Te Reo Karanga o ngā Tauira Māori

Māori students

their voices, their stories

at the University of Canterbury 1996-1998

A Thesis Submitted in Fulfilment

Of the Requirements for

The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education

at

the University of Canterbury

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Illustrations by Averil Phillips

University of Canterbury

2003
This thesis is dedicated to my parents who lit the fire within me.

Errata
Many people have helped and guided me through the process of researching and writing this thesis.

I first want to acknowledge and thank my whānau. Without their absolute unconditional support and belief in what I was doing this project would not have been completed. Firstly, to my partner Andy who has cooked, cleaned, picked up after me and at times picked me up, and then patiently checked, printed and helped put together the finished thesis for me – a big thank you. I also want to acknowledge my daughters, who inspired me to embark on this journey in the first place and who, over the years, have given me so much to think about. They have also helped me in various ways to complete my project. Emily put the glossary together, while Fleur and Anna found books, did photocopying, checked sources, and read and edited portions of the text for me. A big thank you goes to my daughter Ngarongo who has waited patiently to have her mother back. I also want to acknowledge my daughter Sarah, ‘climbing mountains’ on the other side of the world, whose zest for living and adventure is a lesson for us all, and my mokopuna, Hunter, whose enthusiasm for the world matches that of his Aunty. I also want to acknowledge my sister Averil and brother Te Aho whose support and encouragement has been immeasurable. In particular I want to thank Averil for her artistic ‘take’ on my journey that are scattered throughout the thesis. Lastly, to all my sisters and brothers who have kept me in shape over the years – tena koutou.

I want to express my heartfelt thanks to Rose, my friend and mentor. One of my first supervisors, her knowledge, her incisive analysis, as well as the deep and abiding aroha she has for her people has been a powerful influence on me.

Most importantly I mihi to my supervisors whose faith in me enabled me to see my way through writing this thesis. Individually inspirational, and together dynamic, Baljit, Jean and Elody’s supervision took me to places that opened up the possibilities to think outside of the ‘square’. I have benefited immensely from Baljit’s passion and commitment to whatever she does, especially her holistic approach to teaching and learning. I have gained from Jean’s sensitive, creative and insightful reflections on theory and practice, in general, and mine in particular. While Elody’s measured calmness and commitment to mana wahine has sustained me through some tough times. I also want to thank Jean and her husband Larry for providing me a ‘room with a view’ to write in the peace.

I also want to express my gratitude to Barbara whose assistance helped me put the thesis together.

And last, but certainly not least, I am indebted to the students who shared their stories with me and in the process made the project possible.
ABSTRACT

Set within New Zealand, and against a colonial backdrop that has shaped New Zealand's social fabric, this thesis explores the complex and contradictory relationship between a group of indigenous students and a mainstream institution of higher learning. Presented as ‘stories within stories’ it tells the stories of eleven Māori students’ experiences at the University of Canterbury between 1996 and 1998. In doing so it tells of the struggles they faced and the strategies they employed to realise their dreams in an institution that did not reflect who they were. This thesis then, despite the diverse ways in which they grew up Māori, is a victory narrative of the students' struggles to maintain their own sense of being Māori in a mono-cultural institution.

The topic arose out of my own experience of being a Māori student in a mainstream university and my endeavors to make sense of our institutional invisibility on campus and the silencing of our voices. Indeed, the questions that I was left asking spurred me on to become a research student. Therefore, this thesis is as much about my journey to becoming a kaupapa Māori researcher as it is about the journeys of the students into and within the University of Canterbury. Positioned outside of the prevailing scientific traditions, the kaupapa Māori phenomenological based study I conducted took for granted Māori cultural practices, values and aspirations. I drew on traditional ways of knowing and being, as well as contemporary narratives to understand the lived realities of the students.

When I began to write my thesis it became clear that an orthodox account of Māori students' experiences was inconsistent with the way I had conducted the research, and the values and practices that underpinned it. I began to rewrite my thesis, and in the process wrote back to the academy in a way that better reflected not only who I am but also the Māori community within which the research was conducted.

The stories speak for themselves.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UPOKO TUATAHI: TE HUIHUINGA:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kōrero Over The Fence</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Hui as a Metaphor for the Thesis</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The hui : the gathering together of people</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The pōwhiri: the ritual of encounter</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Thesis Outlined</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te huihuinga</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te wero</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te karanga</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te haka pōwhiri</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te hongi</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te mihi</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te huihu kōrero</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te koha</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te poroporoaki</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>On Reading the thesis: notes on writing, reading and meanings</strong></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UPOKO TUARUA: TE WERO</th>
<th>14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ngā Taki</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A Topic Unfolds</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invisibility and silence</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being misrepresented and misheard</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding Māori students' experiences</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching the literature</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>An Introduction to Kaupapa Māori Research: feeling at home</strong></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researching back</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewriting back</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UPOKO TUATORU: TE KARANGA</th>
<th>23</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Te Ao Mārama</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mai i te Kore, i te Pō, ki te Whaiao ki te Ao Mārama</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...mai i te kore</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...i te pō...</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...ki te whaiao ki te ao mārama</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Whakapapa: making connections</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A relational identity</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A framework for making sense of the world
A way of shaping relationships
Tikanga: the ordering of relationships
Mana, tapu and noa
Whanaungatanga, manaaki, aroha and utu

UPOKO TUAWHĀ: TE HAKA PŪWHIRI

Taku Hikoi
Origins and Dislocations
Taranaki to Rekohu and back: in search of land
Moving to the city: in search of a better life
In search of an education
In search of a future
Ōku Tapuwea
Straddling two worlds
Born half-caste
Born fighting
Learning to survive
Nail polish, racism and resistance
Being silenced
Glimmers of light
New Diasporas and Fresh Optimism
Whānau wānanga
Maintaining the links back ‘home’
Re-entering education
On my way to becoming a research student

UPOKO TUARIMA: TE HONGI

Te Whāinga Rangahau
He Kaupapa Rangahau Mai Ra Ano
Te Ahuatanga o te Rangahau: the research design
A longitudinal study
Whānau and hui: metaphors for research practice
Te Whakahaere o te Rangahau: the research process
A search for students: he kanohi kitea
Fronting up to my community
Ngā kaikōrero: the participants
The formation of two roopū rangahau
Getting together
A second group of kaikōrero
Te Kohinga Kōrero: collecting the stories
The dynamics of ngā roopū rangahau
Conducting individual interviews 84
Times and places 84
Ngā Tikanga Whakaaro: ethical considerations 85
Consent forms and negotiated participation 85
Group confidentiality and anonymity 85
Maintaining anonymity and confidentiality 86
Utu: reciprocity in the research 87
Taping and transcribing interviews and hui 88
Ngā kōrero: their stories 90
Immersing myself in the data 90
Strands of meaning 90
Choosing their stories 91
Writing their stories 92
And rewriting their stories 92
Writing two texts 93
A project continually in the making 93

UPOKO TUAONO: TE MIHI 105

Wāhanga Tuatahi: Mātauranga Māori 106
Mātauranga Māori 107
A knowledge base 107
A system of education 108
Whānau contexts of learning and teaching 108
Oriori: the beginning of an education 109
Informal learning 111
Role models 112
Active teaching, guided learning 113
Systematic learning and teaching 113
Apprenticeships 114
A technical curriculum 115
The Whare Wānanga 116
Knowledge taught 116
The students: ngā pia, tāura and tauira 117
The teachers – tohunga wānanga 117
Teaching practices 118
Graduating from the whare wānanga 119
The place of ritual in the whare wānanga 119

Wāhanga Tuarua: Ngā Hikoi A Ngā Taurira Māori 127
Tenei Au 127
Ngā Taurira 128
Ngaire, Tania, Haami, Maui, Mārama, Dawn, Hone, Rangimārie, Kāhu, Tiaho, Nuku
## Ngā Kupu Kōrero a ngā Tauira Māori

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A mihi to Āpirana Ngata</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being part of a minority</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The issue of age</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathways to university</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender issues</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time and part-time student issues</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deciding on a degree</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice of major</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying in the Māori Department</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completing their studies</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropping out and dropping in</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A caveat to reading statistics on rates of participation</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans and Allowances</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## UPOKO TUAWHITU: TE HUIHUI KŌRERO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wāhanga Tuahini: Whāia Te Maramatanga</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā Tūmanako o ngā Tauira Māori</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te rapu ara: a good job and good money</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te rapu ara kei roto i te ao Māori: working in their community</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He aha te utu?: the cost of studying</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Wero</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A significant event</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A growing dissatisfaction</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laying to rest the ghosts of the past</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not repeating the past</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whāia te reo: in search of te reo Māori</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whāia te mana motuhake: in search of empowerment</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā Hikoitanga: journeys without ‘maps’</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te whakapapa kōrero o ngā mātua: parents’ background</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ahuatanga o ngā whānau: the economic reality of everyday life</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Whakaakoranga o rātou mātua: their parents’ education</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā awhi o ngā mātua: parental support</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te whakaakoranga o ngā tauira: the students’ school experiences</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Wāhanga Tuarua: Encountering The University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Encounters</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori Orientation</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Ao Mārama: a ‘New Start’</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrolment week</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initial weeks and impressions</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Whakawhangaungatanga: establishing relationships

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tikinga ngā akonga Māori : in search of other Māori students</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngā wāhi Māori: creating Māori spaces on campus</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appendix</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Te Whakapapa o te Ao Māori</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Dad’s school photo at Christchurch West High School</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Information Sheet for First year Māori Students</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>The various rohe of the students’ iwi affiliations</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Information Sheet for Previously Enrolled Māori Students</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Ethics Committee Application</td>
<td>332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Consent form for first year Māori students</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Consent form for previously enrolled Māori students</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Contexts of Participation</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Educational equality/inequality</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Maranga! Ranga! Ūa ki rungal!, Āpirana Ngata, 1892</td>
<td>339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>One Two Three Four Five: Ārapera Blank’s Story</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### GLOSSARY OF MĀORI WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A KÖRERO OVER THE FENCE

It’s the big day. I have woken early. I don’t want to be late and there is much to do before we meet. I have to check that everything is in order, just one last time. Yep, it’s all here. I can’t believe it. This part of my life is almost over. Those pārerehua are sure out this morning. I jump into the shower. This is my big day. ‘What ifs?’ run through my head, but there is no turning back. Yes, I picked up the challenge, I made the commitment – I can’t back out now. Besides there are so many people who have helped and supported me, I can’t let them down. ‘Who’s in the shower next?’ Now what shall I wear? I need to be comfortable and tidy. I think it is going to be a long day. But then, it is an important occasion. I don’t know; should I wear my ‘blacks’ or something less formal? Mmmm, let me see. Well, that was easy. I can’t wear my black top, it’s missing a button. ‘Do I have to wear this Mum?’ a voice from upstairs calls. ‘Have you got anything else that’s clean and tidy? No? Then you have to wear it?’ Yes, this will do me. I like my green top, I feel at home in this top; the colour reminds me of the bush and of pounamu. I’ll wear that with my black pants and my pounamu taonga. Now where is my kete? Have I got everything? I hope they will all be there. I ring Rose to let her know we are about to leave. ‘Are you kids ready? Me haere tātou. Remember we have to pick up Kez and the boy on the way.’

We arrive at the same time as my brother and his whānau and are greeted by Dawn and my older sisters. ‘Kia ora Dawn, gee you’re early.’ ‘I thought you could do with some help but your sisters have it all organised.’ ‘That’s why we have older sisters,’ my brother quips. ‘Cheeky,’ my sisters laugh. As I am introducing her to my brother the rest of my whānau arrive. We then all set to work, with some of us setting out the chairs, while others head to the kitchen. Dawn and I do more talking than helping as we catch up with each other. As we are talking Kāhu, Mārama and Tiaho all arrive together. Nuku seconds later. ‘Kia ora koutou. Pēhea ana koutou.’ There are hongis all around. Dawn and Nuku thrilled to see one another, move away from everyone to talk in peace. Mārama and Kāhu are talking to one of my sisters, while Tiaho and I marvel at the kete that my sister has woven for the occasion. Rangimārie and Haami arrive as I am showing Tiaho the contents. ‘Tena kōrua, ka hari koa tāku ngākau i te kite ki a kōrua. Pehea ana kōrua?’ ‘Oh, pai ana, me koe?’ ‘Kua wiriwiri ahau.’ So far seven of the students are here. There are four more to come. Not bad, really. I do hope Rose arrives soon. ‘What ifs?’ begin to crowd in again, and I begin to wonder if Hone has been able to get time off work. When I spoke to him about today he didn’t know whether he was going to be able to make it. Is that him coming through the gate? It’s Māui. ‘Kia ora Māui, how are you... the kids?’ Here comes Rose. ‘Tena koe, Rose.’ As we embrace Hone arrives. That just leaves two students, Ngaire and Tania to ... Oh here they are. ‘Kia ora everyone, sorry we’re late, we had to park the car blimmin’ miles away,’ they chorus, not quite in unison. Never mind they are here now. Finally, we are all here. I am nervous, but it is reassuring to know that these eleven students, as well as my whānau are with me. Once everyone has met and greeted each other I take a deep breath and mihi to them all.

Tena koutou katoa.
E ngā tupuna i ngā ra o mua,
ngā mihi ki a koitou mō ngā taonga i tuku iho

Greetings to you all
to the ancestors before us
and the treasures they have handed down
E ngā mate o te motu
Haere, haere, haere
I tēnei wā e whakamaumahara ana o tātou mātua
Takoto, takoto, takoto

E ngā tangata o ngā hau e wha,
Ngā mihi koutou katoa,
ki a koutou i te huihui mai nei
i waenganui i tēnei kaupapa, ki te pōwhiri nei.
Ngā mihi aroha ki tōku whānau whanui,
ten a koutou mō te awhi me tō tautoko.
Ki tōku hao, Rose - tēna koe.
E ngā tauira, ko Rangimārie, ko Ngaire,
kō Haami, kō Tania, kō Dawn, kō Māui,
kō Nuku, kō Tiaho, kō Hone,
kō Kāhu koutou katoa, kō Mārama hoki
ngā mihi mahana ki a koutou.
He rora te wā kaore i kite i a koutou.
I te wā i tutaki tuatahi mātou,
kō tātou katoa ngā tauira,
e wha ti ata ana e to tatou moemoea
I tera wā, ka tu tatou hei whānau rangahau.
Kua oti tōku hiki,
Kua tae mai te wā
ki te whakatakoto tēnei rangahau i runga i te whāriki.
Na koutou ra ahau i awhi mai o te kaiwhakaroa
ki te whakatūrehu tōku moemoea.
Ki tōku whānau ngā mihimihia mō o koutou awhina,
ō koutou kaha, o koutou aroha hoki i a tau, i a tau.
Huri ano ki ngā taurira
i kau e atu i tēnei kaupapa
Kō ōku kōrero, kō āku kōrero
Kō āku kōrero, kō ōku kōrero, ano hoki
No reira, e te! tīka tō koutou haere mai
ki te tukua tēnei atu kōrero
ki te ao mārama.
Nā, ka tū tatou ki te pōwhiri
ki ngā manuhiri.
Tena koutou, tena koutou, tena tātou katoa.

To the dead across the land
Farewell
In remembrance of our parents
Rest in peace

To the people from the four winds
greetings to you all
who have gathered here
for this kaupapa.
To my whānau loving greetings
Thank you for your help and support
To my friend Rose, welcome
To the students – Rangimārie, Ngaire
Haami, Tania, Dawn, Māui,
Nuku, Tiaho, Hone,
Kāhu and Mārama
warm greetings to you.
It’s been a long time since I have seen you.
The first time we met
we were all students,
and following our dreams
That was when we became a research whānau.
Now my journey is over.
The time has come
to hand over the research.
You have all helped me
realise my dream.
To my whānau thank you for your help
your strength and your love over the years.
To the students
who have helped carry this project
just as your stories have become my story
my story has become yours.
It is only right, therefore, that you are here
with me to bring this thesis
into the world of light.
So that we can stand together and welcome
the readers.
Greetings to you all, greetings to us all.

As I finish my mihi we can see that people have begun to gather at the gate. ‘Do you think there will be enough seats?’ asks Nuku. Just in case, Hone and Māui go and get some more. Better to have too many than not enough. Rangimārie goes and tells those who have been getting the food ready in the kitchen that the manuhiri are arriving. ‘Are you lot nearly finished in here? The manuhiri have arrived. You’re needed for the haka pōwhiri.’ Another look towards the gate and we can see that the people have begun to form themselves into a group. ‘Ko te kaikōrero tuarua, Kāhu?’ ‘Kao, ko te mahi o te whaikōrero no te tuakana, anake.’ ‘Tika tena,’ says my sister. That settles it, there will be only one kaikōrero. I can see that my brother is disappointed, he would have liked someone else with
him on the paepae. Without question, though, my elder sisters will do the karanga. As they discuss the karanga with each other and while my brother goes over his speech, I go down to the gate where the manuhiri have gathered. ‘Are you ready?’ I ask. With nods of the heads they signal they’re ready. With their hands, though, they beckon me closer. I know what they are about to ask. Knowing that they are waewae tapu, not just visitors but strangers to this place and its customs, I lean over the fence and begin to tell them about the kawa for what is about to take place. ‘Ko te kawa o tenei pōwhiri, no Taranaki…’

I imagine that if the eleven students, my whānau and I had come together to welcome you, the reader, to this thesis, the events leading up to it might have unfolded as they do in the story above. While the story may not depict real events that actually happened, as a metaphor it conveys what is about to happen and at the same time reveals what matters to me. Set in a Māori world in which Māori cultural values and practices are taken for granted the story works in multiple ways and on multiple levels to convey the orientation of the thesis and my orientation as a researcherewriter. Thus the story serves to set the scene of this thesis. To that end this first Upoko can be understood to be a kōrero ‘over the fence’ in preparation for your journey into the world of Māori students – te ao o ngā tauira Māori.

To begin with, it is important that I acknowledge the people who have helped and supported me in my journey as a research student: my whānau, my supervisors, my friend and mentor Rose Parker, and the students. In particular, I want to acknowledge the students whom this thesis is about. It simply would not have been written without the stories that Kāhu, Mārama, Hone, Tiaho, Māui, Rangimārie, Dawn, Nuku, Haami, Tania and Ngaire shared with me and entrusted me to retell. But I also recognise that in the process of gathering and retelling their stories, their stories have become a part of me. Just as their stories became my story, in turn my story has become theirs. As such this thesis belongs to them as much as it does to me.

Ko ōu kōrero, ko āku kōrero
Ko āku kōrero, ko ōu kōrero

Therefore, as I welcome you to this thesis, it is only fitting that the students who are so much a part of it stand with me. It is just as fitting that my whānau and those who have helped and supported me stand with me too. Together, we welcome you into our world.
The Hui as a Metaphor for the Thesis

Although the central focus of the above story is your impending welcome to this thesis, had the story continued, the pōwhiri would have only been part, an important part albeit, of the larger process of hui, the coming together of people. Thus, my family, the students, Rose and myself would have first welcomed you into ‘our space’, and only after the formal rituals of welcome had been completed would we have presented this thesis to you. Although not written into the story, the hui by implication is very much part of the story. Just as ‘leaning over the fence’ is a metaphor for this Upoko, I have used the larger process of the hui as a metaphor for structuring the thesis, indeed the research process itself.

The hui: the gathering together of people
Hui are forums in which people gather together. Where, irrespective of the purpose, discussions always take place, sometimes heatedly, and where new knowledge is created. For example, many years ago I went to the tangi of one of my Aunty’s, and as we sat with her in the wharenui an argument broke out about where she should be buried. At first I was astonished at the fierce debate that took place over her body. I came to realise, though, that it was out of respect and aroha that the different factions of her whānau hotly debated her final resting place. But more than that, it was also apparent that the debate was a history lesson. Both sides used whakapapa and historical events to argue their case. In the end the wishes of my Aunt were adhered to and she was buried where she wanted to be. I came away from that tangi with a greater understanding of the nuances of being Māori.

As a metaphor the hui transcends the physical process of meeting to symbolise enlightenment – the moving from the dark into the light, from te pō into te ao mārama (see Upoko Tuātoru for a fuller explanation). In this reading the imagery of darkness and light are metaphors for ignorance and enlightenment. The marae atea the space in front of the wharenui is likened to te pō – the dark – while the wharenui represents te ao mārama – the world of light. These metaphors are further reinforced by the spiritual guardians, who look after each of these spaces. The marae-atea comes under the domain of Tūmatauenga – the guardian of war – while the wharenui comes under the domain of Rongomatane – the guardian of peace. As people progress onto the marae and into the wharenui they symbolically progress from ignorance to enlightenment, conflict to peace.

In traditional times hui were always held within the marae complex, which includes the marae atea and the wharenui. People would gather together for occasions such as tangihanga (ceremonial grieving), hurahanga kōhatu (unveilings), weddings, and to discuss iwi affairs. Although hui today are not always held on marae and the kinds of hui that are held have increased, the process of the hui has not changed much since accounts have been kept. It is this process that makes hui different from any other kind of meeting. The cultural values and practices that underpin the process of coming together set the hui apart.
from what would otherwise simply be meetings. Primarily, though, it is the
pōwhiri, commonly called the ritual of encounter, that defines the hui as a
uniquely Māori practice.

The pōwhiri: the ritual of encounter
The pōwhiri is one of the most enduring of Māori cultural practices. Literally
meaning to welcome, to beckon on, the pōwhiri is about bringing people together.
To simply see it as one group welcoming another group understates the
significance of such encounters. Steeped in traditional values and beliefs, the
pōwhiri is full of symbolic meaning. At the core of the pōwhiri is the importance
Māori attach to the relationships they have with one another and with the world.
While the world may change and some aspects of the pōwhiri change along with
it, and while different iwi may have different ways in which the pōwhiri is
conducted, the underlying reason for holding them remains the same – to ensure
the spiritual and physical safety of those coming together. Although there are
regional differences and different formats for different occasions there is, at the
same time, a recognisable shape to pōwhiri.

Except in Taranaki, where pōwhiri are held in the wharenui, pōwhiri were
traditionally held on the marae atea. Today, however, they are held wherever it is
deemed appropriate to have them: inside and out, in schools and universities, in
organisations, in open public spaces and even in other countries. In doing so
marae-atea are physically and symbolically created to become the space in which
the rituals of the pōwhiri are played out. It is with this in mind that I have
symbolically created a space between us so that I, and those who stand with me,
can welcome you into this thesis.

The Thesis Outlined
The hui consists of several stages in the process of moving onto the marae atea and
into the wharenui where the reasons for coming together are discussed. It begins
with with the gathering together of people – te huihuinga – where the hui is about
to take place. The manuhiri outside of the space and the tangata whenua inside.
Once everyone is ready a wero may be made to the manuhiri before they are called
on to the marae by the karanga. The haka pōwhiri supports the karanga in
bringing the visitors on, then as the custom in Taranaki dictates the hosts and the
visitors hongi. Once the people have moved into the wharenui the mihi begins.
After each speech a waiata tautoko is sung in support of the speech and the
speaker. Once the speeches are over people leave the wharenui to go and have a
cup of tea. As people leave they stop to sprinkle water over their hands and their
heads to spiritually cleanse themselves. Perhaps it is while they are having a cup of
tea that the manuhiri will give the hosts their koha – gift – or perhaps sometime
during the huihu kōrero – discussion – which is the next stage in the proceedings.
A kōrero whakamutunga wraps up the discussion. Finally, a poroporoaki
concludes the hui. It is these stages of the hui that I have used to structure my thesis.

Te huihuinga
Hui begin with the gathering together of people. The tangata whenua gather together to make ready the ‘space’ where the pōwhiri is to be held. The manuhiri gather outside of that space. In making ready the space, the tangata whenua will place two sets of chairs facing one another. The placing of the chairs demarcates the space in between. People ‘out the back’ prepare food for the hakari, while those ‘out the front’ might quietly go over their haka pōwhiri. Once everything is ready everyone takes up their positions. The kaikaranga, normally a kuia – female elder - moves to the front or to the side of the space, facing those who have gathered outside. All of the other tangata whenua with the exception of the kaikōrero stand behind the kaikaranga. The kaikōrero, normally the kaumātua – the male elders – take up their position in the front row of chairs. The rest of the tangata whenua stand behind the woman. The manuhiri who have gathered at the gate wait to be called in. If they are waewae tapu – never been to that marae – one of the hosts may go down to the gate and let the manuhiri know the protocols to follow. The manuhiri signal their readiness by forming into a group. At the front of their group stands their kaikaranga. Before the formal rituals begin each of the groups will karakia to ensure the success of their coming together.

As I have already pointed out this Upoko is a talk ‘over the fence’ that serves to introduce the thesis to you and to provide a guide on how it is to be read. At the same time it is also an example of the ‘story within story’ approach I have taken to writing the thesis.

Te wero
The actual meaning of word wero is to throw a spear and it was by throwing a spear that a challenge to an enemy was made. In traditional times the wero, as part of a pōwhiri, was carried out by the tangata whenua to establish whether those approaching were friendly or hostile. This was important to establish as the safety of the people was at stake. Those who were chosen to be the challengers were men who had proven their skill and quickness as warriors. A taki – a dart – would be laid down at the feet of the manuhiri. How it was laid down signified to the visitors how the hosts viewed them – as friends or foe. Similarly, how the manuhiri picked it up signaled to the hosts whether they had come in peace or not. Today, the wero is a wholly symbolic practice usually reserved for important visitors. Depending on the occasion up to three challengers can be sent out to meet the manuhiri. Without a word being spoken a taki, which today may be a twig or a raukura (in the case of Taranaki), is ceremonially laid down before the visitors. And still without a word being spoken it is picked up. The wero is always issued by a male and picked up by a male although the challenge itself may be directed to a woman of rank. The wero always begins before the manuhiri have begun to move on to the symbolic marae-ataea and before the karakia is heard.
In Upoko Tuawait I outline the challenges that led me to becoming a research student. Critical reflection of my own and other Māori students' undergraduate experiences of university had made me think about tertiary educational provision. Simply put, there was much left to be desired. It was the area I wanted to focus on when I began graduate study. Very quickly it became obvious that it was not an area educationists and researchers had bothered to research or write about. It was Robert Mahuta who laid down the taki that I picked up. In a submission he helped write to the Ministerial Consultative Group that was looking into the funding of tertiary education, he made the plea for research to look into Māori participation at university. At his own university, Waikato, while the number of Māori students were increasing so too was the drop out rate. He wanted to know why. It was also the kind of question I was beginning to ask myself. At this time I was also introduced to the field of kaupapa Māori research. Cohering with my own sense of cultural and political justice, I was hooked. With its standpoint resonating within me I picked up the challenge and undertook a longitudinal study of Māori students' experiences at the University of Canterbury. Ultimately, though, the challenge is to not just do the research but to also work towards changing the university and to make it more responsive to the educational and cultural aspirations of its Māori students.

Te karanga

After the wero, or if there is no wero when the manuhiri have indicated that they are ready, they are called on to the marae by the kaikaranga. Sometimes there is one kaikaranga sometimes two or three. As the mouthpiece of her people she urges the visitors to come forward. In doing so she recognises where the visitors have come from and welcomes the spirits of their tupuna who have also come with them. As the visitors move slowly towards the space their kai whakautu will call in reply, letting the tangata whenua know who they are, their purpose for the visit as well as paying homage to the hosts, their tupuna and their marae. The mana of the people is contained within the karanga, so it is important that those who are knowledgeable in the affairs of the people do it. That is why kaikaranga are usually kuia — women elders. The karanga is essentially a spiritual call between the two people that calls on tupuna to help smooth the way for their coming together.

Kaikaranga are always women and so it is their voices that are first heard in this ritual encounter. The calls between the women fill the physical space between the two groups and symbolically represent the first contact between tangata whenua and manuhiri. Hiwi Tauroa described this beautifully when he wrote about the karanga providing a ‘safe word pathway’ for the manuhiri to move forward. Without a karanga there can be no pōwhiri.

The women who karanga, call on their knowledge, their sense of place, of history, of tikanga to smooth the pathway for the manuhiri to enter their space. In essence it is their living and breathing the tikanga of their people, their past and their future desires that makes them skilled at what they do. Although I do not want to equate myself to being a kaikaranga, I do want to make the point that knowing one's place in the world is important to being a researcher too. That it too,
'smoothes the pathway' but in this case to doing 'good' research. In Upoko Tuatoru I reflect on the values and practices I bring to being a researcher. In doing so, I outline the world-view in which I operate. Steeped in stories of the distant past Te Ao Mārama is the paradigm in which I make sense of my world and hence of the world of others. It underlies both the theory and practice of my being a researcher.

**Te haka pōwhiri**
As the kaikaranga calls to the manuhiri and their kai whakautu calls back, the group of people standing by the kaikaranga begin to chant in support of her. Old and young, men and women do the haka pōwhiri, and as such they present the face of the people. Together with their kaikaranga, they weave ‘a rope’ of words that entwines the manuhiri. With each word called and chanted the manuhiri are symbolically pulled on to the tangata whenua’s space. The chant most often heard is the chant that likens the manuhiri to a waka while the chant itself (as embodied by the tangata whenua) symbolically represents the rope by which the waka is safely pulled to shore.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Māori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pull up the canoe</td>
<td>Toia mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drag up the canoe</td>
<td>Kumea mai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the resting place [of] the canoe</td>
<td>Ki te urunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the sleeping place [of] the canoe</td>
<td>Ki te moenga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the karanga and the haka pōwhiri symbolically provide a safe pathway for the visitors to move onto the host’s space.

Just as the haka pōwhiri weaves together the voices of the people to provide safe passage for the manuhiri to move onto the marae atea, in Upoko Tuawha I weave together voices from the past to the present to tell my story. In Ōku Tapuwae I reflect on my lived past and how that has shaped my political stance as a kaupapa Māori researcher. A story of struggle and hope, this Upoko looks at the way my whānau has continued to keep the ‘fires burning’ in spite of the struggles we have faced since the ‘musket wars’.

**Te hongi**
Once the manuhiri have been called on it is customary in Taranaki to hongi before the pōwhiri proceeds. As the manuhiri pass the tangata whenua they solemnly press noses and hariru – shake hands. This sharing of breath symbolises the breath that Tane shared with Hine-ahu-one in which te ira tangata – the life force of people – was created (see Upoko Tuatoru for a description). According to Taranaki custom this is not the time to joke, laugh or be excited to see someone because of the tapu or scared nature of what is happening. It is only after the two groups have shared their mauri, their life essence, that the pōwhiri can proceed not on the marae atea as in other areas but inside the wharenui. It is the very act of hongi that enables the two groups to come together inside the wharenui. In other areas of Aotearoa the hongi comes after the formal speeches are over and is the act that lifts the tapu – used in this way tapu means spiritual restrictions – of the pōwhiri. Here the physical sharing of breath symbolises the coming together of the
two groups – where manuhiri become tangata whenua for the duration of their stay.

The hongi is the last of the formalities that brings the manuhiri into the tangata whenua’s space. In doing so it brings together all that has gone before and makes possible what is to come next. With this reading in mind Upoko Tuarima brings together all that led up to my becoming a kaupapa Māori researcher. Defined succinctly as research by Māori and for Māori, kaupapa Māori research provided the methodological framework for my research. In other words it ‘armed’ me with ways to think about what kind of research I wanted to do and how I could go about doing it that made sense to my cultural and political standpoint. I wanted to do research that was culturally appropriate and that fitted my view of the world. I wanted to do research that fitted with my sense of justice. Simply I wanted to do research that made sense to me. Thus, the essence of who I am, my past, my lived experiences, my education and exposure to writers who engaged me is written into my practice as a researcher. In turn it is written into the Upoko Tuarima.

Te mihi
Once the manuhiri have been called on and are seated opposite the tangata whenua, formal speeches of welcome begin and the reason for coming together is formally acknowledged. The front seats – the paepae – of both groups are reserved for those who will be speaking. Whereas the karanga is the domain of women, speechmaking is the domain of the men, although in some areas women of rank do have speaking rights. Men from both the tangata whenua and manuhiri speak. In some areas, like Taranaki, all the tangata whenua kai kōrero will speak first and then all the manuhiri will speak. In other places the speakers from the two groups will alternate. To emphasise the points they are making the kai kōrero may gesticulate and wave their tokotoko, move up and down the paepae, but never cross the marae-atea; their language is steeped in the traditional Māori art of oratory, and is rich in metaphor and poetry. As each of the speakers finish, their whaikōrero is supported by a waiata. Known as the kinaki – relish – the waiata tautoko should support and compliment the words of the speaker. In doing so it upholds the mana of the speaker and the group. With the formal speeches over, the people are called into the wharekai. As they leave the wharenui they sprinkle water on their hands and heads to spiritually cleanse themselves so that they can enter the everyday realm.

The key point I want to highlight here is that the addresses of welcome and reply are formal. It is where the history and contexts of coming together are acknowledged, where connections are remembered as well as made between people and times and situations. In two parts Upoko Tuahono outlines the contexts within which the research was conducted. It makes connections to the old Māori world in which knowledge was not only brought to Aotearoa but also developed as the needs of the people dictated. Mātauranga Māori, as the first part is named and argues, was the key to survival of tupuna Māori; and it continues to be the key to the survival of their mokopuna. This section also makes connections to the present day world in which eleven students embarked on their journey into the
world of university study. In the second part - Journeys: ngā hikoi a ngā akonga Māori – the students tell their stories. In this part I also locate their participation in the wider context of Māori student participation, not only at the University of Canterbury but also across the university sector.

Te huihui kōrero
After a cup of tea the huihui kōrero begins. This is where the people come together to discuss the take – the purpose – for their coming together. The kaupapa, or the ‘format of the hui’ is laid out and after that, the floor is open to anyone who wants to have their say. People are not invited to speak; rather people speak when they are ready to speak. The rule of turn taking comes into play here. It is a ‘rule’ that is hard to describe because of its subtleties. When someone finishes speaking the whare goes quiet for a moment as people look around to see who might be getting ready to stand to speak, to see if this is the space in which they can stand or whether they might defer to someone else. Sometimes the pause between speakers seems interminably long as people silently size up the situation and determine whether they or someone else will speak. Then, when someone decides to speak he or she will signal their intent by standing. It is usual, when standing to speak for the first time at a hui to begin with one’s own whakapapa or genealogy. Although serving as an introduction it more importantly enables people to make connections to one another through common ancestors. It is also common when people stand for the first time at hui to mihi to Papa-tu-a-Nuku, to the whare, to the dead, to people who are running the hui and to those that have gathered at the hui. Hui are forums in which people have the right to be heard, no matter what they might say. The flip side of that is that people have an obligation to let others have their say without interjection. This is where the turn taking rule comes into its own.

In Upoko Tuawhitu I ‘lay out’ the students’ kōrero of their experiences at university. Not only metaphorically is this the place where the students have their say, in reality it was also the forum in which they physically told their stories. This Upoko is in four parts. In documenting their dreams and hopes, the first wāhanga – Whaia te Māramatanga – explores the students’ journeys in becoming university students. The stories they told reflected their diversity. The difference between the young, straight from school students and the mature students seemed huge. But the difference between them was not so much because of the difference in their ages, rather it was the outcome of their lived realities – the times they lived in and the subsequent opportunities that were presented or denied them. The second wāhanga – Encountering the University – looks at their experiences once they became students. This is the story of Māori students encountering the university and the contradictions they experienced within it. Their kōrero tells of the excitement and the challenge of being students as well as the alienation they felt as Māori students. It also tells of the ways in which they invoked Māori cultural values and practices in order to survive. In particular they all sought out other Māori students to socialise and study with. It is their engagement in their learning that is the theme of the third wāhanga of Upoko Tuawhitu – Becoming Students. Just as their engagement with the university is fraught with contradictions so too
are their learning experiences. Not only is the university a place intent on
assimilating them it also is the place in which they hone their critical thinking
skills. It is their critical thinking that enables them to reflect on their own lives and
begin to name what it is that they have experienced. Although there is a common
tendency to think that once we have become adults our identity is fixed, the
students’ experiences of university clearly point to their identity always in a state
of becoming. While they might have developed oppositional identities and cultural
points of reference in order to survive, these worked in contradictory ways to
impact on their study. The fourth and final part of this section – Te Kōrero
Pūrākau Whakamutunga – brings together the strands of all the kōrero in this
Upoko in order to come to some understanding of the contradictory ways in which
eleven Māori students experienced being students.

Te koha
It is customary for most iwi when attending hui on other people’s marae to give
the hosts a koha or gift. Once the last of the manuhiri finish his speech he crosses
the space and lays down a koha on the ground near the tangata whenua. As part of
the practice of utu (see Upoko Tuawaru), in laying down the koha the manuhiri
acknowledge the cost of holding hui as well as the mana of the hosts. At the same
time they are also aware of how their own mana is reflected in what they give.
Today the koha is usually money, but in former times the koha would have been
what was considered a precious commodity, for example pounamu, cloaks,
carving or edible delicacies such as tītī or muttonbird. Once the koha is placed
on the ground someone from the tangata whenua picks it up while a kuia mihis to the
manuhiri thanking them for their generosity. But Taranaki custom is to hand the
koha discreetly to the tangata whenua, usually hand to hand, whenever the
moment is right.

In terms of this thesis all the students’ kōrero are koha. Each of their contributions
is a gift. In turn this thesis is a koha, precisely because of the stories it contains.

Te poroporoaki
The poroporoaki is the time when farewell speeches are made. These farewell
speeches, where the manuhiri thank their hosts, are just as important as the
welcome speeches. Time is usually set aside for this to happen so that the tangata
whenua can be thanked for their hospitality, especially the ringa wera – the cooks
and the kitchen hands – who have prepared the meals. Sometimes a koha is given
to the ringa wera in recognition of their work in preparing and serving kai.
Anyone can stand and speak at the poroporoaki and all those who want to are able
to. In contrast to the formality of the paepae, the poroporoaki conducted in the
dining room over kai are lighter affairs which are often accompanied by singing
and waiata ringa.

My farewell follows closely that of a poroporoaki that would take place if I was at
a real hui. In Upoko Tuawaru I reflect on my own journey to becoming a
researcher and acknowledge, once again, the people who helped and supported
me, who have journeyed with me.
So far my kōrero over the fence has provided you with a guide to the structure of the thesis as well as an insight to my position as a kaupapa Māori researcher. But there is one last bit of information that is important, that you need to know before you are called into the thesis.

**On Reading the Thesis: notes on writing, reading and meanings**

The story at the beginning of this Upoko, and the thesis, not only reveals a Māori world in which I operate it also reveals the narrative style in which this thesis is written. Firstly, the narrative style of writing coheres with a Māori world view and the oral tradition which it is founded on. Secondly, I have written this thesis for my daughters, indeed all tamariki/mokopuna. In doing so I have invoked a style of writing that hopefully engages them. At the same time I have endeavoured to write a thesis that is theoretically anchored: one that is acceptable to the academe. In practice two texts emerged out of this endeavour to write a thesis that captures the imagination of the two communities that I was writing to - the Māori community from which this research arose and is presented to, and the academic community in which it was conducted and presented. In order to deal pragmatically with the two texts that emerged, the narrative text – the text that I privilege, and that is written for my daughters – is in the main body of the thesis. The more theoretical text - the text that makes explicit my theoretical moorings - is located in the end notes along with the references I have used. To read the thesis as a whole the 'two texts' can be read as a conversation between two different world views. However, the narrative text has been written in such a way that it can be read without interruption if so desired. But that is not to say that the whole thesis is resolutely written in this way. Some Upoko lend themselves to this strategy more than others.

Given that this thesis is written from a Māori perspective and is about te ao Māori, Māori words are used throughout. I have not put the meaning of them as I go unless I have considered it absolutely integral to the flow of the thesis. So in some places Māori words do have their meaning in the text and in some places not. Sometimes I have made the point of the English meaning of Māori words, and in other places the meaning of the word is conveyed in the text that follows it. For your reference there is a glossary at the back of the thesis of all the words that I have used in the text, including those that I have explained, but excluding waiata and whakatauaki that I have used.

*As I walk back to my whānau I think about what is about to happen. There certainly is no going back now. The pōwhiri has begun, it began when we each gathered to meet. When I get back to marae atea I stand with the others, behind my two sisters. When everything is still and quiet one of my nephews darts out in front of us, his taiaha whirling*
End Notes

1 For more information on the marae and the pōwhiri two websites are worth checking out. They are http://www//maori.org.nz and Charles Royal’s pages at the Whare Wānanga o Raukawa’s web site http://wwww//twor.ac.nz.

