at the front of his class because I was being punished and I listened to their class being taken and it was really basic schooling. I was looking at my mates going 'is this your class? This is primary school stuff.' Well most of them all left, they never even saw out [Year 10], but it was interesting for me because all these ones who I had been to school with [in intermediate and primary] when we got to college we were all separated, we were streamed by ability. So they were all in remedial classes and that would have been about seventy per cent of those who I had been to school with, especially the boys.

Justin also found that teachers had little tolerance for anything they regarded as disrespectful behaviour directed at them from Māori students and he relates an incident that saw him ejected from his Year 11 science class.

My worst experience was a [Year 11] science class, [the teacher] was talking away and nobody could understand her. So I put my hand up, 'excuse me miss, we can't understand what you are saying, none of us can understand you'. She just went nuts and said 'you get out of my class, get out, go to the principal's office'. So I went to the principal's office... and he asked me what I had done because I used to get into a few fights with other students. I told him I got kicked out of class for telling the teacher we couldn't understand her and he told me get back to class and behave. I told him I didn't want to go back to her class and to put me in

another class. He said ‘no you just have to go back to your class,’ so I said ok, walked out and went home. Funny thing when I got the report at the end of the year the teacher had written “can’t give him a mark because I haven’t seen him the whole year.”

Justin relates an incident that happened at the start of Year 11 that impacted on his ability to progress to higher education and also demonstrates the low expectations of his school for the engagement of Māori students.

When I went to the School Certificate maths class, the head of the maths department came into our class and asked who wanted to do Auckland maths. All my mates in the class said “yeah we will.” Because there were too many students for the School Certificate maths class, [the school] was running alternative maths. My mates went so I thought I wasn’t going to stay there by myself so I went as well, not understanding the repercussions of that. The class was just very basic maths and I wanted to go back because it was too easy, it was what I had already done. So I asked to go back to the School Certificate class. But they said no, you have already transferred and the other class is full. So the only time I ever went to the maths class was to sit the exams and I got 99% at the end result. So I never did School Certificate maths and that’s why, at the end of the year, I wasn’t keen to stay at school because I wanted to be an architect and part of the requirements were that you had to do School Certificate maths to do [Year 12] engineering and science. I finished in [Year 11] straight after School Certificate in 1989. I had intended to go to university but I wouldn’t have got in because in [Year 11] I was hardly at school. So I came back to Tauranga in 1990 and just went through a few jobs.

In spite of his poor secondary school experiences Justin was determined to further his education and after several years of working in various jobs he enrolled for a Bachelor of Management degree through the local Polytechnic.

I think I always wanted to get qualifications; I have always had that in my mind, even when I was doing other jobs. At that time I actually wanted money, so the wage I was getting each week, even though it wasn’t much, to me it was gold having some cash. I don’t think I did the ideal qualification and if I could go back now a business qualification wouldn’t be what I would do. But I remember why I did it. I walked into the Polytechnic and asked them what was the highest qualification I could get and they told me that they had just gone into partnership

with a university to offer the Bachelor of Management Studies, so it was a degree and I said I'll do that. It didn't matter what it was I just wanted to get a degree and I needed the most convenient pathway to do it.

Justin now works for a tertiary institution as a student support advisor and his academic success has been a result of his personal determination to succeed despite the lack of opportunities he was given in secondary school. He acknowledges that it was his stubborn attitude and confidence that pushed him to gain higher education success.

I think I always had that confidence and whenever someone challenged me or told me I couldn't do something I'd do it to prove them wrong. I've always stuck up for my rights because that's my nature. I remember my mum did go to the school once for the teacher interview in [Year 7]. I had a Māori teacher and she told mum that she really liked me and she thought I should be a lawyer because I always kept sticking up for myself if I thought I was right, I kept fighting and pushing for it and I stuck up for others. Even when I was going to get kicked out of the class, I'd still stay there and argue, so I guess I was always like that.

Similar to the narratives of other hapū participants, Justin reflected that establishing relationships of respect with teachers was critical to his learning

I liked the teachers or tutors who knew who I was. They might be the grumpiest teacher in the school but I would like them because they knew my name; so if somebody takes the time to know who you are, you take more interest.

Justin attributes much of his personal confidence to his strong sense of identity that links him to his marae and hapū and his knowledge in this area has grown as he has got older.

I think knowing about my hapū is huge, it has given me identity. I always knew where I belonged. I didn't say I was from Ngāi Tamarāwaho it was always, I'm from Judea marae, but now I say I'm Ngāi Tamarāwaho or from Hūria. So learning gave me a bit more pride, although I always had that when I was growing up but learning more about the hapū took it to a new level; that thing of knowing who you are and where you are from and your connections to other people.

While Justin lays the blame for his poor secondary school experiences on the school he feels that there needs to be more effort by whānau to become knowledgeable about the education system and to become more involved in their children's education if the intergenerational cycle of poor achievement is to be broken.

I don't blame my mum because she didn't know any better but it's still a fault in the home environment because parents should be finding out stuff and taking the

time to question schools. That lack of knowledge stems from lack of participation within the schooling system, not just at secondary school but all the way through. If you aren't involved you are just hoping that the teachers are going to look after your kids and that's the problem, sometimes [teachers] don't care what happens to your kids, so whānau have to become more knowledgeable. I think [whānau] understand what the culture of the school does to Māori and they just accept it [and] that's the problem I have. You don't have to be the smartest cookie in the jar, you just have to be that person who pushes your kids and makes sure those doors aren't shut in their face because the schooling system has always been that way but [whānau] just let it go. They accept it and their kids don't succeed.

In many ways Justin's suggestions for whānau involvement in education reflect the actions and attitude of hapū leadership who have taken the agency to both resist imposed solutions and to also develop solutions of their own in their dealings with government agencies. However, Justin's education experiences at secondary school reflect the national situation in secondary school education over the last 30 years where the system has failed to engage Māori students, especially boys. He was disengaged from education by a secondary school system that had no expectations for his academic success and instead saw him as the problem to be fixed. In spite of this Justin has gone onto achieve tertiary qualifications as an adult.

## **Education in the 1990s**

### **Toni Heke-Ririnui (born 1980, interviewed 22 August 2010)**

Toni is Justin's younger sister; she currently works as a te reo Māori tutor for a tertiary institution and has previously worked as a kaiako in a kōhanga reo. Toni grew up in Auckland but returned to live in Tauranga and attended a local Intermediate and secondary school.

I didn't last long at [secondary school]. I think it was just too much of a change coming from Auckland to such a different scene and different environment in Tauranga. It seemed like race was such a huge factor in everything whereas in Auckland it wasn't. Although there were Māori and Islanders and Asians; the fact that there were so many different races didn't come into play in anything we did, it was just normal. As soon as we moved [to Tauranga] it was 'Māoris' and Pākehās.' Some mixed but [the separation] was very obvious and it wasn't something I was used to. So it wasn't such a good experience compared with Auckland. I enjoyed school in Auckland.

It is interesting to speculate whether Toni's enjoyment of school in Auckland was because she was still in primary school and whether her experiences would have been any different if she had attended secondary school in Auckland. At college Toni mainly associated with a small group of friends who were also her relatives. She felt no connection to the school or any of her classes and reflected that there was little that she liked about secondary school.

There was only a few of us who stuck together at [secondary school]. I had a few Pākehā friends at intermediate but at secondary school it dwindled down to about five close Māori friends, who I was also related to. I got School Certificate Māori; I excelled within my Māori class but History, English, Science I didn't. There was just no comfort for me at those classes and I didn't feel connected to that work. So for history I didn't care about what Colonel Custer did, no desire to want to know really, I had no connection to any other subject. I don't think there was much I liked about secondary school. It was most probably the friendships that came from school, but other than that? Even the sports I hated, although I did participate it didn't feel...you know how you feel a kinship when you play for a Māori club? You don't get that sort of feeling when you play within a college sports team; I just didn't feel that.

Surprisingly, although she excelled in Māori she did not have a close relationship with the Māori teacher and was critical of her teaching style.

I didn't really have a close relationship with our Māori teacher at all, I felt quite disappointed in the way she taught. The teacher had fluency in te reo but she wasn't a good teacher, it was open a book, do section this and that and that was it, she sat at her desk for the rest of the day. For those of us who had a natural [inclination] towards te reo it was ok, but it wasn't motivating and it didn't connect you to the mahi or anything.

As an adult Toni has gained qualifications in early childhood education through Kōhanga Reo and currently works as a tutor teaching adult students. She feels that the concept of ako [to learn and to teach], where both the teacher and the students contribute to the learning in the classroom, is an important factor in engaging students.

Little do teachers know that kids actually know stuff, it's just how you bring it out of them and then build upon that by using the concept of ako. In my classes a lot of my students are 40 years older than me so I always ask what do you think and one brings out their whakaaro [thoughts] and then another will bring out their

whakaaro and then hopefully at the end we can just bind it together and I end up learning more than they do sometimes.

**Jamie Lee Jack-Kino (born 1984, interviewed 6 July 2010)**

Jamie Lee is Joy's daughter; she attended one local secondary school from 1997 to 1999 and another for Years 12 and 13, finishing secondary school in 2001. For Jamie Lee the highlights of her time in secondary school were sport and kapa haka.

When I first started college one of my highlights was playing sports. In my senior years it was kapa haka trips. That was the thing I liked about [secondary school] they were more into kaupapa Māori stuff like Manu Kōrero [speech competitions] and kapa haka.

She enjoyed classes where teachers made the effort to make learning interesting for students.

My favourite teachers seemed more interested in the students [and] in helping me in my work. The teachers I liked kept it interesting for the students. Like fun ways of learning, not just this is what you are going to learn today, do your work.

Although Jamie stayed at secondary school until Year 13 it was only her interest in kapa haka and sports that kept her there.

Things that I enjoyed kapa haka, netball and basketball [kept me at school]; it wasn't academic achievement not at that time. Most of the options I wanted had been cut off by that time because I hadn't achieved stuff. I got School Certificate Māori, Art and English; I passed three out of six subjects. Geography was my favourite subject and I failed by two per cent so I couldn't carry on with that. I only passed Māori in Sixth Form [Year 12] Certificate and Bursary Māori. We didn't really have the option like now with NCEA where if you miss credits you can just pick them up the following year. It was mostly external assessments so if you failed your exams, you failed!

The secondary school experiences of Toni and Jamie-Lee were similar to the experiences of many of their whanaunga. Apart from sport or kapa haka, secondary school failed to engage their interest and fulfil their aspirations. Both have furthered their academic qualifications as adults, with involvement in Kōhanga Reo as a parent providing the inspiration for Toni to seek further education and a career as a te reo Māori tutor.

**Education in the 2000s**

**Rihi Gear (interviewed 12 February 2011)**

Rihi is Sylvia's and Joy's niece. She started secondary school in 2008 and left while she was in Year 11 in 2010 without gaining any qualifications. When first asked what she didn't like about school, Rihi initially responded that she didn't like any of the subjects but then added that it wasn't that she didn't like her subjects, but that she didn't like listening for too long. While she put some of the blame on teachers for talking too much she felt that she was the problem.

It wasn't that I didn't like them [the subjects] I just couldn't be bothered because I don't like listening for long [because] sometimes the teachers talk too much. I was just dumb, I've got a problem with listening, I don't like people talking too much because I just zone out. I shouldn't be zoning out, but I can't help it if people are boring and they talk about boring stuff; stuff I don't see any relevance in like Hitler, I don't like history. When I was in Māori it was all right but when they talk about other people's histories I'm just not interested.

Rihi had enjoyed attending intermediate where engaging in class work hadn't been a problem, but this changed at secondary school.

I was a good girl there [intermediate], I always did my work and listened, but different mates [at college] and because college has got harder work, more history and stuff.

When asked what would have made school better for her Rihi felt that the teaching could have been different and apart from the teaching style of the teachers she admits that she enjoyed school, especially being with her friends.

Doing little bits of teaching or practical stuff. I liked school and I miss it especially when I was doing nothing; doing nothing was more boring than going to school and I didn't see my mates.

While Rihi had ambitions to go onto higher education her prior experiences of education prompted her to doubt her own ability to achieve in education.

I wanted to be a lawyer or a social worker but I'm too dumb, I'd never make it to university. Maybe I can do Correspondence School and get all my [NCEA] credits so I can get into university. I'm good at reading but I don't understand some words.

### **Rakera Tai (born 1995, interviewed 12 February 2011)**

Rakera is Hemoata's granddaughter and a Year 11 student at a private, Christian school that she has attended since Year 7. She enjoys being with her friends at the school but wishes the discipline wasn't so strict.

The teaching is good [but] the discipline is very strict. The [secondary school] is strict about everything. I'd like to do more stuff rather than just write all the time; so more practical stuff and be allowed your technology like cell phones.

Rakera also misses the opportunity to further develop her reo Māori at secondary school and wants to develop her learning in music.

We don't really get the chance to learn Māori at school because our Māori teacher has left and now there is this Pākehā lady who teaches us, she has degrees and stuff but she can't really speak it. I want to learn how to speak Māori well and something to do with music

Rakera's grandmother has pushed for her granddaughter to attend the private school but acknowledges that Māori are a small minority within this school, and while this leaves her granddaughter feeling a bit isolated, Hemoata feels she has adapted well and made good friends.

She is an obvious minority in that big school. She does feel a little isolated, but she adapts well. It is a Christian based school and I have seen the growth in her. Mind you she has always had good support behind her. When I look back on my kids and my [education experiences] it is really important that Rakera is supported to get through. It's taken me to be a grandmother to open my eyes that it's not just the child but the system itself and knowing how to cope with it (Hemoata Willison, 24 August 2010).

Rihi and Rakera reflect the national situation in secondary school education where Māori student success cannot be taken for granted. While Rakera struggles in a very mono cultural environment she is achieving education success with strong support from her immediate whānau. However, Rihi struggled at secondary school in a system that failed to engage her in learning and she blames herself for leaving school without gaining any qualifications. The tragedy of Rihi's story is that it reflects the narrative told by her kuia Hape (case study 1), who sixty years ago was also left feeling "dumb" and a failure by her education experiences.

As in the previous case studies the following table summarises the intergenerational education experiences of this extended whānau again demonstrating the consistent themes across whānau and across generations.

**Table 3:** Case study 3, summary of intergenerational education experiences

	<b>Cultural identity and language</b>	<b>Hapū expectations</b>	<b>Schools' expectations for hapū children</b>	<b>Education outcomes for hapū children</b>
<b>1940s and 1950s</b> <b>Great-grandparents' generation</b> Maora	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1<sup>st</sup> language speaker of te reo Māori.</li> <li>Cultural identity and language devalued.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success to escape low socio economic status</li> <li>the need to learn English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not expected to succeed</li> <li>limited cultural activities</li> <li>Te reo Māori banned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Only achieved basics at school</li> <li>Did not speak te reo Māori to her daughter.</li> </ul>
<b>1970s and 1980s</b> <b>Grandparents' generation</b> Hemoata & Joy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Monolingual English generation</li> <li>Cultural identity and language devalued</li> <li>Have increased their knowledge of te reo as adults.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success</li> <li>access to te reo Māori and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not expected to succeed</li> <li>limited provision of cultural activities and te reo Māori</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Both only achieved basics at school but have gained further qualifications as adults</li> </ul>
<b>1980s and 1990s</b> <b>Parents' generation</b> Justin, Toni & Jamie Lee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>English first language, all have learnt some te reo as adults</li> <li>Some exposure to te reo Māori in school and for Toni &amp; Jamie as Kōhanga parents</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success</li> <li>access to te reo Māori and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Low expectations of success</li> <li>Limited provision of cultural activities</li> <li>Limited provision of te reo Māori</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Limited success at school but have all gone onto higher education as adults</li> </ul>
<b>2000s</b> <b>Tamariki mokopuna – current generation</b> Rihi & Rakera	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>exposure to te reo Māori in kōhanga</li> <li>Hapū initiatives strengthen Māori and hapū cultural identity and language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>education success</li> <li>access to te reo Māori and hapū specific cultural knowledge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Variable expectations of success</li> <li>Variable take-up of “Māori success as Māori” as education policy.</li> <li>Uncertainty of place of Māori cultural identity and language in academic achievement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Variable success</li> </ul>

## Case study 4: Te whānau a Te Hikuwai

This case study explores the educational experiences of four descendants of Te Hikuwai, a daughter of Paraone Koikoi. Her children, including her sons Nepia and Matiu, attended the Hūria Native School in the 1880s.

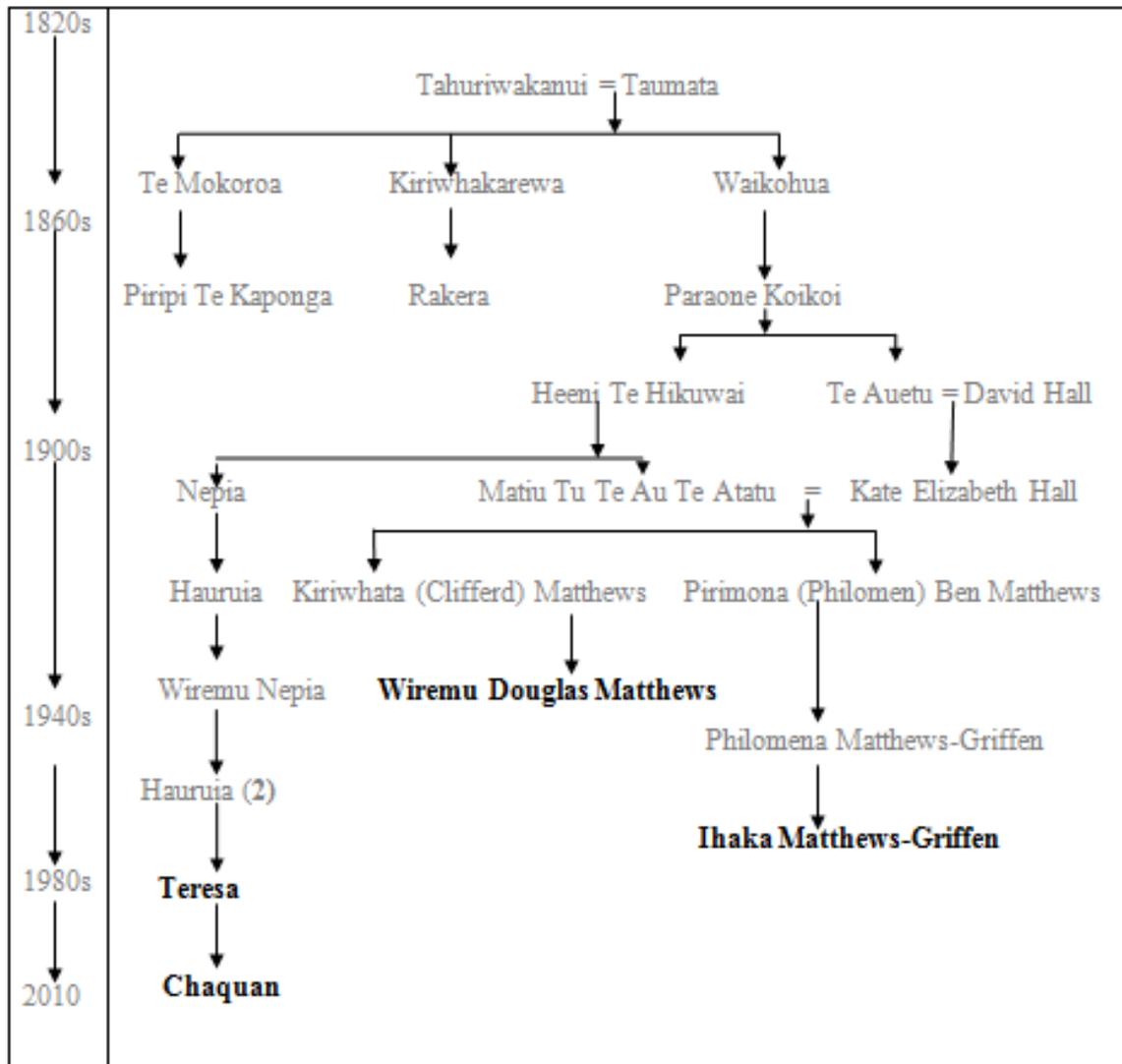


Figure 4: Te whakapapa o te whānau a Te Hikuwai

This case study begins with the narrative of Wiremu Matthews who attended primary and secondary school in the 1940s and 1950s. His narrative is followed by that of his cousin's son, Ihaka, who attended secondary school in the 1980s, and their whanaunga Teresa, who attended secondary school in the early 1990s, and her daughter Chaquan who is a current student.

### Education in the 1940s – 1950s

#### Wiremu Matthews (born 1941) interviewed 4 November 2011

Wiremu is the grandson of Matiu Te Atatu, the son of Te Hikuwai who was one of the six daughters of Paraone Koikoi. Wiremu grew up in the Te Reti settlement and

attended Bethlehem Native School in the 1940s. He successfully completed secondary school and in 1961 attended the Hamilton Teachers' College. He has held various teaching positions in the North and South Islands of New Zealand including being the principal of a small Waikato primary school. Wiremu came from a family who saw success in education as a means to economic success. In the 1940s that meant learning in English.

Dad [Kiriwhata (Clifford) Matthews (Matiu)] used to put it like this, "look at the pukapuka," which means reading and if you learn English it will put bread on the table implying you would be able to get employment, get a job and provide food for your children, so that was his outlook. There wasn't that wealth of Māori things at that time; it wasn't encouraged anywhere throughout the country. There wasn't the kura kaupapa, there wasn't the wānanga.

While both his parents could speak te reo Māori, Wiremu remembers that they only used Māori in the home if they didn't want their children to understand what was being said.

Mum finished school in about [Year 6] so she wasn't very educated. But dad was pretty alert, pretty aware, he could speak both languages fluently, but he rarely spoke Māori. Like a lot of families then, if they wanted to speak privately so we wouldn't understand they would speak in Māori. So we didn't know what was being said.

There were limited opportunities for Wiremu to learn te reo Māori when he was growing up and even visits to the Hūria marae were very infrequent. The whānau focus was on learning English and doing well at school so as to increase their life opportunities.