2 A hurahanga kōhatu is the ceremonial unveiling of the gravestone which takes place at least a year after the tangi of a loved one who has died. It is the final token of aroha for the dead (Salmond, 1976). Although the practice is not of ancient origin, according to Anne Salmond (1976: 193), it has come to replace the older tradition of hūhunga, the ritual exhumation, in which the bones of the dead were exhumed after some time, cleaned and painted with ochre and reburied in a secret place.

3 Salmond (1976)

4 Williams (1971: 300)

5 For example there are differences between welcoming tūpāpaku, the dead, as opposed to those who are living. The differences pertain mainly to the language of the pōwhiri. The karanga would be different, so too would the whaikōrero and the waiata tautoko.

6 Williams (1971: 482)

7 For a fuller account of how the taki are placed and what it means see Hiwi and Pat Tauroa’s (1986) The Marae: a guide to customs and protocols.

8 Raukura is the name for the white albatross feather which is the symbol of Te Whiti and Tohu the spiritual leaders of Parihaka.


10 Tauroa (1986: 36)

11 This term is taken from Graham Smith’s work on kaupapa Māori schooling initiatives.

12 For example Ngati Porou women of rank have speaking rights on marae in their own rohe or district. Tom Smiler Junior (1998) writes a beautiful account of his grandmother having speaking rights on marae throughout the Poverty Bay, up the East Coast as well as the Bay of Plenty in Growing Up Māori.

13 We, as researchers must, according to Tierney and Lincoln (1997: xi), reimagine the ways in which we think about and write our research because "multiple texts, directed toward research, policy, social change efforts, or public intellectual needs ... may better represent both the complexity of the lives we study, and the lives we lead as academics and private persons".

14 The idea for writing the two texts in the way that I have has come from Bruce Lincoln’s (1999) argument that academic writing is myth with footnotes. See Upoko Tuarima for a fuller explanation.
Te Wero

Piripi makes a fine warrior. With his eyes never leaving the visitors he runs slowly up to the manuhiri and places a taki down in front of them. As one of the manuhiri begins to pick it up, he darts back disappearing behind us. As I watch him ceremoniously challenge the group at the gate, my mind wanders back to the challenges that were laid down in front of me. On this day of all days how could I not think of them! They are the reason why we are all here. If I had not picked up the challenges to do something for my children this thesis would not have been written.

In Ngā Taki I outline the challenges that led me to becoming a kaupapa Māori researcher gathering and documenting the experiences of eleven Māori students’ journeys through university.
NGĀ TAKI

This thesis is about the experiences of Māori students at the University of Canterbury. It tells the story of the development and implementation of a study that tracked eleven Māori students from the time they first became university students in 1996 to when they left the university. When I began to seriously consider continuing my own studies as a research student the ‘taki’ that was to become my topic was already laid out before me. All I needed to do was to pick it up. As I picked up this challenge, others were being laid at my feet. This was the way that my research project and thesis took shape. In this Upoko I outline the challenges that led not only to the research topic but also to the way in which I conducted the research and wrote the thesis.

In fact, this story begins with the challenge that first saw me become a student.

The post arrived. I opened the letter and read, ‘I regrettfully write to tell you that your application for the job has been unsuccessful’. It goes on to tell me that the standard of the applications was high and they had trouble deciding who to appoint. They tell me that even though I had the experience to do the job, they appointed someone with a ‘qualification’ instead. They think they are placating me, softening the rejection. They might as well have written, ‘Stupid woman, did you really think you could get a job like this without the piece of paper?’ ‘I’ll show them,’ I thought. And with that I enrolled at university to begin the process of acquiring the piece of paper.

That was fifteen years ago. It was to be the first of several challenges that have had a direct impact on my becoming a research student in the Education Department at the University of Canterbury. Education was not the area which I was primarily concerned with or interested in working at that time, my brief foray as a student teacher a few years earlier had put paid to that (see Upoko Tuatoru). Although I was concerned about my own children’s education my primary interest was in the field of community health. However while I was interested in the field, the field was not interested in me. That one rejection was enough to spur me on to enrol at university. But when I went to enrol, I discovered that entry into the social work programme was through an application and interview process that had already closed. So rather than wait another year, I decided to enrol in a range of courses that hopefully would give me entry into the social work programme the following year. At that time I did not foresee a degree in education, let alone a career.

A Topic Unfolds

Invisibility and silence
In the range of papers I took, two were first year education papers. It was the content of one of those papers that so engaged me that by the time applications for the social work school came around again I had decided to continue with
completing a B.A. in education. Although the content of the paper had theoretically given me ways to understand the extent and the nature of the inequalities that exist in education and society, it was as much the people who taught the course that engaged me. In particular, it was Rose Parker, the Bicultural Studies Lecturer in the Department, who made me feel at home in an otherwise alienating institution. At that time there were very few courses to ‘choose’ from that had Māori content or were taught by Māori. Simply there was not much of a Māori presence around the university except for the other students. The stories Rose told were compelling; they made sense to me as I connected them to my own history and experiences and to what I could see was being played out in the university. I wondered what other stories could have been told had there been people to tell them. I wondered what the university would look like with Māori academics in every department. I wondered whether the scarcity of Māori teachers and Māori content was an issue for other Māori students as well. I imagined a different university.

With some irony, the concerns that I had as I completed my undergraduate degree – the institutional invisibility of Māori and the silencing of Māori voices on campus – spurred my desire to become a graduate student. I spent my Honours year in 1994 looking at Māori tertiary education from different viewing points including adult education, social policy, and a Marxist take on human development. A year of investigating the issues from these different perspectives fuelled my desire to do research that talked back to the silence that by then was deafening.

**Being misrepresented and misheard**
The pivotal point came halfway through the year when I became part of a group\(^1\) that looked at the then newly released recommendations to change the way tertiary education was funded. A year earlier, in 1993, the Minister of Education had established the Ministerial Consultative Group to advise the Government on ways to fund growth in tertiary education. In August of 1994 their Report\(^2\) (which became known as the Todd Report) was published and in it they recommended two options both of which proposed increasing students’ fees. Option A recommended increasing students’ fees to 25% of the cost of their tuition whereas Option B proposed increasing the proportion of fees students paid to 50%. The rationale the Group put forward for Option B was that the under-representation in tertiary education by Māori (and low income people) needed to be addressed urgently. They argued that higher student fees and an expanded loan scheme would enable more Māori to participate in tertiary education on the basis that higher fees would provide the funds for greater targeted assistance through schemes like Manaaki Tauira. They also argued that increased funding would also enable the sector to better meet the needs of Māori. My part of the project was to look at what these recommendations would mean for Māori. I was particularly interested in how they came up with the recommendations they did when they claimed that these stemmed from ‘an analysis of the causes and effects of the existing situation and [drew] heavily from the views of Māori...’.\(^3\) Wondering what the (four) Māori submissions
contained I wrote away requesting copies of them. The contents of the submissions bore little resemblance to the two options that were in the Report. In light of the timing of the groups consultation process – over the Christmas break – it was evident that the underlying agenda of the group was to make further inroads into restructuring education, and in particular the tertiary sector, to fit the market. It seemed that not only were Māori being silenced but, when they were allowed to speak their contributions were being misheard and misrepresented.

This intrigued and disquieted me all at the same time. It struck me as being ironic that in the new political climate in which the market and consumer sovereignty are paramount, that consumers were not being listened to. Then, in stark contrast to the neo-liberal influences in the educational reforms that the Government had begun to implement in the late 1980s, they also required educational providers through the Education Act 1991 and the Educational Guidelines to establish relationships with Māori. Concerned with issues of equity and social justice this direction in educational policy was informed by the Governments recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi and a commitment to close the educational and social gap between Māori and Pākehā. There was a sense of positive change in the air as new partnerships began to be forged between Māori and providers in developing policies and programmes that met the needs of Māori. However, there seemed to be little evidence of these concerns in the Todd Report.

**Understanding Māori students’ experiences**

It was the submission made by Waikato University’s Center for Māori Studies and Research and specifically Robert Mahuta’s plea for more research into Māori student participation that first drew my attention to the topic that was to become the basis of my research. He was concerned that further research was required that directly addressed the issue of Māori participation at university, in particular the high number of Māori students who dropped out of study. In doing so he called for research to go beyond documenting the inequalities of access and outcome that Māori faced in the university sector, to look at the nature of participation so that we might come to understand why Māori participate in the way they do. I picked up the challenge that he laid down and Māori participation in university study became the focus of my study.

Just exactly what the topic would be, became clear as Jane (another student) and I, in a second Honours project, undertook some research for the University’s Māori Department. As part of the Department’s future planning we had been commissioned to conduct two pieces of research. The first was a survey that looked at the demographic profile of the students enrolled in the Department, while the second explored in more detail some of the issues raised in the survey. In this second piece of research we interviewed students about their experiences in the Māori Department. In particular we wanted to know their reasons for enrolling in, and their expectations of the Department. In the first piece of research it became clear that there was a diverse range of ways to be Māori.
Upoko Tuarua: Te Wero

Despite this, the second piece of research showed a discernible difference between the way in which Māori and Pākehā students experienced the Department. I wondered how Māori students with such diverse backgrounds could simultaneously be identified as a group by their experiences. I wondered whether the experiences of Māori students enrolled in other programmes would be similar to the students enrolled in the Māori Department. In the process my research project evolved into a phenomenological study of Māori students’ experiences at the University of Canterbury.

Searching the literature
I turned to the literature and began a search to see what other people had found. But very little had been written that touched on Māori experiences at university. Paradoxically, it seemed, despite Māori being one of the most researched people in the world, very little research existed about Māori in university. Whereas I had little difficulty finding accounts of Māori educational underachievement and poor participation rates, I came across very few studies that explored the experiences of Māori university students. Even after extending my search to include Māori students across the tertiary sector I found that very little had been written. There was, however, a considerable body of literature on indigenous and minority students’ experiences from other countries but much of this had limited use in understanding Māori students’ experiences given the different histories of the different groups. The earliest New Zealand studies that I came across were Ranginui Walker’s 1965 Masters thesis that looked at the social relationships of Māori teachers’ college students and Thomas Fitzgerald’s ethnographic study of Māori graduates in 1969. Neither of these studies looked at the students’ experiences within the institutions they were studying at. In 1991 Linda Nikora completed a thesis on the learning preferences of Māori students and in 1993 Helen Clothier’s study of three Māori women’s experiences of university was published. In 1994 that was all I could find on research that looked specifically at Māori students in higher education. And despite an increase in the number of studies conducted since the mid 1990s when I began my research, ‘research on Māori students within tertiary institutions [still remained] a site of minimal attention.’ This silence spoke volumes to me about the invisibility of Māori in higher education. I wondered whether this silence added to other students’ alienation as it did to mine. I wondered how to go about writing us in, making us visible. I wondered how I could make a difference so that when my daughters came to university their experiences would be different.
An Introduction to Kaupapa Māori research: feeling at home

At the same time as I was busy picking up the taki that were being thrown at my feet with these two pieces of research that I was involved in, I was also being introduced to kaupapa Māori research through the writings of Linda19 and Graham Smith20, Russell Bishop21, and Kathie Irwin22. Busy writing us into the academy their stories had a similar effect on me as Rose Parker’s classes had. I felt right at home and from that point on I could not imagine doing research in any other way. The more familiar I became with kaupapa Māori as a way of doing research the more I realised that the research that Jane and I had conducted for the Māori Department was in many ways a kaupapa Māori research project. We had spent a lot of time thinking and talking about the importance of conducting research that was culturally appropriate and sensitive to the needs of the students who agreed to participate. While we had read widely on qualitative research, especially from feminist researchers, and had constructed a research project based on what we had come to know, there was a feeling of there being something more to the research that neither of us could name. Like explorers we tentatively and intuitively navigated the uncharted and lonely terrain of doing research we could not quite name. But when I came across the writings of these Māori educationalists I didn’t feel quite so alone, especially when Kathie Irwin came to Canterbury and gave an address on Māori research in the Māori Department early in 1995.

Researching back
There were a few of us who were eagerly awaiting Kathie Irwin’s visit. She was coming to talk about Māori research methodologies in the Māori Department. I was particularly keen to meet her as I was just beginning to put my research proposal together. There must have been a few people keen to see her as Te Awaroa was packed. By the time she was ready to start there was barely any standing room left. Time just went. It seemed that just as she got in to talking about the nitty gritty of Māori research it was all over. Although she did not add to what I already knew about kaupapa Māori research, her physical presence made it more real somehow. While what she said made perfect sense to me, her presentation did cause a stir amongst some academics. Polemical was how one person described it. Just to make sure that I got the gist of what her critique of Kathie was all about, I went straight back to my room to look up what the word meant. Controversial!

I guess I should not have been surprised. At that time qualitative research was still seen as a threat to the production of knowledge in most quarters. The very act of Kathie speaking back to the academy about kaupapa Māori research was even more of a challenge to the traditional ways of doing research, and ultimately to the very foundations on which the university was built. For what Kathie was advocating was a different way of looking at the world that took for granted Māori values and practices. And as I reflected on this I wondered how the university might receive the kaupapa Māori research project I was planning.
to do. I wondered about what mattered more – the community that I was writing for or the university.

**Rewriting back**
To begin with, I did not realise just how significant an issue this would be or how much of a challenge. As a kaupapa Māori research project this thesis belongs to the community, but it took me a long time to realise that it is not enough that the community simply has access to it, the community has to want to read it too.

A few days earlier I had sent my supervisors part of what was turning out to be a large chapter. Now it was crunch time as I stood outside Jean’s office. Taking a deep breath I knock and enter. When everyone has arrived we get down to business. In turn and ever so gently each of them tells me what they think. I sit and listen and know deep down that they are right. It is boring and it isn’t engaging in its third person academic style of writing. I have moments of internal panic as I wonder what a thesis is supposed to look like. After all doesn’t this belong to the university as well? As if they read my mind they challenge me on who my audience is. ‘The community,’ I say. ‘But then,’ I go on to say, ‘I do have to take into account Ph.D. regulations’. Was that a collective ‘boring’ I heard? We talk some more around my problem and then Jean suggests I write my thesis for my daughters.

I picked this taki up and began a journey that took me places that I did not know existed. Consequently my thesis changed from being an orthodox thesis to a narratively inspired one in which stories are its leitmotif. As I changed the way I wrote, I began to realise just how much a storied approach was in keeping with a Māori view of the world. Given that stories have been the lifeline of Māori since Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku (see Upoko Tuatoru), it makes sense that the genre of storytelling has become a crucial pedagogical component of this thesis. But then, as I gave myself free reign to write I also began to see things differently. When I thought I was done with analysing the data, writing it up told me otherwise. The act of writing also became an extension of the process of analysis. Whilst ‘writing for my daughters’ has been a liberating experience for me, it has at the same time been a challenging one. Ph.D. regulations have continued to loom over me as I have worried about the acceptability of such an approach. I wonder whether my thesis is academic enough. And I have had to work to overcome this anxiety which is born out of the need to prove that I am just as competent at being a doctoral candidate as my Pākehā peers are.
End Notes

1 This was a group project in which two other students and I looked at the Ministerial Consultative Group’s (1994) report on the restructuring of the tertiary sector. Philip Scott looked at the broader context within which the Group was established while Tony Bullard critically looked at the recommendations and their underlying assumptions. In the final section I looked at the implications for Māori of the proposed changes to the funding of tertiary education (Scott, Bullard, & Phillips, 1994).

2 Ministerial Consultative Group (1994)

3 Ministerial Consultative Group (1994: 52)

4 The Treaty of Waitangi was at first required to be in a school’s charter but was subsequently dropped as a compulsory component. Despite this, educational providers through the National Education Guidelines (Ministry of Education, 2000) and the Handbook of Contractual Obligations (Education Review Office, 1996) are required to consult with, and consider Māori.

5 Ministry of Education (1993)

6 For example see the stories in Walter Hirsch and Raymond Scott’s (1988) Getting it Right.

7 Centre for Māori Studies and Research (1993)

8 Phillips & Harrison (1994)


10 Smith (1999a)

11 Even in the international literature some groups are invisible. For example Native Americans have been largely been forgotten in the considerations of mainstream universities in the U.S.A. In an otherwise insightful article on the curriculum as racial text Pinar (1993) argues that American identity has been built on mis-information, denials, absences and the incompleteness of America’s historical record. He goes on to argue that the willful absence of black history and culture in American schools has not only affected black students it has also ‘deformed’ white students. By the invisibility of black experiences in schools all students come to misunderstand who they are. For people to understand who they are, he argues, they must understand that their existence is predicated on, and related in fundamental ways to black Americans precisely because the American nation was built on the enslavement of Africans. My criticism is that he leaves out the native peoples of the American continent whose lands, livelihoods and lives were taken in the pursuit of the American dream.

12 Walker (1965)


14 Nikora (1991)

15 Clothier (1993)

16 There had been other published sources. For example Kathie Irwin (1988; 1992) and Linda Smith (1992a; 1994) were writing about their experiences as Māori academics. In a similar vein there were the published proceedings of Ngā Matawhānui the Māori University Teachers Association (1990; 1992a; 1992b) hui-
ā-tau. Then there were Auckland University’s Department of survey of Māori students and HERO’s (1991) report on a workshop that looked at developing departmental structures that reflected the needs of Māori students.  
17 For example Richard Jefferies’ (1997) Māori Participation in Tertiary Education; Rachael Selby’s (1996) A study of the factors which contribute to success for Māori women in tertiary education; Makere Papuni-Ball’s (1996) Caught in the cross-fire; the realities of being Māori at a bicultural law school; Frances Goulton’s (1997) He huarahi ako: the academic and cultural self-sufficiency of maori student teachers; and Wayne Taurima’s (2000) The experience of a whānau group at Te Waananga-o-Aotearoa (a bicultural research project).
18 Clothier (1993: 7)
19 Smith (1991; 1992b)
20 Smith (1990)
22 Irwin (1994)
23 Richardson (1994)
Te Karanga

Once Piripi is behind us, my sisters begin to karanga...

Haere mai ra, ngā manuhiri ki runga ki tenei marae e
Haere mai ra e te īwi e, mauria mai te aroha e
Haeremai ngā maata waka, mauria mai ngā pare kawakawa o te roimata e ....

The karanga has always had a profound effect on me. Today is no exception. Their calls fill the air and there is no escaping the almost hypnotic power and beauty of their words. Through their calls the past comes alive. Tikanga and history saturate the air as the manuhiri’s kai whakautu calls back. Te ao mārama – the world of light beckons. I am safe. I am at home. It is from here that I am able to know my world.

In Te Ao Mārama I reflect on the values and practices that shaped me as a researcher. In doing so I make explicit the world view from which I operate.
I cannot remember a time when I didn’t feel connected to the landscape – the land, sea and sky. When I was a child we would go to a small bay – an out of the way bay hidden from view that we called ‘Our Bay’ because no-one went there. In those days it was a two hour drive to get there – and that was without breaking down! Although a long way, there was always a sense of adventure as we drove over and down and around ‘hills’ following the rim of one extinct volcano and traversing the lava flows of another that together make up Banks Peninsula. Once there, parking on the side of a steep cliff and a narrow metal road was always risky and required what seemed like endless maneuvering to get the car tucked off the road and in a place where we could get out. My brothers and I were always in a hurry to get down to the bay, each of us wanting to get there first. But we would always have to wait to be given something to take down the steep hillside. There was always something magical about being the first one to reach the bay, to greet her and to breathe her in. ‘Our Bay’ is just a small bay; a little sandy beach bounded on either side by rocks, a bountiful place where we would collect kai moana. We would gather kātai, pāua, kina, sea tulips, rock oysters, crabs and pūpū. As children we didn’t have to take part in the gathering but we mostly did – happy to be there just being part of it all. The best times of all were when we would sleep there or arrive in the dark to catch the early tide. Night time at ‘Our Bay’ added another dimension. The same smells, tastes and sounds were there, but then there was the night sky. Lying in the tussock grass we would trace outlines in the sky using the stars as our reference points. We would wonder out loud about the universe and what it held and tell each other fantastic stories until our journeying through the sky merged into dreaming. And all the while Tangaroa would be gently singing his lullaby. They were happy times for us as whānau. It was a time and a place where we were able to be ourselves – where we were truly ‘at home’. My brothers and I weren’t told about the beauty and bountifulness of the sea or how to look after it. We soaked it up by being part of it, living it, breathing it and eating from it. We didn’t need to be told that this wasn’t just food for the belly - that it was also food for the soul. Why else would we journey such a long way to gather just enough kai moana for eating at the bay and
Upoko Tuatoru: te karanga

for the next day? I didn’t know about whakapapa then, but when I did it made perfect sense to me. Nor did I know about such things as philosophy or traditions either, but I have since come to see that we were living them, they informed how we saw and engaged with our world.

It was later when I began to make connections between the ‘stories’ that I had been told as a child and how I saw the world that I saw the significance of those stories. They provided us with ways to think about the world and our place in it, as well as provided guides on how to live our lives and fulfill our potential as human beings. The ‘stories’, along with the rituals of telling them and the practices they endorsed, revealed a specifically Māori view of the world. And although we were far away from our papakainga, they kept alive our cultural roots that might otherwise have disappeared in the day to day struggle of living in a more ‘English than English’ city. In a metaphoric sense our whānau maintained the traditional practice of ahi kaa, of keeping the home fires burning. I would like to think that the fires still burn as we head into a new millennium. We may be ‘different’ to our tupuna who witnessed the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (that is to be expected because no culture that is living remains unchanged) but our hearts and spirit remain resolutely Māori.

The stories that I ‘heard’ as a child and continue to ‘read’ as an adult are part of the mythic tradition that has been handed down over successive generations. Originating in the Pacific they were brought to Aotearoa by our ancestors. Although many of the stories that continue to be told in present day Aotearoa/New Zealand are similar to the stories that are told throughout the Pacific (having similar themes and/or characters), they do nevertheless tell a specifically Māori story and do so in ways that are uniquely Māori. Indeed the stories have not just been told and retold through the spoken word, they have also, over the centuries, been inscribed in song, painting, carving and weaving; and since literacy was brought to Aotearoa in the early 19th century through the written word. All of these different ways of ‘writing’ provide the means for the expression of a deeply poetic way of thinking about the world.

There is no better expression of this than the phrase ‘... mai i te kore, i te po, ki te whaiao ki te a mārama’. It resonates with meaning, capturing beautifully the way in which Māori think about their world. In these few words the ‘passion’ of the Māori world is expressed; telling the story of the creation of the world as we know it and in doing so providing the context for, and explanation of, human existence and development that is uniquely Māori. All of the stories that I heard as a child and continue to tell, are part of this epic saga. Woven together they provide an overarching holistic view of the world. And as part of a mythic tradition they anchor us to traditions and customs that are central to our identity, while at the same time moving us to walk amongst the stars.

When I think back to the times when my brothers and I lay in the long grass searching the night sky I am struck by the similarity of the situation I find myself in today. My journey as a researcher mirrors my childhood journeys through the
night sky. Then as now I am searching for answers to questions that at times seem bigger than life. Then as now I am living out the epic saga of ... mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whaiao ki te ao mārama - from the nothingness, into the dark and into the world of light ...

This thesis, therefore, begins at the very beginning precisely because the stories that are contained within the Māori creation anthology help explain who I am and the values and beliefs that underpin my research practice.

*Mai i te Kore, i te Pō, ki te Whaiao ki te Ao Mārama*

According to old time accounts the creation of the world occurred in three stages or epochs\(^9\). The first and most remote epoch was Te Kore – the void – in which nothing existed. Next came the darkness of Te Pō where the world began to take shape in the tight embrace of Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku. When Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku were separated Te Ao Mārama the third and present epoch came into being.

...mai i te kore
In the beginning there was nothing but the void in which nothing could be obtained and nothing could be done\(^7\), so the story goes. But that is not the story I want to tell, for it belies the latent potentiality that I consider defines this epoch. As I sit searching for the words that will do justice to the story I want to tell, the sun is streaming through the window and through the glass koru that sits on my window sill. The intensity of the greens and blues that swirl within the glass highlight and accentuate the curling shape of the koru. If anything can be likened to Te Kore, then it is the koru that sits on my windowsill: a symbol of new beginnings, of potential being. This, then, to me is the real significance of Te Kore\(^8\). Rather than being a negative state where nothing exists, Te Kore is the space in which creative potential stirs; where primeval energy that contains the 'seed-stuff' of the universe surges and swirls rendering the possibility of spontaneous creation.

...i te pō...
It was in the great dark; the deep and intense dark; the dark in which nothing could be seen that the creative potential of Te Kore was realised\(^9\). It was during the hundred to a thousand nights of darkness\(^10\) that life forms evolved and in which thought and desire became possible\(^11\). It was from primeval energy that Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku were created\(^12\). It was out of the union of Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku that their offspring created the world as we know it.

Personified as sky father and earth mother Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku lay in a tight and loving embrace. And in their embrace sons were born – Tangaroa, Rongomatane, Tanemahuta, Tawhirimatea, Tumatauenga, and Haumiatiketi – each of whom has divine responsibility over an aspect of the world.\(^13\) Tangaroa
looks after the sea and all that it contains. Tawhirimatea is the kaitiaki or
guardian of the elements, especially the winds. Rongomatane’s domain is
agriculture as well as peace. While Haumiatiketike of fern root and wild
vegetables. Tumatauenga’s domain is people and warfare. And lastly,
Tanemahuta, perhaps the most important of all in the Māori pantheon, is kaitiaki
of the forests and all that they contain. If not the most important, he can certainly
be considered the ‘leading character’ in the cosmological saga for his feats
include the separation of Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku, the creation of Hine-
ahu-one the first woman, and the ascent to the heavens in order to obtain
knowledge. It is to these atua or ‘gods’\(^1\) that Māori, throughout the centuries,
have appealed when harvesting the resources of the natural world. It would not
have occurred to my tupuna, for example, not to ask Tane’s permission when
they went to the forest to snare birds or cut down a tree. Not to do so was asking
for trouble of one sort or another\(^2\).

But the story of Te Pō is not quite over. There are stories still to be told that are
absolutely crucial to the saga of mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whaiao ki te ao
mārama.

Inside the tight embrace of their parents there was little room for the sons to
move. They all longed to be free from their dark and cramped conditions, that is,
except for Tawhirimatea. So when his brothers set out to separate Ranginui and
Papa-tu-a-nuku he took no part. Rongomatane, Tangaroa, Haumiatiketike and
Tumatauenga all tried and failed to separate their parents. When it came to
Tanemahuta’s turn, he wasn’t successful until he used his feet to push Ranginui
up into the sky\(^3\). And in the process he created the physical world. However, the
world was still dimly lit and it wasn’t until Tane placed the sun, moon and stars
in the sky that Te Ao Mārama had finally come into being.

Yet the creation of Te Ao Mārama, a hugely significant moment for humankind,
also came at a cost. Not only did it cause pain to Rangi and Papa it also brought
about conflict between the brothers. Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku were grief
stricken at being separated. Rangi’s tears rained down on Papa-tu-a-nuku, while
Papa’s tears rose up covering her body in perpetual mist. To ease their mother’s
discomfort, and their own, her sons turned her over so she could no longer see
Ranginui and the world would no longer be in perpetual flood.

Tawhirimatea who did not want his parents separated went with his father up
into the heavens while his brothers stayed with their mother. To avenge what
had happened he set about attacking his brothers with terrible storms that raged
over the earth. He destroyed the forests of Tane and frightened the children of
Tangaroa\(^4\). Rongomatane and Haumiatiketike went into hiding in the depths of
Papa-tu-a-nuku so that his wrath could not touch them. It was only
Tumatauenga who stood up to Tawhirimatea, and who remained undefeated.

Unimpressed by his brothers’ cowardice in the face of Tawhirimatea’s attacks
Tumatauenga turned on them. But Tumatauenga was very clever in the way that
he went about his assault against his brothers. He didn’t just attack them and their descendents, he ate them. He snared birds from the forests of Tane and ate them, he made nets and caught the fish of Tangaroa and ate them, and he crafted spades and baskets to dig and gather the kumara and fern root to eat them. Tumatauenga’s dominance over the natural world was complete. Although Tumatauenga’s actions appear to be destructive, they do, however, pave the way for people to be able to live in the world. Had the natural world remained unchanged, then the sacred or tapu nature of it would have made human development and settlement difficult, if not impossible. By subordinating his brothers and their descendents, Tumatauenga transformed their sacred domains into places ordinary people could access by bringing to the world the ability to “undo the effects of tapu”. So that we could make implements to catch or cultivate food, so that we could eat it, so that we could construct whare to live in and waka to transport us, so that we could clothe ourselves, and so that we could express ourselves creatively through carving, weaving and painting. Just as significantly though, the conflict that arose between the brothers foreshadows the conflict that has come to exist in the world between people.

Still an important element was missing in the world. Given that Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku only had sons the female element or te ira wahine was missing. Wanting wives and offspring of their own, the brothers searched but did not find the female element. So Tane set about shaping a woman out of the earth of Papa-tu-a-nuku. It wasn’t until Tane breathed life into her that she became Hine-ahu-one, the first woman, and at that moment the human element – te ira tangata - came into being. Tane took Hine-ahu-one to be his wife. They had a daughter Hine-titama who also became his wife. When Hine-titama asked Tane who her father was he suggested that she ask the posts of their house. Realising from the answer that Tane was her father she fled in shame to Rarohenga – the underworld. Tane followed her but she begged him to return to the world of the living to care for their children while she remained in the underworld. There she became known as Hine-nui-i-te-pō – the lady of the underworld – and there she still waits for the descendents of Tane to enter Rarohenga. And since she put a stop to Maui’s endeavours to gain immortality for mankind, Hine-nui-i-te-pō has been charged with being the harbinger of death.

...ki te whaiao ki te ao mārama
The world of light - the world as we know it with its landmarks, seascapes and nightsky; with its people, their inventions and ideas - is the world that we currently live in. How we come to ‘know it’ is attributed to Tane’s ascent to the heavens to obtain knowledge. Without knowledge or ways to think about the world our development would be severely limited. This story then, is a story about the importance of knowledge in the development of mankind. In the beginning knowledge did not exist in the world. Created by the atua, knowledge was kept on the highest of twelve heavens at Rangiatea – the sacred whare wānanga. Recognising the benefit that knowledge would bring to the world, Tane was chosen by his brothers to fetch it. He journeyed through the skies and up through to the twelfth heaven where he underwent purification that enabled
Upoko Tuatoru: te karanga

him to enter Rangiatae and collect the knowledge. But Tane’s journey through the skies was not easy. Objecting to Tane being chosen, his older brother Whiro set out to stop him by calling on Te Tini o Poto – an army of insects – to attack him. With the help of Tawhirimatae Tane successfully overcame the obstacles in his path and brought back to earth ngā kete wānanga – three baskets of knowledge – and two whatu kura – stones that held the mauri – life force – of knowledge.

Tane’s journey through the heavens has inspired young men and women throughout the ages to reach for the stars in the pursuit of being the best they could be. It reminds them that any obstacles in their way can be overcome if they only hold onto their dreams. Like a chapter in a book it continues the ‘storyline’ of the saga of mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whaiao ki te ao mārama by ‘fleshing out’ what is required in the very human quest for enlightenment. And like whispers in the night it tells another story, a deeper story, that talks about knowledge and the possible ways of knowing.

All of the stories that I have briefly retold here provide the core content of the saga of mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whaiao ki te ao mārama. They are, in turn, part of a larger mythic tradition that has been handed down over successive generations. The telling of these stories remains important, not because they reflect a historically accurate account of the Māori world, but rather for the messages they contain. While we may not take literally the content of these stories, we can take heart that they express, and are integral to a uniquely Māori orientation to the world that shapes our collective and individual identity as Māori, and our relationships with others and with the natural world.

Whakapapa: making connections

According to the old time Māori accounts everything in the universe is connected – from the stars that shine in the sky at night to the tiniest grains of sand on the beach, from the giant kauri trees of the forest to the kumara that grows hidden in the earth, to the baby born, and to the community that she or he grows up in. The way we think about and express this connectedness to the landscape and to each other is through whakapapa. In essence whakapapa presents a Māori way of looking at and being in the world that weaves its way through the generations to end at the beginning of time with the union of Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku. In the process, weaving together, as it were, all the stories that are contained within the myth traditions of Te Ao Mārama. The resulting narrative forms a tapestry of relationships between the atua, the land, the people and everything in the universe.

A relational identity
It is precisely because all living things in the world come from Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku and their offspring that Māori exist and can claim, therefore,
kinship to all living and non-living things in this world. It is through whakapapa that we are able to locate ourselves in the world and it is from within whakapapa that we speak. For example in formal situations when we stand to speak we begin with our whakapapa – not who we are, but where we come from. It is in establishing our tupuna and whenua connections before anything else that we are expressing ‘before anything else’ who we are. And who we are is always in relation to whānau, hapū and iwi31. This transcends taken-for-granted ideas about time and space placing us in whakapapa rather than as products of it; placing, as it were, the connection I have with my daughter on the same plane as our ancestress, Tukemata, who she is named after32. In effect, in whakapapa, we are expressing our Māori identity in a culturally specific way. This points to whakapapa being as much a cultural practice as it is a way to think about the world and our place in it33.

A framework for making sense of the world
It is hard for us to imagine in the year 2002 how our tupuna were able to memorise and then recite word perfect their whakapapa. Without paper or pens Māori, leading up to the 19th century, developed practices that enhanced their memorising abilities. The writings by Māori in the 19th century, the earliest ‘written’ examples, show just how adept they were in reciting whakapapa34. Even today long recitals of whakapapa that stretch to mythological times can be heard on marae. How do they do this? The answer lies in part in the whakapapa itself and in part in the way whakapapa is recited. While whakapapa is about reciting genealogical information, it also serves to organise that information into a manageable and memorable form. And memorable it is when its lyrical hypnotic chanting is heard on the marae.

A way of shaping relationships
A phrase that I often heard as a child and which I still hear today is ‘respect your elders’. As a youngster I was pulled up fast if I was seen to be cheeky or rude to my elders. Being reprimanded didn’t happen often, but it did happen. When we were gathering kai moana at ‘Our Bay’ we weren’t told to respect our elders, we were shown how to. I can’t ever recall being told off for being disrespectful there, but then again I can’t ever imagine wanting to be disrespectful because of my love for the sea and what it contains. As an adult I have come to understand that my relationship with the sea, as with the land, is shaped by the deep and enduring feelings I have of being connected to the natural world.

Perhaps the most frequently expressed relationship Māori have with the natural world is the relationship we have with the land. Fundamental to the way we relate to the land is our ancestral connection to it. It is in the nature of a parent/child relationship that we relate to Papa-tu-a-nuku. And just as mothers look after their children Papa-tu-a-nuku looks after us, providing us with food that nourishes and sustains our bodies as well as our spirit. As her children, we are obligated to respect and care for her in return. It would be a peculiar mother/child relationship indeed, if we ‘owned’ our mother or stripped her of her assets35. The significance of this relationship is further etched into our psyche.
through the metaphoric use of language. For example, whenua is the word for land as well as for placenta. When a baby is born, it is customary in Māori society to place his or her whenua back into the earth to further cement their connections to the land, giving them a place to stand. Furthermore, whakatauaki (especially pepeha), waiata and karakia also serve as symbolic reminders of the centrality of Papa-tu-a-nuku to a Māori cultural identity. In the Māori world land remains constant and is the medium through which links between the past and the future generations are made. This sentiment is encapsulated in the whakatauaki – Toitu te whenua, whatungarongaro he tangata – the land remains forever, people pass on.

According to old time accounts, all our relationships are regulated within the framework of kinship relations. Thus, the whakapapa that connects me to my children to come and to our tupuna at the same time weaves us into the larger fabric of Māori relationships that patterns the kind of relationships we have in the world. The way we conduct ourselves has ongoing consequences for those relationships. Within this framework, therefore, Māori place great importance on establishing relationships that are tika – right or correct\textsuperscript{36}. What is considered to be tika, is woven into the stories of mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whaiao ki te ao mārama and shapes Māori customary practices, otherwise known as Māori law or tikanga. In turn, tikanga regulates the relationships Māori have in the world whether it be in terms of settling disputes, collecting kaimoana or building a house.

\textit{Tikanga: the ordering of relationships}

Despite an ever changing world Māori continue to hold fast to values and practices that are expressed in mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whaiao ki te ao mārama. What is tika remains a deep and abiding concern for Māori. Therefore, the tikanga or course of action to establish and maintain tika relationships also remains an abiding concern for Māori, for the two go hand in hand\textsuperscript{37}. It is through living in the world in ways that are tika, that are true, just, upright and honest, that we come to understand the values or kaupapa\textsuperscript{38} that lie behind the tikanga. In effect, tikanga puts into practice values that would otherwise be empty concepts. From a Māori perspective, living in the world is a matter of ‘walking the talk’, where actions speak louder than words.

The core values that guide tikanga include mana, tapu, noa, whanaungatanga, aroha, and utu. All are interrelated.

\textit{Mana, tapu and noa}

Mana may be a small word but it is a hugely important concept to Māori and is absolutely fundamental to Māori well-being. As such it is integral to who we are as individuals as well as who we are collectively. At the same time it is a concept that is difficult to define or explain succinctly. As I was considering the different ways to think and write about mana, a picture of my mokopuna came to mind.
Just three, he is the embodiment of mana. The amount of love he receives from his aunties, cousins, poua and taua is more than matched by the love he gives in return. Radiating the confidence that being loved brings he explores his world with a passion and an energy that is truly awesome and truly him. He is a boy who is at home – in who he is, in his body, in his whānau and in the world at large. Mana in this sense, then, is a quality or more accurately a mix of qualities that may include authority, esteem, confidence, power, prestige and status - that he possesses. An important point to remember here is that he doesn’t just possess these qualities, he lives them, he exudes them. The mana that my mokopuna possesses derives not only from the relationships he has in the contemporary world but also from his tupuna. Indeed, the meaning of the word mokopuna conveys this very idea.

In the Māori world virtually every activity or ceremony is linked with the maintenance and enhancement of mana. While it is both inherited and bestowed, it is not something that people, or groups, can claim for themselves (even though it may be bestowed on an individual, it is always within the context of enhancing the mana of the group). Therefore, mana has very little relevance outside of a collective context for it is through the ‘words, thoughts and hearts’ of those around us that our mana is established. To ensure that our mana is preserved and enhanced we need to act generously towards others. In my own whānau, the word whakamanatia is a word that is regularly used to remind us of our responsibility and obligation to conduct ourselves in ways that uplift the esteem of others. The notion of whakamanatia can also be extended to the natural world. By acknowledging and respecting the uniqueness of everything in the world we are implicitly pointing to the intrinsic tapu of everything in the world.

Mana and tapu are closely interconnected. Indeed, to explicitly refer to one is to implicitly refer to the other. The whakatauki Ko te tapu, te mana o nga Atua - tapu is the prestigious force of the spiritual powers – sets out the divine origins and relationship between mana and tapu. Tapu, originating from the mana of the atua, can be understood as ‘being with the potentiality for power’. Everything in the world, because of its whakapapa, is imbued with tapu the moment it comes into being. All the stories that have been told in this Upoko are stories about the unique creation of the world and all it contains and therefore are, in a sense, about their intrinsic tapu. The tapu of people is different to the tapu of birds, which is different to the tapu of the sea and so on: with each having their own unique mauri and each having the potential for the full realisation of their intrinsic nature. Tapu, therefore, in terms of being Māori can be interpreted as the potential for becoming more fully human. But tapu isn’t just about a state of being it also plays an important role in the maintenance and enhancement of mana. To preserve and enhance mana requires acting in ways that will do just that. Some people say that this aspect of tapu places restrictions on us: what we can do, at what time and where. But I like to think of this aspect of tapu as a social institution in which prescribed practices facilitate rather than restrict our relationships with others and the world around us. While this may mean the
placing of restrictions or rahui on say gathering kai moana in an area for a season, it may just as likely mean taking part in the ritual to acknowledge Tane before chopping down a tree. Tumatauenga’s revenge on his brothers, you may recall, paved the way for people to access the world. One of the ways this occurred was when he cooked and ate the children of Tane. His actions brought to the world the notion of noa. Since Tumatauenga, the cooking and eating of kai has been one of the ways in which Māori have released the restrictions of tapu. Considered the opposite of tapu the concept of noa is absolutely vital to the day to day affairs of Māori. Indeed, without noa freeing things that have become restricted by tapu the world would be a difficult, if not impossible, place to live.

Whanaungatanga, manaaki, aroha and utu
As a child the world was not an impossible place to live. Although it had its uncertainties, which I would come to recognise as discordances, it was nevertheless a happy childhood. Partly that was due to the sense of security I had of being amongst a large and active whānau. My youngest daughter, Ngarongo, feels and displays this too. I see it in the way that she relates to her cousins. In anything she does or wants to do she always considers her cousins before anyone else. It is not that she has no-one else to be with, rather she prefers to spend time with her cousins. Just as importantly, her cousins feel the same way as she does. While they do have their testing moments, they are all adept at maintaining their relationship in ways that are inclusive and respectful of their differences. I see it in the way that she relates to her nephew. When he comes to stay she takes on the responsibility of looking after him even though she is not expected to. The aroha that she gives him, he reciprocates in kind – they simply adore one another. I see it in the way that she relates to her aunts and uncles. The security of knowing that they look out for her as they do their own children provides her with a confidence in who she is and how she conducts herself. I see it in the way she relates to her elderly grandparents. The pleasure that they get from seeing her boosts the way she sees herself. It is also reflected in the gentle way she talks with them. The relationships that my daughter has with her nephew, cousins, aunts and uncles and grandparents are all expressions of whanaungatanga.

Defined as kinship ties, whanaungatanga is the lived expression of whakapapa. The loyalty, obligation and responsibility Ngarongo feels and experiences from being part of a whānau is indicative of the way in which kin relations, throughout the ages, have served to inform one how to conduct oneself in one’s everyday relationships. In traditional times this was important because the survival of the whānau was dependent on the strength of the relationships within it. And, still important today the well-being of the group is reflected in the mana the group possesses, just as the mana of the group is a reflection of the well-being of the group. As has already been discussed, the mana of a group or individual is enhanced by conducting oneself in ways that are tika. Manaaki – care and respect⁶⁶, aroha – love, concern, compassion and sorrow⁶⁷ – and utu – reciprocity⁶⁸ are three such ways in which mana is maintained and enhanced through whanaungatanga. Ngarongo displays all three. Aroha, manaaki and utu
are essential components to successful relationships for they provide the foundations for whānau, hapū and iwi and allow the people within them to flourish. Indeed, the survival and strength of whānau and whanaungatanga lie in their realization.

Firmly embedded in the symbolic landscape of Māori, the stories of mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whaiao ki te ao mārama continue to regulate the way we relate to one another and with the world. I navigate this landscape with the confidence of being at home in it. But my journeys are not all ‘plain sailing’ as this Upoko may suggest. My confidence in and of the cultural ethos of Māori is at times sorely challenged. Another story that equally helps explain who I am and the values and beliefs that underpin my research journey is told in the next Upoko.

When it came time to go home my brothers and I would reluctantly pack up and had to be coaxed back up the hill. The only thing that we did like to do was to put out the fire. Just as we raced to be the first one down to the Bay each of us would race to be the one to extinguish the fire. Only as an adult do I see the irony of that. Once we had got everything back up to the car we’d pile back in and off we’d go. Our silence on the journey home was not so much because we were tired but because we were sad at leaving the place we called ours. With the hills in the background silently watching over us we would drive back around the harbour’s edge and then up over the Port Hills. Often we would stop at the top to take in the spectacular view. At that point we were between two worlds; ‘Our Bay’ behind us, hidden from view and Christchurch before us, her lights beckoning. Despite the beauty, the fires that had glowed in our hearts and bellies so strongly at ‘Our Bay’ would begin to dim the moment we began our descent into the city. The freedom ‘to be’ that we felt at ‘Our Bay’ would be carefully dampened down like the fires on the beach.
End Notes

1 The world we see and experience is mediated by our world view. It does so by providing us with the conceptual framework for making sense of the world around us, with respect to both our existence and our experiences within it.

   Hence, a world view is a system of co-ordinates or a frame of reference in which everything presented to us by our diverse experiences can be placed. It is a symbolic system of representation that allows us to integrate everything we know about the world and ourselves into a global picture, one that illuminates reality as it is presented to us within a certain culture. Aerts (1994: 5)

   In essence a world view comprises a philosophical orientation to the world and an ethos for acting in the world.

2 One of the ways of gaining insight into the way a people make sense of their world is through their myth anthology. Myths have provided people, over the course of human civilisation, with exemplary models for ways of understanding and acting in the world (Eliade, 1963). Helping to explain what is otherwise difficult to explain and helping to confront the central questions about our existence. Where do we come from? What are we doing here? And where are we going?

   … myth-making is evidently a primal and universal function of the human mind as it seeks a more-or-less unified vision of the cosmic order, the social order, and the meaning of the individual’s life. Both for society at large and for the individual, this story-generating function seems irreplaceable. The individual finds meaning in his [sic] life by making his [sic] life a story set within a larger social and cosmic story. Cupitt (1982: 29)

   According to Lincoln (1999) there is much at stake when using the notion of myth given the contradictory ways in which it is understood. He argues that myths can be read in three ways: negatively as an obsolete world view, an embodiment of primitive mentality that belongs in the past; positively as a body of sacred traditional narratives; or as poetic fancy such as expressed in children’s stories. Each of these different ways of understanding myths makes a statement about a myth’s validity and authority as well as saying something about the (political) position/agenda of its reader. As discursive devices, myths are ideologies in narrative form whose validity and authority is dependent on the socio-historical context within which they are placed (Lincoln, 1999).

   In the West the validity and authority of mythology has been under threat since Grecian times. This has had devastating consequences for Māori knowledge, traditions and beliefs or as Marsden (1992: 2) puts it ‘the corpus of fundamental knowledge’ which myth is an integral part of. Considered as primitive and therefore obsolete, the Māori ‘corpus of fundamental knowledge’ has been undermined since the arrival of the missionaries with their ‘civilising’ mission and the settlers with their assimilationist agenda. However, it has not been
completely lost. We have continued to hold on to our anthologies and argue that the stories we tell are fundamental to who we are, providing a rich and sacred database of our beliefs and values in a culturally specific poetic form that is readily understood and engaged in by Māori. This way of knowing the world, we argue, is different to rather than inferior to the rationality of the West (Lévi-Strauss, 1966).

Te reo Māori, the language in which the mythopoetic traditions developed, provided a rich and deeply poetic medium in which stories were told and understood. Adept in the use of metaphor, the ‘composers’ used imagery and poetry to convey complex ideas. Moreover, words and phrases often contained layers of meaning, all of which added to the complexity of the ideas they were conveying. For example an oriori – a waiata composed for a child – may not have been fully understood until he or she was an adult.

I am indebted to Royal (1999a) for this idea.

I draw on Ricoeur’s work here to argue that myths not only function to preserve the ideas of culture and tradition they also open up the possibilities of ‘breaking through’ those ideas to transform society. Myths function in this way because they contain both ideological and utopian components or imaginations (Ricoeur, 1986). Both are necessary to what he calls the ‘imaginary nucleus’ of society (Ricoeur & Valdés, 1991: 482). An ideological imagination is important because it functions to integrate people into a particular way of understanding and behaving in the world, while at the same time serving to preserve that particular culture and tradition. On that basis an ideological imagination is absolutely essential to our identity, to our sense of society, culture and tradition. A utopian imagination, on the other hand, is the glance from nowhere resisting tradition and desiring change (Ricoeur, 1986: 266). Both work dialectically to keep each other in check. Without a utopian imagination a society would never question or transform itself while ideology keeps utopia from becoming an empty fantasy.

My own conviction is that we are always caught in this oscillation between ideology and utopia...we must try to cure the illnesses of utopia by what is wholesome in ideology – by its element of identity, which is once more a fundamental function of life – and try to cure the rigidity, the petrification, of ideologies by the utopian element. Ricoeur (1986: 312)

Māori Marsden in his interpretation of the tradition of ngā kete wānanga – the three baskets of knowledge – opens up the possibility of future worlds (cited in Royal, 1998f). He argues that the three kete – te kete tua-uri, te kete aronui and te kete tua-ātea – are metaphors for time/states of the world in the Māori world view. Following the old-time philosophers, he argues, te kete tua ātea refers to future possibilities and future worlds.

For a full whakapapa see Appendix A: The Whakapapa of Te Ao Māori

Te Kore ........................................... Te Pō ........................................... Te Ao Mārama
the void ........................................ the darkness .................................... the world of light
Genealogical accounts reveal that Te Kore consists of two divisions — Te Kore Whiwhia (the void in which nothing could be obtained) and Te Kore Te Rawea (the void in which nothing could be done).

Te Kore Whiwhia – the void in which nothing could be obtained
Te Kore Te Rawea – the void in which nothing could be done

Walker (1993) reads these as divisions of time, even though Te Kore is said to be a timeless realm, while Te Rangi Hiroa (1950) sees them as qualities that further accentuate its absolute emptiness.

Although Te Kore is defined by its emptiness it is more useful to understand it as the realm in which potential being foments. In order to make the connection between the nothingness of Te Kore and the eventual creation of the world, Marsden (1992) employs the notion of the double negative to argue for a positive reading of this epoch. It is in the absolute emptiness, or what Marsden calls ‘thorough-going negativity’, as articulated in the whakapapa of Te Kore that the latent, almost palpable energy, contained within Te Kore can be sensed. Far from being the realm where nothing exists, it is the realm between non-being and being, the ‘in between’ space where creative potential stirs. As Marsden (1992: 134) so eloquently put it, where the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate.

The various qualities of the darkness of Te Pō are listed in its whakapapa.

Te Po-Nui – the great darkness
Te Po-Roa – the long darkness
Te Po-Ururi – the deep dark
Te Po-Kerekere – the intense dark
Te Po-Tangotango – the intensely dark
Te Po-Te-Kitea – the dark in which nothing could be seen

The whakapapa also contains divisions that articulate a numerical time sequence which, according to Walker (1993), implies a progressive rather than static epoch.

Te Po-Tuatahi – the first night
Te Po-Tuarua – the second night
Te Po-Tuaturu – the third night
Te Po-Tuawha – the fourth night
Te Po-Tuarima – the fifth night
Te Po-Tuaono – the sixth night
Te Po-Tuawahiti – the seventh night
Te Po-Tuawaru – the eighth night
Te Po-Tuaiwa – the ninth night
Te Po-Tuaghanuru – the tenth night
...ki te rau me te mano – the hundredth to the thousandth night
The notion of progression is further enhanced by the intercalation, by some iwi of two additional lists that convey the generation and evolution of life forms (Walker, 1993). One, using the metaphor of plant growth conveys the idea of cause and growth (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950).

Te Pu – the root, cause
Te Weu – the rootlets
Te More – the taproot
Te Aka – the vine
Te Tipuranga – the growth

The other, conveys in abstract terms the sequence of mental development (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950). This evolutionary process, Walker (1993: 4) argues, culminates in sapient beings capable of reason and therefore of seeking enlightenment.

Te Rapunga – the seeking
Te Kukune – the growth
Te Pupuke – the swelling
Te Hihiri – the energy
Te Mahara – the thought
Te Hinengaro – the mind
Te Manaako – the longing

In specifying the development of material and mental worlds, these two whakapapa signal more explicitly what was to become the creation of the world, the development of humanity and human cognitive processes.

Although different iwi may have different sequences and/or names for their genealogical accounts of Te Kore and Te Pō, they all end with Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku (Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950; Walker, 1993).

I have followed Te Rangi Hiroa’s example here and only note those offspring who have played a significant role in the affairs of the human world. In esoteric accounts over 70 off spring of Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku are recorded. But, according to Te Rangi Hiroa (1950: 454), in popular accounts only six sons were important enough to receive divine authority over certain worldly domains. They were:

Tangaroa – ngā moana – oceans and all that they contain
Rongomatane – kumara – sweet potato
Haumiatikeye – auru – rhizome of bracken fern
Tanemahuta – ngā ngahere – trees and birds
Tawhirimatea – hau – wind
Tumatauenga – tangata – people

And they play a significant role in the relationship Māori have with the phenomenological world. However, three other sons are also noted by Te Rangi Hiroa to have played a part in the history of mankind. They are Ruamoko, Urutengangana and Whiro. Ruamoko is the potiki or youngest born of Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku. When Rangi and Papa were separated Ruamoko
was still a nursing baby. When Papa-tu-a-nuku was turned over so she could no
longer see, Ranginui Ruamoko was forever held in her embrace deep within the
earth. Thus when the earth rumbles and shakes it is said to be Ruamoko.
Urutenganga, on the other hand is the eldest of the sons. Te Rangi Hiroa (1950:
460) writes that although he was ‘somewhat vacillating’ in his loyalties to his
brothers it remains unclear what relationship he had with people. I consider that
his usefulness to Māori lies in the idea that primogeniture is not necessarily a
given in Māori society. This idea constitutes the subplots of several stories in the
Māori myth anthology. Whiro is one of the many middle sons of Rangi and Papa.
He is recorded as challenging Tane’s ascent and descent through the heavens by
sending armies of insects to stop him, and in doing so he is charged with
inflicting disease and misfortune on people.

14 It is difficult to find the right word or words that collectively describes and
reveals the essence of Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-nuku and their offspring. The
most common translation of atua is god. Rose Parker (personal communication)
makes the point that to use the word god to name and describe the various atua
perpetuates a Pākehā conceptualisation of being Māori. I take her point. To
Māori, Tangaroa is the ocean and all its progeny; Tanemahuta is the forest and all
its progeny; Tawhirimatea is the wind. Simply, that is how they are talked about.

15 The story of Rata conveys the message of the importance of adhering to ritual.
According to the story Rata was unable to complete the building of a waka until
he asked Tane’s permission to fell one of his trees. The ending to this story is a
happy one. Many other tales recount terrible consequences including death for
the transgression of tapu.

16 Ever since then Tane has also been known as Tane-te-toko-o-te-rangi – Tane-
the-proper-up-of-the-sky. Tane-te-toko-o-te-rangi is also a metaphor for the tall
trees of the forest which, when one looks up into their canopy, appear to prop up
the sky (Walker, 1993). Indeed, old time Māori would have argued that the proof
of Tane’s feat is self-evident.

17 Ikaterē and Tutewehiwehi the grandchildren of Tangaroa endeavoured to flee
Tawhirimatea’s temper. Ikaterē fled into the depths of the sea and became the
progenitor of fish while Tutewehiwehi fled inland to beget reptiles (Te Rangi
Hiroa, 1950).

18 Tapu is the word used by Māori that relates to the sacred domain of the atua,
to convey a sense of a world that is out of bounds to ordinary people. In
traditional times to transgress tapu was to slight the atua which had serious,
often fatal consequences. Tapu can also be viewed as a specifically Māori social
institution whereby the laws of society and the relationship between people and
the natural world are guided by the belief in and practices of tapu.

19 In the act of subordinating the descendents of his brothers, Tumatauenga
transformed them from the sacred estates of the gods to the profane level of
artifacts and food (Walker, 1993: 8). In doing so Tumatauenga brought to the
world the dichotomy between tapu and noa – the sacred and the profane. Given
that tapu arose from the world and actions of the atua only they could undo it or
provide the means with which it could be neutralised or rendered noa. This was
done through ritual, the traditional rites in which Māori revered and appealed to
the atua. Thus, Tumatauenga is credited with the execution of ritual in order to access the resources of the natural world. He is further credited with gaining insight in to the supernatural world.

20 By breathing life into Hine-ahu-one Tane created the duality of te ira atua and te ira tangata in human beings (Walker, 1993). These spiritual beginnings have determined the cultural values that Māori hold regarding the natural world and which continue to guide us in our relationship with Papa-tu-a-nuku as well as the spiritual realm.

21 Her flight from Tane highlights the social abhorrence for, and taboo against incest. Yet it was Hine-titama who fled in shame, not her father/husband.

22 According to Walker (1992), Maui as an intermediary ancestor between the atua and humans provides the second complex of myths in the Māori myth anthology. Being an intermediary ancestor enabled Maui to access knowledge from his ‘godly’ ancestors ‘above’ and transmit it to his human ancestors ‘below’. Maui is known for his many feats that have benefited humankind, as well as his personal qualities that enabled him to succeed. He is Māori’s archetypal culture hero, a model for all teina – junior in descent – especially in a society that is based on primogeniture. The youngest of six brothers Maui proved that one didn’t need to be the first born to be a leader. Māui met his death when he sought to gain immortality for mankind by conquering Hine-nui-te-po. His failure to gain immortality is a reminder to Māori of the need to ensure that rituals be performed without error – his death is attributed to his father’s failure to accurately perform his tohi ritual – purification ceremony.

23 According to Royal (1999a), Hinenui-i-te-pō has been much maligned because of the way she is perceived as the harbinger of death. This perception comes about because of the way Te Pō is used as a metaphor for death. Royal argues that Hinenui-i-te-pō resides at the gateway between Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama rather than inside Te Pō itself. This is an important distinction to make when considering the association Hinenui-i-te-pō has with giving life. Consider that it is from Papa-tu-a-nuku, earth mother, that people find their sustenance and are nurtured; it is from Papa-tu-a-nuku that Hine-ahu-one the first woman was created; and it is through women that people are born into to Te Ao Mārama. It is also to Hinenui-i-te-pō that people return when they die. As the custodian of the portal between the realm of the living and the dead [s]he has a dual orientation in that she gives birth into Te Ao Mārama and she receives in death (Royal, 1999a: 6). The karanga, the ritual call of the woman, reflects the importance of women’s role in entering and leaving Te Ao Mārama. This becomes crystal clear when the pōwhiri is viewed as a metaphor for mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whaiao ki te ao mārama (see here Royal’s (2001) paper An Interpretation of the Pōwhiri).

24 It is also the world in which people dominate. While Te Kore and Te Po are the realms in which the atua dominate, Te Ao Mārama is the realm in which people rule. However, it is only through the atua that the domination of the worldly realm by people is made possible.

25 Whare wānanga is the term used to denote a house of higher learning.

26 One way of doing this was through waiata. Oriori, a waiata composed especially for babies and sung as part of a child’s life, often referred to the
deeds of Tane to spur their listeners on in their learning and development. See for example the oriori for Tuteremoana in He Waiata Onamata: songs from the past published by Te Reo Rangatira Trust (1998). The poutama pattern found traditionally in tukutuku panels provides another way in which the inspirational message of Tane is conveyed.

27 Deeply metaphoric, ngā kete wānanga articulates a multi-layered subplot to the story of Tane’s acquisition of knowledge. Three different layers or ideas about knowledge can be determined from the literature. The most commonly articulated view is that the kete represent the curriculum of the old time Māori education ‘system’ (Benton, Benton, Swindells, & Crisp, 1995; Maclean, 1971; Tizard, 1940). The next two views are attributed to Māori Marsden and come from two different secondary sources. In his thesis Royal (1998) discusses Marsden’s view of ngā kete as they relate to whakapapa. Here, according to Royal, ngā kete wānanga represents the three different states of knowledge within a past, present and future timeframe. In this view Te kete tūa-uri represents the world in the dark before the separation of Ranginui and Papa-tua-nuku. Te kete aronui represents the world of light which is symbolic for the world that is before us, that which we see before our very eyes, while Te kete tūa ātea represents the world beyond space and time and is symbolic of future worlds and future knowledge. I consider this interpretation to be an important one because it places Māori/human development in the dynamic (and dialectical) state of always becoming. A linear reading of Māori development otherwise ends in Te Ao Mārama, and in that very ending precludes the possibility of future worlds and potentialities.

The third interpretation is taken primarily from Shirres (1997) who cites Marsden but it also comes from Marsden’s (1992; 1998; 1992) own work. In this view ngā kete are interpreted as representing epistemological concerns that deal with the nature of knowledge and the kinds of knowledge that are possible. Three kinds of knowledge are alluded to in this version. Te kete aronui is the knowledge that we experience with our senses. Knowledge of this kind equates with objective knowledge. Te kete tūa uri is knowledge that stands beyond us in the dark and refers to knowledge which understands, ‘stands under’, our sense experience (Shirres, 1997: 17). As I interpret this, te kete tūa uri is the knowledge that is hidden from view because it comes from within our subjective being. How we make sense of our lived experiences, or in other words, what we do with our sensory perceptions is determined by our cognitive processes. Therefore, language, in providing the symbolic framework with which to understand the world becomes central in our ability to know (Marsden, 1992). As I understand it this kete, therefore, alludes to the dynamic and constructed nature of knowledge. Te kete tūa ātea is knowledge that is beyond space and time and refers to spiritual knowledge. Access to this knowledge can only be gained through ritual (Marsden, 1992).

28 In the Māori anthology, according to Walker (1992: 171), there are three myth complexes that are arranged in a progressive sequence from the creative activities of gods and demi-gods to the activities of real people. The first of the complexes is the cosmological myths. These are the myths that I have focused on
and which place the advent of humanity in the context of a Māori theogony. Next, comes the complex of myths that begin with Maui the demi-god. The stories in this myth complex deal with the antics and adventures of semi-deified beings who traverse between the world of the atua and the natural world. In connecting the sacred with the worldly, these stories have made the sacred accessible to ordinary people. The third complex begins somewhere in the space between myth and tradition, where the heroes have been real men and women but through the passing of time have been endowed with extraordinary powers.

Unlike myths, the heroes in the traditions are human ancestors with whom genealogical links can be demonstrated... but their activities have much in common with their mythological predecessors. That is to say, they were remote enough in time to be endowed with supra-normal powers. They also exhibited personality traits reminiscent of the heroes of mythology. Walker (1992: 180)

29 There are two schools of thought on the reality of these accounts. Some would argue that they are real. Royal (2001: 4) warns of the danger of reading the Māori mythic tradition as historical reality. Rather, the saga of mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whaiāo ki te ao mārama should be read as metaphor for human development. Manifest in these narratives is an account of becoming human/Māori (Marsden, 1992; Royal, 2001; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950; Walker, 1993). In this reading Te Kore becomes symbolic of potential being. Te Pō, signifying ignorance, depicts the realm of becoming while Te Ao Mārama represents the world of being. Te Ao Mārama, then, is an enlightened realm in which people through their intellectual and spiritual endeavours become human/Māori, where their potential can be realised. It represents, as it were, the development of the subjective inner world of thought and being, and longing. It expresses all at once an ontological and philosophical orientation to life.

30 According to Walker (1993) whakapapa is the genealogical recital in which explanations of the phenomenological world of old time Māori are generated. It encapsulates, albeit in shortened form, a Māori view of the world as well as a historical projection of it. Whakapapa in a sense then represents the beginning of recorded history.

31 I want to make the point here that I consider the commonly accepted way to describe Māori identity as a collective identity to be inadequate to the task. To me, a uniquely Māori identity is a relational rather than collective one. My argument rests on the notion of whakapapa. Precisely because whakapapa, as a recitation of genealogical relationships, is considered fundamental to Māori identity then, the notion of relationships better describes a Māori cultural identity. A relational identity allows for the idea of identity that is rooted ‘collectively’ in whānau, hapū and iwi as well as allowing for an individual identity that is constructed in the social.

32 Quite simply, through whakapapa we share the same life. Whakapapa as a (metaphysical) framework places people in relationships with all things in the world in past, present and future contexts.
The recantation and recitation of whakapapa can be seen most simply as the ritual which realises the Māori world view and places people in that world' (Tau, 2001: 8). Royal (1996) goes further and argues that the world is ritually recreated in every whakapapa recital.

According to Royal (1998), the 19th century manuscripts written by Māori illustrate the way in which whakapapa was used by old-time Māori to order and make sense of their world. Whakapapa was used to describe, explain and predict all phenomena of the natural world, and as such can be viewed as a cognitive map that organises information into a manageable and memorable form. This was particularly important in an oral society given that people were the repositories of knowledge.

... our ātipuna were socialised into reading the environment and that the mnemonics or tohu of whakapapa kōrero were in everything that they saw, smelt, heard, felt and sensed at the time. Smith (1998: 247)

Whakapapa continues today to be a useful tool to analyse, rationalise and account for phenomena in a contemporary reality (Royal, 1998).

Traditional Māori society did not have any concept of the notion of private property. As kaitiaki or guardians, rather than owners, Māori had a collective obligation and responsibility to look after the land in perpetuity for past tupuna and for all tupuna to come. Built into this conceptual framework is the obligation and concern to conserve the resources of the land rather than raid or deplete them. Without an adequate conservation ethic Papa-tu-a-nuku’s ability to sustain life diminishes, and with it our cultural, spiritual and economic anchorage.

Jenkins (2000) argues that a central concern for Māori in their social encounters is the establishment and maintenance of relationships. The emphasis on appropriate etiquette and ritual is a consequence of such concerns. The ‘set of practices and processes which are played out in meetings between people’ if not appropriately and reciprocally applied and maintained does not bode well for an ongoing relationship (Jenkins, 2000: 26). The pōwhiri, for example, is a highly ritualised encounter and customary practice the purpose of which lies in ensuring positive social encounters and maintaining appropriate relationships. The maintenance of tika relationships is intimately connected to the maintenance of mana.

Marsden & Henare (1992) argue that tikanga translates as ‘Māori custom’ and denotes ‘those customs and traditions that have been handed down through the many generations and accepted as a reliable and appropriate way of achieving and fulfilling certain objectives and goals’. These objectives and goals, they argue, derive from and give effect to the core principles or kaupapa that are articulated in the Māori mythological anthropology. I argue that the original kaupapa coalesces around maintaining tika relationships of which the uniting of the spiritual and secular world, that is, the journey to become one with ourselves, is the overarching goal (Royal, 2000a).

Kaupapa, refers here to first principles or ground rules (Marsden & Henare, 1992). Marsden takes apart the word to get at its meaning. Kau means to come
into view for the first time while papa means ground or foundations. It is from these two words that Marsden put forward his explanation of kaupapa.

39 According to Marsden (1998) and Hohepa (1998) mana is defined as the integrity of a person or a group that manifests in action.

40 Marsden (1998) makes this point in ‘Māori Illness and Disease’.

41 More than that what some iwi call mana others call tapu and vice versa. This points to the differing perspectives different iwi have on mana and tapu.

42 Shirres (1997: 33) uses this expression to articulate what is very difficult to articulate and is based on his analysis of George Grey’s New Zealand Māori Manuscripts.

43 Although everything is imbued with tapu some things and people are considered more tapu because of their relationship with the atua. For example, ariki and rangatira are deemed to be more tapu than ordinary Māori because of their closer genealogical links to atua.

44 When referring to mana there is also an implicit reference to mauri. Defined as life force or energy, everything in the universe has mauri. In traditional times mauri was deemed to be capable of being manipulated. The breathing of life into Hine-ahu-one is the first example in which the atua manipulated mauri. Another story that contains direct reference to mauri is Tane’s ascent to the heavens to fetch knowledge. He also brought back two stones from Rangiataea which carried the mauri of wānanga. These stones were ritually placed in the whare wānanga that were built in Aotearoa to act as kaitiaki for wānanga. Furthermore, the students on completion of their studies in the whare wānanga ritually ‘swallowed’ the stones as symbolic recognition of their kaitiaki status.

45 For example, Shirres (1997: 38) argues that ‘to control and order the meeting of tapu with tapu’ Māori devised a system of restrictions that were often ‘very detailed’ and ‘sometimes oppressive’ in what they sanctioned.

46 Manaaki means to show respect and kindness to others, and relates to the ‘finer qualities of people rather than to what they have in terms of material assets’ (Pere, 1983: 72). Manaaki remains an important concept in the everyday lives of many Māori. Take for example the importance of being a good host. I cannot ever recall going to whānau or other Māori homes where food was not offered. Moreover, I was taught, not to refuse such offerings of hospitality because if I did then I would be slighting my hosts.

47 Aroha is an important concept in the Māori world. Its common translation of love does not reflect the depth of caring and concern that aroha manifests. According to Pere (1991) aroha knows no bounds because of its divine origins.

48 Utu has been used since traditional times to facilitate social control by ensuring that relationships were kept in balance by the reciprocal exchange of goods, as well as, gestures of hospitality and goodwill. These exchanges occurred not only within whānau, hapū and iwi, but between iwi as well.
Te Haka Powhiri
As my sisters karanga the rest of us begin a haka pōwhiri. Together our words weave the 'rope' that pulls the manuhiri onto our space. It is as if the past is being pulled into our world or perhaps it is the other way round that we are being pulled into the past. Together we create a safe passage for our visitors.

In Taku Hikoi I continue to reflect on my lived past and how that has shaped my political stance as a kaupapa Māori researcher.
“Our Bay”, just ‘over the hill’, always seemed like a world away when we were at home. Back in Christchurch we would assume the mask of city living. The carefreeness with which we immersed ourselves in gathering kai moana was in stark contrast to the earnestness that overtook us in the city. The fires that burnt so strongly in “Our Bay” flickered and waned, and sometimes went out in our daily struggle to be a good hardworking family in the city – let alone a Māori one. We all did our bit. Dad worked long hours at his workshop. Mum worked even longer hours keeping all of us kids (and Dad) in check, as well as working at home as a seamstress. All of us kids – seven in total – were expected to help out at home, do well at school and above all else behave ourselves. There was very little time to contemplate the universe, no beach we could call our own. As ‘fill ins’ to our excursions to “Our Bay”, we would go to Brighton or Sumner when the tides were right to gather pipi. But, these trips were hardly replacements, for they were strictly gathering trips – no time for play, no time for getting wet and no time for marveling at the world before us – and besides, there were always other people around curious to know what we were doing. That’s not to say that I didn’t enjoy going because I did, digging into the soft wet sand with my feet to find the pipis and getting wet when waves crashed on top of me. I always managed to end up going home wet. We also went eeling at Wairewa and Taumutu. I didn’t always get to go on these night time excursions but when I did they were every bit as delicious as going to ‘Our Bay’, but for different reasons. Catching eels was a serious business, one that required quiet co-ordination between all those doing the catching – from spotting the eels, to gaffing and then bagging them – and dreamy, loud splashy girls got in the way. So I was often put in charge of looking after the sacks of eels on the bank. I didn’t like being left on my own in the dark with the sacks of writhing eels. Unlike the shellfish that we gathered, the eels fought for their survival. They would wriggle and slither, and bite in their struggle to get away. I’d feel sorry for the eels. I guess in many ways our whānau, when I was growing up, were like the eels – fighters in the struggle for survival.

Just as the stories of mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whaia ko ki te ao mārama reflect the values that I have, so too do my experiences of growing up in Christchurch. Such an upbringing exposed the rawness of the diaspora that was to be the essence of both my parents’ lives, and consequently mine and my brothers’ and sisters’: a legacy of the British colonisation of Aotearoa one hundred and sixty
years ago. This ‘other’ story of my journey to becoming a researcher begins with my parents. It then moves to the colonial past out of which their relationship was shaped, and out of which the social and political relationships of the nation continue to be shaped, and in which my very being, my fears, my hopes and my dreams have also been shaped². And it ends at the beginning of my journey as a researcher. In many ways, this story is a recognition of the struggles my parents endured so that their children could follow their dreams. The fires that remain within each of us is a tribute to the sacrifices that our parents made for us. Yet, in contradictory ways those same sacrifices presented us with experiences that would dampen our spirits and cloud our dreams. This is my story.

**Origins and dislocations**

My mother married my father, a widower with three young children, in 1951. With just over a hundred years of colonial rule New Zealand was still in its infancy. Race relations, although never particularly good, were beginning to publicly turn sour³. My mother and father did their bit in cementing race relations by entering into a ‘mixed’ marriage⁴, although I am sure that they did not see it like that at all. Mum, a second generation New Zealander, was of English origin while Dad, a native, was born of Papa-tu-a-nuku. Primarily Ngati Mutunga (both his parents claimed Ngati Mutunga descent), his whakapapa also includes Te Roroa and Chinese on his father’s side⁵, and Ngati Kuri and Portuguese on his mother’s side⁶. Both were a long way away from their papakainga when they married and settled down to raise seven children.

**Taranaki to Rekohu and back: in search of land**

Perhaps indicative of the importance that Māori attach to whānau and the maintenance of relationships past and present, we know a great deal about our father’s family and very little about our mother’s. The fate of my father’s people, and in particular his whānau, began over a hundred years before his birth at a time of inter iwi tension and aggression. As a result of incursions from Waikato in the 1820s and 1830s, during what are called the Musket Wars, northern Taranaki iwi were forced from their lands. Some were taken back to Waikato as slaves, while others escaping capture went south to settle in the Wellington region and the top of the South Island. Vulnerable in their newly established settlements, some hapū of Ngati Mutunga and Ngati Tama looked to Rekohu (subsequently, called Wharekauri and the Chatham Islands²⁷) to secure land for themselves. The invasion of Rekohu, that began in 1835, was to have devastating effects on the Moriori – the tangata whenua of the Islands – who had already been affected by the diseases that the European sealers and whalers had brought with them. Although conducting themselves according to Māori custom with regard to conquest – the ritual killing to cement claims over land, and the taking into slavery and marriage of those captured – it decimated the Moriori population whose customs and mana lay in pacifism⁸. By the late 1860s, the majority of Ngati Mutunga on the island had returned to Taranaki in order to
reclaim ancestral land that had been confiscated in the aftermath of the ‘land’ wars in Taranaki.

In 1860 war had been declared in Waitara, just south of Ngati Mutunga’s land, when the Government sent troops there to quell Māori resistance to their land being sold unlawfully. The previous year, the Government had bought the Waitara block off Te Teira who did not have the mandate from the rest of the owners to sell it. Even though they were aware that the other owners had refused to sell, the Government proceeded with its purchase anyway. When the people obstructed the Government’s surveyors who went in to subdivide the land war was declared on them. The outcome of this war led to passing into law the New Zealand Settlement Act 1863, which was concerned with not just protecting settlers from ‘rebellious’ Māori who did not want to part with their land, but also asserting the colonial government’s domination over Māori. In doing so, the Act enabled the Government, in the interests of maintaining law and order, to confiscate land from Māori whom they considered rebellious. The idea was that if there were enough settlers on the land, their presence and their ability to protect themselves (they were usually on the military’s payroll) would ‘dissuade’ Māori from rebelling and therefore peace would prevail. The travesty of the Act was that any Māori who did not want to part with their land were judged to be rebellious, consequently invaded and their lands confiscated. Māori were in a no-win situation – either way they lost their land and their mana. In essence, the Act made invasion and confiscation of Māori land legal under certain circumstances and was, therefore, contrary to the Treaty that was signed between Māori and the British at Waitangi in 1840. The Treaty containing a set of rights for both settlers and Māori guaranteed to Māori the right to only sell land that they wanted to part with, it also guaranteed their equality under the law. By the end of the 1860s, two further invasions of Taranaki had been undertaken and the bulk of Taranaki land had been unlawfully confiscated.

Another aspect of the Act, one that saw my Ngati Mutunga tupuna and Ngati Tama return to their ancestral land, was the provision it made for the return of confiscated land to ‘friendly’ Māori. In order for the return of confiscated land Māori had to prove firstly, that they held rights over the land, and secondly that they had not taken up arms against the Government forces. Ngati Tama received half of their land back and never returned to Rekohu. However, Ngati Mutunga were not so fortunate. Very few were considered eligible to receive land back, and by the time claims were ‘processed’ there wasn’t much land left to return. Consequently, the land they eventually received back in 1884 could not sustain them all. Some stayed in Taranaki, some went back to Rekohu, and some, after becoming followers of Te Whiti and Tohu, went to live at Parihaka. It was into this social and political upheaval that Grandad was born, in Taranaki, in the early 1880s. While his whānau stayed in Taranaki, that wasn’t to be the end of his dislocation from his ancestral land in the struggle for survival.
Moving to the city: in search of a better life
Although Grandad was born at Urenui, our ancestral papakainga, by the time my father was born (sometime around 1918, give or take a year or two\(^{14}\)), he and his family were living on Rekohu. Poverty was rife in Taranaki, there was little land left to eke out a living and no money with which to develop it. As a consequence, from the time Grandad was a young adult he travelled to wherever he could find work, primarily shearing and harvesting. It was in his quest for work that he called upon his whānaunga on Rekohu. There, he met and married his wife in the early 1900s. They had several children, including Dad who was the last to be born there. In the early 1920s the family was on the move again: this time to Christchurch. The reason for this move was to improve the health of the whānau as several of Dad’s brothers and sisters had died and his mother was not well\(^ {15}\). It is likely that their move was influenced by Grandad’s cousin Te Rangi Hiroa\(^ {36}\) who was at this time Director of Māori Hygiene, and who along with the Māori Members of Parliament was concerned to improve the health of Māori. However, Dad’s mother died within a few years of coming to her new home in Christchurch and Grandad was left to bring up the five surviving of his eleven children in the working class suburb of Sydenham.

My father did not often talk about his childhood. When he did those of us around made sure we listened. Growing up in Otago – Christchurch – in the 1920s and 30s was not easy we were told. Poverty, isolation and violence were constant themes in his stories. The Depression, he would tell us, was a time when beggars couldn’t be choosers. Whatever food they could find, and from wherever they could find it they ate – going through the rubbish bins of the local food shops was one way of getting food. Not eligible for what little Government assistance was given to Māori during the Depression\(^ {17}\), my father and his whānau found it tough eking out a living. As their poverty worsened it began to affect their health. One of Dad’s sisters died and Dad contracted tuberculous. I guess it was not surprising given the conditions they lived in. Rather, it was more surprising that he survived\(^ {18}\). He wasn’t to fully recover until I was at school, and I still have vivid memories of visiting him at the ‘San’: standing outside and waving to him as he stood at the window. Having tuberculosis foreclosed any notion Dad had of becoming a soldier and going to war at the outbreak of World War Two. Like his older brother, Dad wanted to go to war, but unlike his older brother wasn’t fit to go\(^ {19}\). Later in life he realised how fortunate he was to have been spared the experience, not just because of the horror of war, but also because he was taught a trade. In order to support the war effort at home, he became a fitter and turner which was to have a significant impact on us all as we were growing up.

In search of an education
Dad also talked about the alienation that he felt as a Māori growing up in a predominantly English city. Leaving Rekohu, where they had lived within a small, but wholly, Māori community coming to the city must have been a cultural shock for him and his whānau. Not only was Christchurch big compared
to Rekohu, it was also very ‘white’. And being modelled along an ideal English town, very English. It seems painfully ironic to me that the way my grandfather dealt with being an outsider was to encourage his children’s participation in the Pākehā world. The key way of doing that, he thought, was through a Pākehā education. In this regard he was not alone. Te Rangi Hiroa and Āpirana Ngata were both champions of Pākehā education to further Māori aspirations and development. Not having any formal (Pākehā) education, Grandad taught himself to read and write English in the belief that it was the way to get ahead. He made sure that his children had opportunities that he had missed out on. As a result, Dad didn’t just go to primary school he went on to high school.

One of the few photos we have of Dad as a child is a school photo taken in 1926: a little Māori boy sitting in the middle of a sea of Pākehā children. Dad was one of few Māori children enrolled at Sydenham School. The photo with its stark contrasts provides a glimpse into the world of a small Māori boy who is caught up in forces that he is powerless to stop. Slightly hunched, he sits centre stage with an apprehensive look on his face as if he, somehow, already knows his fate in a school system that required his subjugation, and ultimately, that of his mother tongue. Not obvious in the photo is the violence that punctuated Dad’s schooling days. In every conversation we had about his school days he would talk about the need to use his fists: not how he liked or disliked school, or what his classroom experiences were, or the friends he had. But how his very survival in the playground depended on being able to use his fists. Violence, it seemed, was part of the culture of the school. It was a way of having some standing in the playground as well as a way of expressing what he didn’t know to articulate in any other way - resistance to the overwhelming force of history.

It was unusual in the 1930s for many students to go on to secondary school, especially Māori. But Dad did. On passing Standard Six he went on to Christchurch West High School which is now called Hagley Community College. He remained silent about the time that he spent there, refusing to be drawn into any discussion on the subject. A class photo of one of his years there shows a
lone Māori youth swamped by Pākehā boys. Interestingly, there are no girls in the photo (see Appendix B). He also spent a short time at Christchurch Technical College.

Mum’s education, on the other hand, did not extend beyond primary school. A casualty of the time that she grew up in, education was considered by her family to be a waste of time for girls\(^5\). At twelve she left school and went to work in a shop. Mum’s regret at not being able to pursue education remained with her, and it was her unfulfilled desire that led her to encourage all of us to pursue our dreams. Believing education was the way to get ahead, she wanted for her children what she herself was denied. Education figured large in her aspirations for us.