We weren't encouraged to visit the marae very often so we didn't. The only time would have been tangi and that wasn't very often, so in terms of learning te reo Māori it wasn't really there at all for us in our younger days, it didn't happen at school, it wasn't encouraged in the home. We were encouraged to learn English and do the reading and get through our subjects that way. I guess that is why our family generally has succeeded in the non-Māori world.

The limited contact with the marae while growing up was also partly the result of Wiremu's father and uncles' strong allegiance to the Church of the Latter Day Saints.

That is how we were brought up and to us [the marae] wasn't as important as the church and this is where others might have a different view. Others have said you should be this, you should be that, but I always maintain this is who I am. I hold a certain position in the church and I know what it means and nothing will change

that ever because of my strength of belief. My uncle Roy was in both the church and the marae, he was strong there but he was also strong at the church. So he was one of the stalwarts for the family, also my uncle Dave.

Some of Wiremu's uncles were sent to boarding schools when they completed their primary education.

Uncle Roy, as I understand, went to a church boarding school, Māori Agricultural College. I don't know about dad, whether he went to college, I'm not too sure. My understanding is when Roy went [to boarding school] my grandmother needed a hand to get things established at Te Reti. So they had to finish school and tidy the place up to get rid of the gorse and other stuff and prepare the land to build houses up there. So I don't think they went to school for very long. But I'm not too sure about that. It is just a general perception that all the sons had to get stuck into the land [at Te Reti].

Wiremu remembers the harsh discipline of the teachers during his time at the Bethlehem Native School and because he was very small his only defence against corporal punishment was to learn as fast as possible.

At Bethlehem School we had an unpleasant dictatorial teacher who was very strict and if we didn't know our basic facts then we were strapped every day. The teachers were allowed to strap us; not only for misbehaviours and disobedience, but even for things beyond your control like not having a pencil or not knowing your times tables or spelling lists. So the discipline was pretty harsh in those days. We were beaten up regularly; well I'd call that being beaten up if you are only a little fellow and you are getting hit with a leather strap. I can still remember those days. So to get out of being strapped I learnt the basic facts as quick as I could.

The sense of injustice at their treatment in primary school still irks Wiremu and he feels that while corporal punishment was part of the schooling system during this period, the punishments that they suffered as Māori students were excessive and has led him to believe that the way they were treated was different from the way Pākehā students were treated in other schools.

I think because it was a Native School we were treated that way. I don't think the same thing happened at European schools. So I guess what I am saying is that we were treated differently because of who we were. I think because of the colour of our skin. We should have been treated as children and taught in different ways, which I know a lot more about now, that you adjust your teaching style to support

the ability or lack of ability of children and you make adjustments to the way you teach.

In his final years at Bethlehem Native School Wiremu remembers that a Māori teacher was employed on the staff and that there was an attempt by the school to make kapa haka tuition available to the children. He also relates the efforts by the Pākehā principal to become the 'expert' in Māori haka and his attempts to 'teach' the students a particular haka.

I recall that things Māori became more common because the school had a Māori assistant teacher. She was very strict, but she didn't use the strap, instead her sharp tone was sufficient to keep us under control. Under her tuition we learned waiata, poi and ti-rakau. The [Pākehā] principal of the school at that time tried to teach the boys the haka 'Utaina'. He screeched the first word and the whole group laughed at him. His actions were rigid; his words and actions did not coordinate and his stance looked as if he wanted to sit on the toilet. His deeds were frequently imitated by many of the male students.

Wiremu also experienced the difficulty of transitioning from primary to secondary school but found support in other whānau who were also attending the school.

[The transition] was huge, a frightening experience going from primary school to college because of the sheer mass of numbers and I was still a little fellow and all those big guys there. So I found that quite a frightening experience especially for the first two or three years until we overcame that by forming little brown groups, little social groups of people you knew, your cousins and relations, we all got around together and supported one another in that way.

Wiremu was streamed into one of the academic Year 9 classes and remembers that there was no Māori language or culture either taught or acknowledged while he was at the school.

We took French of all things as a subject and English, and I hated English. Maths I enjoyed...I seemed to have been inclined towards maths and science. So we had those sorts of subjects, that professional area. No te reo Māori; right through my time at the college. No kapa haka, very little Māori history and you wonder why not? So that was an inequality as I now see it now, but I didn't know it then.

Wiremu remembers that his Pākehā classmates were more knowledgeable and more secure in a cultural environment that was designed to suit them.

When I compare myself to my Pākehā mates I was sitting next to they had all this knowledge because everything was in English. We were struggling to get past a certain level of English ability.

Wiremu's children have also experienced educational success and he is glad that they have also had the opportunity to learn te reo Māori as he feels both English and Māori are important. However, like his father before him, he feels that English, along with maths and science, are still critical for employment success.

Language is obviously important, both English and Māori as far as I am concerned. So my children are doing both and they are getting degrees and they are focussing on both. The important thing for my children at this stage is the learning part of it. If te reo and kapa haka is part of the learning excellent, but what is more important to me is the English, the mathematics and science; I will always rate that.

He also gains immense pleasure from being able to read and kōrero [talk] to his mokopuna in both English and Māori.

I get a lot of pleasure at seeing the progress my grandchildren are making. So I always read to my children and now I read to my mokopuna in both English and Māori. Five or six of my children would be learning te reo and quite a few of my grandchildren; some are at kōhanga reo. When they come home I kōrero Māori to them. One is only three years old and we have an argument in Māori, we have a bit of fun, but it is awesome.

Although he initially struggled in an education system that devalued his cultural background Wiremu was successful at secondary school partly as a consequence of strong whānau expectations and support for academic success. His success at secondary school led to higher academic success and he qualified as a teacher and he has been able to provide his children with the support to also aspire to higher education. While having limited opportunities to learn te reo Māori as a child he has gained some basic fluency as an adult and is supportive of his children and mokopuna learning te reo Māori.

## **Education in the 1980s**

### **Ihaka Matthews; interviewed 6 July 2010)**

Ihaka, who is a great-grandson of Matiu Kohu, grew up in Tauranga and attended Bellevue Primary. He spent two years at local secondary schools and then went to a boarding school in Hamilton for Years 11 to 13 in the 1980s. Ihaka trained as a teacher

and taught at several schools before moving to Australia. Ihaka remembers that his education experiences at the boarding school were made easier by the good student, teacher relationships at the school.

[Boarding school] had a Māori focus but that came after the religious focus. The school was strong in kapa haka and not too bad in te reo but it was only for people who chose to do that, it wasn't a school wide focus. The school had about an eighty per cent Māori student roll and because of that high percentage [of Māori students] they did try and cater for Māori [student] learning. It made things easier for me because I suppose we were all on the same wave length, also all the same hāhi [religion] so had the same values. We also had some pretty good teachers there who related well to Māori students.

Ihaka acknowledged that there has been a drift away from te reo Māori and involvement in the marae by his extended family and he discussed the historical reasons for the focus on Pākehā knowledge.

I think [the drift away from involvement in the marae] started with my grandfather and his brothers. My understanding from my mum is that because my great-grandmother, Liz Hall, was quite educated in the Pākehā world compared to a lot of her relations in Judea and she lived at Te Reti instead of at the marae, she really pushed her sons into education and the [Mormon] church. My grandfather went to Wesley, one of his brothers [Roy Matthews] went to MAC [Māori Agricultural College] in the Hawkes Bay, but that's my understanding, that Liz Hall really wanted her boys to follow those pathways of religion and to be well educated and work hard. From there, even though sometimes the brothers did go to the marae as a group, the church was their main focus and they also pushed their children to gain an education.

Despite this shift away from involvement in hapū affairs Ihaka reflected that his grandfather and granduncles were still knowledgeable in aspects of te ao Māori and he has used them as an inspiration for his own learning pathway in both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā.

Even though my grandfather and his family were directed down that church and English speaking pathway, they still knew their reo, still knew their tikanga. Uncle Dave was an example of succeeding in both worlds and he is a good example for me. His reo was strong, his education was strong and his involvement in the Pākehā world was also strong.

In a different generation, where Māori language and cultural values have become seen in more positive terms, Ihaka has been able to find a balance between the two worlds and has sought to learn from both sides.

I've had a strong desire to learn both sides. I've always been pulled to the marae ever since I was at [secondary school] and I was in the Maharaia group [hapū kapa haka group]. Even though I don't go to the marae as much as I should, I've always had a strong inkling for things Māori.

Ihaka acknowledges that the education focus of his whānau made it easier for him to succeed in education.

It definitely made it easier because [education success] starts at home and strong family support, which I see a lot of my students don't have, so that push from parents definitely helps. That's a huge reason for someone to succeed, breaking that cycle, having that strong support and expectations from the family to go to higher education. When I was thinking about going to university mum sent me to see uncle Taite and he told me you need to do this and this and he was another mentor for me. So I have also had those male role models and mentors from within the wider whānau to encourage me.

Ihaka experienced success at secondary school partly as a consequence of whānau expectations of academic success and also as a consequence of attending a boarding school that supported his cultural and religious background. Success at secondary school led to higher academic success and he qualified as a teacher.

## **Education in the 1990s**

### **Teresa Nepia (born 1976; interviewed 27 May 2010)**

Teresa is the great-great granddaughter of Nepia, the eldest son of Te Hikuwai. Teresa grew up in the Te Reti settlement and attended Bethlehem Primary and then a local intermediate school. In 1989 she attended a local secondary school. As an adult student, Teresa studied for a Bachelor of Social Work and graduated in 2010; she currently works for Hūria Trust. Apart from socialising with friends Teresa did not enjoy her secondary school experiences. She felt that there was a lack of support from teachers and that they didn't expect her to achieve which did little to give her any confidence.

I just really hated [secondary] school. So long as I was there to be ticked off [marked as present on the attendance register] they [teachers] didn't care. A lot of it was a lack of confidence. I was very shy and had absolutely no confidence

during my teen years. Especially at school, no sort of ambition or “I can do this”; it was always, “nah it’s alright.”

Teresa wasn’t involved in sport so her friends became her only reason for staying at college.

I think all the friends I hung out with, that was the big thing. The group of friends I hung out with were going down to the shop, playing spades and I just jumped into that group and went that way. Our only reason to go to school was to hang out with friends.

In spite of her lack of engagement in education Teresa stayed at secondary school until Year 13 when she was finally asked to leave.

I was politely asked to leave half way through [Year 13]. I just wasn’t listening and it started in [Year 10] and it never really got any better. I left with nothing [no qualifications]; I just went [to school] to eat my lunch.

On reflection Teresa felt that she always had a lack of expectations to succeed and gain higher qualifications.

I think I just didn’t really care about getting qualifications, it just didn’t appeal to me. I always thought from the time I was at [primary school] I wouldn’t go to university. So when I got to [secondary school] I wasn’t that fussed about trying to go for that stuff. I think because a lot of the people around me, especially adults, all had manual jobs and I figured that was what I was going to do.

Like others from the hapū, Teresa overcame her lack of confidence and her attitude towards learning changed when she started to learn te reo Māori through her involvement in kōhanga reo as a mother. She attended te reo Māori classes and then decided to complete a social work degree.

I wasn’t too confident in te reo before I started at kōhanga and I thought that was a really good place to start and I learnt te reo with my baby. We were learning together and after she finished at kōhanga I kept up with te reo. I did Ātaarangi [language learning programme] for two years and I also started doing a Bachelor of Social Work with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa.

Teresa’s attitude towards gaining qualifications changed when her daughter started school and she realised that she needed to be more of a role model. She gained enough confidence in attempting higher qualifications by attending the Ātaarangi classes. That is why I ended up going back to school. I want my daughter to go to university and do all that stuff but I can’t tell her to do that if I haven’t done it. So

that is why I finished at the kōhanga as a kaiawhina. I knew that wasn't a job my daughter and I could live off and I realised I needed to get an education, but also, if I was going to tell my daughter to go to university, I had to be prepared to do it as well.

Like many others in the hapū, Teresa did not feel comfortable at secondary school and she failed to gain any academic qualifications. When her daughter started Kōhanga Reo she was motivated by the growing kaupapa Māori environment to learn te reo Māori and this learning, as an adult, encouraged her to achieve a degree in Social Work.

## **Education in the 2000s**

### **Chaquan Nepia (born 1996; interviewed 27 May 2010)**

Chaquan is Teresa's daughter; she has grown up in Te Reti and attended the Hūria Kōhanga Reo and Bethlehem Primary School. When interviewed Chaquan was a Year 10 secondary school student and she had some clear ideas about what she liked and disliked about school. She was also clear about what she saw as effective and ineffective teachers. Chaquan is currently part of a school initiative to raise Māori student achievement and she felt that her Year 10 classes were an improvement on her Year 9 classes where teachers had often been unwilling to explain concepts to students who didn't understand the first time.

Last year we had really grumpy teachers but this year we are in [a class for Māori students] and we get teachers who understand. We had to get selected last year and this year they gave us more Māori teachers and teachers who are not as hard on us if we don't get it. They will explain it in more ways than one. So it is easier to [understand] stuff.

Chaquan's mother, Teresa, explained that she heard about the class at a meeting at the Hūria marae.

I went to the school meeting at the marae and this is the second or the third year they have had [a class for Māori students] and it's keeping the Māori kids in the same rōpū [group] and having them learn the same subjects together so they are comfortable. At the moment I think it is working (Teresa Nepia, interviewed 27 May 2010).

Chaquan explained that grumpy teachers were those who did not like to explain things when students indicated that they didn't understand, but in the Māori student

focussed programme the teachers had volunteered to teach Māori students and they took the time to explain when students asked questions.

If you got something wrong [last year] they would get angry about it. But if you get something wrong this year the teachers will help you through it. Last year I was one of only two Māori in my class and all the Pākehā people would get it right except for me and my mate and the teachers would always get angry with us. But the teachers this year they help us to understand what we are doing.

While Chaquan feels that some of the teaching had improved she still found some classes boring.

Some subjects are boring and we just have to write and you don't get to do fun stuff. Like in science all we do is write we don't get to do any practical, actually cutting stuff, blow up stuff and mix potions and stuff. We just write and write and write.

Chaquan also explained that, although she was part of a class to improve Māori student achievement, not all of the teachers had high expectations of the students.

Our social studies teacher will just sit us down and make us do our work but with our maths teacher sometimes we just get away with anything. He'll talk and we will be eating and stuff and not really paying attention. We had a maths test today and he kind of explained some of it to us because we hadn't been listening before.

Chaquan approved of the clear boundaries provided by some teachers.

Our English teacher is cool as. We can eat and stuff but he will still make sure we are doing our work. He'll [say] if you don't do your work you can't eat. And we are always hungry so we make sure to do our work and then we are allowed to eat, but with our maths teacher we will just eat anyway. The Māori teachers are the strictest on us. In science we are not allowed to eat at all and he tells us off and makes us do our work. In PE we aren't allowed to eat or listen to ipods.

Chaquan is hopeful that the teachers she has in Year 11 will also be more understanding and willing to explain.

Next year it would be cool if we had better understanding teachers. I think that some of the teachers don't get it that if they tell us something we are not always going to get it straight away and that is what our teachers this year get, so I hope teachers next year will understand that.

While not entirely sure about what she wants to achieve at school Chaquan expressed an interest in becoming an architect.

I looked up on the careers computer and I might be an architect. I will need to achieve art and maybe English. I don't like maths, it's hard, but probably [I will need] maths as well.

When asked about the relevance of te reo Māori and her marae Chaquan simply replied "it's part of who I am."

The focus by Chaquan's school on raising Māori student achievement, while not perfect, has at least provided Chaquan with a better opportunity to engage in education. She has stronger aspirations for education success than her mother had at her age and she also has a stronger idea of career goals. Her mother's education success has also helped facilitate Chaquan's aspirations for higher education success.

The following table summarises the intergenerational education experiences of the fourth extended whānau in this set of case studies.

**Table 4:** Case study 4, summary of intergenerational education experiences

	<b>Cultural identity and language</b>	<b>Hapū expectations</b>	<b>Schools' expectations for hapū children</b>	<b>Education outcomes for hapū children</b>
<b>1940s and 1950s</b>  <b>Great-grandparents' generation</b>  Wiremu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1<sup>st</sup> language speaker of English</li> <li>• Cultural identity and language devalued.</li> <li>• Has learnt te reo as an adult</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• education success to escape low socio economic status</li> <li>• the need to strengthen English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not expected to succeed</li> <li>• limited cultural activities</li> <li>• Te reo Māori banned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• achieved education success, went on to tertiary.</li> </ul>
<b>1960s and 1970s</b>				
<b>1980s and 1990s</b>  <b>Parents' generation</b>  Ihaka & Teresa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• English first language, have learnt te reo as adults</li> <li>• Further exposure to te reo Māori for Teresa as a Kōhanga parent</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• education success</li> <li>• access to te reo Māori and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low expectations of success</li> <li>• Limited provision of cultural activities</li> <li>• Limited provision of te reo Māori</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ihaka achieved education success at school, went on to tertiary.</li> <li>• Teresa only achieved basics at school but achieved higher education as adult</li> </ul>
<b>2000s</b>  <b>Tamariki mokopuna – current generation</b>  Chaquan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• exposure to te reo Māori in kōhanga and school</li> <li>• Hapū initiatives strengthen Māori and hapū cultural identity and language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• education success</li> <li>• access to te reo Māori and hapū specific cultural knowledge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Variable expectations of success</li> <li>• Variable take-up of “Māori success as Māori” as education policy.</li> <li>• Uncertainty of place of Māori cultural identity and language in academic achievement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Variable success</li> </ul>

### Summary of four whānau case studies

As discussed in previous chapters government education policies from the 1880s to the 1960s officially limited and actively discouraged higher education for Māori, to the extent that education officials were critical of schools that attempted to promote any academic achievement for Māori students beyond basic English and manual instruction (Barrington, 2008; Tomlins-Jahnke & Warren, 2011). These policies were designed to create a Māori labouring class whose employment prospects were limited to rural and other manual labouring. This official limiting of educational opportunities, that relegated Māori to the status of second class citizens, impacted deeply on their “occupational and life opportunities” (Barrington, 2008, p. 300) and are reflected in the hapū intergenerational educational experiences related in this chapter.

The narratives need to be seen in the context of the often traumatic experiences of education encountered by previous generations of hapū members, as related in the earlier historical chapters that discussed the history of the Hūria Native School and the Otumoetai School (Chapters 4 and 5). The narratives demonstrate that for the majority of interviewees English medium education was not, and is generally still not, a mana enhancing experience for hapū children. Through the generations, the majority of teachers failed to show any respect for the cultural heritage of the hapū children and did not have high expectations of their ability to succeed. Individual's narratives, across the generations, often conveyed the ill-ease hapū children experienced in school environments where they felt unwelcome as they struggled to adapt to the cultural expectations of Pākehā dominated educational settings. Elements of a culturally responsive pedagogy of relationships, as discussed in Chapter 2, deemed critical to the educational success of Māori students (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh and Teddy, 2007), were rarely experienced by the participants and for the majority the pedagogies experienced were destructive of Māori language and culture and thus of hapū identities.

Nevertheless, many of the participants spoke of there being at least one teacher who they remembered as having a positive impact on their learning. Although most of these teachers were Māori some teachers were Pākehā. However, the distinguishing positive feature of these teachers was not their ethnicity, but the care they showed for their learners and their learning. This caring was demonstrated in a variety of ways, sometimes just through a simple greeting; knowing students by their name and pronouncing their names correctly; having high expectations of their students and taking the time and trouble to explain things. These gestures, although often small things, were significant enough to be memorable to the participants as examples of what they felt good teachers did. This aligns with the findings of Bishop et al (2007) who state that effective teachers of Māori students “care for the students as culturally located human beings [and] they care for the performance of their students” (p. 26).

Except for those participants who attended kura kaupapa education settings, participant narratives generally reveal minimal evidence that they were able to be self-determining or were able to initiate interactions and sense making that is fundamental to power-sharing relationships. Participants had little say in what and how they would be taught. At best their culture was ignored and at worst demeaned by teachers. With the exception of kura kaupapa education experiences, there was minimal evidence from the narratives of any active reciprocal learning where knowledge was co-created through a

sense-making, collaborative process that validated the learners' culture and knowledge. Apart from the notable exception of the Bethlehem School in the late 1950s to the 1970s, there is minimal evidence from the narratives of teachers being closely connected to their students and their students' communities. There was also little evidence of the aspirations of all groups being complementary and linked through a common vision for excellence (Bishop et al, 2007).

While few of the older participants experienced education success at school, many have taken advantage, as adults, of contemporary formal and informal education opportunities. Of the 21 participants, who attended school from the 1930s to the 1990s, only six (29%) gained School Certificate or better at secondary school and only three of those went on to higher qualifications. All three went onto teacher training, two of these in the 1940s and 1950s. Of the other 18 participants, 11 (61%) have gone onto higher education as adults. These 18 were encouraged by the mana enhancing learning opportunities, predominately through learning te reo Māori that have been made available by kōhanga reo, hapū wānanga and tertiary institutions. For some of the participants, the confidence gained as adult learners has led them to complete tertiary qualifications.

The narratives of hapū educational experiences have revealed consistent themes of imposed educational limitations and active discouragement that have resulted in minimal education success for the whānau of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Those themes are summarised in the following table.