**In search of a future**

Mum was born into a large working class family, in the mid 1920s, to parents whom I never met. If we thought Dad was reticent in talking about his past, Mum was even more so. It is for this reason that I know very little about her childhood, although her silence speaks volumes. For the most part Mum didn’t dwell in the past. It wasn’t because she rejected it; it was more a case of it rejecting her. When Mum married a Māori, her family cut all ties with her. I didn’t know this at the time, although I did think it was odd that we never saw her parents, even though they lived close by. She didn’t talk about them either, except to explain to us as we were left at the gate one day when she called in to see them, that they didn’t like children. It must have been difficult for her to live in close proximity to her family and yet not see them. Equally, it must have been painful for her to live in a community where the stigma of marrying a Māori made her and her children outcastes\(^5\). For Mum the future held promises. And as it turned out the journey into the future wasn’t going to be easy for her. Little did she realise just how much the past invades the present.

**Ōku Tapiuwa**

When Mum married she became an instant mother. Dad, a widower, already had three children from his first marriage. Mum was a friend of Dad’s first wife, and when she died, out of a sense of love and duty Mum broke off her engagement to another man and married Dad. The personal and social circumstances of their relationship ensured that it would not be easy for them nor my older brother and sisters. Mum bore the brunt of that. She was disowned by her family at a time when she needed their support. On her own, she had to learn fast about being a mother. At the same time that her own family wasn’t supportive, it was expected of her to become part of, and support the extended family that she married into. In this regard her biggest challenge was when we went to live with Dad’s father. Grandad was a remarkable man. Even, as a four year old I knew that. One day,
when we were still living in Linwood, I was left at home with Mum when my brothers and father went to see him. Not to miss out, and without telling anyone, I got on a bike and biked across town to his place. A ‘hiding’ and a ‘growling’ seemed a small price to pay for going to Grandad’s. Mum was not so enamoured of him though.

**Straddling two worlds**
By the time I was seven we were living with Grandad, in his world. He had the most amazing room, always dark regardless of how sunny and light it was outside, and overflowing with objects from the past. He also had an affinity with the natural world, and being at home in it he could read it like a book. He took the utmost care of it, whether he was tending his garden or gathering kai moana. My most enduring memory of him, though, was when he watched television. With spittle jar at his feet and his tokotoko – walking stick – beside him he would talk to the TV, sometimes very animatedly, as he watched it. I never knew what he was saying because it was always in Māori. Although his natural tendency was to speak Māori, he always spoke English to us kids. In a bilingual home we children were brought up monolingual, and in a monocultural city we were brought up in two cultures. Every so often Grandad would disappear months at a time back to Taranaki to keep the home fires burning. Mum, I am sure, was bewildered by this old man who spoke to himself in Māori, concerned himself with his extensive whanaunga networks and went about his daily life as he was accustomed. Behind the gates of King Street was a world my mother knew nothing about and she struggled with it. Grandad, I am equally sure, was just as puzzled by this lady with her quaint Pākehā ways and her fiery temper.

Inevitably, there were clashes as two worlds lived under one roof. There was no doubt, though, that the moment Mum married Dad it was his world that she entered and it was she who had to negotiate.

We went to live with Grandad when Dad sold our house in Linwood to finance the setting up of his own business. Utilising the skills that he had learnt as a young man during the war, he became a self-employed panel beater. Once his business was up and running we hardly saw him at home. We still went on our journeys to gather kai moana, and he remained involved in rugby league and netball coaching, but otherwise his work consumed him. His involvement in Māori community affairs during this time trailed off, although when he eventually employed people he took on apprentices under the Department of Māori Affairs Tu Tangata policy. We mostly saw him when we had to help him out at his work. We learnt how to pull cars apart, prepare cars for painting, mix paint and best of all drive cars around the yard. Times were tough financially.

Although Dad was good at what he did, he was not so good at balancing the books. The desire to be his own boss outweighed any other consideration, including money. As a young girl hanging over bonnets of cars with the ‘boys’, I witnessed countless acts of his generosity; he lent his tools, his time and generally helped out people who came his way, and it didn’t matter whether they were Māori or Pākehā. I also witnessed how those same people only wanted to be his friend when it came to having their car fixed. Fundly enough,
we would never see them again unless they needed more work done on their car. Mum stayed home and looked after us. To augment our income she also worked as a sewer for a time at home, hand sewing sleeve linings into men’s jackets for a local manufacturer. It was by our mother that my sisters and I were taught early on to sew and make our own clothes. Her frugality compensated for Dad’s generosity. It couldn’t have been easy for either of them as they struggled to light the paths of their children’s journeys into the world.

Born half-caste
I was born a half-caste – it says so on my birth certificate. Even then, it had negative undertones but, for my parents, the act of giving us children half-caste status was the first fire they lit on our respective journeys into the world. Their actions meant that we could, if we so wished, register on the Māori electoral roll because of our half-caste status. But strictly speaking, in terms of the Government’s own guidelines, we were not quite half-caste and therefore not eligible to be on it. On my father’s side his Chinese and Portuguese whakapapa made him less than a ‘full-blooded’ Māori, and with our mother’s full Pākehā background our ‘blood’ wasn’t exactly thick with māoriness. In order to get around this my mother claimed that she was a ‘quarter-caste’ Māori. In light of our mother’s alienation in marrying a Māori, her claiming Māori ‘blood’ was a significant gesture. She compromised her own identity for that of her children. What our mother lacked in height was more than made up for in backbone.

Born fighting
But then, I never knew I was a Māori when growing up. As far as I was concerned I was normal and we were a normal family. Like my father before me I was pretty good at using my fists. At an early age, I learnt to use my fists to defend my younger brother, sister and anyone else I considered an underdog from the neighbourhood ‘bullies’. I would fight anyone who I saw as threatening, size didn’t worry me as I waded in fists flying. Only once did someone physically get the better of me. I never considered the impact that this had on my mother who took the brunt of complaints made against me. But I was never reprimanded. Although my mother and I talked about those days and laughed at my ‘feistiness’, she never shared, and I never asked her, why I was never told off for what I would now consider to be unacceptable behaviour. I suspect my behaviour was ignored because I was a girl and girls didn’t do that kind of thing. It would explain why I was never told off for fighting with my brothers, even though they would get told off for fighting with me. Around twelve, when it dawned on me that there was a fine line between fighting bullies and being one I began to think about what I was doing. But it wasn’t until after reading about Gandhi that I stopped using my fists altogether and took on pacifist ideals. But Gandhi? I did not learn about Te Whiti and Tohu and the history behind passive resistance until I went to live in Dunedin and saw our history etched in the rock walls built primarily by Pakakohi people for ‘rebelling’ against the Government.
But then, I think deep down I felt different. And I think it showed because of my quickness, some would say willingness, to fight. Like my father before me, the battles I fought were as much to do with the pain I felt deep down as it had with fighting bullies. I put a fist, rather than a word to the unarticulated sense of outrage and unfairness of being different and less. The first time I remember being made aware of being different, I was on my way to the shops for my mother when a boy, not much older than myself, poked his head out of a car window and called out, ‘Hori, Hori’ as I passed. I didn’t know what it meant but I knew it wasn’t a compliment. When I got home and asked Mum what a hori was, all I got back was a clipped silence. She probably thought that she was protecting me, but her silence added to the sense of unease that I was feeling. It wasn’t until I was an adult that I was able to name what it was that had begun to trouble me.

Learning to survive
Mum wasn’t usually so silent. Usually, she had something to say about everything, and it was always in impeccable English. As far as she was concerned a person’s breeding and cultured upbringing was reflected in the way they spoke. Consequently, we were brought up to always speak well which didn’t go down too well in our working class neighbourhood. So in order to fit in I learnt to speak two languages – the language of the street and the language of my mother. For Mum, though, it wasn’t just a case of good diction it was also a case of having something worthwhile to say. She read to us, encouraged us to read for ourselves, and generally exposed us to the world of language. In doing so, she instilled in me a passion for language and words, and books. And it was through reading and writing that I was able to transcend my world. By the time I was five I was already well on the way to reading and writing which eased my entrance into the world of school. Although not in the playground, I was an angel in the classroom always eager to please and ready to write. In turn the teachers fostered and encouraged my writing. As an adult I remember those early classroom experiences, primarily, as backdrops to my writing. Simply, I wrote my way through primary school and loved it because of that. It was one of the places where other fires within me were kindled, where I could lose myself in the world of words, stride across the sky like Tane-nui-a-rangi and be rewarded for it.

Nail polish, racism and resistance
High school, however, was another story. From the moment of entering high school, who I was, became lost to who I ought to be. The sexism and racism that underlay society erupted at high school. First of all I was put into the professional stream and earmarked to become a teacher, as young women who showed aptitude were in those days. It didn’t matter that I didn’t want to be doing the subjects I was instructed to take, or that I might want a say in what I did beyond school. My awareness of injustice and inequality was growing, along with a sense of frustration. While I can’t say that I made it any easier for myself – I went out of my way to challenge the school and its rules – I was regularly pulled up and punished for what really amounted to being a Māori girl. Two
incidents out of the many stand out as being representative of those years. One incident involved my sixth form history teacher. I was the only Māori student in his class (there weren’t many of us at Linwood High in the 1960s, even fewer in the sixth form). Like the friends whom I sat with, I would wear nail polish to school. One day, out of the blue, I was singled out in front of the class, and accused of having dirty hands and being cheap - for wearing nail polish. My friends worried that they might be singled out too, but intuitively, I knew he wouldn’t do that to them, and I was right. I got over the feeling of being dirty, but I have never worn nail polish since. The second incident also came out of the blue. Walking to class one day I was called aside by one of my teachers who decided to talk to me about my ‘future’. She suggested that school was not the place for me. On one level I thought, ‘At last a teacher who understands me’ and, on another, more deeper level I knew that I was being told I didn’t belong and I shouldn’t get any ideas that I did. The message got through. At that time I wasn’t exactly excelling but I wasn’t failing either, but by the end of the year I was. And because I had already been accepted into Teachers College, I didn’t care. I was relieved to be leaving high school behind me. I should have known better.

**Being silenced**

If I had felt the brunt of personal prejudice, racism and sexism at high school it was nothing compared to what I came face to face with at College as they went to extraordinary lengths to silence me. I hadn’t even begun College when I was singled out for remedial English classes. Some time during my first week I was told to go to a particular class. Without knowing what it was I was going to, I trotted off to the first class. We were given a writing exercise to do, which we had to hand in at the end of the class. I was in my element, as we had to construct a story around a photo that we were shown. At the beginning of the second class the teacher called me aside and asked me what I was doing there. As far as he was concerned I had no need for remedial English classes and sent me away. I went away, with the optimism that I had when I began my tertiary studies slightly shaken. Again, in the first term we were assessed for our ‘reading-out-loud” ability. The person who assessed me decided that there was something wrong in the way I spoke, so I was sent off to the hospital, to have my voice checked out. When I told the doctor why I had been sent to see him he could not hide his surprise, or his annoyance about having his time wasted. He sent me away (without an examination) and I never heard anything about it again. Although I might have outwardly treated these events as jokes, something to laugh about, inwardly there wasn’t much laughter. The message was loud and clear, I was academically and physically deficient because I was Māori. Because in their eyes I could not write or speak I was effectively silenced. What did I do? I did the bare minimum, not to fuel their expectations of me, but rather as a way to salvage my own pride. If I failed assignments (and I did) then it was because I hadn’t tried. But in an ironical twist I often did extremely well, which only added to my suspicion that the College’s standards were suspect. It was to take several more incidents to finally break the optimism with which I had started College and cause me to leave.
Glimmers of light
Neither my high school nor my College years were all grim. I had individual teachers who inspired and encouraged me. Gavin Bishop was my art history teacher in the sixth form year. I do not know whether it was because he was like me – Māori – or because he was young – fresh out of college — or because his passion was art but he engaged me in his topic. In his class I was able to explore different ways to express myself and went to extraordinary lengths to do so. I sketched, photographed and painted my assignments. And in other classes, to get through them, I spent my time writing and illustrating an epic saga of a caveman coming face to face with the modern world. No wonder I failed! At Teachers’ College my supervisor of studies was John Coley, a well-known Christchurch artist. He showed me one of his paintings once – a canvas with the word rain written over and over again on it – well, I think it was his. I had not seen anything like it before, and I can remember silently wondering what it meant. Perhaps, though, that silent wonder meant that I did get it, as I grappled with the way it challenged my preconceptions about what art was and showed me a different way of looking at the world. As I sit and think about and write this thesis what had been buried deep within me has resurfaced to challenge me again.

New Diasporas and Fresh Optimism
In the years between leaving and re-entering tertiary education I had four daughters and lived in Dunedin. These years were busy and productive ones as I became involved politically in health and education issues, at the flax root levels. All that I did at this time centred around the importance of establishing strong foundations for my children in which they could grow and be who they wanted to be. I wanted the world for my children, but a different one that opened up possibilities rather than shut them down. This meant my babies were born at home and as they grew they were home-schooled. Firmly (and still) believing that the whole world has lessons for us if we only engage in it, our world was our ‘school’. With a freedom like that which I had experienced as a child at ‘Our Bay’, we explored our environment. We explored the land and the beaches of the South Island, we retraced the steps of our tupuna, and we wrote and told each other stories that kept alive the passion and fires within us. We embarked on learning te reo Māori together, joined the kapa haka group at Dunedin’s newly built marae, Arai-te-uru, and immersed ourselves as much as we could, as outsiders, in Dunedin’s Māori world. We travelled regularly to Christchurch to maintain close links with our whānau.

Whānau wānanga
By 1985 we were living back in Christchurch, within the folds of the whānau again. But by then, a new layer of diaspora had overtaken our whānau as we became dispersed not just within New Zealand but around the world. Tangi, birthdays and weddings continued to be a primary way in which we maintained our whānau bonds, but at the same time we also developed new ways of
sustaining and strengthening our relationships with one another. One of the ways we have done this is to hold whānau hui, where we have come together to learn something that many of us have wanted to learn. Take for example the time my younger sister suggested that we should make a whānau cloak. Modelled along the lines of a traditional wānanga, we came together for six days in early 1996 to learn to weave. We all camped out on our brother’s land at Tuahiwi in what resembled a tent town. We even had our own flag, made by my older sisters, flying on a makeshift flagpole. All the traditional techniques that we would need to make a cloak were incorporated into the weaving of a sampler. Each of us, from the youngest moko who was ten days old at the time, to Dad’s older brother helped in some way to weave it. The mauri of our whānau is woven into that sampler. While we had come together to learn to weave, there were other things that we were also learning at the same time. In and around the activities associated with weaving the sampler, songs were sung and stories were told about Taranaki, our whakapapa and who we were. There were expeditions down to the beach to collect kai moana and to the creek to catch eels and gather watercress. If only fleetingly, we were all ‘at home’.

Maintaining the links back ‘home’
Dad was still at this time going back ‘home’ to Taranaki on a regular basis to attend hui and tangi, just as his father had. Sometimes I went with him, but mostly my older sisters did. My first trip back with Dad was to attend the tangi of his Aunt. I had met her earlier when I was touring around the North Island. When I stopped at Taranaki I went and introduced myself to her. She welcomed me with open arms, and as soon as we had finished eating she got all her photo albums out. At the same time that she was busy showing me who my whanaunga were, she was also busy telling me the history that connected us. I felt right at home. She treated me like she had known me all my life, and in a way she had, as she knew my father and grandfather before that. She showed me around the marae, the land we have communal interest in, and Okoki, the resting place of Te Rangi Hiroa our tupuna. My first experience of ‘going back home’ affirmed who I was and it was comforting. Then, one year, I accompanied Dad to Ngati Mutunga’s Iwi Authority Hui-ā-Tau – annual general meeting. At that meeting, I realised just how much of an outsider my family and I were. Not to all, especially not to the older members who knew my Grandfather well, but an outsider nevertheless. We weren’t the real thing – neither were we born there, nor did we live there. Despite being an outsider, Dad kept his father’s dreams alive by keeping the fires burning. Since Dad has died, the fires that tied me to Taranaki have grown dim. I have in effect become part of a new breed of urbanised Māori. That is not to say that I do not recognise my affiliations to the people, the land and the maunga of Taranaki, but my home, the home where my immediate emotional ties are, is in Christchurch, a long way from my ancestral papakainga.
Re-entering education
A shift back to Christchurch ultimately meant a shift in focus for me and my daughters. Newly separated, and with the primary responsibility for our four daughters we (my daughters and I) embarked on a significantly different kind of life to that which we had been living. I enrolled at university and my daughters at school. My daughters’ experiences at school were qualitatively different to mine, thank goodness, although this was not entirely left to chance. Rather than go to their local school, we set out to find schools that would best meet their needs. And so, by 1988 all of us were participating in mainstream schooling in various parts of the city. Financially and logistically it was a challenge being a student and a single parent with four children, two of them young teenagers. I treated university like a job. I dropped the girls off at their schools on the way to university and picked them up on the way home. When I couldn’t afford petrol I simply didn’t go to classes. And when we didn’t have much to eat, we foraged for weeds (nettle soup is a favourite) and gathered pipis from the beach.

But the biggest challenge was the cultural one of being Māori in a monocultural university. Burnt by my previous educational experiences, I initially liked the University’s faceless impersonal nature, and the anonymity it afforded me. But I quickly realised that ‘faceless’ was a just another name for Pākehā, and ‘impersonal’ another name for individualism. I wanted my education degree to have a strong Māori focus. But not only did I find that there were very few courses that had Māori content, there was only one Māori lecturer to teach them. So when we were introduced to Rose Parker, the Education Department’s Bicultural Studies Lecturer, in the first class I attended, I was rapt. When she introduced herself she filled the lecture theatre with whakapapa and waiata, which sparked the fire within me. Here was a wahine Māori who I could laugh with, cry with, and best of all, share my struggles with. It didn’t matter that she was a teacher and I was a student, for above all else we shared a collective whakapapa. I consider myself to be very fortunate to have had Rose guide my journey. No longer a teacher, her footprints, however, remain emblazoned in the Department she taught in and continue to light the paths of Māori students.

When I wasn’t in class or the library I could be found in Te Awaroa – a room in the Māori Department. Although, initially, I wasn’t a student in the Department, Te Awaroa was the place where I felt at ‘home’ and where other Māori students could be found. Te Awaroa was a beacon for many of us. It was the place (when it wasn’t being used for classes) where we were able to be ourselves and tell each other our stories: our fears about failing and our anxieties about whether writing from a Māori perspective would count against us; our elation in passing a test or getting a good mark for an essay; our pain when we failed to get extensions; our frustrations at the lack of Māori content and knowledge in our classes; and our desires for tino-rangatiratanga. Te Awaroa was the place where we dared to speak our dreams and university was providing us with the means to make those dreams come true. I learnt to be critical and it is with some irony that the analytical tools I was taught became the very tools that enabled me to question university education, its relevance and
appropriateness for Māori. But that didn’t stop me from coming back to graduate study. If anything it fuelled my desire for a university that acknowledges and celebrates its Pacific location, that validates Māori knowledge, that accommodates tikanga Māori, and that would better meet the needs of my children and their children in turn. Besides I enjoy a challenge.

On my way to becoming a research student
A challenge it indeed was, when I returned five years and one more daughter later to do ‘Honours’. The challenge was partly of my own making, as I set myself the goal of attaining good enough grades to win a scholarship. The year was a tough one. I often describe it as a year where I was constantly running to keep up. My five year break in study, I soon discovered, mirrored the ‘break’ that had occurred in research and the production of knowledge. Out with objective knowledge, universal truth and rationality, and in with the subjective, the local and the particular. Although much of it made sense and cohered with my own sense of tino-rangatiratanga, especially the emergent theory of kaupapa Māori, some ideas had me stumped. If I was running at university I was sprinting at home. I had an-under-two-year-old and a partner who had, at that time, his share of health problems. We all survived the year and at the end of it I was offered a scholarship and so began my journey as a research student. If I had thought that university was a challenge before, the real challenge was only just about to begin.

In thinking about the ways in which to sum up this Upoko, the notion of dangerous memories kept coming to mind. The stories in this Upoko are dangerous memories in that they speak of ‘resistance and struggle, of dignity and transcendence in the face of oppression’\(^4^4\). By talking about oppression they speak against the dominant and common ideas of our society, which tell us that we live in a society that is democratic and free of injustice. In doing so, they critique and challenge not only the dominant ideas of society, but also the institutions within it. Education, one of the key institutions, which has been used against Māori, is also an institution that can work for Māori. It is with this in mind, that I draw on the past to establish my present position\(^4^5\) as a kaupapa Māori researcher challenging tertiary educational practices, and working for change.

My journey to becoming a research student had been a long time in the making. As much as it was born out of being Māori it was also born out of the struggle to be Māori in a world that wanted us to be something other and something less. The quest for a better future for my children and theirs in turn has fuelled my desire to re-imagine future possibilities where being Māori is normal and in which equality is not just a catchword but a reality. In this, I acknowledge that I follow in the footsteps of tupuna Māori who, since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, in their struggle for the recognition of their mana have resisted Pākehā privilege. As I begin my journey as a researcher I bring with me the ‘dangerous’ memories of the past which are woven into the present, to inform the research I
undertook. In the next Upoko I bring these ‘memories’ together to outline my research project.

*I didn’t like being left on the bank with the sacks full of writhing eels. I was sacred of the dark, and I was scared of the eels in the sacks who desperately wanted to be free. But at the same time I was fascinated with the dark, especially the way the dark shadows played against the darkness. I also felt sorry for the eels, but not sorry enough to turn them loose or want to turn them loose. Smoked eel was one of my favourite foods. It still is.*
End Notes

1 I like what Chambers (1994: 6) has to say about diaspora. Diaspora... is to live at the intersections of histories and memories, experiencing both their preliminary dispersal and their subsequent translation into new, more extensive arrangements along emerging routes... cut off from the homelands of tradition, experiencing a constantly challenged identity, the stranger is perpetually required to make herself at home in an interminable discussion between scattered historical inheritance and a heterogeneous present.

2 Gadamer (1977: 9) writes that ‘... the great horizon of the past, out of which our culture and our present live, influences us in everything we want, hope for, or fear in the future’. This phrase, like the term he taonga tuku iho embraces the views Māori have of the past.

3 A key element in New Zealand’s race relations has been the Treaty of Waitangi. In particular, it played a central role in the public’s view of harmonious race relations in the 1950s (Kelsey, 1984). Ostensibly a document that contains rights for both settlers and Māori, the Treaty shows in black and white that the British Crown did have good intentions towards Māori. That the treaty failed to be recognised as the founding document of New Zealand, let alone having constitutional significance, remained glossed over in the popular accounts of the 1950s. A romanticism pervaded Pākehā academic and popular texts at that time (see for example Keith Sinclair’s (1980) History of New Zealand and Westra and Ritchies’ (1967) Māori). Keith Sinclair wrote in 1980:

   The Treaty of Waitangi was intended to lay a basis for a just society in which two races, far apart in civilisation, could live together in amity. It merited the symbolic significance which it came to assume in the minds of both peoples. Sinclair (1980: 73)

The cracks in New Zealand’s poor race relations began to show once urbanisation got underway, and Māori became more visible in the cities.

4 It was thought, at that time, that the increasing rate of intermarriage would be a factor in improving not just New Zealand’s race relations (Harré, 1966), but also those of the world’s (Henriques, 1974).

5 At the time of my Grandfather’s birth, sometime in the early 1880s, the Chinese population was 5,004 (of those only nine were women) and was, by far, the largest immigrant group behind the British settlers (Belich, 2001). Chinese links with New Zealand were established in the 1790s with the fur seal trade and increased in the 1860s, with the discovery of gold on the West Coast of the South Island. In those early years, the Chinese were sojourners rather than settlers, which was encouraged by the Government. This could account for the fact that we do not know anything about our great, great Grandfather. The possible reasons for this intrigue me. Was it simply a case of not knowing much about him, or was it because his liaison with my great, great Grandmother was frowned upon? Was the added layer of the ‘yellow peril’ too much for my tupuna to bear, in the days when being Māori was enough of a stigma? Prejudice
and racism dominates the history of Chinese in New Zealand. Although the Chinese were allowed to come to New Zealand to work, the government of the day did not encourage them to come in large numbers or to stay. To immigrate to New Zealand in 1881, immigrants had to pay a poll tax of £100 pounds. Chinese women were not allowed entry into New Zealand until the 1930s and intermarriage had always been discouraged (Pearson, 1990). By the 1920s, Māori were just as concerned about intermarriage with Chinese as Pākehā were (Pearson, 1990). At the behest of Māori groups, the National Council of Women and anti-Asiatic associations, Ngata called for an inquiry into the relationships between Māori, Chinese and Indians in 1929. However, not all Māori communities were anti Chinese, in some areas there was considerable intermarriage between them (Pearson, 1990). Belich (2001) argues that the intolerance of Pākehā to Chinese reflected the crisis of identity that Pākehā underwent in the decades around 1900. ‘Racial scapegoating is a classic panacea for insecure collective identities’ (Belich, 2001: 229). Perhaps this could also have applied to Māori.

6 My Grandmother’s Portuguese Grandfather was a whaler who went to the Chathams and married a Ngati Mutunga woman in the early 1850s. They had ten children, the eldest being the mother of my Grandmother.

7 Rekohu is the Moriiori name for their homeland, Taranaki Māori called it Wharekauri, while the Pākehā named it Chatham Island.


9 This war was orchestrated by the Government to assert their authority over Māori, especially when it came to buying land. In effect it was a challenge to the traditional or customary way in which land was communally owned by Māori, and signaled the Government’s desire to individualise Māori land ownership. For a detailed account of the ‘Land Wars’ see Belich (1989) and for those that occurred in Taranaki see the Waitangi Tribunal’s (1996) Taranaki Report.

10 Firstly, the right to set the terms for selling their land is contained in the ‘preemption’ clause in the second of the four articles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Secondly, the right to equality under the law is contained in the third article. The founding document of New Zealand, the Treaty sets out a blue print for the relationship between Māori and the settlers. In doing so, it contains sets of rights and responsibilities for both the settlers and Māori. Essentially, however, there are two treaties – one written in Māori, the other in English – which vary significantly in their meaning. The Māori version, which in international law is the binding version, upholds Māori sovereignty over Māori domains including land, forests, fisheries, institutions, culture and language. It only gives the British governorship over the land. It also safeguards Māori land tenure (as well as government profits with regard to on-selling the land). In the English version, the most contentious of all, Māori gave up their sovereignty to the British. Had the wording in the Māori version not been fudged Māori would not have signed the Treaty. Simply, they would not have signed away their mana. In both versions there are collective rights for both Māori and settlers. Articles three and four, respectively give to both the right to fair and equal treatment, and the right to religious freedom. Since 1841 Māori have protested at the way the Treaty has
been dishonoured. Today it is argued that the Treaty has just as much relevance in the twenty-first century as it did when it was first signed. For a detailed discussion on the Treaty see the collection of writings in Hugh Kawharu’s (1989) *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi* and Claudia Orange’s (1987) *Treaty of Waitangi*.

The Government firstly interpreted resistance to be rebellion. They put Māori in a position with which they had no recourse but to resist the military presence and occupation of their land. Secondly, their confiscations went beyond what the Act stipulated as being ‘only what was necessary for peace’ (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1996).

Under the New Zealand Act 1863, a Compensation Court was set up to hear claims from Māori whose land had been confiscated. The Court had the power to award land to Māori according to two criteria. Firstly, Māori had to prove they had rights to the land they were claiming back, and secondly they had to prove that they had not taken up arms against the Government’s militia. The Court, invoking the ‘1840 rule’ argued that those not living on their land at the time the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, lost their land rights and therefore the right to make claims (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 2001). As a consequence, Ngati Mutunga’s land that had been confiscated remained secure in settler hands. Only a few claimants were promised the return of land. But by the time Ngati Mutunga had returned to Taranaki in the late 1860s, most of their land had already been settled and the Government was unwilling to move the Pākehā occupants. They, therefore, encouraged Ngati Mutunga to stay on Rekohu, and as an inducement, in 1870, awarded them title to 97% of the Rekohu mainland (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 2001). Which in turn resulted in the further marginalisation of Mori in their own land. It wasn’t until 1884 that Taranaki land was finally returned, and then only 1,420 of the 10,000 acres promised (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 2001). This wasn’t enough to sustain them all, so once again the people of Ngati Mutunga were dispersed.

Te Whiti and Tohu led the people of Taranaki to passively resist the confiscation of Taranaki land. Built on confiscated land in the late 1860s, the people of Parihaka defied the Government’s surveying of surrounding land by pulling up their survey pegs, building fences that government workers pulled down, and ploughing up settler land. Many were arrested. Parihaka was a large and thriving settlement. In 1881 the settlement was invaded, the village ransacked and the people forcibly moved on or arrested, including Te Whiti and Tohu. Although Parihaka was destroyed, the people returned. Te Whiti and Tohu were released in 1887 and Parihaka was rebuilt. For many years money and food from Rekohu was sent to Parihaka to support the work and teachings of Te Whiti and Tohu. Te Whiti, in recognition of Rekohu’s support, adopted the albatross feather – the raukura – as a symbol of Parihaka.

There is no record of Dad’s birth. The day and year that he celebrated as his birthday were only estimates. We do know, however, that on census night in 1921 he was one of 210 Māori living on the mainland of Rekohu (Census and Statistics Office, 1921). The total Māori population (includes full blooded, half-caste living as Māori and half-caste living as European) for the whole of New Zealand was 125,548.
Zealand at that census was 56,987 Māori (Pool, 1977). The ‘official’ definition of
Māori is important to consider here, as it has implications for reading the data, as
well it highlights the Government’s preoccupation, right up until the 1981
census, with (pseudo) ‘scientific’ measures of race and the relative status of
Māori. In 1921, Māori were classified according to their quantum of Māori
‘blood’ and their mode of living. Accordingly there were three categories of
Māori – full-blooded, half-caste living as Māori and half-caste living as
European. Little guidance was given as to how to classify the mode of living
other than a person was deemed to be living as Māori if they ‘lived with tribes or
in Maori fashion generally’ (Census and Statistics Office, 1921: 65). Only full-
blooded Māori and Māori living as Māori were included in the Māori census.
Māori living as European were included in the general census and were,
therefore, largely invisible in the statistics, although some information was listed
separately. While in 1921 there were only two categories of caste to classify
Māori - either half-caste (one Māori and one Pākehā Parent) or full-Māori - later
smaller percentages (quarter and eighth caste) were introduced to accommodate
further miscegenation and provide a more ‘precise’ definition of a person’s
Māori status.

Since the time of first contact Māori had been exposed to diseases that they had
no immunity to. Consequently this, in conjunction with the prevailing social
conditions, was to have devastating effects on Māori mortality rates up until the
first decade of the twentieth century. At one time it was thought that Māori were
a ‘dying race’. Accounts, however, suggest that this was more a wish (for some)
than a reality (Pool, 1977). By the turn of the twentieth century the Māori
population was on the increase. However, living conditions continued to be
considerably more harsh for Māori than for Pākehā.

Grandad and Te Rangi Hiroa grew up together in Urenui. Grandad went on to
become a shearer and work the land, while Te Rangi Hiroa was sent to Te Aute
to further his education. At Te Aute he won a scholarship to attend university.
He went to Otago University to study medicine. After Te Rangi Hiroa completed
his medical degree, he went to work in the Māori Health Section of the
Department of Public Health in 1905 under the leadership of Maui Pomare,
another whanaunga. He became a Member of Parliament in 1909, but in 1914 he
joined the army and went to war. On his return, he resumed his career as a
Medical Officer for Māori Health rather than a Member of Parliament. He
became the Director of Māori Hygiene in the Department of Health in 1919, but
by 1927 he had given up his medical career to become an anthropologist
studying the material cultures of the Pacific. He subsequently left New Zealand,
became the Director of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii and carved out an
internationally acclaimed career as an anthropologist.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century Māori health was a major
concern for Te Rangi Hiroa and the other Māori Members of Parliament -
Pomare, Erihana and Ngata. A range of policies and programmes were
implemented to improve the health, as well as living standards of Māori. In 1910
Te Rangi Hiroa wrote:

64
Another important factor...is the improvement of the economic condition of the race that will lead to their settlement upon their own lands as farmers and workers. This will carry improvements in their environment and render the necessities of life more easily procurable. The effect upon the health of the people would be incalculable. They would be assisted in the war against disease and would regain the magnificent physique which is their racial heritage. Te RangiHiror cited in Broughton, Fergusson, Rimene, Horwood & Sporle (2000)

Some of these health policies, such as the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, were questionable but others were beneficial especially in the light of declining mortality and increasing population rates. Beneficial programmes included vaccinations, health education, housing and sanitation. It can be argued that the success of these programmes was due to the way in which they were implemented; at the local level by village councils (formed under the Māori Councils Act 1900) and by Māori practitioners. By 1921 through their efforts 'Maori general standards of health were probably better...than they had been at any time, or at least since first contact with non-Maoris' (Pool, 1977: 110).

During the Depression few Māori qualified for Government assistance. When they did they were paid less than their Pākehā counterparts. The rationale for such a policy lay in the argument that many Māori were 'normally unemployed in any case and could 'live off the land'' (King, 1981: 287).

Associated with poor living conditions tuberculosis was 'an important cause of Māori mortality' right up until the 1950s (Pool, 1977: 115).

When World War Two broke out in 1939, Āpirana Ngata, although no longer a Member of Parliament but with the support of the Ratana Members of Parliament, played a central role in promoting Māori participation in the war. The Māori War Effort Organisation was established. Set up along tribal lines, 315 tribal committees were established to support the war effort. A principle activity was the recruitment of Māori soldiers. Such was their success that they persuaded the Government to form a voluntary Māori fighting unit that was to become known as the 28th Māori Battalion, and which was to more than prove Māori fighting abilities and Māori loyalty to the 'nation' of New Zealand. Māori were recruited across New Zealand to sign up. While not all iwi supported the Māori war effort there are many stories that tell of Māori youth falsifying their age in order to join. One such story is told in Erura Stirling's biography (Stirling & Salmond, 1980). In line with the Manpower Act those ineligible to go to war were encouraged to contribute to the war effort by working in essential industries (Walker, 1990). This meant many young Māori moved to the city away from their papakainga. In order to take care of these young workers the Māori War Effort Organisation moved into welfare and housing. Other activities of the organisation included food production and putting together parcels for the troops and raising funds. According to James Belich (2001) the Māori War Effort orchestrated one of the most comprehensive mobilisations during World War Two: out of a population of 95,000 Māori, 17,000 donned the army uniform while 10,000 worked at home in war related industries. Where there had not been equal
access before, through the Māori war effort the Pākehā state was induced ‘to
give Māori equal access to welfare benefits, postwar rehabilitation and, to some
extent, housing’ (Belich, 2001: 476). Another consequence of the war effort was
that the urban drift continued. In the decade leading up to the war 90 per cent of
Māori were still living in rural communities in the decade after 20 per cent had
moved to urban centres (Walker, 1990).
20 In 1921 less than one per cent of the population of Christchurch was Māori
(includes full blooded and half-caste living as Māori). More were living in the
outlying areas around Christchurch such as Rangiora, Waiwer (Little River) and
Mount Herbert, which is to be expected given that is where traditional Ngai
Tahu papakainga are located. But the numbers were still small.
21 They both saw Pākehā education as a means to assist Māori development
rather than as a means to assimilation. This is evident in the poem – E tipu e rea -
that Ngata wrote in 1930 for his niece urging her to take hold of Pākehā
knowledge while at the same time retaining her Māori identity, customs, values
and language. But, the force of an education system intent on assimilation and a
society that stigmatised Māori would lead to contradictory outcomes.
22 When I went looking for information on Sydenham School I found little.
Published educational statistics for 1926 does not include data on specific
schools, nor on Māori students (except for Native School data). The only
publication I came across was a history of the school that was published in 1973 –
Sydenham School Centennial, 1872-1973 by Suzanne and Barbara Russell. Although
it provides a roll call, the list is incomplete. According to the Russells’ (1973) in
1926 over 1000 children were enrolled at the school, however, the number of
students listed in their roll call who attended in 1926 do not amount to that
number. Nor is the roll call helpful in gauging the number of Māori students
who might have attended school with Dad. None of the students who were at
school in 1926 and listed had Māori names. Indeed, Dad is also invisible using
this criteria. Like many Māori, my father and his whānau were given Pākehā
names when they were entered into ‘official’ State records. Nor are the photos
reliable in determining whether students were Māori. While some students like
my father stand out as being Māori, not all Māori ‘look Māori’, especially given
the high rate of miscegenation that had occurred in the South Island (Anderson,
1990). By 1926 it is likely that many Ngai Tahu looked more like their Pākehā
cousins rather than their Māori ones. Although the book sheds little light on
Dad’s experiences at the school, it does include a photo of him with a group of
children preparing for their end of year concert in 1926. A young Māori girl is in
this photo with him but she is not in his class photo of the same year.
23 Right from the beginning, the schooling of Māori was an important feature of
colonial native policy – firstly because education was seen as the vehicle through
which Māori could be rid of their ‘beastly communism’ and secondly to facilitate
the acquisition of Māori land. Not only was it a cheap, it was also an effective
means for imposing their world view onto Māori. They used to good effect the
influence schools have in establishing, maintaining and perpetuating certain
ways of looking at the world. Although much of this is achieved through subtle
rather than overt means, in New Zealand it has been overtly applied through the
State’s education policies. The first overt policy of assimilation was implemented in 1847 with the Education Ordinance. By the 1960s overt policies of assimilation had disappeared only to be replaced with policies that, arguably are still assimilatory in outcome. Although assimilatory policies have had a negative impact on the maintenance of the Māori language and cultural traditions, to me the real danger in assimilation is the way in which it has facilitated hegemonic control over us so that we accept our subordinate status - culturally, linguistically, politically and socially – ensuring our complicity in our subordination. For example, over the course of my own studies, including this research project, I have heard many Māori students talk about not being 'bright' enough or not working 'hard' enough at school to gain the qualifications that would have given them automatic entry to university. In other words they took on the dominant meritocratic ideology (which is also layered with ideas about what constitutes legitimate knowledge, ways of knowing, and ways of being knowledgeable) about what constitutes a successful student - ability and effort. But then, hegemonic control is never complete. Māori students' eventual participation at university attest to that. Ironically, it is never complete because the very ideas that are taught in schools and universities can be, and are used to challenge hegemonic dominance (Nandy, 1983). Relatedly, these ideas can and do work in contradictory ways that challenge and resist the dominant ideology (see Wāhanga Tuawha in Upoko Tuawaru). Most importantly, hegemonic dominance can never be complete because if it was it would mean that we, as Māori, would have no agency over our education and thus our lives. Along with Russell Bishop (1994) and Kuni Jenkins (2000) I consider that we have had, and continue to have agency, albeit imperfectly, in the decisions we make. In her critique of the way historians, educationists and politicians have written about us Kuni Jenkins (2000: 24) provides us with another way in which to understand the relationship between Māori and Pākehā.

I do not accept that relationships between Māori and Pakeha were the result of Māori conformity to the 'civilising' subjugating agenda which many Pakeha historians, educationists and politicians have presented in their accounts of New Zealand schooling. Rather I argue on the basis of aitanga principles, how te ao Māori and te ao Pakeha exist in tension as Māori continue to await a meaningful response from Pakeha.

Since 1867 when the Natives School Act was passed, the Government has required that Māori students be taught in the English language. Although to begin with this policy was not strictly enforced, by the end of the century it was. By the 1920s the Department of Education was encouraging a strict adherence to English only classrooms. If not a directive from the Department itself, teachers began using corporal punishment to enforce the English only policy (Simon, 1998). But in Dad’s case he was at a state primary school with very few other Māori pupils. Irrespective of whether he wanted to or not, or could or not, he had few opportunities to talk to others in Māori.

The gendered nature of schooling, indeed society, was accepted as normal in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The curriculum reflected the expectations that a
girl’s primary destination after leaving school was the home. Although career opportunities existed for girls who showed potential they were, nevertheless, within the domain of women’s work in the fields of teaching and nursing. Otherwise a girl’s foray into the paid workforce was a temporary one, in a band of occupations that were low paid and which called upon a woman’s ‘natural’ abilities. The war changed that, at least temporarily, when women were required, as part of the war effort, to work in occupations that men would have ordinarily worked in (Middleton, 1988).