**Table 5: Summary of intergenerational education case studies**

	<b>Cultural identity and language</b>	<b>Hapū expectations</b>	<b>Schools' expectations for hapū children</b>	<b>Education outcomes for hapū children</b>
<b>1930s and 1940s</b> <b>Great-grandparents' generation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1<sup>st</sup> language speakers of te reo Māori.</li> <li>• Cultural identity and language devalued</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• education success</li> <li>• the need to learn English</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not expected to succeed</li> <li>• limited cultural activities</li> <li>• Te reo Māori banned</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very limited success</li> <li>• Did not speak te reo Māori to their children</li> </ul>
<b>1950s and 1970s</b> <b>Grandparents' generation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monolingual English generation</li> <li>• Cultural identity and language devalued</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• education success</li> <li>• access to te reo Māori and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Not expected to succeed</li> <li>• limited provision of cultural activities and te reo Māori</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited success</li> <li>• later education success, usually as adults</li> </ul>
<b>1980s and 1990s</b> <b>Parents' generation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainly monolingual English speakers</li> <li>• Strengthening of Māori cultural identity and language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• education success</li> <li>• access to te reo Māori and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Low expectations of success</li> <li>• Limited provision of cultural activities</li> <li>• Limited provision of te reo Māori</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Limited success</li> <li>• later education success, usually as adults</li> </ul>
<b>2000s</b> <b>Tamariki mokopuna – current generation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainly monolingual English speakers except for te reo Māori immersion graduates.</li> <li>• Strengthening Māori and hapū cultural identity and language</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• education success</li> <li>• access to te reo Māori and hapū specific cultural knowledge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Variable expectations of success</li> <li>• “Māori success as Māori” as education policy, introduced.</li> <li>• Uncertainty of place of Māori cultural identity and language in academic achievement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Variable success</li> </ul>

The inter-generational-narratives show that, from the 1930s to the 1970s, the cultural identity and language of the different generations of hapū whānau were consistently devalued by hapū students' education experiences. The 1980s onwards saw a strengthening of cultural identity and increasing usage and learning of te reo Māori. These positive changes were often the result of hapū initiatives stemming from the kaupapa Māori movement, particularly from the establishment of a kōhanga reo. Nationally the kaupapa Māori initiatives also influenced the increasing awareness and commitment to the provision of Māori language and cultural activities in schools.

Over the extended period from the 1930s to the present day, the education expectations of hapū whānau have remained constant; they have wanted education success for their whānau and they have wanted that success to be inclusive of Māori culture and language. However, over the same period the expectations by schools for the success of hapū children has shifted from a position where those children were not

expected or even allowed to succeed, to the present day position where the expectations of schools' and the teaching staff within those schools, at best, remain variable. Attitudes towards the place of Māori language and culture within schools has also shifted; from an outright ban on Māori language and the very limited provision of cultural activities, (mainly restricted to primary schools) to a position where Māori language and culture have gained official recognition as having an important place in the education and success of Māori students. However, there still exists uncertainty within schools about the actual place and role of Māori cultural identity and language in academic success, and as to their role in bringing this about.

Any higher education success by hapū whānau has usually been achieved by them as adults and often as the result of their increased involvement in hapū initiatives to learn te reo Māori. Although they were faced with an education system that demeaned their language and cultural identity, the maintenance and resilience of strong hapū identity has given hapū whānau increased aspirations and confidence to attempt other higher education opportunities.

## **Chapter 7: Hapū education aspirations and cultural revitalisation**

Whakapūmautia te tangata i tōna ake mana  
(Let every person embrace their mana)

This chapter describes how Ngāi Tamarāwaho leadership used and adapted national education initiatives to enable hapū whānau to embrace their identity and their mana as Ngāi Tamarāwaho. These hapū initiatives have included marae based learning opportunities for hapū whānau in the 1940s and 1950s and again from the 1980s onwards.

While funding for these adult education programmes has come from tertiary and other government providers, hapū leaders have adapted and utilised these programmes to meet the needs of hapū whānau by revitalising hapū language and cultural integrity. This has included weaving those programmes into existing cultural frameworks in hapū wānanga where the learning and teaching has occurred on the marae, the cultural heart of the hapū.

This chapter will also show how national Kaupapa Māori initiatives, focussed on revitalising te reo Māori, have been implemented within the hapū to increase the use of te reo Māori and to generate more positive attitudes towards its usage.

### **The maintenance of cultural identity and language**

In the 1930s Māori language and customs throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand were under threat. The increasing use of English language among Māori and the imposition of Pākehā cultural norms in a society positioned Māori customs and language as inferior and redundant (see Chapter 5). Māori leaders such as Sir Apirana Ngata, while encouraging the uptake of Pākehā education by Māori, also saw the suppression and subsequent loss of te reo and tikanga Māori as threatening the identity of hapū and iwi. Ngata, through his influence as Minister of Native Affairs, encouraged a renaissance in Māori arts and crafts with a special emphasis on building carved meeting houses as repositories of Māori knowledge and introducing aspects of Māori culture into Native schools (Barrington, 2008).

### **Cultural renaissance in Hūria: Adult education programmes**

As part of this renaissance, hapū leader Maharaia Winiata co-opted the resources of Adult Education programmes, from the Auckland University, to train hapū members in the traditional arts of whakairo (carving), tukutuku (woven decorative panels) and kowhaiwhai (painted decorative patterns). These skills were exemplified in the building of the whare tupuna Tamateapokaiwhenua.

Maharaia Winiata, from the Ngāti Ranginui hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho and Ngāti Ruahine in Tauranga Moana, was born in 1912 at Ngahina near Ruatoki. In 1954 he achieved the distinction of becoming the first Māori to gain a doctorate from the University of Edinburgh. His father, Winiata Piahana, was a tohunga of the Hahi Ringatū and a religious and political leader of the hapū from the late 1890s until his death in the early 1940s. In the 1890s Winiata had lived at Wainui the headquarters of the Ringatū Church and was an associate of Hamiora, the secretary of the Ringatū Church who had recorded many of Te Kooti's prophecies and prayers (Winiata, 1954).

Both of Maharaia's parents had attended the Native School at Hūria and while both had limited English his mother, Te Ruakawhena, had hoped that success in Pākehā education would enable her son to help the hapū recover from the crippling effects of the 1860s land wars and subsequent confiscations (Winiata & Winiata, 2007). Maharaia grew up at Matahoroa, a settlement adjacent to the settlement of Hūria and began his schooling at the Otumoetai primary school at age seven. To improve his ability in English and to be closer to the Tauranga Primary and Tauranga District High School, Maharaia was sent to live with a Pākehā, Mr Stewart, who lived in the Edgecumbe Road area overlooking the Waikareao estuary. Over a period of time several hapū children had stayed with Mr Stewart to improve their English and also to be closer to the public schools, demonstrating the value hapū whānau put on Pākehā education (Matakokiri Tata, personal communication, 1 July 2010).

Maharaia attended the Tauranga District High School in the late 1920s and early 1930s. He was an accomplished rugby player and athlete, as well as a good scholar. In 1931 he won a scholarship to attend university, but due to the hard economic times he commenced work and did not enrol at Auckland University College until 1935. While Maharaia did not complete his degree until 1943, in the intervening period he studied for three years at the Methodist Theological College and completed teacher training at the Auckland Teachers Training College in 1942 and 1943.

While teaching at the Native schools at Rotokawa and Whangamarino in the Rotorua district he studied extramurally to complete his MA. In 1946 he was appointed master, and later first assistant, at Wesley College, Auckland and also gained a diploma of education from Auckland University College. In 1952 Maharaia won a Nuffield fellowship to undertake postgraduate studies in the United Kingdom and with a further grant from the Tainui Māori Trust Board he travelled to Edinburgh to complete his doctorate (Winiata & Winiata, 2007).

Because of his experiences of growing up in Hūria and Matahoroa, Maharaia was particularly concerned about the racism in education that relegated Māori to the status of second-class citizens, as evidenced in the previous chapters. He also saw how poor educational achievement by Māori limited their employment opportunities. He drew on the benefits he had received from his own Pākehā education to work tirelessly to address the injustices faced by his own hapū and other tribal groups. He spoke at hui throughout the country about violations of the Treaty of Waitangi and the cultural destruction that resulted from the confiscation of Māori land, the need for better housing, and the importance of access and engagement at all levels in education by Māori.

### **Hapū initiated learning in the 1950s**

In 1945 a Māori advisory subcommittee of the adult education department of the Auckland University College was formed with the aim of restoring cultural pride through the study of Māori culture. In 1949 Maharaia Winiata, who had voluntarily assisted the early classes, was appointed tutor and organiser for Māori adult education (Winiata & Winiata, 2007). When Winiata was initially hired the university had expected that classes for adults learning specialised Māori arts and crafts would be taught in schools embodying standard (i.e. colonial), western teaching practices. However, Winiata, following consultation with Sir Apirana Ngata, decided that it would be more respectful to first consult with iwi and hapū; to establish their educational needs and priorities before developing programmes to meet those needs and priorities within those communities. Winiata (1957) discussed his difficult role in mediating between the needs of Māori communities and the requirements of his university employers.

The cautious hesitancy of some authorities in Adult Education to back Māori Arts and Crafts to the hilt, and the demand from Māori communities for instruction on the other hand, forced the tutor concerned [Winiata] to seek for some form of compromise. The result was the setting up of an Academy of Māori Arts and Crafts at the Māori Community Centre in Auckland, under the part-time tutorship of Mr and Mrs Henare Toka (Winiata, 1957, p. 31).

Ranginui Walker also discussed the pioneering and challenging role of Winiata and his fellow tutor Matiu Te Hau who together with Bruce Biggs were the first to establish a place for mātauranga Māori within a New Zealand tertiary institution.

The pedagogy of the adult education tutors concentrated on what might be termed cultural reconstruction, validation and incorporation of Māori knowledge into the

academy, albeit in the marginalised Department of University Extension (Walker, 2005, p. 3).

The establishment of this initial Auckland academy enabled Winiata to spread the tuition of Māori arts and crafts to other Māori communities in the Bay of Plenty and Waikato. This led to the establishment of the Ranginui Academy of Māori Arts and Crafts at Hūria that provided the skills to enable the hapū to build a carved meeting house. Winiata described how the academy was structured around the teaching of traditional arts by two acknowledged experts from the far north of New Zealand, Henare and Mere Toka.

The Academy comprised three sections, carvers, tuku-tuku workers and kowhaiwhai artists, each section under an elected head. The directors were Mr and Mrs Henare Toka the part-time tutors with Adult Education in Auckland. They visited the Academy regularly to give lessons and plan the work for the following weeks (Winiata, 1957, p. 31).

Along with learning arts and crafts, the learning of associated whakapapa and tribal history were also embedded in the Adult Education classes at Hūria. Ngāi Tamarāwaho kaumātua Te Hare Piahana was employed by the university to undertake this work.

Another aspect of the work was the lectures and discussions in tribal history and genealogies from which designs for the carving were conceived. This was carried out under the direction of a local kaumātua [Te Hare Piahana] who was employed for a short time as part-time tutor in traditional history, by the Adult Education Centre (Winiata, 1957, p. 32).

This initiative contributed hugely to the retention of hapū history and whakapapa and the resulting knowledge was preserved in the carvings of the whare tupuna. Winiata also commented on the positive impacts of both the learning and the outcomes of that learning for hapū members.

The incentive for learning and also for attendance was the personal pride derived from participation in the construction of a building that belonged to the tribe (Winiata, 1957, p. 31).

The new whare tupuna Tamateapokaiwhenua and the whare kai Iwipupu raua ko Ihuparapara at Hūria were opened on the 5th of May 1956. This event was a powerful political statement about the identity of the combined hapū of Ngāti Ranginui in Tauranga Moana. This assertion of identity and mana motuhake was seen as necessary by hapū leadership to help redress the destructive consequences of the Tauranga District

Lands Act (1867), following the 1864 battles at Pukehinahina (Gate Pa) and Te Ranga, which did not recognise Ngāti Ranginui as an iwi, as discussed in the Introduction. Instead, Ngāti Ranginui were seen merely as a hapū of the other major Tauranga Moana iwi, Ngāi te Rangi (Riseborough, 1999). The opening of the whare tupuna Tamateapokaiwhenua in 1956 by Ngāi Tamarāwaho was an assertive act of mana tangata, mana whenua and mana motuhake by a people who were determined to re-assert their identity in Tauranga Moana (Opening Ceremonies, 1956).

The building of the whare tupuna severely challenged the limited financial resources of the hapū and the work would not have been completed without the voluntary labour provided by hapū members. To complete the carvings, tukutuku and kōwhaiwhai, this committed labour force needed training. The Adult University Education programme provided the skills and training resources needed at a critical time. However, from the writings of Winiata it appears doubtful that the Auckland University appreciated the significance of the programme that had been provided. Winiata felt that the University should have been either more committed to the programme, or at least as committed as it was to the European arts and crafts programmes, otherwise resourcing should have been handed directly to the iwi groups who were administering the academies. Winiata was far ahead of his time in arguing for mana motuhake within the education system.

Adult Education should accept a more full-hearted part in the Scheme than has been shown to date. At least an expert in Māori Arts and Crafts should be appointed to its permanent staff, in the same way that two arts and crafts tutors serve the Auckland area. The Māori tutor can then service the locally established and administered Academies of Māori Arts and Crafts. If this is not done then the people themselves should be encouraged to run their own academies with assistance from the Māori Purposes Fund paid directly to the bodies' concerned (Winiata, 1957, p. 34).

A report by the National Council of Adult Education (1972) confirmed that the community approach of Maharaiia Winiata was less than enthusiastically embraced by the University.

Although Māori adult education appeared to be making good progress in fostering Māori community interests and in relating the University to the Māori, one senses in the Pākehā point of view of the time a lack of complete satisfaction with what was being done and a desire to convert Māori adult education into something it was not (National Council of Adult Education, 1972, p. 17).

The University continually pushed for the Māori adult education programmes to be run as conventional class room tutorials and were not happy with the focus on traditional Māori arts. In 1956 the University declared unilaterally that the trial had ended and that it was time to return to more traditional academic teaching. Clearly colonisation of Māori knowledge and pedagogy was alive and well in the 1950s.

It is now felt that the period of experimentation is drawing to a close and plans are being made to settle upon a recognised syllabus of classes and the class forms in which this instruction will be given...The time has now come for the class of serious students (National Council of Adult Education, 1972, p. 17).

It is clear the University did not see Māori students learning on a marae as 'serious' learning thereby demeaning the whole process as something inferior to what were perceived as more academic topics and venues. They also patronisingly assumed and asserted that they knew what was best for the Māori students and communities involved. Despite the pressure from the University, Winiata and the other Māori tutors continued their attempts to develop Māori adult education based on the expressed needs of the Māori communities they worked with. Working with hapū and iwi experts they provided classes in te reo, whakapapa and iwi history, as well as traditional arts and crafts.

All these topics were based on Māori community needs rather than on the academic focus of university disciplines. In spite of this success at a community level, Māori knowledge (mātauranga Māori) became increasingly formalised and fragmented as "subjects" under the universities' academic frameworks as universities sought to bring Māori knowledge within the framework they perceived was a more acceptable (to the university). This ultimately saw a withdrawal from marae based classes and the imposition of institution based learning of mātauranga Māori.

The tendency to regard what was being done in the field of Māori adult education as falling outside the pale of academia is regrettable. The University authorities were in the invidious position of trying to provide bi-cultural education within a mono-cultural frame of reference. Instead of treating Māori adult education as a field to be developed in its own appropriate ways, the University felt obliged to edge it towards the norms of Pākehā adult education (National Council of Adult Education, 1972, p. 20).

This stance by the university saw a shift away from meeting community needs as decided by those communities to cater instead for what the university saw as the education needs of individuals irrespective of their cultural communities and their cultural heritage.

Nevertheless, the work of Maharaia Winiata in Māori communities during the early 1950s had a significant impact on the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho and other Māori communities who were involved in the programme. The building of Tamateapokaiwhenua was a moral boost for the hapū and provided a focal point for the strengthening of mana motuhake. Tribal history and whakapapa, which were in danger of being lost, were embedded in the carvings that adorned the whare tupuna and thereby protected and made available for future generations. Importantly, the hapū now had the facilities to host large inter-tribal hui like the annual Kingitanga Poukai which further strengthened hapū and iwi mana and identity.

Individuals from Ngāi Tamarāwaho, who benefited from the Adult Education training, shared their expertise in turn with other hapū who were building new whare tupuna and those individuals were acknowledged by Winiata.

Hone Kohu is chief instructor at the Hangarau Academy of Māori Arts and Crafts, Bethlehem, Tauranga, and at the Ngatikuri Academy of Māori Arts and Crafts, Te Matai, Te Puke. Joe Togo, another graduate, is in charge of the tukutuku work at Bethlehem, Hairini and Taumarunui. Tony Tukaokao, yet another Ranginui graduate is chief instructor at the Taumarunui Academy of Māori Arts. All these academies are set within the framework of local meetinghouse projects, and the students and instructors are all part-time workers (Winiata, 1957, p. 32).

The desire and the ability of the hapū to take advantage of Pākehā learning opportunities to advance their own endeavours commenced with the arrival of Europeans and continued with the utilisation of the Adult Education programme by Winiata to facilitate the building of the whare tupuna. However, the marae and community based learning, initiated by Winiata that offered learning collaboration between Māori communities and tertiary institutions was not supported by the tertiary institute involved. Nearly sixty years later, in 2012, a Memorandum of Understanding between the hapū (represented by Hūria Trust) and Waiariki Institute of Technology enabled the Trust to provide te reo Māori classes for over 30 adult students. Waiariki had initially offered funding for 15 students, but the strong demand for marae based learning with hapū tutors saw more than double this number of enrolments. Again, a marae, community based

learning initiative, instigated by the hapū, and negotiated with a tertiary education institution proved not only popular but also successful for hapū participants.

### **Māori Language revitalisation: hapū initiatives**

The official education policy of suppression and the subsequent loss of te reo Māori has critical implications for hapū like Ngāi Tamarāwaho where the very relevance of the marae is threatened by the loss of identity of hapū members. While these members relate to the hapū by whakapapa, they are unable to relate to the kaupapa Māori foundations of the hapū. Loss of ancestral land through confiscations in the 1860s forced some hapū members to shift outside the region, and hapū identity was retained only as long as people could relate to and understand the functions of the marae as the central hub of the hapū community at Hūria.

That relationship to the marae has always depended on the ability of whānau members to participate in the various activities that take place within the confines of the marae environment; activities that often involve tikanga practices and the use of te reo Māori. Increasingly the loss of te reo Māori has impacted negatively on the maintenance of traditional protocols on the marae especially as older generations, skilled in those protocols, are lost. It has also impacted negatively on those hapū members who, unable to speak or understand te reo Māori, feel excluded from some marae activities. Lack of identity and lack of participation mirror each other.

However, fortunately the last 30 years have seen an increasing number of hapū wānanga focussed on strengthening the levels and usage of te reo Māori. My own experiences of language learning started with Ātaarangi a language learning programme delivered on the marae in the 1980s (Te Ātaarangi, 2010). Even current wānanga, not specifically focussed on language acquisition now include an increased percentage of content delivered in te reo Māori.

### **Kōhanga Reo**

The establishment of Kōhanga Reo nationally from the early 1980s was one of the major kaupapa Māori initiatives to revitalise te reo Māori. In 1983 a Kōhanga Reo was established by Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū whānau in the linen house adjacent to the whare tupuna at Hūria. The fledging movement initially struggled in an environment where different groups needed to utilise limited space. In 1986 the Hūria Kōhanga Reo relocated to a double garage on the property of a hapū member. In 1989 a decision was made to return the Kōhanga Reo to the marae while a new Kōhanga building was erected adjacent to the hapū sports field. This building was opened in 1990 and is still operating currently.

Over 25 years Hūria Kōhanga Reo has produced a small cohort of hapū members with varying degrees of fluency in te reo Māori. An even deeper impact has been the number of Kōhanga Reo parents who have started learning te reo to support their children. However, the proportion of hapū children attending Kōhanga Reo has always been small. Once children reach school age the Māori immersion options are not always accessible or even available. Also, some Māori parents (and grandparents) still harbour doubts about the educational worth and quality of Māori immersion (McKinley, 2000). The hegemony of the superiority of English with the associated strong emphasis on learning English is so ingrained across several generations that many whānau are reluctant to take chances with their children's education opportunities. While the majority of hapū members regard te reo Māori as important, the effort to learn a second language as an adult has proved too difficult for many and the perceived risk of putting their children in immersion settings for an extended period, to embed the learning in Māori, has also been too great a challenge. Historical education policies still continue to impact current generations of hapū members.

### **Rebuilding Tamateapokaiwhenua**

The marae facilities have continued to play a central part in hapū attempts to revitalise Māori language and culture. The whare tupuna Tamateapokaiwhenua and the whare kai Iwipupu and Ihuparapara were successfully completed and opened in 1956. However, by the early 1970s, problems began to appear with both the whare kai and the whare tupuna. Timber for the two whare had been sourced from trees felled on hapū land at Akeake between Tauranga and Rotorua, but the timber mill that had processed the logs into usable timber took a percentage of that timber to cover their costs. This, together with a shortage of funds, meant not enough native hard wood was available to complete the buildings so untreated pine was used as the cladding for both buildings. This timber quickly deteriorated. In 1974 the whare kai was demolished and a new building was erected and opened in 1977 but this still left the problem of the gradually deteriorating whare tupuna.

A special hui a hapū was called in 1986 to discuss the rebuilding of the whare tupuna. At this meeting the names of hapū members and outsiders seen as having the skills required to manage the project to rebuild the whare were put forward. After much discussion twelve names were agreed upon by those present (see Chapter 1). This group formed a committee under the chairmanship of George (Hori) Stockwell, a Pākehā teacher and principal who was well known and respected in both Māori and Pākehā

communities. He had established a close affiliation with Tainui and the Kingitanga through his work in schools within Waikato and later with the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho when he was appointed as the headmaster of Brookfield Primary School. George Stockwell had been formally introduced and handed over to Ngāi Tamarāwaho by Tainui when he was welcomed to the Brookfield School in 1985.

Through this mana enhancing process, members of Tainui iwi formally introduced Stockwell to Ngāi Tamarāwaho who were seen within Māori communities to have mana whenua over the location of the Brookfield School. Stockwell was asked by Tainui to make his skills and abilities available to assist the whānau of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Ngāi Tamarāwaho kaumātua (Alec Tata, Henare Te Koari and Anaru Kohu), who were present at the powhiri, took advantage of the tono (request) to Stockwell from Tainui by co-opting his skills. A key role was also played by Hemoata (Sylvia) Willison who has managed the Hūria Trust since its inception (Hūria Management Trust, 2001). Once again hapū leadership responded constructively to the ongoing challenges of maintaining their marae, and therefore the continuing wellbeing of their tikanga and reo.

#### **Hūria Trust: hapū initiated and controlled development**

It was agreed initially that the Trust needed to be more than a fund raising committee, and that increasing the hapū skill base and infrastructure to aid further development was critical. It was also decided that the task of developing expertise and infrastructure would be best achieved by operating a Government sponsored Training Assistance Programme (TAPS), reminiscent of the earlier efforts of Maharaia Winiata. This programme provided skills training to help the unemployed find work.

The hapū were introduced to the possibilities of TAPS by Piripi Winiata, the son of Maharaia, who was involved in a similar programme with the Aronui Trust in South Auckland. The Aronui Trust was instrumental in assisting Ngāi Tamarāwaho to negotiate with the Government Department of Labour to establish the programme at Hūria. Aronui Trust was run by Jolene Grace and her mother Ngawini Puru, the daughter and granddaughter of Henare Toka who had been involved with Maharaia Winiata in the original Adult Education programme in the 1950s.

After several meetings with Aronui Trust and the Department of Labour, Hūria Trust started with 48 trainees in six training modules: carpentry, cabinet making, catering, horticulture, gardening, and music. The Trust was given a 13 week probationary period to prove that they were capable of running the TAPS programme. The operation of the Trust was to become a huge learning curve with the trustees being held personally liable for the

financial success of the operation. This situation remained until 2000 when the Trust became an Incorporated Society and gained charitable status. Government regulations still made it very difficult for the hapū to take responsibility for repairing the damage done through past Government policies and practices.

Further changes in Government policy saw a shift in national political priorities. The Trust went from running six modules to one, but the Trust survived long enough to acquire funding for two more modules. In 1988 the Trust was contracted by the Regional Access Committee to provide training under the new Access programme. The Access programme was then changed to the Training Opportunities Programme (TOPS) in 1992. This was a scheme administered under the Education Training and Support Agency (ETSA) within the Department of Labour. Further changes to the focus and administration of training programmes were made in 1998 with the establishment of the crown entity Skill New Zealand.

In 1993, as an extension of the training incentive schemes, Hūria Trust received accreditation from the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) as a Private Training Establishment (PTE), accredited to deliver NZQA unit standards. Trust CEO Hemoata Willison explains some of these changes and the need to be NZQA accredited.

Originally the training initiatives had been introduced by government to help combat the high unemployment rate of Māori with a focus on up-skilling participants so that they would be more employable in the workforce. There was then a shift from up skilling people for employment to a focus on education, higher levels of learning. That is when NZQA started, and if we wanted to stay in the game we had to become NZQA registered (Hemoata Willison, personal communication, 2010).

Through the different programmes the Trust was able to employ tutors to run a variety of training programmes including, carpentry, cooking, te reo Māori, computing and office skills, and whakairo (carving). The programme content was often more dependent on priorities set by government policy than on meeting hapū needs and this has required a constant juggling act for the CEO and the trustees. While the initial focus of the Trust was on the rebuilding of the whare tupuna, it also had a longer term goal of empowering hapū members to reach their potential (whakapūmautia te tangata i tōna ake mana) by offering them training that would enable them to take advantage of employment opportunities and give them wider life choices.

This training was marae based which meant that the employees of the Trust and the students took part in hapū activities on Hūria marae during the normal working week. The marae location resulted in meeting the learning needs of individual students balanced with community participation and meeting hapū needs in an arrangement that wasn't foreseen by the officials administering the Government training programmes. The Trust developed an unwritten policy of preferring to employ hapū members for roles within the Trust. This strengthened the Trust's and the individual's commitment to the marae by allowing hapū members to be available for hapū activities as part of their work role. The balance was not always easy to achieve, especially when contractual and educational time lines clashed with the unexpected demands of marae events like tangi that occurred unexpectedly.

In 1991 the Trust diversified its activities by gaining registration with the Community Funding Agency as a level 2 Social Service Provider, employing a fulltime youth coordinator to run programmes for at-risk youth within the hapū and wider community. This service was discontinued in 1995 when the iwi, Ngāti Ranginui, gained registration as a level 1 Social Service Provider and took over the provision of youth aid. In 1992, in an attempt to consolidate a niche as a marae social service provider, the Trust gained a contract with Midland Health to provide a Care for the Elderly programme. This programme provided social services to kuia and koroua and was extended in 1997 when a further contract was gained to provide a Kaumātua Day Activities programme two days a week (Hūria Management Trust, 2001).

So with the skills and infrastructure gained from the education side of its operation, the Trust took advantage of available opportunities to meet hapū needs by further expansion in the health area. Contracts were gained for the delivery of rongoā Māori services (traditional Māori medical treatments), early intervention services, and the delivery of health education services focussing on initiatives such as healthy eating, diabetes prevention, and exercise programmes. Contracts also funded the provision of a doctor's clinic at the marae. Successful delivery of the health contracts enabled the Trust to establish further credibility with government funding providers and to further develop hapū resources and capability.

The education and health programmes, while run as separate entities under individual contracts, were administered by a single administration team allowing cost efficiencies to be maintained. Hūria Trust became a small, marae based, business with a diverse portfolio of contracts. Reliant on government contracts to survive; the efficient

and economic running of the whole operation has been a test of hapū management systems. With the expertise gained in over 25 years of operation Hūria Trust has been a major factor in hapū development.

The initial goal of Hūria Trust was realised on 29 May 2004 with the opening of the new whare tupuna. While the decision to rebuild the whare tupuna, Tamateapokaiwhenua, had been made by the hapū in 1986, actual work did not commence until June 2002 with the removal of the whakairo and tukutuku panels from the existing whare and the demolition of the old building. The Trust provided the administrative infrastructure required for the rebuilding project and also provided the training so that the expertise was available to renovate the existing whakairo and tukutuku panels and also to create new ones. By registering as an Incorporated Society in 2002 the Trust was able to apply for funding for the whare tupuna renewal project on behalf of the hapū. The Trust administered these finances and provided reports to funding bodies, also on behalf of the hapū.

### **Culturally responsive services to whānau**

The development of the whānau oriented education and health services provided by Hūria Trust to the whānau of Ngāi Tamarāwaho evolved out of the original task of managing the rebuilding of the hapū ancestral house. However, the Trust has taken an increasing role focused on delivering culturally responsive services to whānau. Public health services, in the area of Māori health, have historically focussed on minimising risk and closing gaps between Māori and non-Māori health statistics. However, this focus on deficiencies often failed to have a positive impact on whānau health and wellbeing.

By providing whānau with quality information, advice and resources, from both indigenous and mainstream sources, Hūria Trust has ensured that hapū whānau have gained increased access to both Māori and western medical knowledge to enable them to take responsibility for healthier futures. In a discussion on future directions for Māori health in New Zealand, Mason Durie (2009) concluded that

Whānau will make the most significant difference to Māori health and wellbeing [and that the empowerment of whānau] will be shaped by access to quality information and advice, necessary resources, healthy living, a sense of self control and self-determination, and a conviction that the future can be created, not simply endured (Durie, 2009, p. 2).

As part of its on-going role in holistic hapū development, Hūria Trust administered a questionnaire to identify major health priorities as defined by whānau

members (Huria Management Trust, 2008). The results reflected an increasing positive attitude by whānau towards healthy lifestyles, an attitude that has been encouraged through the educational thrust of Hūria Trust's hauora service. Although further work is required to empower whānau to shape healthy futures, a positive foundation has been laid through a service that is proactive and focussed on developing existing whānau strengths. As stated by Durie (2009) the future pathway for improved Māori health will be found through greater emphasis on focussing and learning from Māori potential and resilience. This is the pathway that Hūria Trust has continued to promote.

The Trust's planning document outlines the focus on self-determination:

Tino Rangatiratanga has its roots in the empowerment of each individual, whānau, hapū and iwi so they sustain control of themselves and all those things we believe essential to our wellbeing and our unique identity (Hūria Management Trust, 2009).

The Trust's Strategic goals also outline the position it has established between outside funding organisations and the hapū and its evolving role in hapū development.

- 1) Strengthen organisation governance
- 2) Align organisation closer to primary funding sources
- 3) Develop sustainable revenue streams
- 4) Extend healthcare provision, maximise educational efficiency
- 5) Enhance and support hapū leadership (Hūria Management Trust, 2009).

The reliance on external contracts to maintain the financial viability of the Trust has been an ongoing concern. The Trust has had to quickly adapt to ever-changing Government policies and priorities that often give little or no thought to hapū needs. As a relatively small organisation the Trust has attempted to establish a niche by providing services to Māori that are not offered or delivered by national and larger iwi organisations. The Trust's point of difference has always been that it is a marae based and hapū controlled organisation. It is therefore closer than national and iwi organisations to the whānau that it serves, and more reflective of their needs.

The struggle for Hūria Trust to both remain a financially viable organisation, while meeting the goals and aspirations of hapū whānau, has required the CEO and trustees to navigate tricky waters at the intercultural interface. In 1901 Apirana Ngata had emphasised that Māori leaders needed to seek new knowledge to guide the future development of Māori in a rapidly changing world. He indicated that the knowledge required would be found in both Māori knowledge (mātauranga Māori) and European

knowledge (mātauranga Pākehā) (see Chapter 2) (Royal, 2009). Hūria Trust has remained firmly grounded in te ao Māori by maintaining its commitment to the hapū and the marae, while its pursuit and management of contracts with government organisations has also seen the Trust actively engaged with te ao Pākehā. While it would seem from the advice of Ngata that the Trust has positioned itself in a potentially productive area it is also an area of tension between opposing world views with risks that need to be managed carefully.

Hemoata Willison reflects on the difficulties of coping with the on-going changes and challenges and the vital role that retired principal George Stockwell was able to provide as a mentor to the Trust until his death in 2005.

While we had Hori (George Stockwell) at a management level it was easy enough to cope with the challenges that came from external funders, the various government departments. We were coping well because we had that ability and when he went it did become harder. But I guess for myself it was about “you have to do it, get on and do it” and as long as there were people who supported the kaupapa we would just keep moving forward (Hemoata Willison, personal communication, 2010).

Other challenges included ensuring that the Trust was providing quality tuition through its PTE by providing staff with on-going support and training and finding the right balance between a kaupapa Māori approach and the need to deliver on contractual requirements.

The biggest thing was the quality of our tuition and it’s that whole education thing but at a higher level, a different level. You put your people into that training, because it was required that they had to learn about moderation, learn about assessment, they had to gain certain levels of skill and understanding (Hemoata Willison, personal communication, 2010).

Threats to the viability of Hūria Trust have not come from external sources alone. There has been tension between Hūria Trust and other hapū organisations. The Trust and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tamarāwaho were both established during the mid-1980s. While Hūria Trust was created to rebuild the whare tupuna, the Rūnanga was established to replace the Government sanctioned Tribal Committee to provide a hapū mandated organisation to represent the hapū in negotiations with local and central Government. Following the passing of the Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975) and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal to hear historical claims against the Crown, the hapū moved into a

politically charged period as hapū leaders actively asserted their mana whenua to settle historical and enduring grievances created by the confiscation of hapū lands.

Potentially the opportunity was created for the Trust to be the financial and commercial arm of the hapū Rūnanga (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tamarāwaho). Unfortunately personality clashes saw the Rūnanga and its subcommittee (Hūria Trust) in an on-going state of conflict and competition. Due to the Trust's marae based operations, the organisation was seen by some as exerting increasing influence in hapū affairs. This influence created a concern within sections of the hapū that Hūria Trust had too much control over marae resources and the direction of hapū development.

Much of the concern stemmed from the extensive involvement by the Trust's CEO in wider hapū affairs creating a perception that the CEO was using her position with the Trust to expand and strengthen her influence over the direction of hapū activities and development. Many of these concerns reflected the Trust's failure to keep the wider hapū fully informed of the Trust's activities and a failure by hapū members to recognise when the CEO was acting independently of the Trust in her capacity as a hapū member. Eventually this power struggle between the Trust and the Rūnanga ended when the Rūnanga was embroiled in a financial scandal that involved the misappropriation of funds. This saw Hūria Trust become responsible for the financial management of tribal funds by default as there was no other committee with the expertise to undertake the role.

Differences of opinion and conflict between individuals and whānau are a part of te ao Māori and as such have a long history within Ngāi Tamarāwaho. In any whānau-based community, the drive by individual whānau to maintain and increase their mana has the potential to create conflict. Winiata (1954) noted the dissenting views on leadership roles within the hapū when he wrote about the Ngāi Tamarāwaho tupuna Nepia, who was a prominent hapū leader in the early 1900s.

There was rivalry to his leadership; personal and family jealousy from brothers-in-law. He was a sound speaker, well versed in the ceremonials and the etiquette of the tribe. In addition, the ideals of the tribe, the protest elements, found their focus in him. Nepia... represented the tribal case to Parliament. This action had the support of the sub-tribe, although there were rivals who also wanted to present the same case under their name (Winiata, 1954, p. 265).

To some extent this passion and rivalry has been driven by successive generations of hapū whānau and strong minded individuals who have proposed conflicting solutions to the plight of the hapū. However, since the 1840s Pākehā dominated Governments have

never understood the structure of Māori society or appreciated that iwi are separate and independent nations, and that within iwi, hapū and whānau can act independently. Forcing them to become organisations that fit the structure of Pākehā dominated New Zealand society, in order to access resources, is an example of continuing colonisation.

While the Trust remained a registered PTE no training modules operated from 2006 to 2011 because of a lack of student numbers due to low unemployment figures and the increased operation of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa in Tauranga. Students who attended the Trust's PTE were predominately from the hapū and were 'second chance' adult learners who had left school with limited qualifications. These students were also the target group for the Wānanga and their larger operation, with a wider variety of study options to higher qualification levels. The Wānanga became a direct competitor of the Trust's operation.

During its twenty years of existence the PTE operation of the Trust was able to offer a viable option for hapū members who had no qualifications and limited employment opportunities and it also became an employer of hapū members.

When I look at where those students [hapū members] are today. There are lots of them who started here as students and then came back and were employed by the Trust and in one case just about ran the whole PTE. We have been able to employ our own people and also other people [not from the hapū] who have been able to get started on a career pathway here (Hemoata Willison, personal communication, 2010).

Although the main focus of the Trust has been to develop employees' and students' expertise and skills, the CEO notes the difficulty the Trust has had in retaining staff once their skills have been developed.

We were the first ones to start a Sports and Fitness course but after a couple of years the Polytechnic took our tutor and our computing tutor went to [Te Wānanga o Aotearoa] so you are always on the back foot trying to retain staff who you have supported in their training and development because you can't afford to keep them, we just don't have that same level of funding. But when I think back there are lots of positives about the PTE and the start it gave for a lot of people (Hemoata Willison, personal communication, 2010).

While the Trust has used its PTE and Hauora operations to build strong infrastructure it has also used this infrastructure to support hapū endeavours beyond its contractual requirements by supporting various hapū kaupapa. This has included administration

support for Te Komiti Wāhine (Women's Committee) which administers the marae facilities and coordinates the catering for all hapū activities that occur on the marae.

The Trust also supplies administration support for other hapū groups including the resource management team who manage consents on behalf of the hapū and provide support for the organisation and the running of various hapū activities such as hui a hapū and the poukai. This support includes taking marae bookings, printing and distributing pānui (notices) about upcoming events; maintaining a hapū website; printing information material and minutes for hapū hui and wānanga, and providing financial support to assist the running of these hui.

### **Wānanga: hapū initiated and focussed learning**

As part of this provision of support to the hapū outside its external contracts the Trust, as a registered PTE, has also been able to source funding to support hapū initiatives. An example has been Te Puna Reo funding, accessed through a series of joint ventures with the Bay of Plenty Polytechnic between 2004 and 2006.

It has always been about what funding we can grab and how we can use it to meet our needs. Especially with te reo, there are a lot of opportunities there but it has got to be what the people want and sometimes it is not always an easy process to engage with, real hōhā [tiresome] stuff sometimes, but you still get in behind and support it. We customised Puna Reo to us and we have facilitated all different types of wānanga including whakapapa wānanga through Mā te Reo [a Government funded programme to support Māori language regeneration in communities]. They have been hapū driven and the Trust has just supported them financially to make it happen (Hemoata Willison, personal communication, 2010).

Initially whaikōrero wānanga (forum where knowledge of formal speechmaking is shared) were held on the marae with a hapū kaumātua being paid by the Polytechnic to facilitate and organise the wānanga. This was followed by a series of four, larger, weekend wānanga that provided hapū members learning opportunities in te reo Māori through a focus on hapū history and regional landmarks. The formal learning objectives of this series of wānanga were that hapū members would be able to:

- Recall and locate significant hapū landmarks through basic application of te reo Māori.
- Retell historical events specific to the hapū through basic communication in te reo Māori.

- Demonstrate their knowledge and understanding of historical events and significant landmarks of the hapū through the medium of waiata Māori / and application of te reo Māori.
- Locate and recall the stories of the carved panels in Tamateapokaiwhenua (Hūria Management Trust, 2006).

While the wānanga were well attended and achieved the goals agreed upon between the Trust and the Polytechnic, the wānanga achieved much more than was stated in the contract document. The funding made available by the Polytechnic enabled the wānanga organising committee to go beyond the scope of the contract by delivering other kaupapa such as whakapapa, and providing a booklet containing information about the whare tupuna to hapū participants. These additional goals were achieved because the contract provided for the payment of tutors, but as these tutors were hapū members who volunteered their time extra funding was available to the wānanga organisers.

The wānanga delivery sites included the whare tupuna Tamateapokaiwhenua and the whare kai Ihuparapara and Iwipupu. Field trips were also made to locations of significance to the hapū, including Mauao and Hopukiore at Mount Maunganui; the inland maunga (mountain) of Puwhenua; the battle sites of Pukehinahina and Te Ranga; and historical pa sites at Ōtamataha, Ōtumoetai, and Mātua Iwi. Hapū presenters, knowledgeable in particular aspects of the programme content, were utilised to deliver, on site, the history and the relevance to the hapū of the various locations. The majority of hapū participants resided locally but included some whānau, living Hamilton and Auckland, who travelled home to attend each of the weekend wānanga.

One wānanga included a day spent at the base of Mauao and became a huge whānau picnic that included walks around and up the two maunga Mauao and Hopukiore with kōrero being shared about iwi history of the area. Not only did the wānanga offer a learning opportunity that helped hapū members consolidate their sense of hapū identity, but the sense of whakawhanaungatanga created by learning with a large group (80 adults) of other hapū members, who ranged from kaumātua to babies, also had a positive impact on participants.

Evaluations taken after each wānanga showed that whānau participants had responded positively to the programme content and delivery style and they indicated a strong desire for more Puna Reo Wānanga (Hūria Management Trust, 2006). Wānanga attendees stated they wanted to learn about hapū history and whakapapa that was specific to their identity.

The ability to participate in learning with whānau and the sense of whanaungatanga this generated was also seen as important.

From the participants' written comments the organisers were able to gauge that the wānanga had achieved their key objectives of keeping the marae and the values that permeate from it relevant to hapū whānau and their needs. This is critical to the maintenance of hapū identity and will enable whānau to move forward to meet the challenges of the future (Hūria Management Trust, 2007). The work of Hūria Trust has been a continuation of the work of earlier hapū leaders like Maharaia Winiata.

I think Hūria Trust should be proud of its journey over the last twenty odd years it has been operating in supporting hapū development. The Trust has enabled the hapū to take responsibility for our own development (Hemoata Willison, personal communication, 2010).

## **Summary**

The national kaupapa Māori initiatives of the last 30 years have helped facilitate ongoing hapū efforts to revitalise te reo Māori and cultural identity. There has been a gradual positive shift both in hapū perceptions about the status of the language and the numbers of hapū members learning and using te reo Māori. The positive shifts in the relevance and status of te reo Māori have been encouraged by the increasing public profile of te reo Māori both on radio and television and reflect national attitudinal shifts towards the acceptance of te reo Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). However, the positive shift, while evident within this hapū, has been slow. And the increasing positive attitudes have not always been accompanied by active learning and use of the language.

It is unclear whether these positive attitudinal shifts towards te reo Māori and the increased usage of te reo within the hapū are significant enough to indicate the long-term survival of te reo Māori within the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, but at least the signs are positive. It took nearly 60 years, from 1883 when English instruction was introduced into the hapū community, until the early 1940s, for English to become the first language within hapū homes. Therefore, maybe it will take 60 years of positive action, beginning with the establishment of the Kōhanga Reo in 1983, to see a dramatic turnaround in the use of te reo Māori within this hapū.

The hapū controlled education initiatives and wānanga described above are examples of a hapū approach to learning. Wānanga have facilitated the inter-generational sharing of hapū history and cultural values in a variety of locations strengthening hapū identity for those individuals and whānau who attended. The difficulty of resisting government

initiatives, that either overtly or covertly encourage assimilation, while at the same time attempting to strengthen hapū mana motuhake, is a battle that has constantly engaged hapū leadership since the arrival of Pākehā.

The examples of hapū initiatives given in this chapter demonstrate that while the hapū has struggled with the impacts of land loss and cultural degradation, hapū leadership was able to initiate relevant and important hapū development. The hapū leadership has focussed on capacity building and development in those areas where they have had the agency to make decisions and exercise the mana motuhake or self-determination of the hapū. With resources acquired through hapū participation in national education and health programmes, hapū leadership focus has been on language and cultural revitalisation seen as critical to the maintenance and strengthening of hapū cultural identity and integrity.

## Chapter 8: Discussion

Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata  
(Do not trample the mana of the people)

There is no neutral or “culture free” education, we either educate to domesticate or we educate to liberate (Freire, 1972). For the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho education was never liberating. Instead colonial education had the purpose of civilising or domesticating Māori children in order to create a subjugated and compliant labouring class who would serve as a cheap labour for Pākehā owned businesses and farms. From the 1880s the New Zealand education system has trampled on the mana of hapū children and their whānau and has continued to do so until the present day.

The history of Ngāi Tamarāwaho is not just about the domination and control imposed by colonial governments over an indigenous people. More importantly it is the story of their survival as a community to the present day; of their resistance to ongoing pressure to conform to the marginalised position they were consigned to by a colonising society. It is the story of their ongoing efforts to maintain and revitalise their cultural identity and language. Through their efforts they have maintained their independent identity as a hapū and their desire to be self-determining.

The following discussion reviews the education contexts experienced by Ngāi Tamarāwaho since the 1830s and also examines how the hapū has attempted to engage with education as part of their engagement with the wider society created by colonialism. The intergenerational impacts of colonisation, as experienced by Ngāi Tamarāwaho, support the findings of existing literature which has shown that colonisation has caused long-term societal power imbalances that have marginalised indigenous and minority communities in New Zealand and worldwide (Alton-Lee, 2003; Bishop and Glynn, 1999; Smith, 1997; Valencia, 1997, Valenzuela, 1999). The colonising process deliberately trampled on the mana of a people in an attempt to subjugate them - a process that saw the belittlement and taking away of cultural identity. This process of “domestication” or bringing under control (Freire, 1970) features in the intergenerational stories of the education experiences of hapū whānau in this thesis.