26 Not much has been written in the area of intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā. Although references to intermarriage have been recorded since tauiwi first came to Aotearoa, very few studies have focused on and delved into the issues surrounding mixed unions (Anderson, 1990; Bishop, 1995; Drewet Steiner, 2000; Harré, 1966; Riddell, 1996). This is surprising given that the theme of race relations has been an enduring one for New Zealand social commentators and historians. But then again, perhaps it is more a case of not wanting to open the pandora’s box of prejudice and racism that lie beneath the veneer of New Zealand’s reputation for harmonious race relations. Anderson (1990: 29), in a historical look at the social and demographic characteristics of intermarriage between South Island Māori and Pākehā, argues that by the end of the nineteenth century the outcome of such unions produced a ‘mixed-race population [that] was largely Pākehā in appearance and culture’. He hints at, rather than discusses the reasons for this – assimilatory education policies and prejudice. What happened in the South Island, he is at pains to point out, was different to the experiences of families in the North Island. Whereas South Island couples tended to live in Pākehā environments or very near to them, in the North Island couples were just as likely to live with, or near their Māori whanaunga. While Anderson’s observations of the cultural assimilation of South Island Māori may apply to some, it certainly does not apply to all Ngai Tahu. Personally, I know many Ngai Tahu who are fair-haired and blue-eyed but who are also staunch in their Ngai Tahutanga – Ngai Tahu identity and cultural practices. Harré (1966) found in his study on intermarriage, that Pākehā parents were often resistant to their son or daughter dating and marrying a Māori partner. Negative stereotyping based on prejudice informed their perceptions of their son or daughter’s choice of partner. But in the majority of cases the parents were ‘won’ over as stereotypes broke down. This is the precise reason that he views intermarriage as a means of minimising interracial tension.

27 When I first read Iranui Te Aonohoriu Haig’s story in Witi Ihimaera’s edited anthology Growing Up Māori, I was surprised by the sense of familiarity that it stirred in me. It wasn’t a familiarity between our lives – they couldn’t be more different – it was in the way that she reminded me of my Grandfather. Her familiarity and ‘reading’ of the world in particular:

For myself, now, I still like to wander down the road to have a look. The kids always ask where I’ve been. I tell them it is lovely outside, there’s fresh air. All they do is sit inside watching TV. They tell me they don’t want to miss the TV programmes. I tell them there is plenty of programmes outside.
You look at the waves, you look at the clouds, oh... it’s a southerly wind. That’s how I learnt. I was the one that was sent out by my grandfather, at night, to look where the morning star was, and where the milky way was, and the shape of the moon and all that sort of thing. You’ve got all the signs there, whether it is going to be a fine day, a good day for fishing or what sort of weather we will have in the next two weeks. Iranui Te Aonohoriu Haig (1998: 46)

There were very few Māori who were self-employed in 1966. Of all the Māori male workers in the labour force in 1966, 3.6 per cent were self-employed, even fewer had a trade certificate qualification (12%) (Department of Statistics, 1969). The majority of self employed Māori at this time were farmers.

In the 1970s the Māori Affairs Department established the Tu Tangata programme in which apprenticeships and work opportunities were made available to Māori.

It is not my intention to be critical of Gandhi. Rather my disgust is directed at those who wrote the history books and devised the curriculum that denied us knowledge of our own history.

For decades, the shameful history lay largely buried in obscurity. Young Māori were schooled to believe that those of their forebears whose images they should have revered with pride were simply rebels, savages, or fanatics... New Zealanders were not to know that forced removals, passed laws, and other suspensions of civil liberties, so often criticised of governments elsewhere, had been applied here. We were not to know, when paying tribute to Gandhii and King, that their policies and practices had first been enunciated by Māori. Waitangi Tribunal (1996: 206-207)

In 1869, 233 Pakakohi men, women and children surrendered to the Government with regard to their involvement in the Taranaki rebellions. Some were imprisoned, and some were sentenced to death. Those who had been condemned to death had their sentences commuted, and were subsequently sent to Dunedin where they were put to work building the rock retaining walls for the road that winds its way around the peninsula (New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1996).

The name Hori has come to be considered a derogatory term for Māori.

In 1967, the year I started high school, I was one of 2224 young Māori embarking on a state provided high school education throughout New Zealand (Department of Education, 1971).

In 1970, I was one of 557 Māori students enrolled in either the sixth or seventh form at a state secondary or district high school, two thirds of us left without University Entrance (Department of Education, 1971a: Table 9.3).

Of the Māori students leaving school (public and private secondary) in 1970 1.3% went to Teachers College (Department of Education, 1971a).

In the 1960s cultural deficit theory was used to explain the educational underachievement of working class and minority students. The failure of these groups of children to reach similar levels of attainment as middle class students,
was attributed to the failure of the home and the community to provide the right kind of environment considered necessary for educational success and upward social mobility (Hamovitch, 2000; Reimers, 2000). As a result, intervention programmes such as Headstart were developed and implemented in the belief that they could compensate for cultural deficiencies that lead to disadvantage (Englemann, 1999; Fox, Dunlap, & Cushing, 2002; Lamb Parker, Boak, Griffith, Ripple, & Peay, 1999; May, 2002). The difficulties I have with cultural deficit theory (and the compensatory education policies and programmes it has generated) are that firstly, it assumes that the student is the problem and therefore needs to change (Hamovitch, 1997). Secondly, it takes for granted the dominant group’s cultural superiority and therefore the underachieving group’s inferiority (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Macedo, 2000). Thirdly, in making these assumptions the theory fails to consider other possible explanations for educational underachievement, especially the cultural in/difference of those who develop and implement policies and programmes (Hamovitch, 1997). In the New Zealand context, the Hunn Report (1961) pointed to language development, child rearing practices and the home environment as the cause of Māori underachievement, which spawned programmes to enrich the (English) language development of Māori children (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

Silencing is about who can and cannot speak and what can and cannot be said, and is an effective means to ensuring that the dominant group remains the dominant group (Cummins, 1986). Fear of what might get talked about, what might be exposed underlies the dominant group’s drive to silence others. Michelle Fine (1991: 32) succinctly defines silence as the ‘terror of words, a fear of talk’. In that the words I spoke and the words I wrote were not good enough, I was literally and symbolically silenced by the College. However, I also want to point out, that silence can also be an effective strategy that challenges and confounds the dominant group’s power to determine who can speak and what can be spoken.


Having my babies at home and then home-schooling them was not simply a matter of ‘doing it’. Both were outside of mainstream practices at the time. Both required me knowing my legal rights, being able to negotiate with the medical profession and the Education Board and standing my ground. At one point, when I was applying for exemptions to home-school my daughters I was threatened with prosecution. I responded with a counter claim and eventually was given exemptions. Although I had not raised the issue, the School Inspector who was dealing with my applications, and who we were having difficulties with, was at pains to assure me that his refusing to grant us exemptions was not on the basis of race. I suspect that it was.

While the connections to Taranaki may have become tenuous for me, I recognise that my brothers and sisters may feel differently.

One of my daughters was reading this Upoko and at the reference to nettle soup she began to giggle. I asked her what was funny and she told me about how
she, and her younger sister, used to pull up the plants that I grew because they detested nettle soup.

46 At the time that I was an undergraduate student Rose Parker was one of only five Māori lecturers at the University. By the time I had become a graduate student little had changed.

45 Te Awaroa is the name of the main teaching room in the Māori Department. It is named after the late Te Awaroa Nepia who headed the Māori Department, from when it was first established in 1974 to 1987. The room is a tribute to the contributions he made to the University of Canterbury, and in particular the Māori Department.

44 Welch (1990: 155).

45 I make this claim on the basis that when we ‘remember’ and speak of our past we are engaging in the construction of our present world. That is, our individual and collective memories of the past help construct the reality of the present (Gadamer, 1977; Radley, 1990; Shotter, 1990). As a narratively inspired thesis and phenomenological study I am influenced here by both Māori and western theorising of the socially constructed and mediated nature of the material world on the one hand, and knowledge and action and thus self on the other. That is, as human beings we construct meaning of our world through our interaction with and in it (Crotty, 1998; Gergen, 1999). This idea is articulated in whakapapa, which as a specifically Māori expression of being and becoming exemplifies the confluence of past and present, and the material and the symbolic worlds (as discussed in Upoko Tuatoru). Since the nineteenth century western philosophers speaking from various perspectives (for example Marxism, Phenomenology, Symbolic Interactionism, Pragmatism, Hermeneutics, Postmodernism, and Feminism) have also been grappling with the idea that the meanings we attach to the world are socially constructed. I am not only influenced by theorists who have placed emphasis on the past in shaping our understanding of the world, I am also influenced by theorists who attach importance to the way in which culture is the source and outcome of human thought and action (Geertz, 1983), and those who give importance to the way in which meaning making is a socially negotiated process (Gergen, 1999; Shotter, 1993).
Te Hongi

As the manuhiri approach the whare my sisters stop calling, and we stop chanting. As they file into the whare we hongi with each of them. It is hard not to be excited as some of the people we are welcoming are people I know. The telling off I received several years ago for showing too much exuberance still smarts. It seems like it only happened yesterday so I contain the pleasure I feel in seeing them. There will be plenty of time to greet them later.

In Te Āhua o te Rangahau I bring together my reflections outlined in the previous two Upoko to weave a narrative about the way I went about doing my research.
Upoko Tuarima: te hongi

TE WHĀINGA RANGAHAU

When I began my doctoral studies I already had a topic in mind and I knew the framework within which I would be researching. The most pressing concern I faced was how I was going to go about gathering, documenting and then making sense of the ways Māori students’ experience the university. Not only was it important that whatever I did was consistent with my kaupapa Māori orientation, it also needed to be appropriate for and sensitive to the needs of the students. Lastly, the methods used needed to provide me with the tools to achieve what I wanted to do – a kaupapa Māori phenomenological study exploring the lived reality of Māori students’ experiences at the University of Canterbury.

These concerns were intensified when I began looking for literature that would help me put together a research plan. First I began with the growing literature on kaupapa Māori research, a valuable and insightful source. I then went in search of studies that exemplified the kind of research I wanted to do. I began looking for research based studies that were concerned with Māori experiences in university education, but found nothing that came close to what I wanted to do. Nor did I find any studies when I searched the international literature on indigenous students in higher education. Then I turned to the huge literature base on methodologies and methods. The plethora of studies, how-to manuals, and treatises on qualitative research to choose from was overwhelming. Just how was I going to go about doing a kaupapa Māori phenomenological study? Like Tane before me (and researchers ever since) my project called for a unique plan of action. Indeed, it was back to Tane-toko-o-te-rangi that I turned for inspiration.

This Upoko tells the story of how I went about constructing a research project that I consider is appropriate and consistent with a Māori world view, and which, as a result, hopefully talks to and resonates with meaning for the Māori community.

He Kaupapa Rangahau Mai Ra Ano

As a specifically Māori project the kaupapa of this research is embedded in the values and practices of Te Ao Mārama. I can think of no better metaphor for the research project that I undertook than Tane propping up the sky and in the process illuminating the world (see Upoko Tuatoru). As a metaphor for research Tane-toko-o-te-rangi works in various ways to reveal the essence of the kaupapa Māori research I undertook. Firstly, it is a culturally specific metaphor embedded in the traditional Māori world-view with its associated ideas about the nature of reality and knowledge, and values and practices. Secondly, it locates the researcher within his or her community not as an impartial expert but
Upoko Tuarima: te hongi

as part of the community within which he or she lives. Thirdly, it prescribes a purposeful and pragmatic approach to research, highlighting the importance of doing research that makes a positive difference to the community within which it is conducted. And lastly, the story serves to convey the value I place on narrative as a way of doing and writing research. With Tane-toko-o-te-rangi in mind I briefly map out what I consider to be the important elements of the kaupapa Māori research project I undertook, that permeate every aspect of it, and which in turn are embedded in the story that this upoko tells.

For the overall research design and practice I have drawn upon the concepts of the whānau and hui. Both are fundamentally rooted in whakapapa, the principle around which the Māori world is and is known (see Upoko Tuatoru), as was the whole of my research practice. In doing so whakapapa guided my research practice in two very important and inter-related ways. Firstly, it guided the way in which I established and maintained my relationships with the students. Mindful of the 'ethicality' of my practice I constructed and conducted a research project that had as its core whakamanatanga – upholding the mana of others – which also embraces values and practices such as whanaungatanga, utu, reciprocity, aroha, manaaki and awhinatia. Secondly, whakapapa also shaped the way in which I went about doing the research. As a way of telling stories, whakapapa has been since time began – mai ra ano – the way in which Māori have expressed themselves and understood their world, giving meaning to our experiences and ultimately who we are. Importantly, this can only occur in the social world through relationships with other people. Thus whakapapa as narrative was central to the process of gathering, documenting and writing the students' experiences. In practice I set about gathering the students' stories through kōrero – through engaging in conversation with them. Maintaining the context of their kōrero became the primary way I made sense of their stories and although it wasn't always planned, when it came to writing the thesis a storied approach became the most appropriate way in which to write it.

Te Āhuatanga o te Rangahau: the research design

A longitudinal study
From the beginning I had planned a study that elicited, documented and made sense of the experiences Māori students have at the University of Canterbury. I was concerned to not only document Māori students' experiences, but I was also interested in understanding how the students might be changed by their experiences, especially over time. To that end, I planned a longitudinal study tracking a group of students through their time at university. Based on the time it takes to complete a degree, the time frame for gathering the data was a three year period.

The criteria for becoming a participant in the research were that the students had to identify as Māori and be enrolled for the first time at a university in 1996.
Pragmatically, I made the decision to track students at the University of Canterbury only. I did look at extending the research to other universities but decided against doing so. Firstly, to try and generalise students’ experiences across universities would have been an impossible task given the unique culture of each of the institutions. To be sure, there are similarities. However they are very different institutions, with different histories and operating in different contexts. Secondly, and relatedly, what concerned me was that if I did include other universities then there would be a tendency for the study to become a comparative study of the universities, and I was not interested in doing that. The research that I undertook is a local study of the experiences of a group of Māori students at the University of Canterbury in the mid 1990s.

Whānau and hui: metaphors for research practice
As I have already stressed, one of the primary concerns that I had about the methods I employed was that they needed to be culturally appropriate to the framework I operate in, as well as to the Māori students who were going to participate. Nested in and arising out of the world view of Te Ao Mārama and the methodology of whakapapa, I invoked the notion of the whānau to encapsulate the overall research design and the hui as a specific research strategy. That is, we came together as a group of people who shared a common purpose rather than a common ancestry. Although, in a sense, being Māori is itself to be part of a group loosely based on a common (Polynesian) ancestry as well as part of a group with a common history since colonisation. To me, the whānau as a way of doing research is the bridge between the theory and practice for the research I undertook. That is, it connected what we knew about what it means to belong to a family and how we actually went about conducting ourselves within the research group. Although a contemporary take on the traditional whānau, our research whānau was based on traditional values and practices – such as manaaki, aroha and utu (see Upoko Tuara).

In keeping with Māori cultural practice, I considered the hui not just the appropriate metaphor for organising the structure of the thesis (see Upoko Tuatahi), it was, as a lived practice, the most appropriate space in which to meet with the students and gather their stories. As forums in which people are able to stand and have their say, hui are places in which anything pertaining to the kaupapa, including challenges and contestations, can be aired; where frank discussions are not just accepted but are expected to occur. But this is not a ‘free-for-all’ forum as there are protocols to adhere to. Some of these are taken for
Upoko Tuarima: te hongi

granted and are part of all hui. One example is the mihimihī in which people establish their links with one another through the recital of their whakapapa. This, in turn, influences the way in which people conduct themselves, not so much to constrain what is said, but in the context of whānau relationships to accept what is said. In other words, at the end of the day differences are put aside in the interest of maintaining connections. Another example is the way in which people stand to speak in hui, as and when they feel like it. Thus, when the discussion is opened up after formal introductions, there is no expectation that everyone speaks, or that they speak in any set order or for any set time. Underlying such practice is the idea that contributions are made on the basis of what people have to share, however small or large.

Fundamentally, the coming together as a group to talk and to share stories recognises not just a meaningful cultural practice, but also the culturally specific value of being part of a group (see Upoko Tuatoru). The connection that Māori have with one another, that enables a feeling of belonging, is one of the primary strengths of the hui as a research method. Since to feel part of a group is to feel a sense of belonging, I would like to think that this facilitated a safe and comfortable research site in which the students could speak. Furthermore, as 'group conversations with a research purpose there are at least four benefits to using hui as a the research forum. Firstly, it can reveal the way in which the participants relate to one another providing insight into their shared perspectives and secondly, in doing so add to the overall soundness of the data gathered. At the same time it can generate a greater range of responses, as well as richer dialogue as participants prompt and challenge one another. Lastly, hui are forums which enable the participants to expand their own knowledge and understanding of the world by sharing their world with others, and having others share theirs in return. This, as we have already discussed (see Wahanga Tuatahi), is one of the traditional objectives of holding hui in the first place. In short, the hui is a facilitative and proactive culturally specific research method in which understanding and knowledge is produced. It presupposes the co-operative and active participation of those present.

Together, whānau and hui were the cultural frames around which I designed the research. While the values that underpin whānau relationships underpinned our roopū rangahau – research group – the process through which students came together was guided by the institution of the hui. At the same time, in accordance with hui tradition and my desire to challenge the traditional researcher dominance over research, what was to be discussed at each hui was left up to the students to determine.
Te Whakahaere o te Rangahau: the research process

A search for students: he kanohi kitea
At the beginning of the 1996 university year I was ready to begin the research that I had spent the previous six months designing. My research proposal had been accepted by the University and the University’s Ethics Committee, now all I had to do was to find Māori students willing to participate in the longitudinal study that I had designed. Because of the nature of the research I was planning to do, I felt it was important to begin as soon as possible. Mindful of the notion of kanohi kitea – the face that is seen –, and Māori researchers who have written about the ethics of researchers fronting up to the community in which they are conducting research, I considered a personal face-to-face approach to seeking students was necessary. At a pragmatic level I was more likely to be listened to, and my request for participants considered, if my approach was personal. At a deeper level, this initial phase of my research was the first contact I was to have with (prospective) participants. I considered it important, therefore, that even those early and tentative relationships be established appropriately. Not only was it necessary for me to be ‘the face that is seen’, it was also important to begin with my whakapapa so as to establish my connections to them. In doing so, I also established my credentials as a Māori researcher and the legitimacy of my doing Māori research. Moreover, fronting up and making requests in person signaled to prospective participants my willingness to cross the space between researcher and researched. It was through personal networks and a presentation at Māori Orientation that I initially planned to seek students. When things did not go according to plan at Māori Orientation, I also sought students by ‘fronting up’ to several large stage one (first year) courses.

Fronting up to my community
Since 1994, the Māori Liaison Officer (MLO) and Te Akatoki, (the University of Canterbury Māori Students’ Association), have run an orientation programme for incoming Māori students, introducing them to the academic and cultural life of the university. Held the week prior to enrolment, Māori Orientation was my first opportunity to present my research to the student (research) community and seek volunteers. I had arranged with the MLO to have some time at the end of the morning session to present my research. But things did not go according to plan. The introductory session, where key people from the university were introduced to the students took longer than expected. There were more speakers than had been planned, and by the end of a very long hot morning I could see that the students, their friends and whānau who had come along to support them, had had enough. I opted to leave my presentation until after lunch, but before the students went on a tour around the university. Along with several other returning students I had volunteered to be a ‘tour guide’ and show a group of students the campus – what it offered and where everything was. It was after the students were organised into small groups that I had the opportunity to introduce myself. There were six groups to talk to, and with a bundle of panui containing information about myself, the research and my contact details (see

77
Appendix C) tucked under my arm, I was pushed to get around them all. But I did, and in the process I talked to students planning degrees in engineering, science, law and the arts. I also gave each of them a circular so that they could go away and think about the research and whether they wanted to participate. My introductions were brief and my presentations, I was sure, were disjointed. Despite feeling that my research had not got off to the best of starts, by the end of the day I had three young students who were keen to participate and two mature students who were interested but wanted some more time to think about it.

The three young students had all left school the previous year, and had pre-enrolled in various programmes. Hone was pre-enrolled to do a Commerce degree, Mārama a Bachelor of Education and Kāhu a Law degree. One of the mature students was enrolled to do Engineering while the other was enrolled in the Māori Department. As it turned out both these mature students decided against participating. The student enrolled in the Māori Department quickly lost interest as he came to realise the longitudinal nature of the research. The Engineering student, however, decided to wait and see what his workload would be before committing himself. By the end of the first term he felt that as a mature student who had been away from study, he didn’t have the time or space to be part of the research, even though he was interested.

Given that Orientation was not as successful as I had first hoped, I decided to ‘front up’ to stage one courses to panui my research and ask for volunteers. With a Commerce, Law, Education and possibly an Engineering student keen to participate, I needed students enrolled in Arts based programmes so I contacted lecturers in the Māori, Psychology and Sociology Departments who taught introductory stage one courses. I sought permission from these lecturers to take at least five minutes of their class time to introduce myself, present my research, and ask for volunteers. I decided to target these classes because they were large (the rational being that they were more likely to have a number of Māori students enrolled in them) and because at that stage I wanted a representative mix. All three were happy for me to go to their classes, so armed with more circulars I ‘fronted up’ to the beginning of these classes. I gave my brief introduction, put my contact details on the whiteboard, and left circulars behind for students who were interested in finding out more.

After these presentations, four more students, all of whom were mature, agreed to participate. Dawn and Tania approached me after my presentation to their Psychology class. Tania was enrolled to do a B.A., while Dawn was doing a Law degree. Nuku and Haami found their way to my office to volunteer after I had introduced myself to the students doing the Māori society paper in the Māori Department. Haami had enrolled to do a B.A. majoring in Māori, while Nuku a double degree in Science and Commerce. I now had seven kaikōrero, possibly eight if I included the still interested Engineering student.

I also went to the Science faculty to see what classes I could go and introduce myself and my research to. No classes were made available to me. It was argued,
in the nicest possible way that few Māori students were enrolled in the faculty and given the large number of courses that were offered, it would be hard to target classes where there were Māori students. I wasn’t sure how to read this at that time. I didn’t know whether I was being fobbed off, or whether this was genuinely the case. As I think and write about it now I am still ambivalent about what that meant, and only too aware that other Māori students recount similar experiences in the university of being welcomed and shut out, all at the same time. Despite this avenue for recruiting participants shutting down, I was concerned to have at least one other Science student as part of my ‘representative’ mix of Māori students. So I made contact with two continuing students who had established a Māori Science Student support group thinking that it would be a way to meet Science students. Surprisingly, when I contacted them no student had taken them up on their offer of support, at least not in the first half of the 1996 year. Any thought of making connections to students through the support group was dashed. I had also thought about going to the Engineering faculty, but in the end I decided not to go because of the Engineering student who had already expressed interest in participating.

I met the remaining four students who became participants, informally through personal contact and word of mouth. When I began my research I was also a tutor in the Education Department. It was through my role as a tutor that I met Māui. After the first introductory class where I was introduced as a tutor, Māui came up and introduced himself – not as a prospective kaikōrero but as one Māori to another. Once I had got to know him, I told him about my research and asked whether he would be interested in participating. I met Ngaire through the Education Department as well, but this time through the pōwhiri that the Department holds every year to welcome new Māori students. Finally, two students became kaikōrero through students who had already volunteered to participate in the research. The young students I had met at orientation introduced me to Tiaho, while Nuku introduced me to his whanaunga Rangimārie.

Three out of these four students were mature. Māui, Rangimārie and Ngaire were all enrolled in the Arts faculty and taking courses in Māori and Education. Tiaho, the young student, was enrolled in the Law.

Ngā kaikōrero: the participants
By the end of the 1996 first term there were eleven students (not including the Engineering student) who had volunteered to participate and share their journeys with me. Their iwi affiliations (which were often multiple) ranged from Ngā Puhi in the far north to Murihiku’s Ngai Tahu in the far south and extended from the North Island’s east coast iwi of Whānau-a-Apanui, Ngati Porou, Ngaiterangi, Te Arawa, Kahunungu and Whakatohea to Tainui, Ngati Raukawa and Te Ati Haunui a Paparangi in the west (see Appendix D). I had a mix of young and mature, men and women, full-time and part-time students and students who were enrolled across a variety of faculties. They included:
Dawn, a mature wahine part-time B.A./LLB student studying Law and Psychology.
Haami, a mature tane part-time B.A. student studying Māori, Psychology and Philosophy.
Hone, a young tane full-time B.A./LLB student studying Law, Māori, Economics and Political Science.
Kāhu, a young tane full-time B.A./LLB student studying Law, Māori, History and Art History.
Mārama, a young wahine full-time B.A. student studying Māori, Education, Geography and Art History.
Māui, a mature tane full-time B.A. student studying Māori, Education and Computer Science.
Ngaire, a mature wahine part-time B.A. student studying Māori, Education and Psychology.
Nuku, a mature tane full-time B.COM/B.SC student studying Māori, Maths, Computer Science and Information Systems.
Rangimārie, a mature wahine part-time B.A. student studying Māori, Education and Art History.
Tania, a mature wahine part-time B.A. student studying Psychology.
Tiaho, a young wahine full-time B.A./LLB student studying Māori, Law, American Studies and Art History.

By the time I had gathered together these eleven students, the need to have a representative mix was no longer an issue. I came to realise that not only was a representative mix almost an impossibility to achieve, but also the notion of representative mix was inconsistent with the kind of research I was undertaking. I was not doing research that intended to make claims of generalisability or replicability (and hence validity) in any strong sense, rather my research was grounded in illuminating the experiences of particular Māori students at one particular university. In taking such a stance, I am not making the claim that the experiences of these students can be said to be the same for all Māori tertiary students or across similar groups of students, although I do acknowledge that there may well be points of similarity. Nor, am I making the claim that the 'findings' in this research can be reproduced in other research. But, as it turned out the kaikōrero did represent as diverse a group as I could have hoped to select. And as you will come to see, I still had to divest myself of my need to do a study that was representative of the Māori student population.

The formation of two roopū rangahau
Getting together a diverse group of students, studying in a range of courses with all sorts of outside commitments, became a logistical nightmare when it came to organising hui rangahau – research hui. To begin with, I had planned to meet with the students as one group each university term, which meant three hui a year. The university then was under the old system of a three-term year, and although it was in the process of changing to a semester format, it hadn’t been fully implemented. But, what I had planned and what eventuated were two different things. Firstly, it was difficult to get the eleven students together, but
more importantly the young students decided that they wanted to meet on their own. So, by the time I was ready to begin gathering their stories two smaller research groups had formed. The four young students formed one group, while the seven mature students the other. As I began to organise their kōrero, it became obvious that their stories needed to be acknowledged as being situated within their particular group contexts, so I named each group after a native bird known for their singing and calling. Thus, the young students became Ngā Korimako, and the mature students Ngā Titipounamu. As such, they are metaphors for the articulate and beautifully rich contributions each of the students made as individuals, as well as for recognising the contributions of each group.

Getting together
As I mentioned earlier, I had planned to meet with the students each university term – three times in 1996 and twice in subsequent years. Although I endeavoured to keep to this schedule, it didn’t always work out. Work, family and study commitments took precedence over attending hui, which meant some hui were attended by only one or two students, while at other times they had to be re-scheduled altogether. Twice they did not happen at all. Over the course of the three years 13 hui in total were held – six in 1996, four in 1997 and three in 1998. These hui were the primary focus and source, though not exclusively, of the data for my study. Over the course of the three years I also conducted individual interviews with some of the students. The primary purpose of these interviews was firstly to gather background information on each of the students. Concerned to respect their privacy, I thought individual interviews would best be suited for that. Secondly, I requested an interview with them in the event that they left university before completing their degree. There was a mixed response to my request for individual interviews. The mature students were willing to be interviewed individually while the young students did not see the need for them, and were happy to talk about their personal details in their group. ‘Leaving’ interviews proved difficult to arrange. For some students, leaving occurred so suddenly that they were gone before I knew it. For a couple of students, the plans I made to meet and talk to them about their decisions to leave fell through. In two instances I didn’t interview them in person, but talked to them over the phone. In all, I conducted nine individual interviews – six ‘background’ and three ‘leaving’ interviews. All up, over the span of three years I had carried out 22 hui and interview sessions with the kaikōrero.

Over time a number of students left university and consequently the research project. Three mature students pulled out of university before they had begun participating in hui. Tania left before the first hui had been organised, while Haami and Ngaire left soon after the first one. But, before Haami left I had recorded an interview with him. Consequently Ngaire and Tania’s voices are not present in this thesis.
A second group of kaikōrero
The eleven kaikōrero were not the only students I talked with. Although the kaikōrero were the primary focus of my study, I also talked with other Māori students who were not part of my longitudinal study. The rationale for interviewing these students was to gain further insight into the stories I was gathering from the kaikōrero. The students who participated in this part of my research were all students or groups of students who I knew. Most of them knew that I was doing ‘some’ kind of research and were only too keen to take part when I asked them. Like the first year students, they too were given a panui telling them about my research (see Appendix E). Seven interviews were conducted with these students. Five of those were with individual students, while two were with groups of students. It is only now, when I look back on who were interviewed that I see I continued to be concerned with issues of representation. The students I chose to interview individually were studying in a range of degree programmes where few Māori students were enrolled in fine arts, forestry, and engineering degrees. Some were young and some were mature. In addition, I interviewed a group of Māori engineering students and a group from Ngā Peka Mātauranga. Although these interviews were taped and transcribed, and were included in the early analysis, when it came to writing the thesis I made the decision to not include these students’ kōrero. I had more than enough kōrero from the kaikōrero, and felt it was important for the overall coherence of the thesis to use only their stories. Therefore the voices of these additional students are not ‘physically’ present in the thesis. However, their contributions have informed and enriched my thinking and consequently, what I have written. In that sense, they are still very much a part of it.

Te Kohinga Kōrero: collecting their stories
When I began collecting their stories, Ngā Titipounamu were the first of the two groups to come together. Their hui was held in one of the teaching rooms in the Education Department. I had a tape recorder ready to record the session if the students agreed (and they did), and food laid out on the table. Out of the six students I was expecting, three turned up. The kaupapa of this first hui, as well as for Ngā Korimako, was different to all the hui that would follow in that they were semi-structured sessions. There were a number of issues that I wanted to discuss at these first hui. To begin with, it was important that we formally introduce ourselves, even though by the time we met we had all got to know one another. Only after that did we discuss the research, what I was venturing to do and what participating in it would mean for them. I was at pains to ensure that they understood what they were agreeing to. I also wanted to talk through the issue of participating in these hui in terms of personal responsibility within the group, particularly as it related to the issue of confidentiality. We talked about supporting one another in our endeavours, and I undertook to support them in any way I could. Lastly, I came to these first hui with a loose set of questions to
Upoko Tuaima: te hongi

ask about their aspirations and their initial experiences of university life. Thus I took a more active role in the first hui, which also served to help ‘break the ice’.

Subsequent hui were informal forums where the students could discuss whatever they wanted. If I had questions it was usually to clarify something said in the previous hui, or something that I wanted immediate clarification on. Sometimes, I was interested in what someone else had to say on the topic under discussion. At the same time, I was not a passive listener mining their words, I also participated in the discussions.

The dynamics of ngā roopū rangahau
All the students who attended the hui were active participants, although not all participated in the same way. There were students who were quiet, who were clowns, who were serious, who were noisy and one who took on the role of leader. Then, there were the group dynamics themselves. An area of study in its own right, their differences fascinated me. I wondered whether my presence had anything to do with that. Although I considered myself to be an insider researcher, a part of the community under study, I recognised that at the same time that I wasn’t. While I was a Māori student like them, I was also unlike them. As a doctoral student and a teaching assistant, I had already ‘made it’.

Added to that, I was old to the young students, being the same age, or perhaps a little older, than their own parents. From the beginning of the research, I was acutely aware of the effect that my age could have on these students, given the interplay of whanaungatanga and the value Māori place on those who are senior. As tuakana those who are senior are treated with respect. Not only was I older, I was also a senior student. Could it be that the young students who were usually quieter and more serious than the mature students, were so because of my ‘double edged’ seniority? A revealing moment in their second hui allayed my anxiety when they were endeavouring to make sense of their own participation at university. Kāhu made the comment that Māori, ‘Don’t want to get educated’ until they are 30 or 40 years old. Tiaho’s response cut across Kāhu’s, with a, ‘Yeh, when it is time for kids, when you’re senile’. In that moment, I knew that the relationship we shared, although it would never be free of distances, was nevertheless one they were comfortable with, in which they could be themselves.

The mature students, on the other hand, were a noisy lot. Sometimes their discussions were very lively, and there was always a lot of laughter. Māui’s presence contributed to the exuberant dynamics of this group, as he was, like his mythic namesake, a ‘trickster’ always ready with a quip. At the same time there was always someone quick to respond. I wondered whether the rapport we shared was because we were all mature students. They brought a wealth of experiences with them when they came to university, and while they might not have been confident in their abilities as students, individually and together they were confident in the relationships they established and maintained. Not only with each other, but also with me. There was very little evidence of the distance between researcher and researched in this group. For example, one time when it
was time for a hui, but I was busy, they set about organising the hui amongst themselves. All I had to do was turn up with my tape recorder.

**Conducting individual interviews**

Whereas the hui were open forums in which the students could say what they wanted, the individual interviews were different. The purpose of the individual interviews was to provide me with their background information, thus I had constructed a list of questions. Although they were semi-structured interviews I tried to maintain a conversational feel to them. The questions were guides or prompts to gathering information, rather than ‘must asks’. These interviews also served as another vehicle through which the students and I could get to know one another. Collecting these stories were intimate affairs. Some of the information the students shared with me was of an intensely personal nature. Seemingly innocent questions, such as what influenced your decision to come to university, could trigger deeply situated narratives of despair and hope. In contrast to these early interviews, the ones I conducted when students left university were conversations rather than structured interviews. Facilitated, I am sure, by the relationship that we had already established.

Collecting the stories from the students who were not part of the longitudinal study, however, were more formal affairs. Generating interviews as conversations were more difficult, despite knowing all but one of the students. The two group interviews were exceptions to this. I think there were two things at play here. Firstly, the emotional relationship I had to these students was very different to that of the kaikōrero and vice versa. Secondly, in contrast to the individual student interviews, the group interviews provided a more supportive forum in which the students could tell their stories. To be fair, the students in these groups knew and studied with each other so their interviews were more like conversations with friends. I had prepared semi-structured interview schedules for these interviews too, but was less reliant on using it.

**Times and places**

Most of the hui and interviews were conducted in the Education Department, either in my room or in one of the teaching rooms. Sometimes though, hui were held elsewhere depending on what suited the students at the time. One hui was held at my home, one at a student’s home, one at the ‘Whare’, the Māori student study centre, and four were held in restaurants. Sometimes going off campus was something we all wanted. Because the students chose where they were to be held, it could take weeks to finalise a hui. Most of the hui were held over lunch or tea. These times seemed to be the most suitable ones around which students were able to meet. As part of the obligation I felt, I always provided a meal for the students. By the third hui the mature students were also bringing food along.

While getting the students together may have been difficult, collecting their stories was a pleasure. Personally, I enjoyed the company of the students while at the same time feeling enriched by their stories. I would like to think that they enjoyed and benefited from their participation in the research too.
Consent forms and negotiated participation
The first time that each of the groups came together the first things we discussed after our mihimihi were the issues of confidentiality, anonymity and respect for each other. As part of the University’s Ethics Committee approval, I was required to ensure that the students knew exactly what they were getting themselves in to (see Appendix F). In particular, the requirements stipulated that I provide them with a consent form to sign (see Appendix G for first year students and Appendix H for returning students). As a kaupapa Māori researcher I consider the Ethics Committee does not go far enough with regard to ensuring the safety and the integrity of research participants. Taking into account the critique Māori have raised with regard to research in and on Māori communities, my concern when I began this project was to ensure absolutely that we all knew what our respective rights and responsibilities were. Not only did I give them the consent forms to sign, I also gave them the option of constructing their own group agreements. As part of our first hui we discussed what they could expect from me, and what their responsibilities as kaikōrero were in return. Interestingly enough, neither group was interested in signing the consent form. They felt it was unnecessary given the verbal undertaking we had made to each other. Take for example Ngā Titipounamu’s kōrero after our mihimihi. After a lengthy discussion on how we were all to conduct ourselves within the hui, Dawn wondered out loud:

Dawn: Mmm. I mean in some respects when we are all talking in the tape and everything, saying our views on that and whether we agree or not – I mean, can’t that be used the same as an agreement?

Māui: Yeh.

Dawn: I mean it would be just like signing what was written. I mean having it on tape would just be the same as that – signing it I mean – it’s similar, similar.

Māui: That’s fine – I think it is a good idea.

One of the students pointed out the seeming contradiction of signing one’s name to a document that at the same time assured one’s anonymity. Of all the students I interviewed, only the Engineering students signed the consent forms. I must confess, that once I had their signed consent forms I didn’t know what to do with them. I don’t recall ever getting anything from the Ethics Committee that told us what to do with the forms once they had been signed. Presently, they lie in the bottom drawer of my filing cabinet and will be destroyed when I destroy the tapes.

Group confidentiality and anonymity
So what was it that we all agreed to? I undertook to ensure that that they would remain anonymous – in my thesis and in my dealings with my supervisors. I also undertook that if they wanted to withdraw any of their contributions, or

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

85
themselves from the research at anytime, then they had the power to do so. I
spelt out that their contributions could only be used for what we agreed upon,
which was the thesis. I also asked their permission to tape our kōrero and
undertook to destroy the tapes, and transcripts I made from them, once I had
completed my thesis. The students, on the otherhand, undertook to respect the
privacy and confidentiality of the other group members. This was very important
because of the nature of the research. Any agreement could not be just between
myself and the students, it needed to be between themselves as well to maintain
the integrity of the group. Neither of the groups had difficulty in accepting this.
Take for example the discussion that the mature students had on the subject.

Hazel: The first thing I want to talk to you about is the kaupapa of these hui – the way
the hui should be structured and what we do in them. To me the first two issues that are
really big are anonymity and confidentiality. I want input from you as to how to deal
with these issues because we are going to be a group, right?, and these issues are going to
become really important. Because when you are sharing stuff about yourselves what is to
be kept confidential? And how can we ensure that everyone’s privacy is respected?

Dawn: I think it goes without saying - just respect.

Māui: I know Nuku reasonably well, but I don’t know Dawn that well. But yeh, what
you say - it is a respect thing.

Nuku: I agree it shouldn’t go beyond this room but I don’t know. I don’t know whether
it is better to have it on paper or whether you’re just gonna trust people not to say
anything. It’s a lot easier to trust people.

Māui: I think that the whānau concept comes in to that as well. I mean, if you do it like a
whānau then the trust should be built into that. If you understand the concept of
whānau – then yeh the trust is built into it.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

Maintaining anonymity and confidentiality

Given the small Māori student population at Canterbury, and the equally small
local Māori community, maintaining anonymity was difficult. This was made
more difficult by the students who themselves were open to talking about being
part of the research to their friends. For example, Māui brought one of his friends
along to one of the hui. However, that didn’t in anyway make the undertakings I
made to them null and void. In the thesis, I have taken a number of measures to
ensure that they remain anonymous in the text. Not only have I changed their
names, I have also kept their iwi affiliations separated from who they are. This
was difficult to do, as their whakapapa is an integral part of their identity. But I
was concerned that their identity could be discerned when their iwi, along with
other aspects of their background were put together. Sometimes their
circumstances or personal attributes made them easily identifiable, so in places I
have omitted what I considered to be revealing information. For example, one of
the students belonged to a club on campus. She found it an immensely
worthwhile experience, but to talk about what she did and the impact it had on
her would immediately make that student identifiable because she was the only
‘brown’ student in the club. In the same vein, when I undertook to ensure their
anonymity I also undertook to maintain their confidentiality. Thus, some of the
students' kōrero have not been included in the thesis because they have not wanted it to be included, and in one instance I have chosen not to include the kōrero from one interview because of the personal nature of the content. Although it has meant that I have not included some things in my thesis that my thesis would otherwise have benefited from, the omissions were easy to make. The undertakings I made to the kaikōrero were, at the end of the day, paramount. This was not so much about keeping one's word as it was about uplifting and maintaining the mana of the students.