Educational literature affirms that to achieve learning success, the learning process has to nurture the learner’s self-esteem and affirm their identity and cultural values (Bruner, 1996; Cummins, 2001). Power sharing and mutual respect (non-dominating relations of interdependence) between teachers and students are also seen as essential elements that facilitate the engagement and subsequent education success of Māori

students (Bishop et al, 2007). From a kaupapa Māori perspective learning has to be a mana enhancing process for both learners and teachers - otherwise it fails in its very purpose which is “to facilitate the flow and experience of mana in the individual and in his/her community” (Royal, 2007, p. 68). However, this thesis has shown that while the Ngāi Tamarāwaho hapū has always attempted to engage with education, their experiences with the education system have rarely been mana enhancing. In schools education experiences still belittle the mana of those children and do little to raise their self-esteem and confidence. Importantly this thesis shows that the hapū focus on maintaining and revitalising cultural identity and language has helped to mitigate some of the destructive effects of those mana belittling education policies and practices.

The level of hapū engagement in education and colonial society and the extent of their success have been limited by political and economic factors outside their control. At the interface of the intercultural relationships between hapū whānau and various government agencies and agents there has always been a degree of common interest. Hapū whānau were interested in gaining the advantages of education offered by the early missionaries. Subsequently governments were keen to provide education in order to subjugate and domesticate Māori. The interface has long been a site of conflict and incompatibility, contradictory objectives and unequal power relations (Long, 1999). These have limited the agency of the hapū to participate fully and their ability to make decisions about their educational experiences and desired outcomes.

The historical pattern of inter-cultural relationships between Māori and Pākehā in wider New Zealand has been reflected in the intercultural relationships experienced by the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. The education experiences of successive generations of the extended whānau of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, gathered through the archival records and individual narratives of hapū whānau, demonstrate the destructive impact of these relationships on individuals and the hapū. Repeated attempts by successive generations of hapū whānau to maintain their mana motuhake at the interface of Māori and Pākehā relationships provides a clear picture of the triumphs, trials and tribulations experienced by this hapū.

## **Reflecting on the research questions**

### **Attempts to engage with education by successive generations**

The stories related in this thesis, demonstrate the continuous attempts made by hapū members to take advantage of Pākehā knowledge and technology but also provide evidence of the continual marginalisation of educational opportunities for the whānau of this small hapū. The consequent lack of education achievement by successive generations

has limited the economic advancement of many hapū whānau which has built up an 'education debt' (Ladson-Billings, 2006) that has accumulated over successive generations. A community that was disempowered and impoverished by land wars followed by the confiscation of their land was further condemned to intergenerational, low economic status by culturally subtractive mainstream education policies and practices.

These historic policies and practices envisaged little potential and little need, for Māori to succeed academically. Just as importantly society as a whole has not benefited from the potential that this hapū could have, and would have, contributed if they had been allowed to engage and develop as they had desired. What could society have learnt and could learn still, from this small community? In the New Zealand education system there has been a continuing focus on learning *about* Māori, especially about their issues and failures as framed by the dominant Pākehā society, rather than any real discussion or thought given to what could be learnt from a small indigenous community like Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Māori success threatened Pākehā success and the racialised social order, which was reflected in the official culture and policy of the country, imposed limitations, marginalised Māori and jeopardised their cultural identity and well-being.

### **Maintaining cultural identity**

When threatened with the loss of identity and culture the hapū has maintained key elements of cultural identity by remaining staunch and strong as to who they were as a hapū. At every opportunity the hapū leadership has promoted hapū identity to ensure other groups (both Māori and non-Māori) were aware of who the hapū were as a collective and where they were from. The hapū, much to the displeasure of government officials, also maintained religious and political alliances that were an essential part of the culture of resistance to oppression. Central to hapū identity has been the marae which provided a focus and a physical presence to signify the mana whenua and the whakapapa of the hapū.

The building of the ancestral house Tamateapokaiwhenua in 1958 and the rebuilding in 2004 (Chapter 7) were statements of hapū identity and mana motuhake. They were key events that marked the growing strength of hapū unity and development. These efforts to maintain hapū mana motuhake would not have been possible without the intergenerational transfer of critical cultural knowledge central to hapū identity. In response to their low socio economic status and to maintain hapū identity, hapū leadership took advantage of state funded education initiatives to revitalise cultural identity and pride. Led by Maharaia Winiata in the 1950s, (Chapter 7) these initiatives

promoted ongoing cultural maintenance and revitalisation that has been further supported by the nationwide kaupapa Māori initiatives of the 1980s.

### **The education aspirations of Ngāi Tamarāwaho**

Education and learning were, and are seen by the whānau of Ngāi Tamarāwaho as a means to build the capacity of individuals and therefore the capacity of whānau and the wider hapū. These goals are totally consistent with those seen as important by the Hui Taumata Mātauranga which were for Māori to be able to live as Māori, to actively participate as citizens of the world and to lead healthy lives with a high standard of living (Durie, 2001).

However, education for the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho has required more than improved education opportunities in schools and tertiary institutions. It has also included marae based wānanga that provide learning opportunities clearly focussed on maintaining and developing hapū identity and cultural values. With limited resources and opportunity, hapū leadership and hapū individuals have sought to establish the necessary relationships with government agencies to gain access to the resources to achieve their goals. This has seen education and learning, take place within the hapū, under hapū control and targeted at meeting specific hapū needs (see Chapter 7).

### **Current and ongoing issues**

A recent late night phone call from a niece who had just returned from a Board of Trustees meeting at a local secondary school emphasised for me the difficulties that the hapū and other Māori whānau still face. In tears she told me of a traumatic meeting in which a 13 year old Māori student was excluded from the school by the Board. In vain she had tried to convince her fellow Board members that the student was a potential asset to the school because the student, new to the school, had come from a Māori immersion school and was fluent in te reo Māori. However, the other Board members stressed the documented evidence of the student's anti-social and disruptive behaviour. The student was seen as aggressive and not fitting within the accepted norms of the school.

My niece explained to me that the school had followed all the correct procedures that are legally required to exclude a student who was under 16 years of age; they had given warnings, they had documented all the incidents. However, the exclusion procedures did not address issues of the school's responsibility to respond to the student's language and cultural needs, and the student's sense of frustration, marginalisation and exclusion. In my niece's words "the school had done everything [legally] right, but it was so [morally] wrong."

There are other recent examples of the difficulties still faced by hapū children in mainstream schools; the unemployed 17 year old excluded from a local secondary school when he was 15 who has never attended school since. The young hapū woman who was sent by her family to a local private secondary school, hopefully to increase her chances of success, but who missed gaining university entrance because she did not have the required number of credits in core subjects; a requirement that neither she nor her whānau were made aware of until it was too late. These examples of the issues still facing hapū students are not isolated incidents but represent at a local level the ongoing systemic failures of the current education system.

There is increasing research evidence that teachers and schools can make a positive difference for Māori students; importantly that the promotion of positive cultural identity is critical to high self-esteem and therefore education success. Indeed, Māori success as Māori within the current mainstream education system will not happen without positive action by non-Māori. It is clear that such support is not always seen as necessary or even desirable. For sections of the white, middle class majority in New Zealand, Māori success “as Māori” is a concept that is undervalued, misunderstood, and perhaps even construed as a potential threat to “white, middle class success”, and to white identity.

### **Te mana o Ngāi Tamarāwaho: contexts, challenges and responses**

The following tables overview the education contexts experienced by Ngāi Tamarāwaho over the last 180 years. They illustrate the systemic challenges the hapū faced in their attempts to be equal partners, as promised in the Treaty of Waitangi, and how the hapū responded to those challenges. This summary is presented over the following broad time periods:

**Table 6: Education time periods**

	<b>Contexts</b>
1830s - 1850s	Missionaries, new learning
1860s - 1870s	War and land confiscations
1880s - 1910s	Hūria Native School, introduction of English
1920s - 1940s	Otumoetai School, last native speaking generation
1950s - 1970s	loss of te reo Māori; the monolingual generation
1980s - 1990s	Kaupapa Māori, kōhanga reo
2000s	Continuing revitalisation

### **1830s to 1850s**

During the 1830s to the 1850s (see Chapter 3) the relationship between Ngāi Tamarāwaho and the missionaries was one that, largely, demonstrated a balanced power sharing arrangement that reflected and protected the mana of both the hapū and the missionaries. However, this was not a situation appreciated by the missionaries who

expected a more subservient attitude from “natives” rather than the questioning and enquiring focus of hapū whānau. At that time learning was a mana enhancing experience for hapū individuals and the community because they had a large degree of control over what they would learn and they acquired new skills that enabled them to successfully compete in the growing colonial society. The rapid and successful agentic adaptation, by Ngāi Tamarāwaho and other iwi groups throughout the country, to the needs of the new society, threatened the colonial government’s attempts to expand and enforce Pākehā control and jurisdiction over the country.

**Table 7: 1830s - 1850s**

<b>What were the education contexts for Ngāi Tamarāwaho?</b>	<b>What were the systemic challenges the hapū faced?</b>	<b>How was the hapū responding?</b>
<p><b>1830s to 1850s</b> New literacy learning in te reo Māori. Learning is a mana enhancing experience</p>	<p>-Rapid pace of societal change. -Missionary focus on ‘civilising’ Māori to suit the needs of colonisers.</p>	<p>-The hapū maintained a position of mana and agency in their interactions with Pākehā. -Active engagement and participation in new learning with a rapid uptake of knowledge and technology. These were absorbed and adapted into existing hapū cultural framework. -Developing relations of interdependence with Pākehā.</p>

### **1860s to 1870s**

From the 1860s, (see Chapter 3) there was a harsh power shift and an associated economic shift. The colonial government used military force to subjugate the hapū by taking possession of their lands and resources in order to impose control over the future direction of whānau and hapū development. The relationship between Māori and the colonial government did not reflect the shared partnership expressed by the Treaty of Waitangi. The hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho were disempowered both politically and economically (Office of Treaty Settlements, 2012).

As a result of this disempowerment the hapū now had little agency in their dealings with government agencies and officials. The hapū entered a long period of imposed limitations within wider society (Durie, 2005). They now lived and survived within a society that, having gained control over Māori, was determined to maintain that control. These imposed limitations impacted destructively on economic growth and the ability of hapū whānau to successfully engage in education and wider society more generally.

**Table 8: 1860s - 1870s**

<b>What were the contexts for Ngāi Tamarāwaho?</b>	<b>What were the systemic challenges the hapū faced?</b>	<b>How was the hapū responding?</b>
<b>1860 to 1870s</b> Land wars and the confiscation of hapū land	The hapū is disempowered both politically and economically by colonial government instigated conflict and subsequent legislation.	Armed confrontations with colonial forces as hapū fights for survival. Hapū maintains cultural identity and language while attempting to achieve equitable position in colonial society.

### **1880s to 1910s**

During the 1880s to 1910s, (see Chapter 4) hapū identity and language were seen by officials and teachers as impediments to civilising or domesticating the hapū children and the subsequent creation of a subjugated and compliant labouring class. Hapū children weren't expected to succeed in education. Instead there was an expectation that they would learn some English to assist the civilising process and their capacity to serve the colonisers. The hapū had re-engaged with education by opening a school in the Hūria community in 1883 in an attempt to retain some control over the education of their children. However, these efforts were marginalised by government officials who dictated how the school would be run. Those officials eventually closed the school in 1900 when the hapū failed to conform to officials' expectations. Those actions demonstrated the very limited agency experienced by Māori in education settings during this period and the education system imposed proved to be a mana belittling experience for the hapū.

The archival record of the school shows how the extreme poverty of the community, as a result of the loss of their economic base, impacted on the ability of hapū children to take advantage of any education opportunities. Yet despite the socio economic difficulties and the political pressure exerted on the hapū, they continued to resist subjugation and marginalisation by maintaining their cultural identity and language. Hapū leaders also lobbied the government for redress for the confiscation of their land as they continued their struggle to achieve a more equitable partnership with Pākehā.

**Table 9: 1880s - 1910s**

What were the education contexts for Ngāi Tamarāwaho?	What were the systemic challenges the hapū faced?	How was the hapū responding?
<p><b>1880s to 1910s</b>                      - Community based, hapū established school 1883 – 1900. Learning is through the medium of English. Education became a mana belittling experience.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Socio economic difficulties created by land confiscations that removed hapū’s economic base</li> <li>- Officials and teachers focus on ‘civilising’ hapū children, to create a subjugated and compliant labouring class.</li> <li>- Cultural identity and language devalued.</li> <li>- Negative education experiences for students and whānau.</li> <li>- Low expectations by officials and teachers for achievement by hapū children.</li> <li>-limited education outcomes</li> <li>- Closure of the school by Education Department (1900)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Hapū maintains cultural identity and language while attempting to be part of colonial society.</li> <li>-Hapū proactively engaged in learning by establishing a school in the hapū community.</li> <li>-Hapū also attempted to have a say in who would teach their children and how they would be taught.</li> <li>-Hapū leaders sought redress for land confiscations.</li> <li>-Hapū struggles to achieve a more equitable partnership with Pākehā society.</li> </ul>

**1920s to 1940s**

Hapū children who attended school from the 1920s to the 1940s (see Chapters 5 and 6) generally had access only to a very basic primary education and few progressed to the secondary school level as this was seen as unnecessary and even undesirable by government officials. Hapū students generally did not have positive relationships with their teachers and often felt uncomfortable in a schooling environment that overtly and covertly demeaned their cultural background. The hapū community were subject to racism and a blatant disregard for either their education or health as shown by the eviction of hapū children from Otumoetai School and their fight to secure clean water (Chapter 5). They were not encouraged or expected to achieve at higher education levels and participants typically found that both their primary and secondary school experiences were negative.

Those who did succeed against the odds, such as Maharaia Winiata, were regarded as exceptionally talented individuals, but low expectations were held for the majority of hapū children. These children left school with the perception that they were failures at education and learning. This continuing devaluation of cultural identity disrupted the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori as hapū parents increasingly spoke English to their children in an attempt to protect them from traumatic and belittling schooling experiences aimed at removing their first language. Despite the continuing socio economic and political subjugation, the hapū proactively lobbied government

agencies over many years to secure clean water for the hapū settlements and continued to maintain their cultural identity and values.

**Table 10: 1920s - 1940s**

What were the education contexts for Ngāi Tamarāwaho?	What were the systemic challenges the hapū faced?	How was the hapū responding?
<p><b>1920s to 1940s</b>                      -limited participation in any education by hapū children until 1920s. Then increasing numbers of hapū children attended Otumoetai School until they were evicted by government officials (in response to Pākehā settlers who saw them as health risk to Pākehā children) in 1939. Education continues to be a mana belittling experience.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ongoing socio economic difficulties created by land confiscations and maintained by government policy.</li> <li>-Teachers focus on ‘civilising’ hapū children to create a subjugated and compliant labouring class.</li> <li>-Continuation of colonial government power imposed over Māori.</li> <li>-Hapū cultural identity and language devalued with consequent loss of self-esteem creating the conditions for the disruption of the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori within hapū whānau.</li> <li>- Hapū children made to feel they had failed in school.</li> <li>- Hapū had minimal agency over their education.</li> <li>- No expectations by schools for achievement by hapū children.</li> <li>-limited education outcomes achieved by hapū children</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Hapū maintains cultural identity in spite of the disruption to the intergenerational transmission of te reo Māori.</li> <li>- Hapū parents sent their children to Otumoetai School, a school within their traditional tribal boundaries, to keep the children together.</li> <li>-Hapū leadership proactively lobbied government agencies and officials to secure clean water for the hapū settlements.</li> <li>-Ongoing lobbying for redress for land confiscations.</li> <li>-Hapū continues attempts to develop a more equitable partnership with Pākehā.</li> </ul>

### 1950s to 1970s

The experiences of those who attended school in the 1950s and 1970s (see Chapter 6) were very similar to those of previous generations. They were also mainly denied access to anything other than a basic education. Generally, they were not encouraged or expected to achieve to a higher level. Although the majority did progress to secondary school, inevitably, their time at this level of education was usually short. The primary school experiences of this group were mainly positive due to the good relationships they had with the increasing numbers of Māori teachers at the Bethlehem School. However, the transition to secondary school proved traumatic for many as they shifted from a caring and supportive environment, where there were high expectations for their success, to secondary schools where there was little care to meet their needs and low expectations for success on the part of their teachers. They did not experience positive relationships with teachers at secondary school and they reported feeling uncomfortable in a schooling environment that not only failed to validate their cultural background but actually threatened to destroy their cultural identity.

Like the generations before them these students were exposed to an education system and wider society that devalued their culture and actively encouraged the loss of

their language. This student generation had minimal access to te reo Māori at home or at school and they became a monolingual, English speaking generation that still failed at school. The narratives show that these generations of students had limited agency over their education and that their experiences eroded their self-esteem and confidence as people capable of learning.

Nevertheless, the hapū continued to maintain its cultural identity despite the growing number of hapū parents who now spoke only English to their children. In the 1950s, in an attempt to promote language and cultural revitalisation and strengthen hapū identity, the hapū took advantage of a tertiary education initiative to run adult education classes on the marae (see Chapter 7). This strengthening of cultural identity included the building of a new whare tupuna and whare kai in the 1950s, and the development of hapū sports fields in early 1970s. Furthermore, the hapū continued lobbying for redress for land confiscations and to achieve equity in their relationship with Pākehā.

**Table 11: 1950s - 1970s**

<b>What were the education contexts for Ngāi Tamarāwaho?</b>	<b>What were the systemic challenges the hapū faced?</b>	<b>How was the hapū responding?</b>
<p><b>1950s and 1970s</b> Majority of hapū children attended Bethlehem Māori School. Increasing numbers of hapū children attend secondary schools. Primary school is now generally mana enhancing as more Māori teachers are employed at the school. Secondary school remains a mana belittling experience.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ongoing socio economic difficulties created by land confiscations and sustained by government policies to create and maintain a Māori labouring class.</li> <li>-Continuation of government imposition of power over Māori.</li> <li>-Secondary school teachers focus on ‘assimilating’ Māori.</li> <li>-Hapū cultural identity and language devalued with consequent loss of self-esteem by hapū children who are made to feel like failures in school.</li> <li>- Low expectations by secondary schools for hapū students’ achievement.</li> <li>- limited education outcomes for hapū children</li> <li>- Limited access to learning te reo Māori either at home or at school and this generation of hapū children became the monolingual, English speaking generation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Hapū maintains its cultural identity despite hapū children becoming largely English speaking.</li> <li>-Hapū controlled adult education classes in the early 1950s promote language and cultural revitalisation and strengthen hapū identity.</li> <li>-New whare tupuna and whare kai built 1958.</li> <li>-Development of hapū sports fields commenced in early 1970s</li> <li>-Ongoing lobbying for redress for land confiscations.</li> <li>-Hapū continues its struggles to develop a more equitable partnership with Pākehā.</li> </ul>

### **1980s to 1990s**

While there was increasing concern nationally about the low achievement levels of Māori students, the narratives of hapū members who attended school during the 1980s and 1990s showed little improvement from previous generations (see Chapter 6). While their primary school experiences were usually positive, their secondary school experiences were generally negative. Individual teachers who exhibited a caring attitude

and had high expectations for Māori student success were remembered as the exception. Hapū children weren't made to feel comfortable within the education system let alone valued learners and contributors. There remained a level of exclusion from higher academic achievement. The narratives reveal that these generations had some expectations or hope that they would do better at school; an expectation that reflected, in part, the kaupapa Māori movement of the 1980s. While the hopes of these generations were largely unfulfilled their own higher expectations would lead them to have greater learning expectations for their children.

While Māori culture and language were becoming available increasingly in schools during this period, they were frequently seen by schools as an alternative to academic achievement. Related to the kaupapa Māori initiatives of the 1980s there was a strengthening of hapū identity and development with the establishment of the kōhanga reo; hapū adult education classes and hauora (health clinic) (see Chapter 7). These developments were part of on-going hapū initiatives to strengthen their identity and mana motuhake.

**Table 12: 1980s - 1990s**

What were the education contexts for Ngāi Tamarāwaho?	What were the systemic challenges the hapū faced?	How was the hapū responding?
<p><b>1980s and 1990s</b>            -Emerging access to Māori immersion and bilingual options (pre-school to secondary school) for hapū children (mana enhancing).            - Increased access to te reo Māori and kapa haka at secondary school helped promote increased awareness of Māori identity.            -An emerging realisation nationally that Māori education success rates needed to improve. -However mainstream schooling generally remains a mana belittling experience.</p>	<p>- Ongoing socio economic difficulties created by historic land confiscations and sustained by government policies that created and maintained a poorly educated, Māori labouring class.            -The education system provided minimal acknowledgement of the place of Māori cultural identity in academic achievement.            - The education system held low expectations resulting in limited education outcomes for hapū children and provided limited access to Māori immersion and bilingual options for hapū children.</p>	<p>-Hapū maintains cultural identity with increasing hapū interest in revitalisation of te reo Māori.            -Hapū run adult education and health initiatives help strengthen hapū agency and hapū identity.            -Hapū establishes a Kōhanga Reo            -Hapū lodges Treaty claim with the Waitangi Tribunal seeking redress for land confiscations.            -Hapū attempts to achieve non-dominating relations of interdependence with Pākehā based on Treaty of Waitangi.</p>

### **The 2000s**

For those hapū members who attended state schools during the 2000s the narratives reflect the national picture where Māori student success is still not guaranteed and the education system generally remains a mana belittling experience for hapū children (see Chapter 6). However the narratives of those who attended kura kaupapa (Māori medium) schools reflected a more responsive educational environment where students were encouraged to take more agency over their learning and become more confident and

capable learners. The narratives of this generation also reflect greater expectations by whānau, rather than just hope, for education success. There is also evidence that increasing numbers of hapū parents were prepared to engage with schools and teachers and they were less willing to accept limited agency in the education of their children.