**Utu: reciprocity in the research**

The ethics that guided the relationship I had with the students were also informed by the notion of utu or reciprocity. Embracing utu as a guide to practice signals, I think, a shift in the way researchers do research and relate to their research community. I did not want to be the neutral, detached researcher making forays into the research community, gathering data and then leaving. Not only was this offensive to me morally and politically, I just could not do it. In a very real sense I was, and still am, very much part of the Māori student community in which I conducted my research. In a very real sense, I shared in the students' triumphs and despairs, and they shared in mine. We laughed together and at times we cried together. The boundaries between being a researcher and a student, not to mention tutor, woman and mother for me were (and still are) at the best of times fuzzy. Not surprisingly then, the relationship I had with the students were just as fuzzy. My relationships with the students, although established through the research, were more than those typically between the researcher and the researched.

I wanted to acknowledge the valuable contributions the students were making when they shared their stories with me. As far as I was concerned, they were giving to me something precious and I needed to give something back in return. Not only did I feed them, I undertook to support them in their study.

**Hazel:** Māui you pointed out about the whānau, that it has things like trust built into it. It also has other concepts like support and helping one another. I would like to see that kind of support and help given to one another. This is particularly important to me as a researcher because I want to break down the usual relationship between researcher and participants which sees the researcher as someone who stands back from getting involved with their participants. It is my belief that research doesn't have to be like that. In fact this research is built on the basis of supporting and helping one another or what Māui has already pointed out being a whānau.

**Māui:** I tautoko that. I mean if it's what I've been told then to succeed at university you've got to have all the support that you can get. I am willing to do that.

**Dawn:** Yeh, support is really valuable, isn't it?

**Nuku:** Any support I can get is great. Any support I can give out, I'll give it out. I don't mind doing it.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996
Upoko Tuarima: te hongi

So over the course of the three years I read and edited essays, tutored, lent books, and helped them study for their exams. I also helped them out in other ways. Sometimes, they just needed someone who would sit and listen to them; sometimes they needed more. For example, at one time I helped one of the students find a flat, and on other occasions looked after a student’s children. As far as I was concerned that was the least I could do for them, and at times it didn’t seem enough.

The close relationships I had with many of the students had further implications for my research. I was compelled to think about what constituted the research data and what didn’t. What they were sharing with me outside of the research context was just as pertinent to my study, as what was being shared in it. I felt distinctly uncomfortable about using this information because, as far as I was concerned to do so would undermine the trust and confidence that we had established. While I haven’t used these stories as part of my ‘data’, they do nevertheless inform my understanding and enrich my analysis. There were plenty of times when it was difficult separating the ‘data’ from their lives given that it was their lived experience that was under study.

Taping and transcribing interviews and hui
Of all the hui and interviews I conducted all but two were recorded on tape – one hui and one interview. On the first occasion the hui did not get taped because I forgot to put a tape in the machine. Ordinarily this would not have mattered, but we were at a café. Fortunately, I had my diary on me so I took notes. The notes and subsequent ‘write up’ I did was by comparison to the taped and transcribed interviews not sufficient. On the second occasion I deliberately did not tape the leaving interview. I knew in advance what the subject would be and out of respect for the student decided not to tape it. I also knew that I would not be using the content of this interview because it would expose the student’s identity. Of the 29 hui or interviews I conducted 27 were recorded and then transcribed. Most were one and a half hours long. A few were as long as three hours.

Transcribing was a long and slow process. Initially, two things worked against me. Firstly my keyboard skills were woefully lacking and then the quality of the first few tapes was poor. The more tapes I transcribed the better my keyboard skills got, and once I realised that eating, talking and taping do not mix, the process became a little bit faster. The hui where we ate and talked at the same time, record all too clearly the noise of eating and drinking, the clanking of cutlery, the rustling of wrappings, and the students’ running commentary’s on the culinary merits of what we were eating. After spending hours trying to decipher the conversations we were having, I decided that I needed to keep the eating and conversations separate. But of course this posed another dilemma because what was talked about over kai was just as relevant to my study as what I was recording, and in some instances more so. When that happened I would draw them back to their earlier conversation, but often the second telling was not
quite as compelling as the first. Many of my later transcriptions begin with
‘kōrero over kai about... so I started taping’ and end with ‘conversation still going’. It
didn’t seem to matter whether I started with kai or ended with kai, either way
there was always more to tape.

It was also a long and slow process because I chose to ‘write out’ in full what was
recorded on the tapes. This meant that pauses and silences, as well as gestures
and laughter became part of the conversation’s text and context. To do this well I
needed to transcribe the tapes as soon as possible after we met, before time
eroded my memory of the event. If I were honest, my desire to do this arose out
of my naïve belief that I could recapture the pristine conversations that took
place. This, of course, cannot be done. Transcriptions by their very nature are
translations from one language to another, each having its own set of rules. Furthermore, they are interpretive texts - the 27 transcriptions that I have,
captured the conversations as I heard them not as they were spoken. Despite
this, when I read them today I can still ‘hear’ the students speak.

When I finished transcribing each tape, I gave the students a copy of the
transcription to read and to comment on. Usually this happened at least a couple
of weeks prior to their next scheduled hui. They were asked to bring the read
transcript along to that hui with any feedback written on it. I was concerned that
what I had transcribed was an accurate reflection of their kōrero. If I misheard or
simply got things wrong I needed to know so that I could make the necessary
changes. This was also an opportunity for them to censor any information that
they didn’t want used in the thesis. There was only one instance in three years
where a student changed something in a transcript.

Their reactions to their conversations were interesting. Although I warned them
that their conversations were written as they spoke them, therefore not
conforming to the rules of the written language, many of the students
commented on what they perceived to be their inarticulateness. By the way they
spoke and joked about it, I sensed that they were embarrassed by what they
considered to be their poor English, despite my efforts to tell them otherwise. At
that time, I was concerned to maintain their authentic voices by not editing their
work. But their responses made me think about what maintaining their authentic
voice might mean for them when the thesis was published. To present their
kōrero as they spoke it, I suspected would belittle them. I did not want to
whakaiti them or make them feel small. Thus, to maintain their mana, their
kōrero has been minimally edited to preserve the integrity of their speech as they
spoke it, yet at the same time conform to the rules of written language.

After the first few hui/interviews, I noticed that the students were beginning to
forget to take their transcripts when they were given to them. And when I got
them back, they would appear to have been unread. I wondered why. Were they
happy with what I was doing? Were they too busy to comment? Perhaps they
were too embarrassed? Maybe they didn’t want to be critical of me? When I
pointed out what was happening they weren’t concerned to have a copy or read the transcripts, so I stopped giving them back. But I remained concerned.

Transcribing the tapes was also a long and slow process because I used the time as I transcribed to begin the analysis. As I sat listening to the students’ conversations and transcribing them, I made notes to myself and developed, as I went, a preliminary set of codes for each hui/interview. In between hui, I spent a great deal of time thinking about what was emerging from the data.

* Ngā Kōrero: their stories

Immersing myself in the data

Once the interviewing was over and the last hui transcribed, I looked forward to immersing myself in the data and getting to know it intimately. But things have a habit of not going according to plan. At this time personal circumstances put a halt to my working on my thesis. Rather than immersing myself in the students’ kōrero I ended up ‘hovering’ around it, thinking about it – a lot. Some time later, back on track, and with the preliminary codes from each of the transcripts still ‘hovering’, I went back to listening, then reading and rereading them all. As I went I checked to see whether the codes held up, whether they needed refining or deleting, or whether new ones needed to be created. I worked backwards and forwards between the students’ kōrero and the codes to refine and rework the themes that emerged. But it seemed that the more I coded to make sense of the data, the further I moved away from understanding it. Much of the data could be multiply coded. Some data textually made sense to be in particular codes but when viewed contextually made no sense at all. Simply, the students’ kōrero defied coding into single units. Their kōrero was complex and always contextually situated. Breaking it down into small manageable ‘bits’ didn’t seem to fit the phenomenologically based study I was doing or my philosophical moorings. It just didn’t feel right. I began to balk at fragmenting the students’ kōrero into ‘bite-size’ pieces. Noam Chomsky’s critique of the news came to mind. I felt that just as the news is broken down into ‘bites’ to make it more palatable, I was doing the same with the data to make it easier to organise. And just as the news distorts what is really happening in the world, I felt that the kind of coding I was doing was fragmenting and decontextualising the students’ kōrero.

Strands of meaning

In the end, I organised the students’ kōrero into themes, basic themes that maintain the integrity and context of what they said and accommodate the codes that I had produced. No longer were they disembodied bits of information. In a sense they became something else. It was helpful for me to think about them as strands of meaning that needed to be part of a bigger picture to have any meaning. Here I invoke the kete as a way into understanding and articulating my nascent thoughts. Not exactly an original metaphor, an appropriate one
nevertheless. Kete, in addition to being practical articles used in everyday life, have always been, since Tane’s journey, a metaphor for knowledge. How kete are made depends on why they are made. For example, rourou – food baskets – are made differently to kete whakairo – decorative baskets. But no matter how they are constructed, they are all woven from strands of fibre - harakeke, pingao, kiekie and so on. The point is that the strands that make up a kete are the kete, but they only become the kete after they have been woven together.

The themes that I came up with are essentially narratives in nature with a beginning, middle and end. They reflect somewhat chronologically the events that gave rise to the students’ journeys into and experiences of university life. Having moved from abstraction and back again, I reworked each of the transcripts and the codes into the new framework of analysis. I hope this has allowed me to tease out the multiple layers of their kōrero, and the meanings they attach to them, however mundane they might seem to others.

This didn’t mean that making sense of the students’ kōrero became any easier, only that it did make sense to see it like this. It still presented me with challenges, as I had to come to accept that knowing the ‘data’ would ever only be partial, never complete. There will always be the possibility of other ways of looking at it and understanding it\(^\text{35}\). I also came to the realisation that ordering people’s lives in unambiguous ways is an impossibility. We are, by our nature complex and contradictory beings\(^\text{36}\). It has made me think about all the studies I have read over the years that have impressed me with their ‘tidily’ presented findings and my earlier desire to emulate them. I wonder now, what was unseen, what was left out, what could have been.

**Choosing their stories**

Whereas I had begun to wonder what other researchers had left out of their research, I was about to confront that very issue myself. Beginning afresh, my new narrative schema was recorded in what became my bible - the ‘blue book’. In it the themes for each hui and interview are set out and it records the line and page numbers of the chunks of conversation that are relevant to each theme. I then transferred this information to computer files, opening up a file for each theme and placing in it the raw conversational data from all the transcripts related to that theme. Some of these files were very long (58 pages), some were short (6 pages). I then reworked the data on these files, edited the students’ language and at that point made decisions about which conversations would become part of the written thesis. This was as much a pragmatic call as it was one driven by my theoretical positioning. Did the conversation add to the overall analysis? Did it really fit the theme? Had it been used elsewhere? Did the content expose the students’ identities? These were some of the questions that I asked myself. Although, in all honesty I cannot say that the decisions I made were the ‘best’ ones. For this thesis, at this time I think they are\(^\text{37}\). By the time I had finished analysing the data (is it ever complete?) I had ended up with a number of files of themed data. I should have known that this was not the end of it.
Further changes were needed when the files were put together and written into the thesis.

**Writing their stories**
I came to this project with ideas about what I wanted to do, how I wanted to do it, as well as what my finished thesis would be like. As I have made my way through the research process I have been significantly changed, and as a result, the focus of the thesis has changed, as has the way I have written it. The moment of change for me was the move to a narrative style of writing. This is a significant departure for me from when I first conceptualised my study. The ‘break’ came when my supervisors, ever so gently, got me thinking about the way I was writing. My writing was not engaging them and was not working for me. At one supervision meeting it was suggested that I write my thesis for my daughters, so I went home and began (re)writing. I didn’t have a clear idea of what I was doing, but I sat down and wrote a story about my childhood and its significance to me and my being. That story grew into the first part of Upoko Tuarua and signified a shift from an authoritative academic style of writing to the genre of storytelling. Although I cannot deny that it has, at times, been difficult to maintain (I still find myself slipping back into old habits), it is a style that I am at home with. It certainly is a style that is consistent with the narrative quality and feel of a Māori world view. Whilst I might ‘be at home’ in this genre I do catch myself worrying about how it will be received in the academic world. After all, this is a thesis and will be assessed. I find this anxiety to be rather ironic given my stance as a kaupapa Māori researcher challenging orthodox research paradigms, and despite postmodern challenges to the privileging of one type of text over another. It points to the need to be ever reflective about what I do and why I do it and ever vigilant against colonising practices. As a Māori researcher this is hard work.

**And rewriting their stories**
When I began (re)writing my thesis I did not know anything about narrative inquiry, or indeed much about storytelling except for a common sense understanding. Intuitively, it felt right so I kept on writing. My supervisors liked what I was writing, so I kept on writing. Very quickly I became aware of the impact that the change of writing style had on the whole of my research endeavour. Although I was aware of writing as a method of inquiry - a method of knowing and knew from my own experience of the potential writing has for changing the way we think, I didn’t bargain on such a big shift to occur. I was ‘shifting’ personally as well as professionally. In order to have an understanding of my writing process (for my own sake as well as to provide a rationale for the readers of this thesis), I needed to at least have more than a common sense understanding of storytelling. Reading about storytelling in research led me to the underlying methodology of narrative inquiry. A change of writing style, along with the dissatisfaction with how I was making sense of the students’ kōrero, meant a re-examination of the way I was not only looking at the data but also the way I had planned to write it up. I moved from thinking about ‘documenting their experiences’ to ‘retelling their stories’. The change in my
language signaled the kind of shift I made to a narratively inspired thesis. Personally, I am enriched by having another way of seeing the world, more importantly, my daughters too, as I share what I have with them.

Writing two texts
In practice, what has this meant for the writing of this thesis? Before I had been introduced to the idea of writing my thesis in the genre of narrative I had come across Bruce Lincoln’s Theorizing Myth: narrative, ideology and scholarship. In it he argues that myths are ideologies told in narrative form, while academic writing is myth with footnotes. The idea appealed to me at the time, and became useful when I needed to re-think the organisation of my thesis. When I began to (re)write I became aware that there were two texts being written. One story was being written to my daughters, the other was being written ‘behind it’, as it were, providing a more theoretically based account. I set out these two narratives in various ways to see how they could best be told simultaneously. I decided against putting the two texts together. Privileging the story that I was telling to my daughters, I didn’t want it ‘interrupted’ by the secondary text. Remembering Lincoln’s words, the secondary (more academic) narrative literally became the ‘footnotes’. However, retelling the students’ kōrero has required a different way of writing. Still within the genre of storytelling my primary concern has been to maintain the students’ own voices in the text.

When I began this research project I had definite ideas about who this thesis was for. As a kaupapa Māori researcher my thesis belongs to the Māori community, so politically and ethically this project has been for Māori and especially for young Māori. On the other hand, I cannot ignore that the thesis ‘belongs’ to the university as well. As a thesis fulfilling Ph.D. requirements it has to meet certain regulations. At times I have seen these two audiences as being incompatible. At times the academic style of writing and the canon, which underpins it, has seemed a long way away from the world of ordinary people, myself included. But ‘academic speak’ is not necessarily the language of the academy. While it has been used to keep people out, therefore maintaining the academy’s ‘mystery’ (read eliteness), it does not need to be so. The challenge has been to write a thesis that demystifies the language of the academy and which democratises it in the process, in the words of Laurel Richardson to make it vital.

As I have come to reflect more on the process of writing the thesis, I have come to see that the 'two texts' can be viewed as a conversation between not just two genres and audiences but also between two world views. In conducting such a conversation I hope it is apparent that these two worlds can talk with one another: are not mutually exclusive.

A project continually in the making
What I rather naively considered to be a straightforward research project about Māori students when I began my doctoral studies in 1996 became anything but the moment I began. At first I worried that this might have adversely affected my
thesis. But then as I talked with other graduate students I began to realise that my journey in this respect was no different to other researchers. Yet, I came across very few written accounts that talked openly and honestly about the 'messiness' of doing research\textsuperscript{54}. It really should have come as no surprise that my research journey did not proceed in the systematic and linear fashion that I thought it would. Indeed the writing of this thesis continues to change me and in the process change as well. As I continue to write, think, rewrite and rethink the thesis the more changes I would like to make. But whatever its final shape, I hope I have captured the essence of the eleven Māori students who enrolled at the University of Canterbury for the first time in 1996. After all it is their story that I tell.
End Notes

1 Although integral to a kaupapa Māori research stance, I want to convey here the importance I placed on doing research that was sensitive to and met the needs of the students who agreed to take part in my study. My desire to place an emphasis on 'ethicality' (Bishop, 1991; Durie, 1998; Henry, 1999; Jackson, 1996; Nikora, 1993) was informed by my awareness of the tensions around doing research that is openly partisan (Lather, 1986). The implication of doing research that is positioned as political is that the researcher may impose his or her own emancipatory agenda on the community in which he or she is researching (Lather, 1994), precisely because the researcher, considered the 'expert' in the research relationship, is in a position of power that enables him or her to initiate the research, generate the research questions, develop a methodology and interpret data in the name of emancipatory research. This was a constant concern for me as I negotiated my way through doing the research, interpreting the stories I collected, and then when I sat down to write it all up. Although researchers doing critically oriented research raise researcher bias as an issue to confront (Bishop 1994; Ellsworth, 1989), it forms the basis of an argument against it by practitioners of positivistic research who argue for objective research and a neutral researcher (Marie, 1999). As part of a group of people who have been marginalised in the name of objective research and the gaze of the 'neutral' researcher such misrecognition ignores the socially and culturally constituted and mediated nature of research. Researcher bias or imposition, I argue, exists in all research that is conducted, irrespective of the paradigm in which it is located. What then, can we do as a researcher? In short, open our selves to scrutiny. As Harding (1987: 9) asserts the assumptions, beliefs and behaviours of the researcher must be placed within the 'frame of the picture that she/he attempts to paint'. Thus, I was concerned to be visible in the research, not as an 'anonymous voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests' (Harding, 1987: 9). According to Harding, putting myself into the research has not only increased the ability to assess the research it has also decreased objectivism that obscures all the research evidence from scrutiny.

We need to avoid the "objectivist" stance that attempts to make the researcher's cultural beliefs and practices invisible while simultaneously skewering the research objects beliefs and practices to the display board. Only in this way can we hope to produce understandings and explanations which are free (or, at least, more free) of distortion from the unexamined beliefs and behaviors of social scientists themselves. Another way to put this point is that the beliefs and behaviors of the researcher are part of the empirical evidence for (or against) the claims advanced in the results of research...Introducing this "subjective" element into the analysis in fact increases the objectivity of the research and decreases the "objectivism"
which hides this kind of evidence from the public.

Harding, 1987: 9

Whilst such a stance may increase the 'goodness'/rigour of the research, at the same time it increases a researcher's vulnerability. No longer is there space to hide behind the veneer of being an objective neutral researcher who searches out knowledge that exists independently in the world.

² Crotty (1998: 13-14) argues that researchers, whatever the framework that they operate in, are inherently creative because 'every piece of research is unique and calls for a unique methodology'.

³ I am referring here to how well it corresponds to the experiences of the intended audience, in this instance Māori. A methodological concern, the issue of 'validity' in qualitative research has been hotly contested. The arguments range from those who argue for its retention within qualitative research paradigms and those who reject it as having no relevance what so ever. Schwandt (1997: 169-167) identifies four different positions: first there is 'fallibilistic validity' which refers to the plausibility of an account, that is, whether it accurately represents the phenomena under study or not; second there is 'relativized validity' which acknowledges the importance of context to research. Thus validity is 'relative to the standards of a particular community at a particular place and time. Thirdly, there are those who argue that it is meaningless to talk of a true account of the world given its socially constructed nature. These theorists argue that there is 'no validity' at all because there can be no single, superior apprehension of the world. Fourthly, there is 'non-epistemic validity'. From this perspective research is judged on other criteria than on its ability to apprehend and construct knowledge. Therefore 'validity may be interpreted as a criterion of good communication or dialogue; the focus shifts from whether an account is true to how the account was formed in conversation between inquirer and participants. Validity may also be interpreted as a criterion of action such that an account is considered valid if it leads to change, empowerment, and so on'. Except for the argument that there is no validity at all I do not see that these different positions are mutually exclusive. As a kaupapa Māori researcher I am not only concerned with the accuracy of the representation of the stories I gathered, I am also concerned to acknowledge the context within which the stories and the research arose. Thus I was concerned to do research that would make a difference – not just for now but for future generations. Moana Jackson (1998: 77) put it beautifully when he spoke at Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference:

If I have a request... it is the hope that we reclaim, for ourselves, our own reality. That we be brave enough not just to do research which will have a practical application in the world as it is, but rather that we are visionary enough to undertake research that will help our people in a world as it is may be. That we be not afraid to dream, and that we accept that if we are a spiritual people, and I believe we are, then we understand that the spirit is the base of our dreams. For if we conduct research in a dreamless world then we do not create a vision of hope for our mokopuna.
Implicit in privileging Māori ways of knowing and being, as well as research practices is a critique of much of what has passed as research as it relates to Māori since European colonisation.

To me the use of the phrase worldview as outlined in the previous Upoko is synonymous with the concept of paradigm. Specifically I am thinking of Kuhn's (1962) notion of paradigm, which he likens to a cognitive road map. He argues that a paradigm is a prerequisite to perception itself, that is, what I see depends not only what I look at but also what my previous experiences have taught me to see (Kuhn, 1996: 187). In other words ‘paradigms are taken-for-granted assumptions, norms, values, and traditions that create and institutionalize the ontological roots of knowledge definitions and productions’ and are the products of particular cultural, historical and socio-political times (Stanfield II, 1994: 181).

Linda Smith (1999) in Decolonising Methodologies briefly raises the issue of whether kaupapa Māori research is a paradigm or not. She calls attention to the reluctance of some Māori working in the field to engage in such a debate ‘because it sets up comparisons with Western science, which is exactly what kaupapa Māori is resisting’ (Smith, 1999: 190). But to engage in oppositional research is in effect engaging in the debate anyway. To put forward and argue for a kaupapa Māori research project as an alternative to Western science requires some critical engagement with it. In many cases these critiques are explicit, for example see Kathie Irwin (1994), Russell Bishop (1996a), Graham Smith (1997), Linda Mead (Smith) (1996), Linda Smith (1999) and the various researchers and academics who presented at the Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference (1998).

Whakapapa, according to Taki (1996) is the bridge between the ancient and contemporary Māori worlds through which Māori ways of knowing are sustained.

I have primarily drawn on two Māori kaupapa Māori researchers to inform my ethical practice. Ārohia Durie (1998) focuses on mana as a frame for her model of ethical research. She is concerned with the rights of all people that participate in the research arguing that the processes and outcomes need to people oriented. Her model is based around three aspects of mana - mana tangata, mana whakahaere, and mana motuhake.

- Respect
- Safety
- Mutuality
- Collaboration
- Control
- Outcomes
- Benefits

Linda Mead’s (1996) cultural ethics is based on whakapapa rather than mana, but nevertheless, inscribes the way in which mana is facilitated in the research process. She outlines seven principles of ethical conduct that are derived from sayings that are frequently heard on marae, at hui and, generally, in Māori encounters. They include:

- aroha ki te tangata – a respect for people
• kanohi kitea – the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face
• tītīro, whakarongo... kōrero – look, listen... speak
• manaaki ki te tangata – share and host people, be generous
• kia tupato – be cautious
• kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata – do not trample over the mana of people
• kaua e mahaki – don’t flaunt your knowledge

8 Not only does this make sense from a Māori worldview, it is also a research method that Clandinin and Connelly (1994) posit. Conversations, they argue, enrich the research process by taking experience beyond what is possible in interviews. Research as conversation foregrounds the importance of respect, reciprocity and caring between researcher and researched, placing the relationship between the researcher and research community at the centre of the research. As a kaupapa Māori researcher I would have it no other way (see Upoko Tuatoru). As it turned out, our conversations (as the social context in which stories were told and retold) became not only the phenomena under study but also the method (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990).

9 I am indebted to Kathie Irwin (1994) and Russell Bishop (1991; 1994) for their trailblazing in kaupapa Māori research methodology as it relates to whānau and hui.

10 Metge (1990)

11 There are exceptions to this, for example wānanga in which groups have come together for learning. In the spirit of the learning all participants are expected to participate.

12 What I am getting at here is a form of research triangulation where events, legends, actions and attitudes are subjected to peer scrutiny and evaluation (Denscombe, 1995).

13 I am referring here to the way in which we are, as human beings, ‘storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives’ (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990: 2). That is, people not only live their stories (read experiences) they also tell the stories of their lives to themselves as well as others. Indeed, the social context of living in, and expressing ideas about the world is critical in a person’s subjective understanding of self as well as their understanding of others (Bruner, 1990; Gergen, 1999; Shotter, 1993). While we understand our world through narratives, they also shape our experiences. Indeed the very shape of our lives - the rough and perpetually changing draft of our autobiography that we carry in our minds - is understandable to ourselves and to others only by virtue of (our) cultural systems of interpretation. Bruner, 1990: 33

Language is central to this process, not just for those who do the telling, it equally applies to those who do the listening (Marsden, 1992; Gergen, 1999; Shotter 1993).

14 At the same time that I took my cue from a specifically Māori world view I was also mindful of (1) the underlying social constructionist framework I was operating from, as well as (2) the issue of researcher imposition. While in the beginning I was not fully conversant with the narrative approach that was unfolding along with the research project, I was, nevertheless, concerned to
foster a research environment in which the students' voices were paramount. Within this research space, where the students and I were operating on the same critical plane, the students largely directed the research. What was important for the kaikōrero was all important for the research. Despite, the tension that (always) exists around the asymmetrical relations of power between researcher and researched, the 'data gathering' phase of the research was collaboratively constructed. In the words of Russell Bishop (1994), we were 'co-researchers'. While I privileged the students' voices in the research I was also endeavoring to minimise my own possible researcher bias. I came to the research without any set ideas about what might be important to those students who agreed to participate in the research. As a Māori student myself, I did have my own experiences to draw from, but I was concerned that they did not influence the contributions of the kaikōrero. Making the data fit the theory is often levelled at research that falls outside of the scientific tradition, especially in research that is partisan. Russell Bishop (1994: 180) in reflecting on his own critical research argues that his analysis of colonisation was 'reduced to the dialectic of hegemony and counter hegemony resistance. ...[O]n reflection, this ignored the range and scope of allegiances, support systems, conflicts and struggles that developed during this period, and denied my ancestors their own "voice" when explaining their reasons for making decisions and choices'. Bishop's analysis highlights the way in which theoretical imposition can limit our understanding, in this case by focussing on general insights rather than specific understandings, of dualisms rather than multiplicities (Calhoun, 1995).


16 There has been a trenchant critique by Māori, and by indigenous peoples the world over, of who should and should not be doing research in their communities (Mead, 1996; Smith, 1999). This critique has arisen out of the concerns Māori have about being researched by 'outsiders' who have historically misread, misinterpreted and misrepresented Māori. Although being a Māori researcher does not necessarily equate to being a kaupapa Māori researcher, it does at least open the door to Māori communities that have become increasingly suspicious of research and being researched.

17 Cram (2001a)

18 The issue of a 'representative mix' of participants is more an issue for positivistic researchers who consider such a mix is important for the validity of their projects in which they claim their findings represent the world as it really is. The underlying assumptions of such claims are that, firstly the world can be apprehended in such a way, and secondly that such apprehensions are true (Schwandt, 1997). Rather than making absolute claims, I am seeking to understand eleven Māori students' experiences at a particular institution within a particular socio-historical context (Lather, 1991).

19 Tierney (1992) succinctly expresses a similar experience for Native American students as 'official encouragement, institutional discouragement'.

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This list does not include the iwi affiliations of three students. Tania and Ngaire left the university before the hui had got underway and Dawn, adopted at birth, did not know hers.

Hone was hard to place. At first he enrolled to do a Commerce degree, but changed very early on to Law, finally he ended up enrolled in the B.A. programme.

With a change to a narratively inspired thesis, which, I argue, better reflects the phenomenological study I undertook, I still needed to divest myself of postpositivist notions in which objective truth and meaning remain the goal of social research (Crotty, 1998). Like Michael Crotty (1998: 184), I consider postpositivism can be understood in the 'broad tradition of positivism' rather than outside of positivism's 'theoretical hegemony' (Lather, 1991:6). Put simply, I needed to ensure that the research was consistent with my theoretical perspective. The contradiction of desiring a representative mix in a research project rooted in the nature of the students' lived realities became more and more apparent as I grappled with being a researcher.

The underlying point I want to make here is that I take a relativistic stance, one which according to Crotty (1999: 64) is 'in order' given my social constructionist standpoint in which understandings are tentative interpretations rather than eternal truths.

A certain relativism is in order, therefore. We need to recognise that different people may well inhabit quite different worlds. Their different worlds constitute for them diverse ways of knowing, distinguishable sets of meanings, separate realities. Thus, this research cannot be considered as a representation of reality that can be universally applied. However, I do not ascribe to extreme relativism in which there can be no similarities or points of connection between people. In the case of this research there are points of similarity (firstly) between Māori students' experiences, and (secondly) between Māori students' experiences and indigenous students elsewhere. For example see William Tierney's 1993 Official Encouragement, Institutional Discouragement: Minorities in academe - the native American experience and Carol Barnhardt's 1994 doctoral thesis Life on the other side: Alaska native teacher education students and the University of Alaska Fairbanks. Nor do I ascribe to a relativism in which 'anything goes'. For this study the claims I make have meaning for those I write for - Māori and the academe. Bruner (1990: 25) sums it up in this way: "constructivism's basic claim is simply that knowledge is "right" or "wrong" in light of the perspective we have chosen to assume".

Ngā Peka Mātauranga is a private education provider catering for adult students who want to re-enter the education system. They teach courses in te reo, tikanga and Māori performing arts. They also provide a course that supports students studying te reo at the University of Canterbury. I interviewed a group of students doing this course.

The decision to use only the experiences of the eleven students who first enrolled at university in 1996 was both an easy and difficult one to make. When I began the research it was thought (in consultation with my supervisors) that
other Māori students' experiences would enrich the research, and perhaps extend the analysis. The underlying assumption to this decision was that extending the research to include further students' experiences would increase the validity of any claims I might make. As I became immersed in the process of doing the research I came to see that this desire for validity was at odds with my actual researcher stance. What counts as valid data is not about the number of students who have the same or similar experiences. This positivist view flies in the face of qualitative research and in particular narrative inquiry in which all phenomena/stories are valued. On that basis, the (rather pragmatic) decision to not include these students was easy to make when I began to write the thesis, because it was only then, when I began writing/telling this story, that I was able to make sense of it (Denzin, 1994; Richardson, 1994). Furthermore, doing justice to the kōrerorero of the students I tracked through their time at university was enough of a challenge when it came to writing in the complexity of their lived experiences (Steiner, 2002).

26 Whilst positioning myself as an insider researcher within the Māori community, I acknowledge that I simultaneously belong to other communities as well (Narayan, 1993). Add to that the multiple ways in which one can be Māori, the issues of access into the Māori student community and rapport between the students and myself, therefore, could never be taken for granted.

27 Māui, the mythic hero, was known as the trickster. The deeds attributed to him were because of his high-spirited incorrigible nature. Māui and his rebellious nature opened up the possibility of challenge and change in traditional Māori society.

28 The earliest critique by Māori of Western researchers I have come across is by Makereti (1938). In The Old-time Maori (her unsupplied doctoral thesis which was published after her death) she is critical of researchers who, with no understanding of the epistemological and ontological base of Māori, have interpreted the Māori world from their own Western moral position. More recent critiques can be found in the writings of kaupapa Māori researchers. See several examples Ngahuia Te Awekorotuku’s (1991) He Tikanga Whakaaro: Research Ethics in the Māori Community, Russell Bishop’s (1994) Initiating Empowering Research?, Mason Durie’s (1996) Characteristics of Māori Health Research and Linda Smith’s (1999) Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.

29 The beginning 10-15 minutes of Ngā Korimako’s first hui was not recorded. After the mihimihi and seeking permission to record our hui, I forgot to put the tape on. It was only after checking the tape recorder that I found I had not turned it on. At the time I was relieved that I had discovered my lapse before the ‘research proper’ had begun. It was only when I began writing this chapter did I realised the value of their ‘lost’ kōrero. Despite this, the kaikōrero in Ngā Korimako, like the kaikōrero in Ngā Titipounamu, did not feel that signing a consent form was necessary.

30 This research project as a whole was based on establishing and maintaining tika relationships (see Upoko Tuatouru). Tika relationships are dependent on manaaki, aroha and utu - supporting one another, empathy, caring, and reciprocity. The establishment of tika relationships would not have happened if I had separated
myself from the kaikōrero and operated on a different plane (Harding, 1987). As part of the research community, I invested my (subjective) self in the process and with the students (Ellis, 1992; Ellis, 2000; Hill-Collins, 1991; Smith, 1999; Waitere-Ang, 1998). According to Gergen (1994), such an investment on an emotional level is not an individualistic enterprise, it is a constitutive feature of social relationships.

31 Whilst as a kaupapa Māori /insider researcher I had obligations to the students that went beyond the 'usual' relationship between researcher and researched I consider there were spin-offs in being such a researcher. Being 'in there' with the students fostered the 'grounds for mutual and deep disclosure' (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997: 102).

32 Kvale (1996a: 166)


34 I took my lead from Strauss’ (1987) prescriptive account of coding in Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists. Although a ‘how to’ book for a grounded theory approach to research, it is also a helpful manual for qualitative researchers in general.

35 From a Heideggerian perspective, Steiner (2002) argues that a holistic understanding of the world is undermined by the way researchers delimit (thematise) their research foci. Although Steiner is critical of the way researchers specialise in order to render an area of interest manageable, this I feel can also be applied to the way researchers abstract codes out of the data for the same reason. Heidegger (1927/1996) described a holistic, concrete world constituted by all our life experiences, even the mundane and fleeting, and both personal experiences and those handed down to us by others through education and socialisation. The phenomenon of all these experiences are linked together to create their significance, their ontological essence, the concrete world of experience. The connectedness of this holistic world is undermined by thematisation that detaches phenomena and people from their places within it. Steiner, 2002

36 Herman and Chomsky (1988)

37 Given the narrative framework within which I came to think about and write this thesis, the interpretation and the retelling of the students'/my stories are always up for debate: always ongoing, and only ever partisan and partial (Altheide & Johnson, 1994; Clandinin & Connelly, 1994). Not only are our stories modified through their retelling, they are also inextricably bound to our multiply situated life worlds. At the same time, the interpretation of a text always involves both the writer and reader (Geertz, 1973).

38 Gergen (1996)

39 Steiner (2002)

40 Laurel Richardson (1994: 517) suggests that one reason why qualitative research texts are 'boring' is that "our sense of self is diminished as we are homogenized through professional socialization ...through the suppression of individual voices. We have been encouraged to take on the view of the omniscient voice of science, the view from everywhere". Lather (1991), on the one hand, argues that
in creating alternative knowledges of the world, researchers must necessarily explore alternative ways of presenting and authorising their texts. On the other, Richardson (1994) and Denzin (1994) consider that it is not the paradigm a researcher operates within that is the problem, it is the writer. Richardson, in particular, is concerned with the production of texts that are 'vital' so that people will read them - that will ultimately make a difference. Unlike quantitative research texts that can be scanned via their tables and charts, she argues, qualitative research texts need to be read. She cautions that it is "foolish at best, narcissistic and wholly self-absorbed at worst, to spend months and years doing research that ends up not being read and not making a difference to anything but the author's career" (Richardson, 1994: 517).

This operates on two levels. Firstly, as I have already discussed, narrative is an important component of Māori symbolic and material culture. Stories were the primary way in which knowledge and tradition were passed from one generation to the next. According to Bishop (1996) there is a strong cultural preference among Māori people for narrative. Secondly, at a deeper level, whakapapa the primary framework for Māori reality and identity since time began provides an example of the ontological premise of the storied nature of being.

According to Bernstein (1990), orthodox academic styles of writing serve not the content of work but the perpetuation of administrative apparatuses.

To begin with I was busy 'doing' rather than theorising narrative. When I began to think about a rationale for 'doing' narrative I came across the notion of tacit knowledge within the research context (Altheide & Johnson, 1994). Although the focus was on researchers' use of tacit knowledge in their analyses, I wondered how that could be used to understand what I was doing and why it seemed so right. I was then introduced to the writing of Jerome Bruner (1986, 1990, 1996). It was in The Culture of Education that I came across the idea of 'knowing as doing'. Not the idea that theory informs what we do, but that doing or practice in itself is a way of knowing. I found this idea to be particularly useful in understanding the way I went about 'doing' the writing, but it did beg the question of how I knew what to do in the first place. According to Bruner (1996: 153), culture is 'massively' implicated in this, not only our taken-for-granted actions or 'conventions of practice' but also in the way we think or 'exercise our intelligence'. It is through Bruner's theorising that I have come to understand the embedded and nuanced linkages between what I implicitly and explicitly know and do and my cultural frames of reference.

For example, when I did a search on critical theory and race I came across three articles that started me thinking about storytelling as a legitimate way to write research. They included Solorzano & Yosso's (2001) study of the racism that Latino/a face in the academe, Aguirre's (2000) article on affirmative action in the American academe, and Marker's (2000) study of the impact white racism has on Lumi (Native American) identity. Then, when I began rewriting my thesis I was given Ruth Behar's (1993) Translated Woman to read. This affirmed for me the
direction that I was heading in. At this time, I also re-acquainted myself with
Bishop's (1996) Collaborative Research Stories as well as the various authors in
Denzin and Lincoln's (1994) Handbook of Qualitative Research who had written
about narrative such as Clandinin & Connelly (1994) and Denzin (1994). I then
went in search of other writings and came across Connelly and Clandinin (1990),
and Ellis & Bochner (2000).

47 Lincoln (1999)

48 Although I was not aware of these texts while I was busy rethinking the ways
to write this thesis, Greg Tanaka's and Patti Lather's exemplars of writing
and the Text: re-framing the narrative text, were two of the ways I played around
with rearranging the thesis.

49 The issue of voice and authorial presence is an important matter to consider
(Clandinin and Connelly, 1994; Shwandt, 1994). Whilst letting the students
speak for themselves reflected my desire for an authentic text that conveyed their
lived reality (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997), I recognised, at the same time, the
inherent dilemma in taking such a position. On the one hand, I acknowledge that
the stories the students told were, in the first instance, the students' own
interpretative reflections of their experiences. On the other, no matter how
authentic the students' stories were, in the act of retelling them, they became my
interpretation of their experiences (Denzin, 1994). In the end, as Denzin (1994:
507) puts it "the story that is finally told becomes the researcher's
accomplishment, his or her self-fashioned narration of the subject's story".

50 Ironically, in recent years, it has been postmodern and postcolonial writers
who in their challenging of a system that has disenfranchised and disempowered
certain groups, do exactly the same thing. They exclude those same groups from
engaging in, what can only be described as their dense texts (Katz, 1996).

51 Richardson (1994)

52 Bruner (1990: 55) argues that stories "are especially viable instruments of social
negotiation".

53 In Māori research and writing there has been a stringent critique of western
theory and modes of representation (Smith, 1999; Irwin, 1994; Johnston, 1998;
Mutu, 1998). While there are those who argue that Māori ways of knowing and
representation are incompatible with Western ways of knowing, there are others
who argue that there are commonalities around which a conversation can be
struck. One way of putting this in context is to consider the way in which Māori
and the early settlers conversed with one another. While there has been since the
beginning of settlement a dialogue, it has not always been constructive or based
on a symmetry of power (Jenkins, 2000).

54 I have borrowed the term and its meaning from Nigel Mellor (1998).
Te Mihi

Once inside and seated it is time for the mihi to begin. My brother stands and begins his whaikōrero with a mihi to the whare, to Papa-tu-a-Nuku, to the dead, and to all of us who are present. While he lays out the kaupapa of the hui I go over the waiata tauoko that we have chosen to sing once he finishes. It’s a song I haven’t sung for awhile and despite the ‘run throughs’ we had before the pōwhiri began, some of the words are only just coming back to me. Before we know it, my brother has finished his whaikōrero and we jump to his side and sing...

Te reo karanga o te ra
Te wero, te wero o te takina
Ko to rourou, ko toku rourou
Kia ora i te iwi e

Hikitia, manaakitia, awhinatia te wero
Hikitia, manaakitia, awhinatia te wero

E rapu ana i te ao
Te mātauranga o te Pākehā
Me ngā tikanga Māori
A o tipuna e

Hikitia, manaakitia, awhinatia te wero
Hikitia, manaakitia, awhinatia te wero

The call of the day
to pick up the challenge
this is your concern and mine
for the well being of the people

Lift up, support and help the challenge
Lift up, support and help the challenge
Search the world
Pākehā education
and the ways of
our tupuna

Lift up, support and help the challenge
Lift up, support and help the challenge

Upoko Tuaono outlines the contexts of Māori students’ participation in university education. In two parts, Wāhanga Tuatahi recalls the importance and value Māori have always placed on knowledge. In Wāhanga Tuarua I introduce the students and locate their participation within the wider context of Māori participation at the University of Canterbury as well as across the university sector in.
Everywhere my ancestors went they preserved and handed down the knowledge they had gained since the creation. This was always held to be a strict duty and was gone about very carefully and with much ceremony. When they were coming through the big Hawaikis and also travelling among the island Hawaikis they never neglected to hand this knowledge on, and the same care was taken when they reached New Zealand. Teone Taare Tikao

Like his tupuna before him Teone Taare Tikao of Kai Tahu took care to hand his knowledge on. As a boy he was educated in the old ways under the tutelage of the last two tohuka living on Banks Peninsula. When his father died he became leader of Irahehu and consequently involved in iwi affairs and pan Māori politics. In the latter part of his life, as his health declined, he was concerned to tell the stories of his people so that the vast store of knowledge that he had accumulated, over his full and busy life, would not be lost. He died in 1927 leaving a legacy of waiata, oral and written stories to fill the hearts and the minds of his people. All of us benefit from Teone Taare Tikao and those like him who have shared their knowledge and told their stories over the generations. Without them and the heritage they handed on we would not know who we are, perhaps we would not exist.

Knowledge and its acquisition have always been important to Māori. The stories of mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whanau ki te ao mārama tell us so. Māori tupuna knew only too well that both our cultural as well as physical survival depend on it. It was our tupuna’s considerable knowledge that enabled them to navigate their way across the Pacific to Aotearoa and survive in a land where the plants and animals were different, the land formidable and the climate less hospitable. Not only did their survival depend on the knowledge they brought with them; it also depended on their ability to develop new knowledge. The very fact that they were navigators reflects a people already steeped in a culture of exploration, expanding horizons and therefore the ongoing development of their knowledge base. Our tupuna were not just a group of people who were lucky to land where they did, as history has told and portrayed us, they were explorers, navigators, philosophers and scientists. And, above all else as storytellers they were fundamental to the passing on of the knowledge, values, traditions and the hopes of the people. Thus, when our tupuna brought a complex knowledge base to these shores, they also brought with them an established way of passing it on.

From the beginning, iwi Māori have had an integrated system of teaching and learning that passed on everyday knowledge essential to the economic and social welfare of the people; a more technical knowledge that ensured the ongoing development of skills required in a dynamic society; and esoteric, higher order knowledge where tribal and spiritual lore and tradition were maintained for the benefit of all. The type of knowledge determined where it was taught, who could learn it and by whom it was taught. Knowledge moved from being applied to everyday affairs and informally transmitted to become increasingly formal and
specialised. Twentieth century ‘readings’ identify a three tiered education system in which learning and teaching took place. The first and primary site of teaching and learning was the whānau where a child was socialised into their kin group through being immersed in the everyday affairs of the people. At the next level, knowledge moved from being informally transmitted to becoming formally taught whereby a young adult was ‘apprenticed’ to an expert in order to learn indepth technical knowledge. The zenith of formal and specialised education in the traditional Māori world was the whare wānanga where the teaching and learning of philosophical and spiritual knowledge occurred. As will become apparent such clear-cut demarcations are not altogether evident in the stories that are told in this Upoko. That is because they were not classifications that old-time Māori traditionally made themselves. The classification of a Māori educative tradition into three tiered system in the words of Joan Metge is not a Māori one but simply an attempt to clear the ground and provide a framework for organising discussion.

In this part I trace the practices and mores of a Māori educative tradition. In doing so I reach into the past but equally draw on sources in the present to tell the story of mātauranga Māori. The story that I tell is a tribute to the storytellers whose experiences of growing up within a Māori educative tradition are reflected in their stories that are woven throughout this wāhanga.

Mātauranga Māori

Te manu ka kai i te miro nona te ngahere
Te manu ka kai i te mātauranga nona te ao
The bird that feeds on the miro owns the forest
The bird that feeds on knowledge owns the world

Knowledge is power. This is the message that is contained in the whakatauaki above. Although this is not an ancient whakatauaki the sentiment it contains would have been understood only too well by tupuna Māori who brought mātauranga (Māori) to Aotearoa. I imagine their explorations and subsequent migrations were not possible without their ‘knowing’ the world. Certainly, their ability to adapt to a new world required such an understanding. But then, they would have understood it given that the very fabric of their communities rested on the ‘power’ of knowledge. Knowledge in traditional times was about mana and survival. What this whakatauaki reveals above all else is the importance and therefore value of knowledge to mana, especially as it relates to mana motuhake (self-determination).

A knowledge base
When our tupuna came to these shores they brought with them a knowledge base that was rooted in a particular way of looking at and seeing the world. Earlier we looked at the stories of mai i te kore, i te pō, ki te whiaiao ki te ao mārama and how they express a uniquely Māori view of the world. It is within that unique world view that the knowledge that Māori tupuna brought with them was embedded and handed down from generation to generation.
Therefore, to me, Mātauranga Māori is a way of looking at, understanding and explaining the world from a Māori perspective that is based on traditional concepts which have been handed down.

A system of education
Earlier I bracketed Māori when I used it in connection with mātauranga. My reason for doing this was to make the distinction between old terms and understandings and modern ones. This I consider to be a crucial distinction to make for the purposes of this thesis. Let me explain. Mātauranga is a word – another is wānanga – that tupuna Māori would have known, understood and used for knowledge. Adding Māori to it to make it mātauranga Māori, on the other hand, is a modern term that is commonly understood and used today in a variety of settings to refer to Māori knowledge and education. It is in this sense that I use the word mātauranga Māori to refer holistically to a body of knowledge and a way of teaching and learning that is rooted in a Māori world view. Also, by using mātauranga Māori I am, not only acknowledging a traditional Māori view of knowledge, teaching and learning, but also contemporary developments within the field of kaupapa Māori education and inquiry.

Whānau contexts of learning and teaching

Oriori: the beginnings of an education
Teaching and learning in Māori traditional society began soon after a child was born. Although much of the learning in a child’s early years occurred informally within the day to day activities of the whānau, Māori also actively sought to impart knowledge to their children. Oriori, waiata composed especially for babies and children, are a prime example of the way old-time Māori actively conveyed particular values and knowledge to their children. Although oriori are considered to be lullabies to sing babies to sleep, they were much more than that. Rather, they were carefully crafted pedagogic strategies that conveyed to a child what was considered important for his or her development. The value of oriori lay in their function of telling stories - stories of history, traditions and whakapapa, as well as, stories of inspiration and expectations.

It is time for a woman to give birth. A whare has been built for her away from the village. But she is overdue and her whānau are concerned. Perhaps something is troubling her, perhaps the father. A karakia is recited to remove any obstacles that might be preventing her from going into labour. When she is finally ready to give birth she kneels facing her attendant. They sit close, holding each other. Each time she has a contraction her attendant gently pulls her forward and presses her knees into the top of her abdomen. The stronger the contractions, the harder the attendant pushes. ‘Kia kaha, e whaea’.

Another karakia is recited:
Haramai e tama, whakaputa i a koe
Ki runga ki te tūranga matua;
Mārama te ati i Uru-rangi
Mārama te ati i Tāketake-o-rangi

Come now, O son, show yourself
Upon the threshold of your parent’s abode;
Bright is the morn at the gateway of the heavens,
Bright is the morn at the base of the heavens
Upoko Tuaono: te mihi
Wāhanga Tuatahi

Ka whakawhenua ngā hiriona i konei e tama e!
Haramai, e mau tō ringa ki te kete tuauri,
Ki te kete tuata,  
Ki te kete aromi,  
1 pikitia a Tāne-nui-a-rangi  
1 te ara tauwhātū,  
1 te Pā-motomoto a Tikitiki-o-rangi.  
I karangatia e Tāne-nui-a-rangi  
Ki a Huru-tea-a-rangi,  
I noho i a Tonga-nui-kāea,  
Nāna ko Pārā-vera-nui,  
Ka noho i a Taiwhirimatea,  
Ka tukua mai tāna whānau,  
Titi-patatū,  
Titi-matangi-nui,  
Titi-mata-kakā;  
Ka tangi mai te hau mapu,  
Ka tangi mai te vorohau,  
Ka eteka ngā rangi ngahuru mā rua i konei,  
E tama e!

On the earth is implanted all knowledge, o son!
Come, grasp the kit of sacred knowledge,
The kit of ancestral knowledge,  
The kit of life’s knowledge,  
Procured when Tāne-of-the-heavens ascended  
By the tenuous pathway  
Thro’ the entrance to the upper most heaven.
Tāne called upon  
The white glow of heaven,  
Spouse of the Wayward southerly gales,  
Who begat the Mighty-northerly-blast,  
She espoused the Wind god,  
Who released his family,  
The dark-piercing-typhoon  
The piercing hurricane,  
The hot-piercing-blast;  
Then came the rising tempest,  
The piercing wind,  
Thus was he ascended to the twelfth heaven,  
O son, ah me! Tūhotoariki;  

After a long labour a baby boy is born. ‘Haramai ra e tama, ki te whai ao, ki te ao mārama’. He is named Tūtēremoana. The karakia recited at his birth are incorporated into an oriori composed for him by his Granduncle, Tūhotoariki, and is first sung at his tohi where he is ceremonially presented to Rongo. It will be sung to Tūtēremoana throughout his life and continues to be sung three centuries later.

This karakia is the second verse of an oriori that was composed sometime around the end of the 17th century, by Tūhotoariki for his grand nephew, or mokopuna, Tūtēremoana. This verse, together with the first, which is also a karakia, tell of the circumstances surrounding his birth. In allegorical form the first verse, which is not included here, tells the story of Tuteremoana’s reluctance to be born, while the one above, the story of his difficult birth. Together they allude to the necessity for the appropriate rituals and practices for bringing children into the world. There are a further six verses to this oriori in which Tuteremoana is directed to acquire the knowledge of the whare wānanga and to be industrious and devoted in his endeavours as befitting his destiny and the mana of his people.

Tuteremoana’s umbilical cord has dropped off. Today is the day that he is to be dedicated to Rongo the atua who rules the affairs of the earthly realm and peaceful arts. His Granduncle recites a karakia urging him to be like Rongo—to readily absorb and hold fast to the sacred teachings of the house of higher learning.

Haramai e Tama, puritia i te aka matua,  
Ka whitiwhere ake ko te kauaera-ranga  
Ko te kauaera-raro  
Kia tūwhia, kia Tāmāua, kia ita i roto  
I a Rua-i-te-pikenga,  
I a Rua-i-te-horahora,  
I a Rua-i-te-wanawana,  

Come O son, hold fast to the main vine  
And awaken the celestial knowledge  
And the terrestrial knowledge,  
Then take hold, hold fast, firmly enclose (them)  
Within the recess-of-the-mind,  
The recess-of-the-spirit,  
The recess-of-the-deepest-thought,
Tuteremoana’s future is mapped out. He will be taught in the ways of the old people, attending the whare wānanga when he is ready. There, he will learn the sacred lore of the spiritual and the material world. But already his education has begun.

This verse of Tuteremoana’s oriori is said to be the karakia recited at his tohi ceremony when he was dedicated to Rongo\(^19\). By way of mapping out Tuteremoana’s future, Tūhotoariki charted their ancestor’s ancient journey from Hawaiki to Aotearoa and made references to cosmological events that shaped their world and their traditions. By having his whakapapa and tribal traditions sung to him throughout his childhood Tuteremoana’s identity and status were affirmed. Poetic, and full of allusion and metaphor this oriori exemplifies the style and language in which oriori were written and the kinds of themes that they contained.

Traditional oriori were complex compositions full of messages for the child. Composed with care and deeply metaphoric, they contain layers of meaning so that as a child grew so too would their level of understanding. ‘From hearing the songs sung repeatedly at an impressionable age and later joining in the singing, the young people would in time begin questioning their elders for the meaning and the story behind the words’\(^20\). From them we can capture a glimpse of the high value and status that Māori placed on knowledge and learning in traditional times, and how education began with the birth of a baby. In addition, we can also get a sense of what they thought about children and their abilities. In considering the sophistication of the composition and the content of oriori, children were clearly viewed as having the capacity for remembering and comprehending complex narratives. Nor were they shielded from the adult world, rather they were expected to fit into it. This is an important point to make, because it underlies the enduring Māori educative tradition of teaching.
and learning occurring primarily within and as part of the social fabric of whānau and kin relationships, even the learning of esoteric knowledge of the whare wānanga.

Informal learning

I slept, ate, played, worked and learnt alongside four generations, and was never excluded from anything my grandparents were involved with, including attending celebrations, tangihanga (ceremonial mourning), and many other gatherings. I learnt through observation and participation. It was my grandparents’ generation and older who influenced most of my learning in those formative years. Rose Pere

The whānau was the primary context in which teaching and learning took place. It was through being born into a particular whānau, hapū and iwi that identity was established and consequently shaped. It was within the bosom of the whānau that children were nurtured and loved, sung to, told stories to and generally immersed in the everyday world of their community – of grandparents, parents, aunties, uncles, cousins, brothers, sisters and grandchildren. Much of the learning occurred informally as children participated in whatever was going on, whether it was tending the kūmara patch or attending tangihanga.

Simply by being part of the everyday, children were exposed to the everyday economic, social, political, cultural and spiritual affairs of the community. It was through being immersed in and exposed to life that children could not help but absorb, observe and participate in what was going on around them. Children, therefore, learnt to do things in their proper setting and, as a result, learnt the contexts for appropriate behaviour or knowledge. They participated in the formal affairs of the iwi. Take, for example, Tom Smiler Junior who went with his grandmother Hine Te Ariki to marae throughout the East Coast and Bay of Plenty.

My grandmother also became the main speaker on all the marae embracing the Poverty Bay, Māhia, up the East Coast and over to the Bay of Plenty. I was still only a baby when she started to take me with her to all the marae...As I grew older I used to look around during the welcomes and wonder who would do the replies – and it was always Hine Te Ariki. You know, she was physically formidable – about six feet tall, broad shouldered, with a bell skirt and hat. Hine Te Ariki was some orator...When she finished her speech she'd sit down. I never saw anybody else speak after her...no men, nobody else spoke after her...Most of the kōrero at meetings was to do with politics. Either church politics or land politics or cultural politics or politics to do with Pākehā. When Hine Te Ariki stood to speak I used to stand beside her. 'Haere ki te noho!' she would growl at me. 'E noho! Te hōhā o te tamaite nei!' And the people would laugh as, using her walking-stick, she tried to push me behind her skirts. Tom Smiler Junior

He also recalls how he helped his grandfather grow, harvest and store kūmara.
I remember how Manu would say a karakia before digging the kūmara out of the ground. In those days people were always so careful handling kūmara and other garden crops. I remember helping the old man put the kūmara one by one into a flax basket, so carefully, that they wouldn’t get bruised. If they got bruised they could go rotten in the kūmara pit. Then I would help him carry the kit to the kūmara pit – all the time he’d be saying in Māori, ‘Careful, careful, e Hā!’... Manu would crawl inside and I would start handing him the kūmara, one by one...I loved watching the way he put the kūmara into the pākoro. The first row on the solid ground. Then the next row on top of it, giving a slight careful twist so that each kūmara fitted in nicely...Always with so much care. The reason? Because Māori lived from season to season and those kūmara had to last a year, between one harvest time and the next, so that there was sufficient food to keep everyone alive. Tom Smiler Junior

Tom Smiler was brought up by Hine Te Ariki, his father’s mother, and her second husband Manu. He captures beautifully the influence his grandparents had on him as he grew up and the way in which the knowledge and skills he learnt were taught in their relevant context. In doing so, his story also highlights the wholistic nature of his learning. Take, for example, his experiences of the growing and storing of kūmara. This was not just a matter of horticulture - of being a good gardener - it was also a matter of physical survival and community well being. What his grandparent conveyed, along with the knowledge of how to look after the kūmara, was how to look after the people.

It was they who taught me to care, to look after people, to be unselfish, to give more than you take. To look after the kūmara – the royal children who will take the Māori into the future – and to try to stop them from being bruised. And always to have aroha. Tom Smiler Junior

In a concrete way he learnt about how to maintain tika relationships – of caring for others, of being generous to others and above all else having aroha for others. Learning to live together as part of an extended whānau was essential when the community was close knit and shared everything with each other. Getting along just didn’t happen, it required a way of looking at the world that valued those relationships as well as ways of putting those values into practice. In other words what was being taught at the same time as specific knowledge and skills were traditional values and practices that ensured the survival of the community.

Role models
The most senior men and women in my immediate kinship groups set the example of complementing, respecting, and supporting each other. They made it quite clear from the legacy they left that men and women, adults and children, work alongside each other and together...The adult models to which children are exposed in their formative years dictate and influence the way people later think and feel about themselves. Rose Përe

A common thread to Rose Përe’s and Tom Smiler’s experiences of growing up, indeed for all the people whose stories I use in this part, is the close relationship
they had with their kingroup, and in particular their grandparents. All of them lived with their nannies and koro as they were growing up. Not only did their nannies and koro have the time to care for and teach them how to live in the world, they also had the wisdom to do so with patience and aroha and as the eldest members of the community kaumatua and kuia are considered ‘living treasures’. They are the ones who hold the history and whakapapa of their particular whānau and hapū, as well as the ones who have accumulated a wealth of knowledge from living a long life. Not only do they provide guidance for the community as a whole they also play a significant role in the upbringing of children, whether they lived with them or not. As role models they provided younger members of the whānau with ways to think about and behave in the world.

Active teaching, guided learning
I was one of the lucky ones that grew up with the old people. I was brought up by my grandparents. ... I used to spend a lot of time down the road with my old nannies, some of them were in their 80s and 90s, they were all old people. It was my job to walk them down to the post office to pick up their pension. I’d just take them along the road and guide them along. I was a companion for them. They’d always turn around and speak to me in Māori and do different things for me... They sang mōteatea and their body movements were always graceful. They would say to me. ‘Moko, titiro! Moko whakarongo!’ I used to look, listen and wonder. When I look back I’m grateful for that sort of thing because they were teaching me how to do the body movement when singing... I learnt to say yes, never to say no to my old people, and that was what I was taught by my grandfather – accept what they have to say. I am grateful for that because they were trying to get me to maintain my maoritanga, and that’s how they did it. Iranui Te Aonohoriu Haig (Aunty Ada)

Although learning may appear to be ‘informal’ and casual in the sense that it happened naturally within everyday contexts, the teaching on the other hand was anything but casual. Aunty Ada’s nannies guided her learning. They did this by directing her to look and to listen rather than by telling her what they thought she needed to know or do. Because no explanations were given, she had to figure out for herself what it was they were trying to teach her. As a teaching strategy it encourages the learner to work things out for her or himself, ensuring that the lessons learned are retained. Patience is required to be able to ‘teach’ in this way. Maybe it wouldn’t be until years later that the significance of a ‘lesson’ would become apparent to the student, maybe never.

Systematic learning and teaching
The essence of community apprenticeship was young people learning by participating, by becoming carriers of wood, by chopping the wood and by setting up the hangi. As you grew older you moved on to being in charge of the butchers, the hangi men and the people who gathered food. You went through all these processes. Then you were allowed to go and listen to elders speaking on the marae and in the meeting houses. So you progressed by observing and becoming involved in all the activities of the marae. That
traditionally was the way a young man fitted into place as the elders died off. John Rangihau

As children grew so did their knowledge and skill base. And as their knowledge and skills increased so too did their participation in the affairs of the whānau. By the time they became adults they were able to take their place in whatever role they were destined to fulfill. John Rangihau points to the systematic way in which knowledge was taught and learnt within the community. All children were socialised into their whānau and hapū in this systematic way. He also points to the increasing specialisation that occurred as the children grew into young adults and their competencies and interests became apparent. The knowledge they were taught became increasingly technical and the teaching more directed.

Apprenticeships

As the girl grew up she observed over the years the weaving activities of her household and assisted where she could. From near puberty onwards she was watched carefully by the older women for signs of natural flair for weaving. The tactics adopted were to discourage the girl from taking up weaving seriously; she would be sent out to play with the children or told she was a dunce. No one would bother to teach her any new technique until she demonstrated a very strong desire to learn. By this time she would have put in many hours of practice to prove her determination. A few more years of practice would follow, during which time she would acquire the necessary techniques to reproduce patterns used by her mother or grandmother and other close female relatives. She would as a matter of course learn the rules and superstitions of the weaving craft... Sidney M. Mead

As young adults showed their potential and interest in an area such as weaving, fowling, carving, or horticulture they were apprenticed to an expert in that field to learn both the technical and theoretical aspects of it. Specialisation was integral to the well being and survival of the community. How well the group was able to survive was based on the productivity of its members. Efficient utilisation of the different skills within the group was, therefore, paramount. To participate at this level of learning a student needed to show aptitude or skill. But, as the above story points out, this was not always a straightforward process. Aspiring apprentices were ‘tested’ in order to gauge their desire to learn. There were several ways in which this was done: being overly critical of students’ efforts, discouraging students from practice, not showing an overt interest in the student, letting students make mistakes and ignoring or making light of students’ questions. Although this may seem an overly harsh way to ‘teach’, it did determine a student’s desire to learn, and it did encourage students to work things out for themselves. From personal experience it can be a harsh yet an extremely effective way to learn. Not too many years ago as the new tumuaki for the Taranaki whānau I was organising the pōwhiri for an ope (group) from Taranaki. As we were preparing for their arrival I asked my kuia what we needed to do to welcome them appropriately. They were not
particularly forthcoming, and would only tell me that things were fine and everything would fall into place. Well they did fall into place, the only trouble was that it wasn’t a comfortable place. We were soundly told off by our visitors for not welcoming them using Taranaki kawa. I did not make the same mistake twice. Perhaps the biggest lesson I learnt that day was to have confidence in my own ability.

A technical curriculum
Once accepted as apprentices the students were taught advanced technical knowledge. Generally, girls followed what was considered the domain of women while boys the domain of men. However, there were some areas such as horticulture where both girls and boys were taught. Their learning had both formal and informal components whereby they were ‘apprenticed’ to an expert usually within their own whānau. The teachers taught by example in that they got on with their work, while the students learnt by watching and doing. As students gained greater mastery more emphasis was placed on the ritual components. Teaching became more formal and pointed. As such, knowledge was arranged systematically in order to build on knowledge the students had already gained. To complete their training students underwent rigorous testing in which they demonstrated alertness, concentration and the skills they had learnt. It was only after successfully completing the tests that they then could call themselves experts in the domain that they had been trained in.

When the novice felt secure enough to establish herself as a fully fledged weaver the priest was approached to perform the ritual. On the appointed day a hut or house called the whare pora was made sacred for the purpose and into this the priest and novice went. The novice sat on a mat with two weaving pegs before her, the left one plain and the sacred peg on the right carved... A thread was stretched across the pegs... Now the priest recited spells... At the completion of the spell the novice bent over the sacred peg and bit the top of it... The spell entered her mouth through the peg and finally lodged in her stomach. She then...began the pattern piece... neither she nor the priest could leave the house until this was completed... after the completion of the pattern pieces, more spells were recited... It was called hurihanga takapau (turning the floor mat). The initiate bit or ate a piece of sour thistle and the spells designed to force home the sacred knowledge and make it permanent were cast. After this the weaver was free to rejoin her community, but this time as an adult weaver who would play her part in keeping and following the regional design. Sidney M. Mead

In recounting the process of testing a weaver’s ability Mead mentions the whare pora – the school of weaving. In some areas the teaching and learning of technical knowledge was ‘institutionalised’ within ‘schools’ specifically set up to teach specialist knowledge. The whare pora was one such school as were the whare mata which taught knowledge relating to bird snaring and fishing and the whare pūrākau which taught the art of war and the use of weapons. There were also other schools at this ‘secondary’ level that taught general, less esoteric aspects of local history and tradition. In Te Wai Pounamu they were called whare maire, in the Wairarapa and Hawkes Bay area whare kaupo and in Taranaki whare kura.
The Whare Wānanga

The whare wānanga in the old days was a house of learning, a special place set aside for the priests to talk about the treasures from Hawaiki, the journeys of the canoes to these islands, the settling of the ancestors, the prayers for each district and all the tribal genealogies. Only certain people were allowed to enter the whare wānanga and they were trained to carry these treasures until they died, with the blessings of their ancestors upon them. Eruera Stirling

The most specialised learning of all took place in the whare wānanga or the school of higher learning. According to old time accounts when Tāne brought knowledge to the world he also brought with him the blueprint for whare wānanga. Accordingly, when Māori came to Aotearoa they brought the plans with them and established whare wānanga where ever they settled. Traditionally whare wānanga were places where the most prized knowledge of the iwi was kept and taught. They were socially and intellectually elite ‘institutions’. However, whare wānanga were not necessarily physical buildings in which teaching and learning took place. In some instances learning took place out in the open, or in a room set aside for the sole purpose of teaching the highly sacred knowledge. The term whare wānanga is more a figurative one that signifies a tradition of higher learning rather than a place.

Knowledge taught

As I grew a bit older the old man started to teach me history; now and again and little by little he’d try and teach me, and then he’d go on to talk to me about genealogy. He had been one of the tohungas in the Kirieke School of Learning and now he was the only one left. He told me about the mana on the land, how each ancestor came to own the land and how it was passed on in history right down to now. He taught me about all the big blocks around Raukokore... then he showed me the places where the ancestors collected food, cultivated the ground and where they built their fortified pa... He taught me the days of the month, the good days for planting and the bad days, the good days for fishing and the days to go out and catch eels, because the old people had a proper day for every kind of work in their calendar, following the stars and the moon. Eruera Stirling

The whare wānanga was of considerable importance to old time Māori for it was the place where the core knowledge of the people was not only preserved it was also handed down from one generation to another relatively ‘free of any alteration, omission, interpolation or deterioration’. That it was preserved and taught within strict guidelines was essential for the maintenance of a knowledge that was considered fundamental to Māori spiritual and physical wellbeing. While all knowledge was tapu, because of its origins, some knowledge was deemed more tapu, and it was the knowledge stored and taught in the whare wānanga that was considered the most tapu and sacred of all. Largely, although by no means exclusively, concerned with cosmological and religious matters the curriculum of the whare wānanga was ‘out of the ordinary’ and as such beyond the affairs of ordinary people.
The students: nga pia, tāura and tauira
Therefore, only those who had sufficient mana were able to enter the whare wānanga and become the repositories of tribal history, whakapapa, religious rites and karakia. According to traditional accounts, this meant that only the sons of ariki and rangatira attended, although, they still needed to show that they had an ability to learn. Boys who did not have the lineage but showed their potential could also prove themselves worthy of such an education. Some boys, like Eruera Stirling were singled out to be the repositories of their iwi’s traditions.
We’re taking him as our mokopuna, Mihi, we want to take him away from you. We can see all the signs on him, he will be the one to hold the mana and the traditions of his ancestors in the Kirieke School of Learning. Eruera Stirling

When Eruera was about three years of age he was taken by his tipuna matua to be brought up in the old ways. The signs that marked Eruera out for learning the sacred knowledge of the whare wānanga were the two moles that he had on his face – one on his lower lip and one on his chin. According to his old people they were symbolic of te kauae runga and te kauae raro – the twin aspects of knowledge. Te kauae runga, literally meaning the upper jaw, refers to spiritual knowledge while te kauae raro meaning the lower jaw symbolises knowledge of a practical, worldly nature. His grandparents considered that his moles were signs that his destiny lay in learning the lore of the Kirieke whare wānanga.

A learner at the beginning of his education in the lore of the whare wānanga was called a pia. As a student progressed through the various stages of learning in the whare wānanga they became tāura then tauira. Only advanced scholars were called tauira. Once students had completed their learning they became tohunga, a term applied to those acknowledged as being experts in their field.

The teachers – tohunga wānanga
The men who taught in the Wharekura were the most learned of their kind, men with big brains and wonderfully trained memories. Some were not only intelligent in teaching religion and history, but were clever mind-readers and some were very skilful in doing tattooing and wood-carving. Teone Tikao

As repositories of an iwi’s knowledge the teachers – or tohungas – of the whare wānanga were important members of the community. The knowledge of the people was entrusted into their care. As protectors, maintainers and disseminators of knowledge they were at the same time ‘responsible to care for, store and protect the mana of the group as it derived from this knowledge’. The men who taught in the whare wānanga had themselves been through the school. Although, they might have had their individual strengths in an area of expertise, such as ta moko, they were all masters of ritual and karakia. Indeed, it was imperative that they knew their karakia word perfect. To miss a word, make a break in intonation, or change a word was ominous. And unless a mistake was corrected it potentially had fatal repercussions. Not by the hands of the people, but by the tohunga’s own acceptance of the penalty for making such
a mistake. To knowingly teach false doctrines, however, was punishable by
death$^{52}$ because of its potential to destroy the symbolic fabric of the iwi.

**Teaching practices**
In some areas, tohunga taught collaboratively, to ensure that knowledge was
taught without fault or pause or that it was not too narrowly defined. In the
Kahurangi district three tohunga took part in the teaching. One tohunga was
responsible for the teaching while the other two, called kaituruki, supported him
and made sure that what was being taught was error free and accurate$^{53}$. Eruera
was taught by Pera but alongside him was his wife Hiria Te Rangihaeata who
supported his teaching$^{54}$. Mostly, however, women did not play a role in the
whare wānanga$^{55}$. Lecturing was the mode of teaching within the whare
wānanga. While the tohunga presented his material it was expected that his
students would sit quietly, listen and learn. They were not permitted to interrupt,
ask questions, challenge, talk or discuss the content while the lectures were
underway. Lessons were repeated until the knowledge was retained. From
Eruera’s description of his own experiences, of learning the lore of the whare
wānanga, learning was not a hurried affair. Lessons were organised
systematically in manageable sizes and repeated over and over again until he
remembered. To prod his memory and assess his progress his grandparents
asked him questions until he was able to answer automatically.

*I suppose I was about four years old when I began to understand and when I got further,
somewhere about six years old, I’d sit with the old people and they’d ask me, who are
your ancestors of Pohuturoa block... and so on. I would answer, and in the end it was
automatically in me.*

*The old man took me back through the genealogies little by little, he didn’t hurry, but we
went back to the canoes – Horouta, Tainui, Te Arawa, Matatua, Takitimu and the rest.*

Eruera Stirling$^{56}$

Assessment was an ongoing process in the whare wānanga to gauge the
students’ learning progress. They were tested prior to entering the whare
wānanga and were tested throughout their attendance. There was no such thing
as failure. If they were unable to memorise what they had been taught then their
lessons were repeated until they did. Finally at the end of their schooling and in
order to ‘graduate’ students had to demonstrate their ability to retain and recall
all the knowledge they had been taught. Some tests were symbolic such as
throwing a stone at a shrine. If the stone shattered then the student had to return
to school. This kind of testing could be interpreted ‘as a sign that the learning
claimed had not been correctly integrated. Until it had attained unity, it would
not be reliable or valid$^{57}$.

*One day the old people called me, and the two of them sat together, then Pera said, ‘You
go and sit over there.’*

*He went back on all these things all over again, and the old kuia asked me questions too –
I answered the whole lot. When I had answered everything Hiria said to the old man,
‘Well, I think it’s time you should take him to the wai tapu.’* Eruera Stirling$^{58}$
Upoko Tuaono: te mihi  
Wāhanga Tuatahi

Graduating from the whare wānanga
Once Eruera had satisfied his grandparents that he had retained the teachings they took him to the wai tapu – the sacred waters of Te Wai-o-puru-whakamataku – to call on the atua to bless and support him in his wise use of the knowledge that he had gained. Beside the pool early in the morning Pera began the ceremony with karakia. Once he finished his karakia he and Eruera got into the water. With Pera chanting karakia Eruera was instructed to dive to the bottom and bring up a stone. Eruera recalls being cold and scared. It wasn’t until his third try that he picked up a stone.

I passed it to him. Then he started with all the karakias to the moon and the stars, and the heavens above, and all the waters of the earth, calling on the gods to support me, to let me take the mana of history and carry on for the rest of my days; and when he finished he put the stone back into the pool to the rising sun...  
‘E tama, now the mana and the mauri rest upon you; I have given you the power of your ancestors, and it will lead you for the rest of your days. No one will ever come across your way. You have been through the faith and you go in light, with the knowledge I have passed to you; one day you will be helping your people.’  Eruera Stirling

Stones or whatu kura have always played a role in the whare wānanga. Their significance to the whare wānanga is told in the story of Tāne’s ascent to the heavens to acquire knowledge. Not only did Tāne bring back three kete of knowledge he also brought back two whatu kura. Symbolically stones were placed in the whare wānanga to protect and maintain the mauri of the knowledge. They were also used at times during teaching as well as at ‘graduation’. For example, if a student was having difficulty memorising their lessons they were ‘directed to sit on the stones to draw power, concentration and inspiration’ from them. In some areas, on completion of their study, students were presented with a whatu kura. The whatu kura not only physically represented the knowledge gained, it also symbolised the strength, solidity and permanence of such knowledge. Beyond the whare wānanga, they were used as prompts by their owners not only to retain and recall the knowledge they were taught but also to ensure the wise use of it. They were also imbued with the ability to protect their owner’s mauri especially in strange places.

The place of ritual in the whare wānanga
Pera always taught me in a special part of our hut, a little room set aside on its own where no food was allowed to enter. Everything in it was tapu, the family heirlooms and the talk of whakapapa, and we only entered the place at certain times. The old man took me in there at night-time and he would start to chant; spiritually he seemed to know when it was time for us to go through the right channels of karakia, and we always opened up by praying to the gods. I sat there in the darkness, listening to him talk and the mana and the tapu of our ancestors came upon us. Eruera Stirling

Given the tapu nature of the knowledge taught, ritual permeated all that went on in the whare wānanga. Concerned to ensure the protection of the knowledge that he was teaching the young Eruera, Pera made sure that the appropriate rituals were conducted, the right karakia chanted and the time and location were
suitable for conducting lessons. Karakia would open and close a session of learning. Food was not allowed anywhere near the whare wānanga, nor anything that would desecrate the sacredness of the knowledge and the institution. But the rituals extended further than the protection of the knowledge. They also encompassed both teacher and student and their continued well being. Students entering the wānanga had to undergo rituals to prepare them for their studies, to make them receptive to learning, to retain what they had learnt and to ensure the wise use of the knowledge. They also had to undergo a tapu removing ritual at the end of their study so they could return to their everyday lives without any harmful repercussions. Whilst the tapu nature of the knowledge, the institution and the teachers and students within it maybe viewed as restrictive, it did ensure the integrity of the whare wānanga and the survival of Māori society.

Erueria Stirling’s experiences in the whare wānanga under the instruction of his tipuna Pera Te Kaongahau like that of Teone Taari Tikao are just two accounts of young boys being singled out for learning the sacred knowledge of their tupuna. By the time that they had begun their instruction, Teone in the second half of the 19th century and Erueria in the first decade of the 20th century, very few tohunga who were taught in the old ways were alive to carry on the tradition. They both noted that their teachers were the last in their district who were taught in the old schools. These times that they lived were times of tremendous upheaval and change for Māori as colonisation with its assimilation agenda and regulations wrought their damage on Māori language, knowledge, cultural traditions and social organisation. However, whare wānanga like that of the educative tradition supporting them survived.

Today, there has been a resurgence in the development of whare wānanga. These developments have been on a small scale, as in the case of my own whānau (see Upoko Tuatoru), on a medium scale with iwi implementing wānanga for their own people as well as on a large scale with the establishment of degree granting institutions. These purpose built whare wānanga, such as Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa operate within kaupapa Māori frameworks with the express aim of the continuing, as their tupuna did, the development of mātauranga Māori for the ongoing development of te ao Māori – the Māori world. In this they are very different to the established universities that have also taken on Māori names. For example the University of Canterbury, the last of New Zealand’s universities to take a Māori name, is also known as Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha. While the universities have taken on Māori names, they still operate within the traditional western academic structure.

The first draft of this wahanga drew this written comment by one my supervisors: ‘But, I wonder about the role of contestation in knowledge, change’. I take her point. I began this account by stressing the importance of knowledge and the development of knowledge to the survival of Māori. Yet as the story I tell unfolds there is no place in the institutional forms I describe for challenging knowledge, an important element in the development of new knowledge. If we are comparing whare wānanga to the western university this seems rather an
odd omission as one of the aims of the university is the development of new knowledge. The education system of old time Māori was not for the construction of new knowledge but the transmission of what was accepted as the knowledge of the people. Challenge to ideas and the development of new knowledge was not for novices or students. The idea of challenge and change, though, is certainly a part of the traditions that have been handed down through the generations. In Upoko Tuatoru I talk about the way the old time stories incorporate accounts of contestations to traditions and therefore of knowledge. Māui the trickster is one example. So if new knowledge was not developed in traditional institutions of learning, where did it occur? The knowledge of the people, even if only a few people held it, belonged to the people. Therefore only the people could change it. The forum in which this occurred was tribal hui where people came together to discuss issues. The marae atea and the paepae were the places where challenge to the knowledge occurred, if not by all the people certainly within earshot of all the people. Erura Stirling in his autobiography gives an account of the way knowledge can be challenged when people come together. In Te Wai Pounamu, according to Teone Tikao, the Whare Tātai was such an institution where knowledge was debated. Those who were eligible to attend were graduates of the whare wānanga and leaders.

In recent years the talk amongst politicians and business leaders has been to push the idea of a knowledge society. It is, they consider a necessity if we, as a nation are to compete and survive in the global economy. In becoming the ‘story’ of our twenty-first century neo-liberal democracy we seem to think that this is a new idea. But it isn’t. Although, not in the modern individualistic sense, the idea of a knowledge society has been part of Aotearoa New Zealand since Māori first came to these shores. Traditionally, the stories Māori told valued knowledge, precisely because of its importance in maintaining the fabric of Māori society – the body, the psyche and the heart of the people. Knowledge after all was/is a taonga that benefited/s everyone, and in doing so benefited/s the individual. To me the significance of the stories that have been retold here indicate the high regard Māori had (and continue to have) for knowledge and the pursuit of learning which are antithetical to the discourses about Māori education. In other words, the educative values and aspirations Māori have for themselves are very different to the stereotypical views others have of Māori – disinterested, ignorant, lazy and only good for manual labour.

Mātauranga Māori the modern day take on the traditional knowledge base and the educative system continues to claw back what almost was destroyed with the onset of colonisation and the supplanting of mātauranga (Māori) with a western tradition. But the stories that are retold here and the myriads of others like them that have been told and will be told in the future attest to the spirit and the determination of Māori to retain, maintain and develop mātauranga Māori. Kaupapa Māori education and research initiatives are doing just that. The story that I tell in this thesis, I hope, adds to this larger narrative. It also provides insight into the spirit and the determination of the eleven students who enrolled at the University of Canterbury in 1996.
End Notes

1 Tikao (1990: 66)
2 Tohuka is the Kai Tahu word for tohunga. In their dialect they replace the ‘ng’ with a ‘k’.
3 See Mead’s (1968) The Art of Taaniko Weaving for an example of the way tupuna brought with them and subsequently developed new knowledge, in this case clothing technology.
4 See for example Goldie’s painting ‘The arrival of the Maoris in New Zealand’ in Blackley (1997). The scene he depicts is one of emaciated people gripped in terror.
5 Metge (1986) and Te Rangi Hiroa (1950)
6 Metge (1986: 5)
7 The scope of this thesis precludes a detailed account of mātauranga Māori. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, mātauranga Māori is a long overdue thesis topic in itself, and secondly iwi differences in their traditions, names for their learning institutions and what they taught make this difficult to do in such a short space.
8 For example see Ella Henry (1999), Shirres (1997), Marsden (1992) and Pere (1988) for accounts of mana and knowledge. For discussions on mana as it relates to the construction of knowledge in research endeavours see Linda Smith (1997, 1999a, 1999b), Graham Smith (1997), Bishop (1996a, 1998) and the proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference (1998).
9 I am indebted here to several writers including Te Ahukaramū Royal, Māori Marsden, Linda Smith and Graham Smith, but mostly Whatarangi Winiata (cited in Royal, 1998: 2) who defines mātauranga Māori ‘as the explanation of human behaviour that is based on traditional concepts handed down through the generations’.
10 In traditional times wānanga was the word used for advanced knowledge, its origins lying in the story of Tāne’s ascent to the heavens to fetch ngā kete wānanga. According to Hare Hongi (Hongi, 1898: 118) the term wānanga was: ... exclusively applied to a recital concerning the evolution of the universe, and the history of man. A knowledge of these subjects is, in its turn, regarded as the highest wisdom of man; god-like and god-sent-wisdom. Wānanga then, in a word, literally signifies cosmology, cosmological wisdom.
Wānanga therefore refers to the highest form of cosmological, genealogical and religious knowledge. But the word has significance beyond that of a simple translation. Wānanga in Māori creation genealogy is associated with the development of thought, consciousness and language – in short the essence of what it is to be human. Te Wānanga, for example, in Ngā Puhí’s creation genealogy is one of the 27 eons of creation where out of Te Hīrihiri (elemental and pure energy) came Te Mahara (the subconscious), then Te Hīnengaro (the deep mind), Te Whakaaro (consciousness), Te Wānanga and then Te Whe (sound) (Shirres, 1997: 115). While all elements are interdependent, Te Whe and Te Wānanga are especially so as they make possible the transition from the spiritual world to the material world, that is, they make possible the ability to
Understand the world and to articulate it. This ability was realised once the mauri ora, or life force, was activated and humans came into being. Wāhanga then, not only refers to the highest forms of knowledge it also expresses a philosophical and ontological standpoint.