There was also increased access to te reo Māori in both state schools and dedicated immersion schools and pre-schools. This generation has been exposed to a society where Māori language, culture and identity were viewed more positively than in previous generations. They therefore have a more positive sense of their identity as Māori and as Ngāi Tamarāwaho. The positive sense of Māori identity has resulted from both pre-school involvement in Kōhanga Reo and an increased affirmation of hapū identity as a result of the hapū cultural revitalisation initiatives. However, Māori culture is still seen in many schools as an alternative to academic achievement. The education system struggles to understand what ‘education success as Māori’ (Ministry of Education, 2009) might mean. While there is increasing acknowledgement from the education sector of the need to engage with Māori whānau and Māori language and culture, the intercultural interface remains a strongly contested space.

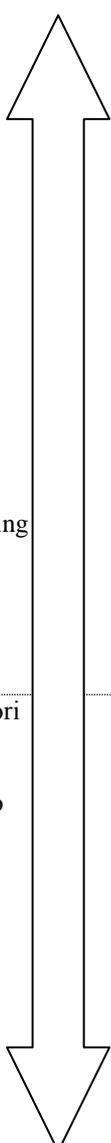
**Table 13: The 2000s**

<b>What were the education contexts for Ngāi Tamarāwaho?</b>	<b>What were the systemic challenges the hapū faced?</b>	<b>How was the hapū responding?</b>
<p><b>2000s</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Continuing access to Māori immersion and bilingual options (pre-school to secondary school) for hapū children (mana enhancing).</li> <li>-National education initiatives to raise Māori student achievement “as Māori”.</li> <li>- Māori language, culture and identity viewed more positively.</li> <li>- Increasing agency for parents and students who have the knowledge and confidence to engage with schools and teachers</li> </ul> <p>However mainstream schooling is still generally not a mana enhancing experience.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ongoing socio economic difficulties created and sustained by government policies that maintained a Māori labouring class.</li> <li>-Increasing recognition that there needs to be space for Māori at the intercultural interface, but what and how is still contested.</li> <li>- Hapū children are still experiencing variable relationships with teachers and variable school experiences</li> <li>- Variable expectations and education outcomes for hapū children.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>--Ongoing hapū education and health initiatives to strengthen hapū agency and hapū cultural identity and language.</li> <li>- Whare tupuna re- built</li> <li>- Hapū and iwi Treaty claim heard by the Waitangi Tribunal (2001).</li> <li>-Hapū claim for redress for confiscated land is accepted by government following a positive recommendation from the Waitangi Tribunal (2012).</li> <li>-Continuing hapū attempts to achieve non-dominating relations of interdependence with Pākehā – a Treaty partnership</li> </ul>

## Te mana motuhake o Ngāi Tamarāwaho

The following table summarises the education contexts and systemic challenges faced by the hapū. The table shows some of the consistent responses that ensured the survival and revitalisation of hapū cultural identity and language in the face of education contexts that belittled their mana as an independent people.

**Table 14: Contexts, challenges and responses**

What were the education contexts for Ngāi Tamarāwaho?	What were the systemic challenges the hapū faced?	How was the hapū responding?
<b>1830s - 1850s</b> <b>Mana enhancing contexts.</b> Hapū cultural identity and language provide framework for new learning	Missionary focus on ‘civilising’ Māori	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>mana motuhake</b> the maintenance of hapū cultural identity and language</p>  <p style="text-align: right;">new whare tupuna</p>
<b>1860s - 1870s</b> <b>Attempted subjugation of mana motuhake</b>	<b>Land wars and the confiscation of hapū land</b>	
<b>1880s - 1910s</b> <b>Mana belittling contexts.</b> Hūria Native School Limited agency and control in education of children	domination and control by Pākehā	
<b>1920s - 1940s</b> <b>Mana belittling contexts.</b> Otumoetai School Limited agency and control in education of children	Cultural identity and language devalued	
<b>1950s - 1970s</b> <b>Mana belittling contexts.</b> Limited agency and control in education of children. However, agency in hapū initiated language and cultural learning	Education to create a subjugated and compliant labouring class.  <b>No or low expectations for education success and limited educational outcomes</b>	
<b>1980s - 1990s</b> <b>Mana belittling contexts.</b> Limited agency and control in children’s education in mainstream contexts. <b>Mana enhancing contexts.</b> Agency in hapū initiated language and cultural learning for adults and Kōhanga reo and immersion options for children.	Continuation of dominant culture power and control over Māori  Cultural identity and language still devalued or marginalised	
<b>2000s</b> <b>Mana belittling contexts.</b> Limited agency and control in children’s education in mainstream contexts. <b>Mana enhancing contexts.</b> Agency in hapū initiated language and cultural learning for adults and Kōhanga reo and immersion options for children.	<b>Continuing low expectations for education success and limited educational outcomes</b>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>mana motuhake</b> the maintenance and revitalisation of hapū cultural identity and language</p>

A summary of the archival history and participants' narratives shows that the relationships experienced by hapū children from the 1880s to 1980s belittled their mana by devaluing their cultural identity and failing to support and build their self-esteem. The intergenerational social cost to whānau has included not only denied opportunities for economic development and advancement but also the hegemonic belief by many whānau that such development and advancement is even possible. Critically, the lack of education success in schools was so firmly laid at the feet of successive generations of hapū parents and children that many came to accept the hegemony imposed. They saw themselves, and their culture and language, as the cause of their failure. In spite of this threat to cultural identity the hapū has endeavoured to sustain and maintain their identity and agency.

The national kaupapa Māori initiatives of the 1980s forced a climate of change in society that has led to an increased acceptance of the importance of cultural identity and te reo Māori. This social change has facilitated the strengthening of the mana of hapū students, especially those who have attended school in the 2000s (see table above). While the education system is now attempting to move from a position that historically suppressed the mana of Māori students to a position that strengthens their mana and therefore their education success; the hapū, as a collective, has always sought to maintain its mana motuhake and the mana of hapū individuals.

### **A genuine Treaty partnership? The case for non-dominating relations of interdependence.**

The story of Ngāi Tamarāwaho, as told in this thesis, is a story of two pathways. One is the cultural legacy passed down from hapū ancestors and sustained to the present day; the other is the colonial legacy imposed by Pākehā and also sustained to the present day. Current New Zealand society must be viewed through the lenses of ongoing societal racism and the need for indigenous treaty partners to struggle to access educational resources. Sleeter (2011) writes of how families have “been constructed historically within and through relations of power” (p. 423). The following table summarises those two very different but inter-twined and inter-connected pathways and the impact and legacy of the unequal relations of power.

**Table 15: The dual legacies**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>The Ngāi Tamarāwaho legacy</b> (A Treaty honouring legacy)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>What has been passed down to subsequent generations?</b></p> <p>The belief that it was possible to have productive relationships of equality with Pākehā by ensuring respect for, and the preservation of, the mana of others.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Partnership</b></p> <p>Māori could participate as equals in the new society created by colonialism.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>What is the result of this legacy?</b></p> <p>The enhancing and strengthening of mana</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>An additive model: potentiality</b></p> <p>Ngāi Tamarāwaho can have the best of both worlds by adding new learning to their cultural heritage</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Where does this pathway lead?</b></p> <p>Adding new learning to the existing cultural heritage to achieve an equitable relationship with Pākehā so that Ngāi Tamarāwaho, and their language and culture, can assume an integral part within a wider society</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>The colonial legacy</b> (A Treaty denying legacy)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>What has been passed down to subsequent generations?</b></p> <p>The belief that Māori culture and language was inferior and unsuited for a ‘civilised’ society and the need to dominate and control Māori</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Subservience</b></p> <p>That Māori were second class citizens only suited to be an unskilled labouring class.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>What is the result of this legacy?</b></p> <p>The belittling of mana</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>A subtractive model: inequity</b></p> <p>Māori must give up their language and cultural values if they wish to conform to the norms of Pākehā society.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Where does this pathway lead?</b></p> <p>That Māori as Māori cannot assume they can play an integral part in defining the goals and directions of the wider society, but must be positioned alongside all other minority groups of refugees and migrants.</p>
<p><b>What actually happened?</b></p> <p>Pākehā dominance over Māori ensured that the subtractive impact of colonialism has continued to the present day as reflected in the social, economic and educational disparities between Māori and Pākehā.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>What are the future implications?</b></p> <p>If the colonial legacy (imposing a subtractive or deficit model of power sharing relationships) is not disrupted and rejected then Māori success as Māori is not assured. The social, economic and educational disparities between Māori and Pākehā will continue as will be evidenced in ongoing social and economic indicators.</p> <p>If the Ngāi Tamarāwaho legacy (offering an additive model of power sharing relationships) is acknowledged and accepted then Māori success as Māori can be assured. In this environment new learning, innovation and potentiality will emerge from the productive, non-dominating relations of interdependence between Māori and Pākehā.</p>	

The Treaty of Waitangi was the potential basis for a productive partnership between Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand. However, it was never viewed as such by the early colonisers and settler governments and by subsequent generations of Pākehā New Zealanders. Māori were seldom seen as equal partners but instead as representatives of an inferior culture who needed to be taught enough skills to become a subjugated and compliant labouring class. Officialdom was dominated and controlled by Pākehā who made the decisions that consigned and contained Māori as second class citizens within their own country. This was the legacy of colonialism, the belief that Māori culture and

language was inferior and unsuited for a ‘civilised’ society. This hegemony has remained as a societal belief that has only started to shift over the last 30 years.

This historical societal inequity has challenged the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho in their attempts to participate in New Zealand society, not as second class citizens, but as equal partners. The belittling of mana and therefore the mana motuhake of hapū individuals and the hapū itself, struck at the very core of hapū cultural identity. The hapū has shown that they always believed that it was possible to have productive relationships of equality with Pākehā by practising the cultural value of manaakitanga, which ensured respect for, and the preservation of, the mana of others and therefore their own mana. However, Pākehā dominance over Māori deliberately belittled and trampled on that mana. These actions ensured that the legacy of colonialism, as reflected in the social, economic and educational disparities between Māori and Pākehā, continues to the present day.

### **Wānanga and ako: attempting to weave cultures together**

Since their first interactions with Pākehā, Māori have attempted to weave new knowledge and technology into their existing cultural framework. They had no desire to “erase their distinctiveness nor discontinue their connections to their own historical path” (Nakata, 1997, p. 27). Instead, they had a desire to absorb and adapt those ideas and technologies that they thought would enhance their lives as whānau, hapū and iwi. This desire to learn new ideas and yet still retain cultural identity has been evident throughout the history related in this thesis. As stated by Royal (2007) “the purpose of education is to facilitate the flow and experience of mana in the individual and in his/her community” (p. 68). In this context, where mana equates to potential, education or learning that enhances an individual’s mana also enhances and develops their potential. The cultural contexts of wānanga and ako facilitate the enhancement of the mana of both teachers and learners. However, the culturally subtractive education experiences of Māori, as related in this thesis, have also belittled the mana and the potential of their teachers.

## Chapter 9: Conclusions

Ruia taitea kia tū ko taikākā anake

*Strip away the sapwood and let the heartwood alone stand.*

This research has explored how eight generations of Ngāi Tamarāwaho whānau have responded to the impacts of colonisation. It describes how this indigenous community has resisted colonial education policies and practices of domination and control by maintaining their unique hapū identity and their mana motuhake. This intergenerational account showed that the legacies of colonialism, i.e. government policies of subjugation and subordination, have marginalised hapū cultural values and their unique identity as Ngāi Tamarāwaho.

However, the story of this hapū is not just about their attempts to engage with mainstream education and the barriers they faced. When you strip away the role of colonialism and the subsequent socio-economic impacts as identified in this thesis, at the heart of this story is the inter-generational societal abuse of a small indigenous community and the methods used by that community to defend their identity to ensure their survival. Drawing on the cultural concepts of ako and wānanga, the hapū whānau have successfully woven together elements of Māori and Pākehā knowledge to provide a platform for the success of future generations.

This concluding chapter therefore reviews some of the learning that can be taken from the history of this small indigenous community and the implications for non-indigenous educators and teachers who work with indigenous and minority students.

### **Te Mana Motuhake o Ngāi Tamarāwaho and the research process**

As a non-Māori, it is important for me to explain how I was able to research hapū history using kaupapa Māori research methods. Undertaking a thesis can be a very personal and individual process and there have been elements of my research journey that have been my personal responsibility. However, this research has also been a community focussed process that involved guidance, collaboration and shared responsibilities. It has also meant that I have been involved in the kaupapa Māori processes of wānanga and ako as I have both learnt from hapū whānau and shared my learning with those whānau.

While I was able to draw on over forty years of lived experiences within the hapū community, I did not instigate or undertake this research as an individual. My lived experiences have given me the understanding that my participation in hapū events has always been facilitated and guided by my membership of multiple whānau of interest under the kaupapa Māori tikanga of manaakitanga and whakawhanaungatanga (Bishop,

1996). So in undertaking this research I was guided within a whānau of interest in a process that protected the mana of the wider hapū, the mana of the whānau and the individuals, the mana of the research, and also my personal mana. I have shared my thoughts and writings and the research process itself with this extended whānau of interest from within the hapū, accessing an important process of mentoring and supervision. While this process sat outside the formal supervision process of the university this kaupapa Māori approach was supported by my academic supervisors.

Part of the extended whānau of interest was Hūria Trust, a hapū organisation that facilitates hapū development. At various times, individually and sometimes as a group, members of the Trust have guided and mentored my research. I have also reported on my progress at Trust meetings. Other members of the hapū have shared this journey with me. Even during the very mainstream exercise of searching archival records I was reminded of the significance of my research to the hapū whānau. I was accompanied to the archive by my wife and I experienced her very personal reactions as she uncovered her grandfather's name in the lists of pupils at the Hūria Native School, and her father's name in the list of students evicted from the Otumoetai School in the late 1930s. Another hapū member cried when I gave her a copy of a letter from the archive that had been signed by her great-grandfather in the 1880s. These experiences reinforced for me the sensitive and personal nature of my research and the potential impact it could have on hapū whānau.

As well as the archival research I also conducted interviews through a collaborative storying process (Bishop, 1996) where the participants were partners or mutual storytellers in producing their narratives. The annotated narratives were returned to participants to allow them to make changes, corrections, alterations and additions, giving them control over how their stories would be finally presented. I reminded participants that their stories would be part of my thesis and as such publicly available and therefore they needed to ensure that they would be happy for their mokopuna or mokopuna tuarua (great-grandchildren) to read their stories, as told by me, in years to come.

An example of the on-going process of collaborative storying and whakawhitiwhiti kōrero (see Chapter 2) in this research was the learning process that took place when I interviewed the CEO of Hūria Trust to expand on my historical overview of the organisation. Once I had completed a final draft of the chapter, I gave a copy to the CEO so that she could check the parts of her formal interview I had used and also that my recollections and interpretations of the Trust's history were compatible with

her recollections. From this process I was able to make additions and corrections that gave a more representative, shared historical record of events.

Part of the history of Hūria Trust that I had written included the historical tension between the Trust and other hapū organisations who felt that the Trust exerted too much influence in hapū affairs. Much of this concern stemmed from the extensive involvement by the Trust's CEO in the wider hapū affairs and a perception that the CEO was using her position with the Trust to expand and strengthen her influence over the direction of hapū activities and development. While happy with the overall content of the draft chapter, after reading my comments about these specific events, the CEO felt that she needed to add her interpretation of the events related. So in this case the process of 'collaborative storying' extended over a 12 month period and included formal interviews, informal discussions (whakawhitiwhiti kōrero) and making track changes on electronic copies as we collaboratively wrote and re-wrote sections of my draft chapter. Another participant, on reading her story, asked if a section of her schooling experiences could be removed. While she had been happy to share a particular story with me she was not certain that she wanted other people to read about one traumatic incident she had related. Also, whakapapa used at the start of each intergenerational narrative was checked by individuals from within the hapū acknowledged for their expertise in this area and changes were made as they directed.

A major justification for this research was my intent to provide members of the hapū community access to both the research results and also the primary material sourced from archival records. To this end, sections of the research have already been accessed by whānau who have used findings for inclusion in whānau wānanga; the material adding to and complementing the whānau history and whakapapa that these whānau wanted to pass on to younger whānau members. The hapū team involved in Treaty of Waitangi negotiations also asked for access to some of the archival material I had sourced from National Archives. Even though my research was not complete I was able to share what I had found and also what I had written. I saw this as part of my obligation and commitment to give back to the hapū. Among all my various roles within the hapū I have become known as a collector of information (especially historical), but more importantly I have earned the reputation of sharing information with other members of the hapū and this process of sharing or manaakitanga has seen elements of hapū history re-woven back into hapū oral traditions.

An example of research aiding the transmission of hapū history occurred when I found a reference to the involvement of a hapū tupuna (ancestor) in the Kingitanga movement of the early 1860s (Woller, 2005). While hapū allegiance to the Kingitanga movement is well known (especially hapū involvement in the battles that took place between iwi aligned with the Kingitanga and Government troops in the mid-1860s), oral or written records of hapū involvement in the politics before the battles are very limited. I discovered an 1862 reference to the connection between Ngāi Tamarāwaho and the Kingitanga at a meeting at Peria near Matamata. The meeting was called by Wiremu Tamihana, a major proponent of the Kingitanga, to discuss opposition to the Government building a road from Auckland into the Waikato. An English missionary at the meeting, Bishop Selwyn, wrote a report on the proceedings naming those who spoke against the Government's proposal and were therefore in support of the Kingitanga and perceived as anti-government. Among those speakers was Paraone of Tauranga, also known as Paraone Koikoi of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Paraone was the hapū leader during this period and this confirmed his early support for the Kingitanga in opposition to the government's plans (AJHR, 1863 E12; Stokes, 2002).

I discussed this reference with several hapū members at informal meetings and all agreed that the missionary record made sense and that it was considered that this tupuna, because of his later role in leading the hapū in the subsequent battles, would have been at the meeting described by the missionary. One of those who listened to the discussions was a young woman whose role in the hapū is the teaching of kapa haka (traditional performing arts). She also composes waiata that are sung by hapū members at a variety of functions and hapū ceremonies. She incorporated the piece of information about Koikoi in a waiata thereby restoring the story to the on-going contemporary oral traditions of the hapū.

The use of some of my research findings to restore hapū oral tradition had never been planned or anticipated. It would have been arrogant and patronising of me to assume that my research could or should be used in a particular way. Instead this small piece of history, through a process of sharing and discussion between several hapū members, served to benefit future generations of the hapū. Through demonstrating manaakitanga and freely sharing the information I had found, the decision about what information would be useful and how it would be used was determined by members of the hapū.

As part of the process of recording my place in this research I found it difficult to write about myself. I am aware of the whakataukī (metaphorical saying or proverb)

“kāore te kumara e kōrero mō tōna ake reka” (the kumara does not talk about its sweetness) that stresses the need for humility and not to be whakahīhī (boastful). I saw my role as that of a ringawera (literally ‘hot hands’ - a kitchen hand); someone who works behind the scenes to get things done at the direction and guidance of others. It didn’t matter whether I was slicing meat in the whare kai or researching and writing hapū history; all roles and responsibilities are equally important. I resolved some of this reluctance to write about my role as a hapū researcher by asking hapū members by what right (if any) did I have to research hapū history and what qualifications (if any) did I have to undertake the research. It was interesting that none of the responses mentioned my academic qualifications; instead they talked about whakawhanaungatanga, the relationships I had established and maintained, and my personal qualities that reflected manaakitanga towards others. The discussions reminded me that I hadn’t earned ‘a right’ as such but more a responsibility and a commitment to uphold the mana of the hapū and the kaupapa (the purpose of my research). Māori academic and historian Monty Soutar (2000) wrote that those who have “access to the heart and soul of the people,” irrespective of their race or academic qualifications, were those most qualified to write “Māori perspectives of post-contact history” ( p. viii). I feel that I have been privileged to glimpse the heart and soul of the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. At the very least I have had the opportunity to understand how the heart and soul of this hapū have remained strong in spite of the impacts of colonialism. Ultimately any decision by the hapū to support this research has been an action of mana motuhake; an action of independence and authority. The hapū whānau have determined how their history would be told; how their stories would convey the self-esteem and self-worth of the community and the individuals within it.

Although I have different roles within the hapū as a husband, a parent and grandparent, as a marae trustee, a ringawera and last and least, researcher, it is impossible to separate these roles. I wear various hats, but I am still the same person who has a variety of duties and responsibilities. If I act irresponsibly in any of my roles then those actions impact negatively on all other aspects of my life and my mana (my standing within the hapū) will be diminished in the eyes of the hapū. Among my various roles and responsibilities I have become known within the hapū as a collector of information (especially historical), but more importantly I have earned a reputation as a person who shares information with other members of the hapū. This sharing has included pieces of hapū history that I have sourced from archival records and this process of sharing has

seen elements of hapū history re-woven back into hapū oral traditions. It is the relationships of mutual trust and respect that have been established, nurtured and maintained over time that are the very core of my role as a culturally responsive researcher.

### **Further implications**

Currently Māori success as Māori in education is not assured. The social, economic and educational disparities between Māori and Pākehā, as reflected in the negative social and economic indicators, will continue if the colonial legacy is not disrupted and rejected. To achieve an equitable society the Ngāi Tamarāwaho legacy has to be acknowledged as a positive example for future focussed development. This small indigenous community has received little or no recognition for the struggles they have faced, but they have still remained self-determining and have continued to draw on their cultural metaphors to create their own solutions to the issues created by colonisation. From the history of this small hapū there are learnings and implications for non-indigenous and majority educators and teachers who are involved in the education of indigenous and minority students.

The hapū acknowledges the mana of all individuals; acknowledging that it is possible and desirable for those individuals to succeed in education while maintaining their existing cultural heritage, their differences, and their values upon which new learning and experiences can be added. The legacy of colonial education has seen the ongoing, intergenerational under-serving of sections of society; a process that has consigned these indigenous and minority groups to the status of second-class citizens. When sections of society are marginalised and abused there is a human cost. Negative socio-economic indicators, high rates of drug and alcohol abuse, and youth suicides are some of the legacies of the inter-generational marginalisation of indigenous and minority groups world-wide.

Increasingly societies are realising that the social costs of the intergenerational marginalisation of indigenous and minority groups also creates an economic cost that impacts on all sections of society (Wilkinson & Picket, 2010). However, the current perception of the non-indigenous, majority sections of societies is that indigenous and minority groups can only succeed at the expense of non-indigenous and majority groups (Knew, 2012). There needs to be greater understanding within those more advantaged sections of societies that the success of indigenous and minority groups will not be at

their expense. Mutual benefits are possible; education success, and therefore the subsequent economic success of indigenous and minority groups, benefits all of society.

While indigenous people, including Māori, have demonstrated their resilience, they also require assistance from non-indigenous majority people to help undo the culturally subtractive impacts of the colonial legacy. Education policies, systems and practices have played a major role in perpetuating the colonial legacy and current education institutions have the ability to assist positive change, but cannot impose change. Teachers and schools can make a difference through building interdependent partnerships with indigenous communities; partnerships that promote collaboration and power sharing. The first step in building interdependent partnerships is the acknowledgement by both parties that change is needed and that the promotion of positive cultural identity is critical to high self-esteem and therefore education success.

There is a need for these educators and teachers to acknowledge that there is no neutral education (Freire, 1972) and understand that the education they are delivering to indigenous students is either domesticating (mana suppressing) or liberating (mana enhancing). They cannot continue to deliver the same mana suppressing education as experienced by generations of indigenous students and expect to resolve these disparities and inequalities created by the same system of education. All that can be expected from this is the further marginalisation of these groups.

There is also a need for non-indigenous educators to acknowledge that effective solutions to the issues faced by indigenous and minority groups need to come from within those indigenous and minority groups. As stated by Freire (1970, p. 54);

[n]o pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption.

The cultural concepts of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, wānanga and ako that have been employed throughout this thesis are critical markers of the cultural identity of the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho. Through the maintenance of these and other cultural concepts and metaphors, the hapū has been able to defend their cultural identity against the destructive impacts of colonialism while also maintaining respect for, and the preservation of, the mana of others, including Pākehā. In Māori language the word mana has multiple meanings including equating to the English word freedom. Therefore mana motuhake; “a ‘position of mana’ that sees Māori as a vibrant and alive people

emboldened with self-esteem and self-worth” (Royal, 2002, p. 2), is the expression of that freedom. Teachers cannot *give* students their mana or their freedom but those teachers can acknowledge and respect the mana (freedom) that those students already have. Students who have the freedom to express their mana motuhake will have the self-esteem and confidence to free themselves from the subtractive effects of the colonial legacy. By offering manaakitanga to students (the act of caring and showing respect), teachers not only uplift the mana of those students but also realise or uplift their personal mana or freedom. As stated by Freire (1970, p. 56) “[i]t is only the oppressed who, by freeing themselves, can free their oppressors.”

This research has shown that future generations of Ngāi Tamarāwaho can be very proud of the resilience of their tupuna (ancestors) who maintained hapū identity and cultural values in the face of the oppression and subjugation imposed by colonisation. The history of their struggles and resilience are examples of the potential learning that can be provided by small indigenous communities to society at large. To access this learning all that is required is that we cease trying to impose solutions and take the time to actually listen and understand.

Mā te rongo, ka mōhio; Mā te mōhio, ka mārama; Mā te mārama, ka mātau; Mā te mātau, ka  
ora.

*(Through listening comes knowledge, from knowledge comes clarity, from clarity comes wisdom.  
from wisdom comes life and vitality)*

## Glossary of Māori terms

Ako - to learn and to teach

Aotearoa - Land of the long white cloud, indigenous, pre-colonial name of New Zealand

Aroha - love, pity, compassion

Aukati – exclusion zone, restricted area

Awhi - embrace

Hapū - sub tribe or clan

Hauhau – rebel, insurgent

He kanohi kitea - the seen face

Hui - meeting (or meetings) that operates according to cultural protocols

Hui-a-hapū - tribal community meeting

Hunaonga - relationship through marriage, in-law

Hūria – Ngāi Tamarāwaho community (also known as Judea)

Io – supreme being

Iwi - tribe, tribal, people

Kaiako - teacher

Kaikaranga - the woman (or women) who make the ceremonial call to visitors onto a marae

Kaikōrero – speaker (usually male at formal occasions)

Kanohi ki te kanohi - face to face

Kapa haka - cultural group, songs, movement and/or dance

Karakia - prayer, religious service

Karanga - first call of welcome

Kaumātua - elder, either male or female

Kaupapa - purpose, agenda, guidelines

Kaupapa Māori - particular plan of action created by Māori, expressing Māori aspirations, values and principles.

Kawa - cultural protocols, the way things are done

Kete - woven baskets

Kingitanga - King Movement, a pan tribal alliance formed to restrict land sales to the growing Pākehā population in the 1850s.

Koha – gift, donation or contribution, reciprocity

Kōhanga Reo - Māori medium pre-schools, language nest

Kōrero - to talk, speak, discuss, discussion

Koroua - respected male elder/elders, grandfather

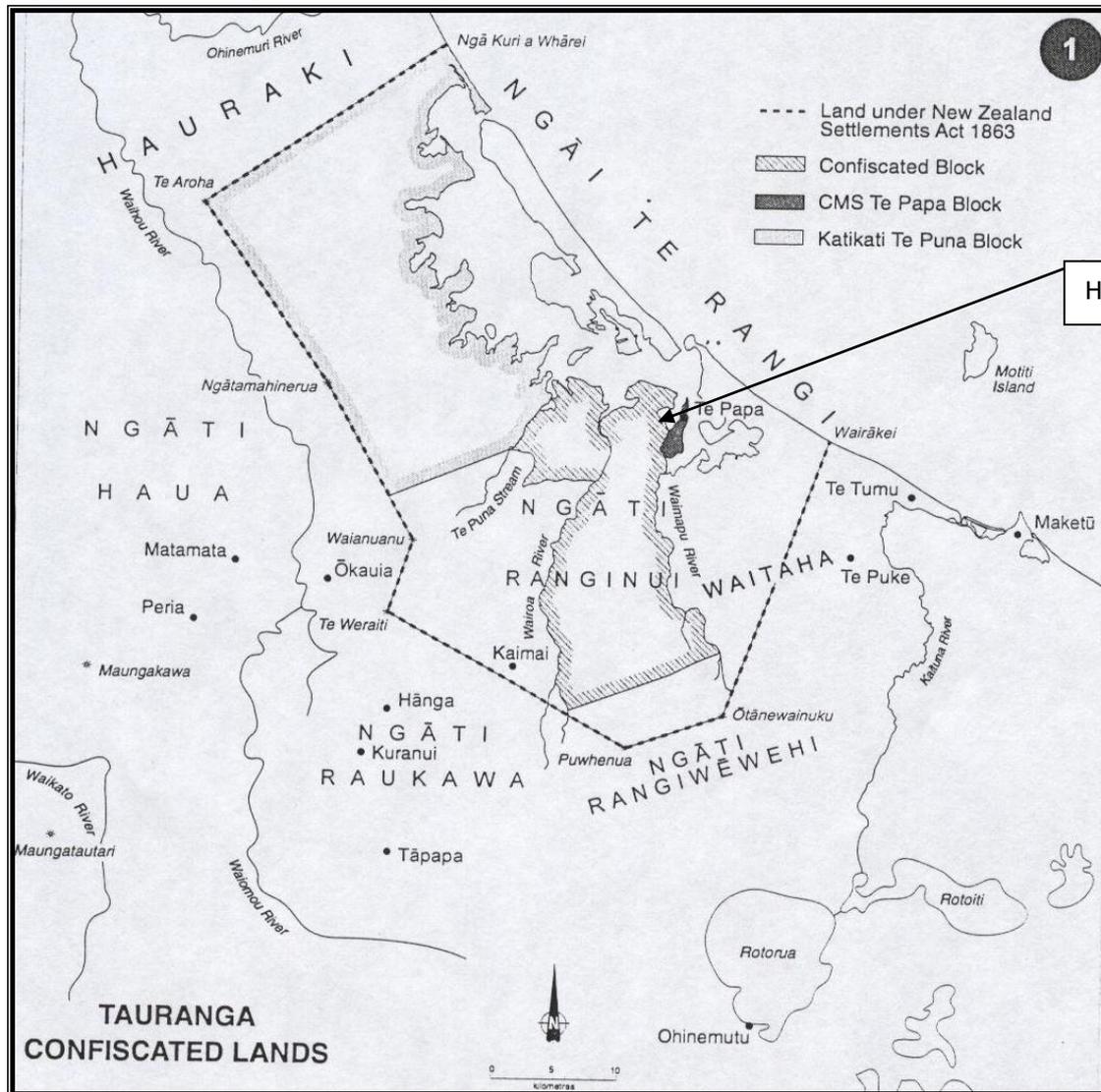
Kuia - respected female elder/elders, grandmother  
Kumara - sweet potato  
Kura - school  
Kura kaupapa Māori - Māori medium schools designed by Māori for Māori to uphold values and beliefs  
Mana - involving ascribed power, prestige, and authority, freedom  
Mana motuhake - a position of mana, independence, authority  
Manaakitanga - commitment and care, show respect  
Mana whenua - the status of the local people as holders or guardians of the land, worldly power and prestige  
Marae - traditional meeting place, sacred courtyard. Modern usage also includes the buildings that surround the marae e.g. the whare tupuna (ancestral house) and whare kai (dining hall) that are central to Māori communities  
Marae ātea - forecourt  
Mātauranga - knowledge, education  
Mauao – extinct volcanic cone at the entrance to Tauranga Harbour, also known as Mt Maunganui  
Maunga – mountain, peak  
Moana – sea, ocean  
Mokopuna - grandchild/grandchildren  
Motu - island  
Noa - removal from tapu and return to everyday status  
Noho marae – marae stay  
Ngākau - heart  
Pā - fortified village  
Pākehā - collective term for European colonisers  
Papakainga – village, settlement  
Pepeha - traditional saying using geographical references, proverb  
Poroporoākī - formal farewell  
Poukai - annual celebrations to support the Kingitanga  
Pōwhiri - formal rituals of encounter or welcome  
Puna - spring  
Purākau - traditional stories, myths  
Rangatira – leader/leaders

Raupatu - confiscation of land  
Ringawera - kitchen worker, cook; literally 'hot hands'  
Rohe - tribal area, district  
roro – porch of a meeting house  
Rūnanga – tribal council  
Tamariki - children  
Tānenuiarangi - the great heavens of Tane  
Tangata - person, people, man  
Tāngata whenua - people of the land  
Tangi - period of mourning, to cry  
Taniwha - fierce, mythical monster  
Taonga - all that is held precious  
Taonga tuku iho – treasures, cultural gifts and aspirations handed down from the ancestors  
Tapu - sacred, revered, protection by the spiritual dimension  
Te ao Māori - the Māori world, worldview  
Te ao Pākehā - the non-Māori world, worldview  
Te reo Māori - the Māori language  
Tiaki - to guard, care for  
Tikanga - cultural beliefs and practices  
Tino rangatiratanga - self determination  
tuangi - type of cockle  
Tohunga - expert practitioner, healer and/or spiritual leader  
Tupuna - Ancestors  
Tūrangawaewae - birth place, a place to stand  
Utu - reciprocation, to repay  
Waiata - singing, song, verse (traditional songs)  
Waka - canoe  
Wānanga - forum where knowledge is shared, place of learning, to learn  
Whaikōrero - formal speechmaking, oratory  
Whakaiti - belittle, disdain, disparage, denigrate  
Whakairo - traditional carvings  
Whakamā - shame, inadequacy or hurt  
Whakamana – empower, authorise

Whakapapa - genealogical connections, genealogy  
Whakapūmautia – confirm, establish  
Whakataukī - metaphorical saying  
Whakawhanaungatanga - establishing relationships  
Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero - to interact in dialogue  
Whānau – family, extended family  
Whanaungatanga – relationships and kinship, to make personal connections  
Whare kura - Māori-medium secondary schools  
Whare tupuna - ancestral house  
Whare wānanga - place of learning, Kaupapa Māori tertiary institute  
Whenua - land

# Appendices

## Appendix 1: Map of Tauranga Moana



**Appendix 2: The Waikareao Estuary and the township of Tauranga c 1950s**



Photo sourced from the Tauranga Public Library

### Appendix 3: Hūria Marae in the early 1960s

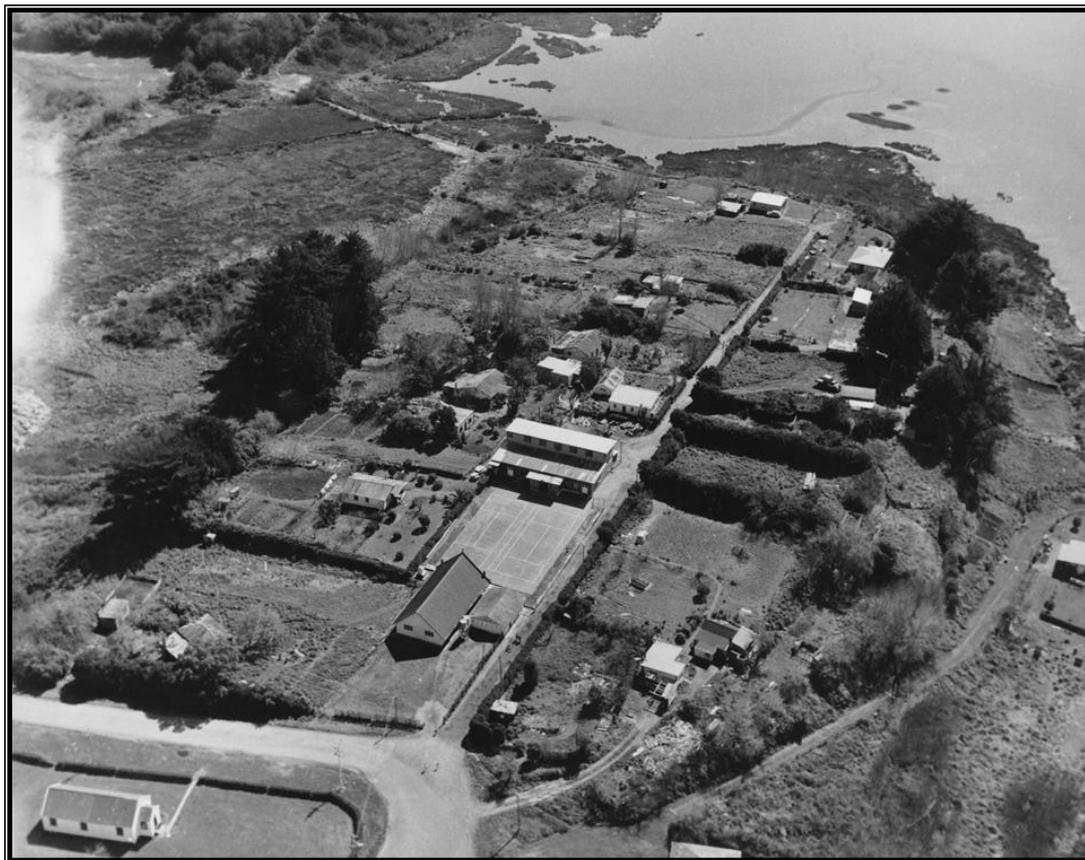


Photo sourced from the Tauranga Public Library

### Hūria Marae 2012



P Woller (2012)

## References

### Archival

Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR) (1845 – 1950).

Retrieved from [atojs.natlib.govt.nz](http://atojs.natlib.govt.nz).

Bay of Plenty Times, (1875 – 1920). Retrieved from [paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast](http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast).

Bay of Plenty Times. (2009, March 4) Racial tensions surface. Retrieved from <http://www.bayofplentytimes.co.nz/news/racial-tensions-surface/1002343/>

Bethlehem School Log Book, Bethlehem School Archive, Tauranga.

Bethlehem 1926 – 1947. BAAA, 1001 931/b, 44/6, Māori Schools - General Correspondence and Inspection Reports, Archives New Zealand, Auckland.

Bethlehem – 1933 – 1948. BAAA 1001 223b, Māori Schools – Conveyance and board, school transport. Archives New Zealand, Auckland.

Bethlehem Māori School – Paeroa Native School – 1921 – 1954. BAHS/A591 107a Native Schools. Archives New Zealand, Auckland.

Brown, A.N., Journal 1835 – 1850, Tauranga Public Library.

Brown, A.N., 'Memo for Journal', A.N. Brown Papers, Tauranga Public Library.

Daily Southern Cross (1843 – 1876). Retrieved from [paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast](http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast).

Hūria Management Trust, (2001) Annual Report 2001. Hūria Management Trust.

Hūria Management Trust, (2006) Wānanga Documents 2006. Hūria Management Trust.

Hūria Management Trust, (2007) Puna Reo Report May 2007. Hūria Management Trust.

Hūria Management Trust, (2008) Health Survey. Hūria Management Trust.

Hūria Management Trust, (2009) Board Planning 2009: Crafting & Executing Strategy. Hūria Management Trust.

Hūria Native School, BAAA 1001/254b, Māori Schools – Building and Site Files – Hūria – 1883 – 1888, Archives New Zealand, Auckland.

Hūria Native School, BAAA 1001/255b, Māori Schools – Building and Site Files – Hūria – 1888 – 1909, Archives New Zealand, Auckland.

Maungatapu School, BAAA 1001/345b, Māori Schools – Building and Site Files – Maungatapu School 1881 – 1888, Archives New Zealand, Auckland.

Otumoetai School Committee Book 1927 – 1940. Tauranga Public Library.

Otumoetai School, YCAF 4135. - Auckland Education Board Class Lists 1880 – 1950 Archives New Zealand, Auckland.

Rotorua Minute Book. No 3, 13/7/1882, Māori Land Court.

Sanitation of Māori settlements – Judea, 1925 – 1926. H 1 1288 36/1/4. National Archives, Wellington.

Sanitation of Māori settlements – Judea, 1931 – 1937. H 1 1288 36/59. National Archives, Wellington.

Tauranga College Year Book. (1946; 1947). Tauranga Public Library.

Tauranga District Lands Act (1867). Retrieved from <http://www.ensz.auckland.ac.nz/docs/1867/1867A046.pdf>.

Tauranga School & Tauranga District High School, YCAF/4135 - Auckland Education Board Class Lists 1880 – 1950. Archives New Zealand, Auckland.

Treaty of Waitangi Act. (1975). Retrieved from <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1975/0114/latest/DLM435368.html>.

Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act. (1985). Retrieved from <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1975/0114/latest/DLM435515.html>.

Wade, W.R. “Journal”, Ms 113, Tauranga Public Library.

### **Secondary**

Alton-Lee, A.G., Nuthall, G.A., & Patrick, J. (1987). Take your brown hand off my book: racism in the classroom. *SET. Research Information for Teachers*. No.1, Item 8. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Alton-Lee, A. (2003). *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling: Best evidence synthesis*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Apple, M. (1975). The hidden curriculum and the nature of conflict. In W. Pinar (Ed.), *Curriculum theorizing: The reconceptualists* (pp. 95-119). Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Ballara, A. (1998). *Iwi: the dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c. 1945*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Ballard, K. (2008, November). Teaching in context: Some implications of a racialised social order. Te Kotahitanga 2008 Voices Conference. Retrieved from <http://tekotahitanga.tki.org.nz>.

Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Barnes, A. (2013). *What can Pākehā learn from engaging in kaupapa Māori educational research? Working Paper 1*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

- Barrington, J. (2008). *Separate but Equal? Māori Schools and the Crown 1867-1969*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Belich, James, (1986). *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Belich, J. (2001). Foreword. In J. Simon & L. Smith (Eds.). *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native Schools System*. (pp. ix-xi). Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Berryman, M. (2008). Repositioning within indigenous discourses of transformation and self-determination. Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The University of Waikato.
- Bevan-Brown, J. Bourke, R., Carroll-Lind, J., Chapman, J., Cullen, J., Kearney, A., Mandia, M., Poskitt, J., Prochnow, J., Ryba, K., O'Neill, J., Bevan-Brown, W., Grant, S., Morton, M., & Stringer, P. (1999). *Special education 2000 monitoring and evaluation of the policy: Phase 1 1999*. Report commissioned by the Ministry of Education to the Massey University College of Education.
- Binney, J. (1969). Christianity and the Māoris to 1840: A Comment, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 3(2), pp. 143-165.
- Binney, J. (1984). Myth and Explanation in the Ringatū Tradition: Some aspects of the leadership of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki and Rua Kenana Hepetipa. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 93(4), pp. 345-398.
- Binney, J. (1995). *Redemption songs: a life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Bishop, R. (1994). "Initiating Empowering Research" in *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*. 29(1), 175 – 188.
- Bishop, R. (1996). *Whakawhanaungatanga, collaborative research stories*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Bishop, R. (1997). Māori people's concerns about research into their lives. *History of Education Review*, 26(1), 25-41.
- Bishop, R. (2005). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: A kaupapa Māori approach to creating knowledge. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln, (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research Third Edition*, (pp. 109-138). California: Thousand Oaks Sage Publications, Inc.
- Bishop, R. and Berryman, M. (2006). *Culture Speaks: Cultural Relationships and Classroom Learning*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.

- Bishop, R. & Berryman, M. (2009). "The Te Kotahitanga effective teaching profile" in *Set: Research Information for Teachers*. 2, 27–33.
- Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Cavanagh, T., & Teddy, L. (2007). *Te Kotahitanga Phase 3 Whanaungatanga: Establishing a culturally responsive pedagogy of relations in mainstream secondary school classrooms*. Report to the Ministry of Education Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Bishop, R., Berryman, M., Tiakiwai, S., & Richardson, C. (2003). *Te Kotahitanga: The experiences of year 9 and 10 Maori students in mainstream classrooms*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from [www.minedu.govt.nz/goto/tekotahitanga](http://www.minedu.govt.nz/goto/tekotahitanga).
- Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press Ltd.
- Bishop, R., O'Sullivan, D., & Berryman, M. (2010). *Scaling Up Education Reform: addressing the politics of disparity*. Wellington: NZCER Press.
- Bruner, J. (1996). *The culture of education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Buck, P. (Te Rangihiroa), (1949). *The coming of the Māori*. Māori Purposes Trust Fund Board, Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs.
- Bullock, A., Stallybrass, O., & Trombley, S. (1988). *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*. London: Fontana Press.
- Chase, Susan E. (2005). Narrative inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp.651-679). Thousand Oaks, Ca.: Sage.
- Clark, J. A. (2006). The gap between the highest and lowest school achievers: Philosophical arguments for downplaying teacher expectation theory. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 41(2), 367-382.
- Consedine, R., & Consedine, J. (2005). *Healing our history: The challenge of the Treaty of Waitangi*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Castagno, A. E., & Brayboy, B. M. J. (2008). Culturally responsive schooling for Indigenous youth: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research*, 78, 941-993.
- Cowan, J. (1983, reprint). *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period*, Vol. I. [1922], Vol. II [1923]. Wellington: Government Printer.

- Cummins, J. (2001). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. *HER Classic*. Author's Introduction—Framing the universe of discourse: Are the constructs of power and identity relevant to school failure? *Harvard Educational Review*, 71(4), 649–655.
- Davidson, J. (1992) The Polynesian Foundation. In Geoffrey W. Rice (Ed.) *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (pp. 3–27). Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Deloria, V., & Wildcat, D. (2001). *Power and place: Indian education in America*. Golden Colorado: American Indian Graduate Center and Fulcrum Resources.
- Deyhle, D. (1995). Navajo youth and Anglo racism: cultural integrity and resistance. *Harvard Educational Review*. 65(3), 403- 444.
- Doherty, W. (2009). *Mātauranga Tūhoe: The centrality of mātauranga-a-iwi to Māori education*. A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education, The University of Auckland.
- Dow, D. (1999). *Māori Health and Government Policy 1840 – 1940*. Auckland: Victoria University Press.
- Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiora: Māori health development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. (1998). *Te mana, te kāwanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination*. South Melbourne, University of Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. (2001, February). *A framework for considering Māori educational advancement*. *Hui Taumata Mātauranga*, Opening Address, Taupo. Department of Māori Studies, Massey University.
- Durie, M. (2005). *Ngā tai matatū: Tides of Māori endurance*. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. (2006, April). *Māori Education 2026*. Paper presented at the Post Primary Teachers Association Conference, Wellington. Retrieved from <http://secondaryfutures.boost.co.nz/guardians/mason-durie.php>.
- Durie, M. (2009, July). *Pae Ora: Māori Health Horizons*. Te Mata o te Tau Lecture Series 2009. The Paerangi Lectures: Māori Horizons 2020 and Beyond. Retrieved from <http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/learning/departments/centres-research/te-mata-o-te-tau/taumata-paerangi-conference-2009/paerangi-lecture-series-2009.cfm>.

- Durie, M. (2011). "Forward." In Tawhai, V. & Gray-Sharp, K. (Eds.). *'Always speaking': The Treaty of Waitangi and public policy.* (pp. ix-x). Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Durie, M. (2012). Interview. Kaupapa Māori: Shifting the social. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies.* 47(2), 21-29.
- Elsmore, Bronwyn, (1985). *Like Them That Dream: The Māori and the Old Testament.* Auckland: Reed Books.
- Elsmore, Bronwyn, (1989). *Mana from Heaven: A Century of Māori Prophets in New Zealand.* Tauranga: Moana Press.
- Fishman, J. (1991). *Reversing language Shift: Theory and Practice of Assistance to Threatened Languages.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York: Seabury Press.
- Freire, P. (1972). Education: domestication or liberation? *Prospects,* 2, 173-181.
- Gifford, W. & Williams, H. (1940). *A Centennial History of Tauranga.* Wellington: A.H & A.W. Reed.
- Gillingham, Mary (2001). *Waitaha and the Crown 1864 – 1981: A Report Commissioned by the Crown Forest Rental Trust.* Wai 664.
- Glen, Robert (1992). Those Odious Evangelicals: The Origins and Background of CMS Missionaries in New Zealand. in Robert Glen (Ed.) *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814 – 1882* (pp.14 – 37). Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand.
- Haig-Brown, C. (1992). Choosing border work. *Canadian Journal of Native Education,* 19(1), 96 – 116.
- Haig-Brown, C. & Nock, D. (Eds) (2006). *With Good Intentions: Euro-Canadian and Aboriginal Relations in Colonial Canada.* Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Hattie, J. (2003, October). *Teachers make a difference, what is the research evidence?* Paper presented at the Building Teacher Quality research conference, Melbourne. Retrieved from [http://research.acer.edu.au/research\\_conference\\_2003/4](http://research.acer.edu.au/research_conference_2003/4).
- Hayward, J. (1997). Appendix: The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, in Ward, A. *Rangahaua Whanui National Overview Report Vol. 2.* Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal. pp. 475 – 494.
- Henare, M. (2001). Tapu, Mana, Mauri, Hau Wairua: A Māori Philosophy of Vitalism and Cosmos. In John Grim (ed) *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology: The Interbeing of Cosmology and Community.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Hokowhitu, Brendan; Kermoal, Nathalie; Andersen, Chris; Petersen, Anna; Reilly, Michael; Altamirano-Jiménez, Isabel; Rewi, Poia (Eds.) (2010). *Indigenous Identity and Resistance: Researching the Diversity of Knowledge*. Dunedin: Otago University Press.
- Hoskins, Te Kawehau. (2010). *Māori and Levinas: kanohi ki te kanohi for an ethical politics*. A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education, The University of Auckland.
- Howe, K. R. (1973). The Māori Response to Christianity in the Thames – Waikato Area, 1833 – 1840. *New Zealand Journal of History*, 7, 28 – 46.
- Hunn, J.K. (1961). *Report on Department of Maori Affairs: with statistical supplement, 24 August 1960*. Wellington: Government Printer. Retrieved from <http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/issue/Mao34TeA/c28.html>
- Irwin, Kathy, (1994). Māori Research Methods and Processes: An Exploration. *Sites*, 28, 25 – 43.
- Jahnke, H. & Taiapa, J., (1999). Māori Research” in Social Science Research. In Carl Davidson and Martin Tolich (Eds.) *New Zealand: Many Paths to Understanding* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed) (pp. 39-50). Auckland: Pearson Education New Zealand Ltd.
- Jenkins, Kuni, (2000). *Haere Tahi Taua: An Account of Aitanga in Māori Struggle for Schooling*. A thesis in fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education, University of Auckland.
- Jones, A. (2013). Dangerous liaisons: Pākehā, kaupapa Māori, and educational research. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*. 47(2), 100-112.
- Jones, A. & Jenkins, K. (2011). *He Kōrero: Words between us. First Māori – Pākehā conversations on paper*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Kidman, J., Yen, C., and Abrams, E. (2013). Indigenous students’ experiences of the hidden curriculum in science education: a cross-national study in New Zealand and Taiwan. *International Journal of Science and Mathematics Education*. 11: 43-64.
- Kinew, W. (2012), Aboriginal 101: Wab on rethinking the relationship. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/8thfire/2012/01/wab-on-rethinking-the-relationship.html>
- King, Michael, (2003). *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Kingi, T. R. (2007). The Treaty of Waitangi: A framework for Māori health development. *New Zealand Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 54(1), 4-10.

- Kovach, M. (2009). *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, conversations, and contexts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kruger, Tamati, (1998). Mātauranga Māori, Palmerston North, notes taken of kōrero given at the 1998 Annual Conference and AGM of Te Korowai Aroha.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). From the achievement gap to the education debt: Understanding achievement in U.S. schools (pp. 1-19). Presidential Address to the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.
- Ladson-Billings, G. & Donnor, J. K. (2008). Waiting for the call: The moral activist role of critical race theory scholarship. In N. K. Denzin, Y. S. Lincoln, & L. Tuhiwai Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (pp. 61-83). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lange, R. (1999). *May the people live: A history of Māori health development 1900 – 1920*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Lineham, Peter, (1992). This is My Weapon: Māori Response to the Māori Bible. In Robert Glen (Ed.) *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand 1814 – 1882* (pp. 170 – 178). Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand.
- Long, N. (1999). *The multiple optic of interface analysis*. UNESCO background paper on interface analysis. Retrieved from <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/etext/llilas/claspo/workingpapers/multipleoptic.pdf>
- McKinley, S. (2000). *Māori parents and education*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Retrieved from [www.nzcer.org.nz/pdfs/8391.pdf](http://www.nzcer.org.nz/pdfs/8391.pdf).
- Mahuika, R. (2008). Kaupapa Maori is critical and anti-colonial. *Mai Review*, 3, 1-16. Retrieved from [www.review.mai.ac.nz](http://www.review.mai.ac.nz).
- Mair, Gilbert. (1937). *The Story of Gate Pa*. Tauranga: Bay of Plenty Times.
- Marsden, Māori, (1975). God, Man and Universe: A Māori View. In Michael King (Ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga* (pp. 191 – 219). Auckland: Reed Books.
- Marsden, M. & Henare, T. (1992). *Kaitiakitanga: A Definitive Introduction to the Holistic World View of the Māori*. Wellington. Ministry of the Environment.
- May, S., Hill R. & Tiakiwai, S. (2004). *Bilingual/Immersion Education: Indicators of Good Practice. Final Report to the Ministry of Education*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

- Mead, Hirini Moko. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Metge, J. (1990). Te rito o te harakeke: Conceptions of the whānau. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 99 (1), 51-91.
- Milne, Ann. (2013) *Colouring in the White Spaces: Reclaiming Cultural Identity in Whitestream Schools*. Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The University of Waikato. Retrieved from <http://waikato.researchgateway.ac.nz>.
- Ministry of Education. (2005). *Ngā Haeata Mātauranga: Annual Report on Māori Education*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.
- Ministry of Education (2009). *Ka Hikitia. Managing for success: Māori education strategy 2008 – 2013*. Wellington: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from [www.minedu.govt.nz](http://www.minedu.govt.nz).
- Ministry of Education, (2012). *Stand-downs, suspensions, exclusions and expulsions from school*. Ministry of Education. New Zealand. Retrieved from [http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0007/80386/SDS-Indicator-2012.pdf](http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/80386/SDS-Indicator-2012.pdf).
- Ministry of Health & University of Otago. (2006). *Decades of Disparity III: Ethnic and socioeconomic inequalities in mortality, New Zealand 1981–1999*. Wellington. Ministry of Health.
- Nakata, M. (1997). *The Cultural Interface: An exploration of the intersection of Western knowledge systems and Torres Strait Islander positions and experiences*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. James Cook University, Townsville.
- Nakata, M. (2007). The Cultural Interface. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*. 36, 7-14.
- Nash, R. (1993). *Succeeding generations: Family resources and access to education in New Zealand*. Auckland, NZ: Oxford University Press.
- National Council of Adult Education, (1972). *Māori Adult education: Report of a working party*. Wellington. Retrieved from [www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/search](http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/search).
- Newbold, Greg, (1999). Historical Research. In Carl Davidson and Martin Tolich (Eds.), *Social Science Research in New Zealand: Many Paths to Understanding* (pp. 318 – 328). Auckland: Longman.

- New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). (2013). *New Zealand Qualifications Authority Annual Report on NCEA and New Zealand Scholarship Data and Statistics (2012)*. Wellington: NZQA.
- O'Connor, C. & Fernandez, S. (2006) Race, Class and Disproportionality: Re-evaluating the Relationship Between Poverty and Special Education Placement. *Education Researcher*, 35(6), 6-11.
- Office of Treaty Settlements (2012). *Ngāti Ranginui Deed of Settlement*. Retrieved from <http://www.ots.govt.nz/>.
- O'Malley, Vincent. (1995). *The Aftermath of the Tauranga Raupatu, 1864-1981*. An Overview Report commissioned by the Crown Forest Rental Trust.
- Opening Ceremonies of the Tamateapokaiwhenua Meetinghouse and Iwipupu Dining Hall. (1956). Souvenir Booklet.
- Owens, J. M. R. (1968). Christianity and the Māoris to 1840. *The New Zealand Journal of History*. 2 (1), 18–40.
- Owens, J. M. R. (1992). New Zealand before annexation. In Geoffrey W. Rice (Ed.) *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (pp. 28–53). Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Newbury Park, California. Sage Publications.
- Pere, R. 1982. *Ako: Concepts and learning in the Māori tradition*. Working Paper No.17. Hamilton: University of Waikato.
- Penetito, W. (2010). *What's Maori About Maori Education?* Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Petrie, H. (2006). *Chiefs of Industry: Māori tribal enterprise in early colonial New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Pihama, L., Smith, K., Taki, M., & Lee, J. (2004). *A literature review on kaupapa Māori and Māori education pedagogy*. (A report for ITPNZ). International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, University of Auckland.
- Pratt, D. (1993). *Religion: A First Encounter*, Auckland: Longman Paul Ltd.
- Reid, P. & Robson, B. (2006). The state of Māori health. In M. Mulholland (Ed.) *State of the Māori Nation: Twenty-First Century Issues in Aotearoa* (pp. 17-31). Auckland: Reed.
- Riseborough, Hazel, (1999) *Protectors of the Prophecy*, Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 659.
- Rose, K. (1997). *The Impact of Confiscation: Socio-Economic Conditions of Tauranga Māori*. Wellington: Crown Forestry Rental Trust.

- Royal, C. (2002). *The Treaty of Waitangi : Thoughts from Te Wānanga -o-Raukawa*. Retrieved from [www.charles-royal.com](http://www.charles-royal.com).
- Royal, C. (2004). *Seeing the Prism in the Water, Hearing the Voice in the Forest Building Research Capacity and Capability in Whare Wānanga*. Retrieved from [www.charles-royal.com](http://www.charles-royal.com)
- Royal, C. (2006, January). *The New Wānanga-Scholarship arising from the Creative Potential of Mātauranga Māori*. A paper delivered to a conference on Rongoa Māori, Te Wānanga -o-Raukawa, Ōtaki. Retrieved from [www.charles-royal.com](http://www.charles-royal.com).
- Royal, C. (2007). *The Purpose of Education: Perspectives arising from Mātauranga Māori*. Retrieved from <http://www.charles-royal.com/assets/educationpurposev.4.pdf>.
- Royal, C. (2009, September). *Te Kaimānga: Towards a New Vision for Mātauranga Māori*. Lecture 1 of the Macmillan Brown Lecture Series, Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury. Retrieved from [www.charles-royal.com](http://www.charles-royal.com).
- Rubie-Davies, C. M., Peterson, E. R., Flint, A., Garrett, L., McDonald, L., Watson, P., & O'Neill, H. (2010). Ethnicity and teacher expectations in New Zealand. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 69, 256-261. Retrieved from [www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1877042812053931](http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S1877042812053931).
- Scheurich, J. J., & Young, M. D. (1997). Coloring epistemologies: Are our research epistemologies racially biased? *Educational Researcher*, 26(4), 4-16.
- Selby, R., (1999). *Still Being Punished*, Huia Publishers: Wellington.
- Shields, C. M., Bishop, R., & Masawi, A. E. (2005). *Pathologizing practices: The impact of deficit thinking on education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Simon, J. (1994). Historical perspectives on schooling. In Coxen, E., Jenkins, K., Marshall, J. & Massey, L. (Eds.) *The politics of learning and teaching in Aotearoa - New Zealand* (pp. 37-81). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Simon, J. & Smith, L. (eds). (2001). *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and Representations of the New Zealand Native Schools System*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Sleeter, C. E. (2011). Becoming white: Reinterpreting a family story by putting race back into the picture. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 14 (4), 421-433.
- Smith, Graham, (1997). *The Development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and Praxis*. A

- thesis submitted in fulfilment of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education, University of Auckland.
- Smith, L. T. (1991). *Te rapunga i te ao Māori (the search for the world of light): Māori perspectives on research in education*. In J. Morss, & J. Linzey, (Eds.) *Growing up: The Politics of Human Learning* (pp. 46-55). Auckland: Longman Paul.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, (1996). *Nga Aho o te Kakahu Mātauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in education*. A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Auckland.
- Smith, Linda, (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Smith, P. (2013). Why autoethnography? In Phil Smith (Ed.) *Both sides of the table: Autoethnographies of educators learning and teaching with/in [dis]ability* (pp. 15-33). New York: Peter Lang.
- Sorrenson, M.P.K. (1992). "Māori and Pākehā" . In Geoffrey Rice (Ed). *The Oxford History of New Zealand* second edition (pp. 141 – 166). Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Soutar, M. (2000). *Ngāti Porou leadership: Rāpata Wahawaha and the politics of conflict: "Kei te ora nei hoki tātou, me tō tātou whenua"*. A thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Māori Studies at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.
- Spoonley, P. (1990). *State: policy and Practice. Racism and Ethnicity*, (second edition). Auckland: Oxford.
- Steedman, J.A.W. (1984). *Nga Ohaki o Nga Whanau o Tauranga Moana*. Tauranga
- Stokes, Evelyn, (2002). *Wiremu Tamihana Rangatira*, Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Tawhai, V. & Gray-Sharp, K. (Eds.) (2011). *'Always speaking': The Treaty of Waitangi and public policy*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Television One (2009, June 20). *Matiu Tarawa*. In Waka Huia. Auckland . Retrieved from [tvnz.co.nz/waka-huia/matiu-tarawa-20-jun-2785923](http://tvnz.co.nz/waka-huia/matiu-tarawa-20-jun-2785923)
- Te Ataarangi. (2010). *About Te Ataarangi*. Retrieved from [www.teataarangi.org.nz/about-te-ataarangi.html](http://www.teataarangi.org.nz/about-te-ataarangi.html)
- Te Puni Kōkiri (2010). *Ngā Waiaro Atu Ki Te Reo Māori: Attitudes Toward the Māori Language*. Retrieved from [www.tpk.govt.nz](http://www.tpk.govt.nz).

- Thrupp, M. (2008). Education's 'Inconvenient Truth': Part Two – The Middle Classes Have Too Many Friends in Education. *New Zealand Journal of Teachers' Work*, 5(1), 54-62.
- Tomlins-Jahnke, H., & Warren, K. (2011). "Full, Exclusive and Undisturbed Possession: Māori education and the Treaty." In Tawhai, V. & Gray-Sharp, K. (Eds.). *'Always speaking': The Treaty of Waitangi and public policy*. (pp. 21-34). Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Treaty of Waitangi Act (1975). Retrieved from [www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1975/0114/latest/DLM435515.html](http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1975/0114/latest/DLM435515.html)
- Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act (1985). Retrieved from <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1975/0114/latest/DLM435515.html>
- Turner, H. (2013). *Teacher expectations, ethnicity and the achievement gap*. A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Education, University of Auckland. Auckland.
- Valencia, R. R. (1997). *The evolution of deficit thinking: Educational thought and practice*. London: Falmer Press.
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S. – Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Valenzuela, A. (2002). Reflections on the Subtractive Underpinnings of Education Research and Policy. *Journal of Teacher Education*. 53(3). 235-241.
- Waitangi Tribunal. (1986). *Te Reo Maori Claim: Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on the Te Reo Maori Claim (Wai 11)*. Wellington: Waitangi Tribunal: Department of Justice.
- Waitangi Tribunal. Wai 659 (1997): A claim by Desmond Tata and others concerning Ngāi Tamarāwaho tribal estate, 22 January 1997 (last amended 6 January 2000). Retrieved from [www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports](http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports).
- Waitangi Tribunal. (1999). *The Wānanga Capital Establishment Report*. Retrieved from [www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/downloadpdf.asp?reportid=39e13093-2f4d-4971-aca0-28e811572755.pdf](http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/downloadpdf.asp?reportid=39e13093-2f4d-4971-aca0-28e811572755.pdf)
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2004). *Te Raupatu o Tauranga Moana*. Wellington: Legislation Direct.
- Walker, Harry (1997). *Beware the Seeker of Information & Knowledge: Research Involving Māori*. A paper reflecting an Indigenous Māori view on research in Aotearoa (New Zealand).

- Walker, Ranginui, (1978). The Relevance of Māori Myth and Tradition. In Michael King (Ed.) *Tihe Mauri Ora: Aspects of Māoritanga* (pp. 19 – 32). Methuen Publications New Zealand Ltd.
- Walker, Ranginui, (2004). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Walker, R. (2005, March). *Quality assurance in tertiary education from a Māori (Indigenous) perspective*. Inqaahe conference, Wellington. Retrieved from [www.win-hec.org/docs/pdfs/Journal/Ranginui%20Walker.pdf](http://www.win-hec.org/docs/pdfs/Journal/Ranginui%20Walker.pdf)
- Ward, Alan (1995). *A Show of Justice: Racial Amalgamation in Nineteenth Century New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wichtel, D. (2013, March 1). An interview with Dame Anne Salmond. *New Zealand Listener*. Retrieved from [www.listener.co.nz/current-affairs/dame-anne-salmond-interview/](http://www.listener.co.nz/current-affairs/dame-anne-salmond-interview/)
- Wikiriwhi, H. (1955). Nga whakataukī me nga pepeha Maori. *Te Ao Hou: The new world*. 13, 41-43. Retrieved from <http://teahou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teahou/issue/Mao13TeA/c21.html#c21-4>
- Wilkinson, R., & Pickett, K. (2010). *The Spirit Level: Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. London: Penguin Books.
- Williams, H.W. (1985). *The Dictionary of the Māori Language, 7<sup>th</sup> edition*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- Williams, Te Rangimārie, (2010), *Te Mana Motuhake o Tuhoe*. A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of masters of Law, University of Victoria, Wellington.
- Winiata, F. and Winiata, P. (2007). Winiata, Maharaia- Biography. *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Te Ara – the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from [www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5w41/1](http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5w41/1)
- Winiata, Maharaia, (1954). *The Changing role of the Leader in Māori Society: A study in social change and race relations*. Presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.
- Winiata, M. (1957). The Future of Māori Arts and Crafts. *Te Ao Hou: the New World*. 19, 29 – 35. Retrieved from

<http://teahou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teahou/image/Mao19TeA/Mao19TeA029.html>

Winiata, M. (1967). *The Changing Role of the Leader in Māori Society*. Auckland: Blackwood and Janet Paul.

Woller, P. (2005). *Ngā hahi o Ngāi Tamarāwaho: A history of religion within the hapū of Ngāi Tamarāwaho*. A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Māori Studies at Massey University. Palmerston North.

Woller, P., & Heke, J. (2010). *He tima mai rāno: Flax roots rugby. The centennial history of the Judea Rugby Club 1910 – 2010*. Tauranga: Kale Print.

Wright, H. (1959). *New Zealand 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.