Charles Royal (2001a) places the term’s currency in the last 25 years with the development of kaupapa Māori initiatives.

Hemara (2000) and Best (1929)

Only the karakia was written by Tūhotoariki, n.d. (cited in Te Reo Rangatira Trust (1998: 14) and Ngata (1990: 4-5)). Tūhotoariki was a ‘high priest’ of Ngai Tara from the Wellington region. The full oriori can be found in He Waiata Onamata: songs from the past put together by the Te Reo Rangatira Trust (1998). Accompanying the book are two CDs that contain a recorded version of all the waiata in the publication.

The date of the composition of this oriori is an approximation only. According to Ngata (1990: 3), who was writing in 1948, it was composed 13 generations before. I have based my estimation on a generation being 20 years which places its composition some 260 years ago, around 1688.

In the extended and collective nature of Māori families all the children are viewed as belonging to the parent generation. For example my nieces and nephews are equally my responsibility and therefore can be considered ‘my’ children too. Thus, when they begin to have children of their own, their children will become my mokopuna.

See the notes in Āpirana Ngata (1990: 3)

Rongo’s various names reflect the numerous duties he has in the earthly realm. In this verse/karakia he is appealed to as Rongo-mai-taha-nui who personifies ‘the ability to absorb readily, the teachings of the house of sacred learning’ (Ngata, 1990: 13). Later on in the same verse he is invoked as Rongo-marae-roa the atua of the kūmara.

Only the karakia was written by Tūhotoariki, n.d. (cited in Te Reo Rangatira Trust (1998: 15) and Ngata (1990: 6-7)).

The expectations and aspirations of the parent and grandparent generations were most explicit in the tohi rites that were conducted within the first week of a baby’s life when the umbilical cord fell off. In this rite children were ceremonially presented to one of Ranginui and Papa-tu-a-Nuku’s sons in the expectation that the child (either male or female) would grow up to be worthy of the atua they were dedicated to. In some instances all the male children of an iwi have been dedicated to Tūmatauenga in order to build up an army to avenge past grievances, and therefore enhance the mana of his iwi (Ngata, 1959; Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950).

Ngata (1961: xlv)

Pere (1988: 8)

Metge (1986) in her study Learning and Teaching: He Tikanga Māori calls this kind of learning as ‘education through exposure’. She identifies three ways in which learning occurs through exposure: absorption, conscious observation and participation. All the stories related in this part reflect learning through exposure.

Smiler Junior (1998: 69)


Smiler Junior (1998: 71)
27 Pere (1988: 9)
28 Whangai is an old time and wide spread practice of children living with and becoming the responsibility of whānau members, other than their birth parents. There are many reasons why whangai occurs, but for grandparents they are specific.

By virtue of their seniority, older whānau members are generally held to have claims on the children of younger ones. Grandparents in particular have a claim on their first grandchildren, to ensure that they receive the education befitting their status, and to be the repository of whānau knowledge.

Metge (1995: 224)

29 Haig (1998: 40-41)
30 Rangihau (1992: 183)
31 Mead (1968: 54)
32 Metge (1986)
33 For example, as whare tangata, women were considered too precious to be warriors, so were not schooled in warfare and weaponry. Nor were boys instructed in the art of weaving. However, there are accounts of women becoming warriors and men weavers.
35 Mead (1968: 54)
37 Tikao (1990)
39 Stirling (1980: 88)
40 According to old time manuscripts the plan for the whare wānanga was detailed and exact. It is said to be the plan of Rangiatea – the first whare wānanga. Rangiatea is the place from where Tāne acquired the kete wānanga (Smith, 1913).
41 Stirling (1980: 91)
42 Best (1986: 6)
43 The most tapu knowledge was that of Io, the higher versions of the cosmogony, the genealogy of the atua as well as mankind and the 'superior' phases of religion (Best, 1924b: 65; Makereti, 1938: 154).
44 The knowledge taught in the whare wānanga was of a sacerdotal and esoteric nature. Because Io was the centre of esoteric knowledge and teaching in the whare wānanga, the knowledge taught was too sacred for the common people (Best, 1986; Makereti, 1938; Mitira, 1944; Smith, 1913; Tikao & Beattie, 1990). Io's name was never uttered in public and if it was, it was done in such a way that an ordinary person would not understand. Thus, Io's name was only spoken in the whare wānanga or secluded places, and only in the company of those who already had, or were gaining the knowledge.
45 The rationale for this was that they were deemed, ariki in particular, closer genealogically to the atua than were ordinary people. As such they were considered to be the mediums between the atua and the people.
46 Stirling (1980: 88)
According to old time Māori accounts there are two kinds of knowledge - te kauae runga and te kauae raro. Kauae translates into English as jaw and is used figuratively to refer to the upper (te kauae runga) and lower (te kauae raro) planes of knowledge that go to make up the whole. More specifically the upper plane refers to celestial knowledge that pertains to Io, the heavens, the primal parents, the origin of all things and the creation of man, that is, higher cosmology, karakia and religious matters. The lower plane refers to terrestrial knowledge that belongs to this world such as the history of the people, their genealogies, traditions and migrations. Te kauae runga, in other words, reflects a particular way of understanding the world while te kauae raro a way of being in the world. Thus I would argue te kauae runga and te kauae raro reflect the twin components of - theoretical and practical - knowledge. According to Māori pedagogical practices, both aspects need to be taken into account when undertaking any study. Even when the subject at hand was dealing with one of the planes the other was always noted. Benton et al (1995: 2), argue that this philosophy is probably still the most distinguishing mark of a Māori approach to learning and teaching today. This philosophical approach to learning and teaching is called ako. Ako is a term that denotes both to teach and learn (Williams, 1971: 7) and holistically incorporates both theory and practice. Although the whare wānanga was concerned primarily with the transmission of all esoteric knowledge and the higher forms of religion, that is all the matters pertaining to te kauae runga or celestial knowledge, it also taught matters pertaining to te kauae raro.

For a fuller account see the Richard and Nina Benton’s (1995) The unbroken thread: Māori learning and the National Qualifications Framework. The Ngai Tahu name for the higher school of learning is wharekura rather than whare wānanga.

Tikao (1990: 69)
Smith (1997: 176)
Tikao (1990: 70) writes of the fate of a tohunga who taught incorrect history.
Smith (1913)

In some accounts, lay aides supported the tohunga. There is not much written about these people other than that it was a highly sought after job because of the knowledge that they picked up while doing their duties. In other accounts fathers also attended the whare wānanga with their sons. They monitored their son’s progress and made sure that they kept on task.

Tikao (1990) mentions high ranking kuia attending the whare wānanga although he is not sure as to what role they played. White (1887) also points to high ranking women playing a role in the whare wānanga with their attendance functioning to protect the mauri of all the participants.

Stirling (1980: 91)
Stirling (1980: 91-92)
Stirling (1980: 93)

The two whatu kura are called rehutai – seaspray – and hukatai – sea foam. According to Royal (2000) they are symbols for the knowledge one gains as they journey through life. When a waka travels through the water a sea foam – hukatai – is created which represents the knowledge that we accumulate as we
journey through life. The sun shining through the spray made from a waka moving quickly through the water creates prisms of light that symbolise not just knowledge but an insightfulness or an understanding of that knowledge. This knowledge is better understood as wisdom.

61 Smith (1997: 176)
62 Smith (1913) and Benton et al (1995)
63 Stirling (1980: 92)
64 To get an idea of the number of iwi implemented wānanga one only needs to read their publications, whether they are newspapers, newsletters or magazines. Examples of iwi publications include Ngai Tahu’s Te Karaka, Mataatua’s Pu Kaea, Gisborne’s Pītīwharauroa and the Maniapoto’s Kia Hīwia Rā.
65 There are to date three purpose built whare wānanga. Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa at Otaki, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi at Whakatane and Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa at Te Awamutu. All three are in the North Island.
66 This has been a very recent addition to the university’s name, occurring only in April 2002.
67 Stirling (1980: 233-235)
NGĀ HIKOI A NGĀ TAUIRA MĀORI

Tenei Au

Tenei au, tenei au
te hokai nei taku tapuwae
ko te hokai nuku, ko te hokai rangi
ko te hokai a to tupuna, a Tane-nui-a-rangi
i pikitia ai ki te Rangi-tūhāhā ki Tihi-o-manono
i rokohina atu ra ko te aitanga
i riro iho ai nga kete o te wānanga
ko te kete tuae
ko te kete aronui
ka tiritiri, ka pou poua ki Papa-tua-nuku
ka puta te ira tangata
ki te whaiāo, ki te ao mārama
Tihei Mouri Ora!

This is me, this is me
the broad imprint of my footsteps
spanning across earth and sky
like the ancestor Tane-nui-a-rangi
who ascended to the highest heaven
to search out the descendent
to bring down the baskets of knowledge
the basket of esoteric knowledge
the basket of dangerous knowledge
the basket of practical knowledge
to be planted in the earth
to nurture the inner being
in the search for enlightenment
Behold the sneeze of life

Used as a tauparapara at the start of a whaikōrero this karakia is a metaphor for the search for knowledge. In particular it draws attention to the speaker’s own journey to enlightenment. Drawing on Tane’s mythological quest to acquire knowledge it evokes powerful imagery of the speaker’s journey and desire for enlightenment. In the manner of Tane all the students who participated in this study have journeyed ‘across the sky’ in search of knowledge. From very different beginnings their searching led them all to the University of Canterbury in 1996. Many of them expressed their reasons for coming to university, their hopes and their desires using metaphors that conveyed images of forward movement, journeying, horizons and betterment. It is most appropriate, therefore, to begin this section of my thesis with the above karakia for it provides a fitting preface to each of the students’ journeys.

This last part of Upoko Tuaoono serves to provide the context for the journeys of the eleven Māori students who began university in 1996. The first part is an introduction to the students. Each of them, with the exception of two, tell their own story. The reason that two of them did not tell their own story becomes clear in their introduction. The second part locates their participation within the wider frame of Māori student participation. It tells a demographic story. In doing so it provides just one context for the stories that follow in Upoko Tuawhitu which tell the collective story of the struggles and triumphs of their journey into the world of university. Here are their stories.
Ngā Taueria

Ngaire
1996: I first met Ngaire at the pōwhiri to welcome Māori students into the Education Department. Juggling a part-time job and two school-aged children, Ngaire enrolled part-time at university. A larger than life personality she approached her study with great gusto. At the same time she was incredibly organised and disciplined. I guess she had to be with her family, study and work commitments. A pioneer in many ways she was determined to fulfil her dream of completing a degree. It wasn’t long before she was involved in organising support networks for herself and other Māori students. By the end of the first term she had completed her first ever essay. Thrilled with her A- she looked set to fulfil her dream. It was soon after the time she got her essay back that the first hui rangahau was scheduled. She was keen to participate so when she did not turn up I was surprised. I phoned her at home to make sure that everything was okay but no one answered. No one answered the many phone calls I ended up making, and no one had seen her around university. Finally, I heard through a friend of hers that she had gone into hiding after leaving her abusive husband. Perhaps her coming to university gave her just what she needed in order to do something about the abuse that she was being subjected to, perhaps her coming (and her success) aggravated her husband’s outbursts. Given the circumstances, I felt I could not jeopardise her safety for my research so gave up trying to find her. Therefore, the last contact I had with her was when she shared with me the excitement of getting an A- for her first essay. Ngaire never came back to university.

Tania
1996: The phone was ringing in my office when I was with a group of students in Te Ara Pounamu. It was Tania phoning to tell me that she had decided to withdraw from university and to apologise for any inconvenience that she might have caused me, especially my research project. Pulling out half way through the first term due to health reasons she didn’t think that she would be back. She had found the stress of study too much, which added to her already fragile health. Nothing would persuade her to reconsider the decision she made. Tania, a mother of two, had been enrolled part-time to major in Psychology.

Haami
1996: I am the youngest of eleven children, born and raised on the East Coast. I have nine sisters and two brothers, I am the youngest of the boys and there are three younger sisters. I am number seven or eight. I was brought up in the back country and my family moved to Gisborne when I was about 10. Going to school in Gisborne was a big change. There were more people for a start and it was in a built-up area. No open spaces around the school. I didn’t like going to school. I got the strap for not doing my homework and I felt inadequate. That’s the way these teachers talked about things – that I was lazy. I was getting into trouble at school with fighting and arguing, using foul language, not working – they even stuck me in the slow class! I didn’t want to be associated with being
slow. Like I knew I wasn’t slow, but I didn’t know what I was. I knew I wasn’t slow but I didn’t know where I was going. In my last year at intermediate I spent all-up 5 months at school. I’d hang out on the streets, stay home or go to my sister’s place but never go to school. At high school I didn’t even last out a year. Back then I didn’t give a hoot. It was like, ‘Who cares, I was going to fail anyway, so who cares.’ I think I was geared up to fail, like my home life sucked. My mother was really strict on me, and when she let up my brothers and sisters began. I got a beating from just about everyone older than me, ah. I just wasn’t happy. How could I go to school and be happy and ready to learn … bottom line I just couldn’t concentrate. It was March when I left school, packed whatever gear I had and hitchhiked to Wellington and got a job.

I was living with my brother and his wife. Me and him never ever got on… we had some fights… well he did the fighting, beating me up lots. That’s how it was at 14 and by then I was full on drinking and drug using. I moved to Hamilton and stayed with my eldest sister. She was like a mother to me. She knew about the drugs and alcohol but she never jumped on my case or gave me heaps about it. By the age of 18 I had met the mother of my children. She was working in a massage parlour. That lasted for a couple of years and then we split up but by that time we had two kids. Before we split she kept on running away. I was very wild in those days – no control what so ever. I didn’t have to be drinking, I could be straight as, I just used to have temper outbursts. I was 18 and doing hard drugs by now. When she left I stayed plastered for a whole year. We got back together and we moved to Blenheim. There, I ended up going to prison when she told the police about my growing [cannabis]. It was just after my birthday when they busted into my house and did me over badly. They arrested me there and then and I was dragged off to the cells and detox. The judge sent me to Hamilton. My mother came as part of my therapy. And like, I can remember sitting there and talking to her, and crying ah – not registering on my face, my face was hard – and staring at her and thinking, ‘Why the fuck did you bring me up, why did you treat me that way, all I wanted was your love.’

Admitting that she stuffed up was hard for her but that was enough for me. I stayed clean. Just before I got out this Māori lady came up to me and goes, ‘I will give you two weeks and you will be using again and you will be back in jail’. She knew what space I was in and she got me. By saying that alone kept me straight. I looked at her and said she was wrong. But I had every intention before she said that of going back on the piss and using. I stayed straight because of her. Silly ah. It was odd, I stayed straight just to get at her, soon I was straight for a year. I have been straight for the past four years now.

I first thought about coming to university last year. I thought that I didn’t want to be one of those people that keeps going to AA meetings like for twenty years and saying, ‘Hi my name is Haami, I am an alcoholic and I will always be an alcoholic’. I wanted to go beyond that and that’s why I have come to university. I want to learn. I want to learn, but I’m still finding myself fighting these thoughts in my head that say, ‘You don’t know this, you don’t know this just get out of it’. The other reason why I came to university is because I want a future for my children. No matter how long it takes to get a good education and a good job I will. I would like to work in the drug and alcohol field. I don’t want to be a scrubcutter all my life. So I want an education that I can sit back and use my mind to earn good money. And in doing that, that may pave the way for my children to follow in my footsteps. They might associate university with a good job. As for my mate, I
wouldn’t be here if it wasn’t for him. He turned up and dragged me down to uni and helped me fill everything out. I am going to make it here ah.

Postscript: Although Haami and I had had an initial interview he never showed up at the first hui rangahau. When I finally caught up with him in the second term he told me he had needed to earn some money and so had gone back up north to do scrucutting. Because of his time off he was finding it even more of a struggle understanding and keeping up with his study. At the same time he was becoming increasingly frustrated with the way the Psychology Department taught, and the language they used. Soon after that he disappeared again and this time he never came back. He had been enrolled in part-time study doing Psychology and Māori.

Maui
1996: My Mum and Dad are both Māori. They raised eight kids, five boys and three girls. My oldest ‘brother’ is really my uncle – Mum’s brother. None of us had much of a high school education except for one sister who got to the seventh form. I left school at 16 at the end of my ‘second year fifth’ after sitting and failing ‘School Cert’ twice. I was pretty disappointed in my marks, for my first ‘School Cert’ attempt, because I thought I would have done better than that. My marks didn’t improve the second time round either, I suppose I didn’t try hard enough. I bunked school quite a lot in my last year. I just didn’t have any enthusiasm to go to school and it showed in my marks. I only went back because I didn’t have anything else to do but there wasn’t much influence from home to make me go to school (although they really ‘killed’ you if you didn’t do what you were told). My mother and father didn’t have much of a schooling, they left school at an early age. And as I say, my brothers and sisters left school at an early age as well. I didn’t want to end up dumb, but then I didn’t want to do anything either – I was bored. But towards the end of the year Māori Affairs came to the school promoting their Tu Tangata programme, I filled out a couple of forms and before I knew it I had been accepted for a mechanics apprenticeship. I could have done it in Christchurch or Taranaki – I chose Christchurch. Boy was I glad to leave Wellington and get away from my family. I lived at Rehua Māori hostel and went to the Polytech where they taught the theory component. I didn’t have motivational problems at all there. It was an excellent experience. Part of the reason for that was living in the hostel with 67 other Māori boys and girls doing some kind of trade training. After a year, I went back to Wellington to do my apprenticeship but ended up coming back down to Christchurch to be with my girlfriend. We had had a long distance relationship when I went back to Wellington and it hadn’t worked, so I came back down. And I stayed down here and did more apprenticeship exams and then we moved to Auckland where I passed my Trade Certificate. We then came back down to Christchurch to live but by this time we had two children. I got sick of working as a mechanic. I was not fulfilled, and had this feeling of needing to learn more. I can’t explain it any more than that but just wanting to widen my horizons so to speak. I didn’t know what I was going to do. Then a friend of mine said, ‘Why don’t you go to university?’ And I said, ‘Yeh, right I am not that intelligent’. And he said, ‘You don’t need to be real intelligent’. So I enrolled. Just the fact that I was enrolling in university was ‘far out’. Ultimately I want to be a teacher.
Upoko Tuaono: te mihi
Wāhanga Tuarua

1997: Things have been pretty tough. I am going to study hard, sort myself out and get myself together. But studying is hard at the moment, because things aren’t going too well at home. I should be concentrating, but I can’t because my problems are always at the back of my mind and always coming out. We are sort of working things out, going to counselling and that. I think a lot of my problems come from not differentiating what has more priority. I mean varsity has a major impact on my life – when I go home I keep thinking, ‘Geez I have to get this essay done’ - when I should be spending more time with my kids and Raukura. But our problems are not just about varsity … there is a bigger picture and varsity is just part of that picture.

1998: I just scraped through last year, failing a couple of papers. This year I have enrolled part-time to ease the pressure I feel to work. Maybe in the long run this will help our problems. But it does mean that I won’t be getting my degree this year. Actually, things couldn’t get much worse.

Postscript: Things did get worse for Maui. Eventually he left half way through his third year. By the time he left he had come to terms with his decision to leave university. Maui was half way through a B.A. majoring in Māori and Education.

Mārama

1996: I was born in Christchurch and have lived here all my life. My mother was brought up in a small North Island town in a real big family so she left and went off working. My Dad came over to New Zealand from England and they met through work. I have got an older sister, a younger brother and sister. The younger ones are still at school. I loved high school. I went to Green Valley High School and was in the whānau there but it only went to the fourth form and wasn’t very good. When I was in the whānau class it was cool, but we were the naughtiest class so I didn’t really get much studying done there. After that I went into the normal stream. I took Māori all the way through school and I am taking it at uni as well. One of the reasons why I came to university is that lots of Māori drop out of school and lots don’t do Bursary. So it was a spur for me to come and do it. Since I was a kid I have always wanted to be a teacher or a dental nurse. But when I got to high school all the teachers used to go on about how there needs to be more Māori teachers, especially teachers fluent in the reo.

1997: I applied to go to teachers college before I left school and was accepted, but then I thought, ‘No I will go to uni to see how that is first’. It was okay but then my Aunt was doing this Māori immersion course and I thought that sounds more like me because it is kaupapa Māori and all that sort of stuff. I thought that it would be better to go there than teachers college, so that is where I have gone this year. I went there thinking it would be in the reo, because it is kaupapa Māori and because it is from my iwi. Although it is gearing us up for teaching from a Māori perspective it is not taught in the reo.

Postscript: In her year at university Mārama took Māori, Geography and Education. She has completed her three year teaching diploma course and is now teaching. In 2001, in her second year of teaching she returned to part-time university study. Her aim is to finish her degree.
Dawn
1996: The very first time Dawn and I met was over the phone. She had rung to volunteer to participate in my research. That day I had been to a first year psychology lecture to talk about the research and ask for volunteers. She rang in the evening, and we talked for a very long time. The significance of this conversation though was not in its length, but in the openness and passion with which she talked. She did not know me yet, but was opening up her life to me – at times painful, at times sad and deeply moving. At one point we were both crying. That first meeting with Dawn disrupted any thoughts I might have had of being emotionally uninvolved with those who shared their lives with me. Although she is a very open and friendly person Dawn is also someone who is intensely private. Much of her story, therefore, remains untold to respect and protect her privacy.

I was born in Christchurch and adopted at birth into a working class Pākehā family who lived in a township on the outskirts of Christchurch. I have two older brothers who are also adopted. I first met my birth mother in the late 1980s when I was in my early twenties. She would not then, and still refuses to reveal the identity of my biological father. To this day I do not know anything about my father except that he is/was Māori. That really pisses me off because I feel like I am being denied what is rightfully mine. As for my Māori identity, I have only acknowledged it since my birth mother confirmed it, even though I sort of knew I was Māori before that. Look at me, I’m brown, look at my features, I am Māori. I used to get teased by my oldest brother when I was young on account of my looks. Mum and Dad didn’t know they were adopting a little Māori baby, but they couldn’t help noticing it as I grew up. But to them it wasn’t an issue.
As for school, I only liked the social aspect of it. Much of my ‘education’ began once I left school. It was only after the birth of my son that I took up the challenge of gaining educational qualifications. I never wanted to do anything before that. So, soon after he was born I started correspondence school. I knew I was going to be bringing him up on my own and I didn’t want to do it on the ‘DPB’ – I wanted him to be proud of me. When he died several months later I knew I had to keep on track so I began doing voluntary work. It got me a job even though I had no qualifications. In 1991 I went to India for nine weeks, it was something that I had been planning to do with my son. When I came back I pre-enrolled at university to do Psychology and Māori but I didn’t follow it through – that was in 1992. In 1992 my life fell apart and I pretty much went downhill. In 1995 I began picking myself up and completed a Certificate in Community Psychiatric Care through the Otago School of Medicine. This reaffirmed me and helped me get back on track. Once I had begun I wanted to get more qualifications, and so I enrolled at university to continue down the track I was on. The whole reason I am here is to change the circumstances of my life which I began doing when my son was born. It took me awhile to get here but I am here! I am studying part-time doing Law and Psychology. I also work full-time.

1997: Last year was tough. I felt it was a waste of time. I just didn’t put the work into it. It was only towards the last half of the year that I met someone I felt really comfortable with and could study with, and it was only then that I started pulling good grades. It did make a difference with my work but I had got too far behind by then. I pulled out of Psyc.
Upoko Tuaono: te mihi
Wāhanga Tuarua

and ended up not going to my Law exam. I accepted the consequences and didn’t see the use of beating myself up over it. Between work and my involvement in a consumer group I didn’t spend enough time doing study. This year I have cut my work hours right down and am enrolled full-time doing Sociology, Māori and Political Science. I am also more on to it this year having already formed study groups with people. Studying with friends and having those sorts of networks to be able to contact people, to reaffirm what you are doing is so helpful. I am happy with the way this year went. I passed everything but I was worried for awhile that I might not get Māori 110. I worried that it might have affected my student allowance eligibility.

1998: I am getting into the swing of things now. It is starting to get more enjoyable. I haven’t done too bad at all this year. I got an A+ for an essay in Social Policy, the other day, which is my favourite paper. Hopefully I will be finishing next year. But do you know what, there is this person who works for the HFA [Health Funding Authority] she has no qualifications and is in the kind of job I would like. I said to her, ‘What’s your job?’ and she said ‘I’m a clinical consumer advisor for the HFA. When I asked her what her qualifications were she said she had none. So what, am I at varsity for no reason?

Postscript: Facing considerable challenges Dawn completed her degree in 1999 after another full-time year of study. With a major in Sociology she is currently working as a research assistant.

Hone
1996: Although I wanted to come to university last year it was after I got my Bursary marks back that I finally decided to come. University is such a big place. It is so different [to school] especially because I come from a bilingual unit at school that was just like a whānau. Like, we all stayed at each other’s houses and did everything together. Like, my friends I made there are friends for life. But when I came here it is like, I don’t know anyone. Most of my friends didn’t come here so I’m by myself. I expected to meet heaps of people at Māori orientation but I didn’t. I suppose you could be a Māori student and go through the varsity system like from day one and not know anyone. I enrolled in a Bachelor of Commerce degree and I was going to do that, Political Science and Contemporary Māori Society. But I dropped Political Science, I dropped the economics papers, I dropped Computer Science and now I am doing Law, ‘Contemp’ [Contemporary Māori Society], Māori Reo, Māori Art and American Studies. I can’t say I find varsity interesting, there is nothing out here to really get me motivated to come here. Even at high school I was never motivated but I still passed – I don’t know why. Part of the problem is the Māori Department I think. The Māori Department here is really weak especially coming from a school which is pro-Māori and has a bilingual unit. At school we were, like, in total immersion, but they are having trouble here handling us ‘cos they’re geared up for total beginners. I reckon that’s how Māori people get lost in the varsity system, especially the ones who know the reo.

Postscript: I met Hone at Māori orientation. He was the quietest member of the group of students that had come straight from school and participated in three of the four hui rangahau with this group in 1996. His experience of his first year of university was mixed, failing over half his papers but doing well in those that he
Upoko Tuaono: te mihi
Wāhanga Tuarua

did pass. He enrolled in 1997 and had another mixed year struggling in some papers and excelling in others. I saw him at the beginning of 1998 and although we talked about, and had arranged times for getting together our meeting never eventuated. Eventually he dropped out of sight. Hone has not been back. He is almost half way through completing a degree.

Rangimarie
1996: My mother is Māori. My father is from England, Liverpool and he always used to say to us five girls and two boys, 'I gave you a big Pākehā upbringing, a good Pākehā name and what do you do, marry the blackest things you find'. We all married Māori except for one brother who we all call Dad’s ‘great white hope’. When Dad married Mum all his family disowned him because he married a heathen – that’s what they considered her, a black heathen. Mum, you know, ever since she was little was arranged to marry someone else but she took off because she wouldn’t marry him. He was too much like a brother to her. When she married Dad they went back to ‘The Coast’ to live. In 1962 we moved with over 20 other families to Wainuiomata in search of a better life. We came to the city because our families recognised that in 20 years time when we were grown up we were going to move there anyway, because there were no jobs back home. From the third form on I was working after school in a cigarette factory, and in the fifth form a car factory because we had to be responsible for bringing in our own income. My father was very Victorian and education was just a waste of time for girls and he wasn’t prepared to put me through another year after my fifth form year. When I went to high school I was a good academic student but I didn’t fit the criteria pertaining to what the teachers thought a ‘good academic student’ was like. Me, I was a girl and a Māori and good for factory work and getting pregnant. Besides, jobs were dime-a-dozen then. So at the end of the day us Māori kids didn’t count for squat. I suppose that is why I am here now, to prove to myself that I can foot the pace. I also want to show my children a way forward. I have enjoyed my first year here. It took me a long time to actually feel I could handle it, being out of school for twenty years. Half way through the year I also enrolled at the Polytech. Currently I am doing 24 points at university as well as a full-time course at Polytech. I am studying seven days a week.
1997: Last year I realised that I had to strike a balance between my study commitments and family commitments. My kids gave me a hard time, emotionally and things like that. When everything was settled and when I had passed at Polytech and passed at university they were fairly pleased, but right up till then even my partner was a bit resentful about the amount of time I spent away from the family. Yeh, that was a bit hard. I would have loved to come back to university this year but the toll it took on the family last year I thought I would just do Polytech and commit more time to my family. The reason why I chose to go to Polytech instead of coming back to university was because I was still afraid of failure, and although I passed university with an A- average I was still afraid of failing. I was afraid of failing all the way through so I swung towards Polytech because I saw my chances of success better there than at university. When I was at university I had to learn a whole new language. I remember going to my first Education lecture, and I didn’t know what he said from the time he started to the time he finished. It took me three weeks to learn how to say the word meritocracy let alone spell it. The whole language was alien to me and everywhere I went I had to carry a dictionary and try and figure out just
what was being said. I had a lot of self doubt last year. When I was going I needed to have a pass to justify to myself why I was there. At Polytech I can relax a lot more. I see that I can obtain a qualification that is within my grasp and is a short term building block. One day I would like to come back and finish off my degree.

Postscript: After a very successful year at University doing Māori and Education Rangimarie decided that the Polytech offered her opportunities that wouldn’t encroach on her whānau. The last time I saw her she had gained a teaching diploma and was teaching although was thinking about a career change. Currently she is enrolled in an MA programme at a northern Wānanga.

Kāhu
1996: On my mother’s side I am Māori, on my Dad’s English. My Dad likes people and my Mum she is pretty staunch, like all the women in the family. I was born in the North Island 18 years ago. We have good friends up north and family down here. So once year we would live up there and hang out with our friends and then we’d miss our family so we would move back down here and then we would miss our friends so we would move back up. And so we sort of lived all over the place when we were growing up. My Dad is a teacher and so is my Mum. My Dad got paid to go to varsity and my Mum went because Poua said women weren’t allowed to go. She went anyway and got a degree in Classics, I think. She is the only one out of her immediate family who has a university degree. When I was at school my parents said it was up to me what I wanted to do. I wasn’t sure if I wanted to go to varsity because none of my friends were going. Like, out of a class of forty when I started school we had three people left last year – everyone else had gone. I was pretty confident I’d get Bursary. I just didn’t know what to do so I came to varsity anyway. I’ve got dreams but I’ve chopped and changed them. Like one minute I was going to be a journalist and the next minute I am heading in another direction. I don’t know what I want to be but I know what type of person I am. I would like to be working in the Māori community but I am not too sure where university fits into that. I get pretty scared. It’s like taking one step forward and taking a step back. If I get a degree and money what is the price I’ll pay in terms of māoritanga? I don’t think that I am furthering myself being at university. It is sort of tricky because I am not in the system; I am working against it. Sometimes I wonder if I should stay or do something else like go up ‘The Coast’ and learn stuff up there. Out of my family, I am the one who likes the old ways.

My parents can’t afford to help me out financially with my study. Because they earn too much I don’t get student allowance so I have to work. Earlier in the year I worked for a Government Department and now I teach Māori and culture group at a local school. It’s really annoying because I’ve got two responsibilities. It’s hard because I’ve got to prepare stuff for school and I’ve always got stuff to do at varsity. But because I am getting paid for teaching my first responsibility has to be the school. So I have to take a step back from varsity. I want to concentrate on my study but I can’t. Like at the beginning of the year, just to pay for my books and that, I would go to varsity for a lecture and then go to work. I would leave at eight and get home at eight and I was just exhausted. I got no study done. I thought they’d take care of that. Like you go to varsity to study and it’s hard because I’ve got to do both – work and study. I just want means testing to die so I can get
Upoko Tuaono: te mihi
Wāhanga Tuarua

some money. I had a real bad start to the year and I didn’t know what to do. I missed the first month of lectures with Law and I just kept missing everything, you know I wasn’t motivated to come. So we’d take off. I didn’t like it here I didn’t feel I belonged – I felt stupid. I’d go into class and I couldn’t understand what they were talking about. It affected my confidence ah. My Dad sat me down and said to me university was a challenge, that I shouldn’t care what’s it like. He said I had the brains for it (which I wasn’t too sure about). But, yeh, then I made a fresh start, I dropped Law, picked up American Studies and a History paper, went to all my lectures, did an essay and got a good grade and I just went for it. It was like one essay, but it showed that I could do it. I made a turn around half way through the year.

1997: I did really well last year, getting an A- average. I have gained confidence and now know what I am doing. But I still feel I don’t belong in the university. Nothing has changed from last year really, I just don’t feel it is a Māori place, therefore I just don’t feel like it is my kind of place. Even the Māori Department, I feel everything in there is just so compromised. It is, I suppose, just like a traditional academic place. For me, like it is go in and go out [to university], sometimes I go to Te Akatoki, or hang out with someone I know but my friends are still the same people in the Māori community.

1998: In my first year I just wanted to prove I could do it, the second year I just wanted to prove that it wasn’t a fluke, that I could still keep it up, and this year I don’t know, I don’t really care much. I keep saying to myself don’t worry just get your C+s and get out of here. I still worked pretty hard – not to the max – scoring good grades, but I have slipped a bit. I took a couple of fillers and they dropped my grade average down a bit. I kept saying last year that I would do post grad. You know I kept saying to myself each year, ‘Man this is dumb but wait to post grad, so just do it’. And then I thought, ‘If this is dumb what is post grad going to be like?’ Then, at the beginning of this year I checked it out it looked soo hard. I suppose it would be good, but I don’t have real big ambitions.

Postscript: On completion of his B.A. in Māori Kāhu left university and got a job in the Māori community. At this stage he has no desire to return and do graduate study, nevertheless he has not ruled it out altogether.

Tiaho

1996: Both my parents are Māori. I was born in Taupo and we shifted to Christchurch when I was about fourteen. I am 20 and I live with my Mum, and my Dad lives down here too. I have a sister who lives at Burnham with her husband who is in the army. I have a niece and a nephew and a new niece or nephew on the way. When we came down here I went to Westlake High. In my third form I went to Kereru Girls High and was automatically put in the bilingual unit there. So when we moved here there was a major change. Westlake was pretty much monocultural in the way that they did things – there was no Māori unit. Talking about major change, it was a major culture shock coming down here. Up north is Māori: you go to the airport and there are carvings, you go to McDonald’s and there are carvings. Christchurch isn’t so brown. It was a major culture shock but I don’t really mind now I have adjusted. When I decided to come to university my family were proud, especially my nanny who is over the moon that one of us is going. She said she would like me to go, and that she would support me all the way. My whānau
Upoko Tuaono: te mihi
Wāhanga Tuarua

have paid for me to come, they’ve set up a trust for the education of my nanny’s moko. I am the first moko out of my nanny’s kids to come. It puts pressure on me. Every time my nanny rings up it’s, ‘How are you doing at varsity dear?’ So I am going for them, really. In the end I became accustomed to it and it is now what I want too. It is a new experience for all of us. Law is the path I want to take. Mum says I have the gift of the gab, and I have always had an interest in something like that where I could mouth off at someone for someone else. I want to be able to help our people, and personally I just want to get there, be someone. I think it went pretty good this year for me in my Māori papers. I think I will just have to wait and see for my Laws though.

Postscript: Tiaho completed her first year and came back the next year but dropped out some time during the year. In 1998 she reappeared and completed her second year. Although she was going to enrol in 1999 I do not know whether she did, and if she did whether she completed her year. However, somewhere between 1999 and 2001 she completed her degree enabling her to graduate with a B.A. in Māori in 2002. Currently she is working towards completing her Law degree.

Nuku
1996: My name is Nuku and I am 27 years old. My father is Māori, my mother was born in New Zealand but her folks are from England and Ireland. I have three younger sisters. Neither Mum nor Dad had much of an education. I enjoyed school and didn’t find it too difficult. But I didn’t enjoy it enough to stick it out to the seventh form. I left school with U.E. in Maths, English, Accounting, Economics, Physics and Electronics. At that time I thought I wanted to be an aircraft engineer – that is why the physics and electronics are there. It is shame really, because I used to like Social Studies but I didn’t think it was going to be any use – I regret it now. When I left school I went to Polytech for a year and did a full-time course in computer programming. That wasn’t a very successful year for me as I was more interested in rugby and going out and partying. Although I passed my internal exams I didn’t pass the national ones. After that year I went to work at the Statistics Department, a job I got through the Māori Affairs job scheme. I think my father was relieved when I finally went to work, for I always got the impression that he would have liked me to be out working when I was fifteen. After a couple of years working I went to Australia. And after more travelling between New Zealand and Australia my girlfriend and I travelled to Asia and then Europe. We came back to Christchurch just in time for pre-enrolment at the end of 1995. By then I had decided to go to university and I wasn’t going to hang around for another year. I want my degree and, well, I want to earn some decent money. You can earn good money from doing unskilled work but you’ve got to work very, very hard for it. My main worry, though, coming to university was that I was too old. Most people I talked to were very encouraging and said it was probably even better being a mature student. Now that I am here I have met quite a few people around my age so I am not the only one. My family think I am mad. For my sister at high school, hopefully I will be a good role model. I want to do well here, and it’s really hard to gauge whether I am working hard enough or not. I feel guilty if I am not studying. If I am not on top of things I don’t feel comfortable.
1997: Last year I did loads of work. When it came up to the exams I was lucky enough to have done all right with my assessments during the year. It was a lot harder than I thought it would be, but I enjoyed the learning part and I enjoyed actually seeing myself working hard and getting results from it. So yeh, I enjoyed that side of things last year except for my social life, or lack of it. Anyway I had already spent many years doing that so I didn’t mind working extra hard. The first half of this year has been pretty intense, mind you so has the second half. But it hasn’t been as stressful as the last year even though there has been a lot more work. I wasn’t so nervous about it all, I guess that helped.

1998: I have done two years now and I pretty much know what I am going to get from university. I would prefer something a bit more practical but it has got to the stage where I will be happy just to get my degree. Then, I will be able to work and specialise in some area. Even though I am more than happy with the way things have gone I still have a few self doubts. This year I have been finding it a bit harder to motivate myself even though I have been tutoring. I have got a job lined up for when I finish and I am pretty happy about that. The company that I am going to be working for had a presentation at university where they were looking for people who they thought would be worthwhile; I was one of those lucky people. Yeh, I am really rapt but I am slacking off a bit now because, basically a job has always been my goal, more so than a degree.

Postscript: Nuku very successfully completed a Commerce degree with a double major in Computer Science and Information Systems. At the end of his three years at university he went straight into a job in an area that he wanted to work in and one that paid more than what he was expecting. He doesn’t rule out post graduate study in the future, but for now he is happy working and gaining the practical skills that he felt were lacking from his education at university.

The stories that have been told here recount the experiences of just eleven Māori students who began their journey into the world of tertiary study at the University of Canterbury in 1996. They were not alone. While their experiences may be unique to them they are also, however, part of a much larger group of Māori students. The second part of this wāhanga places their participation within the wider context of Māori students’ participation in the University of Canterbury as well as the university sector as a whole.

Ngā Kupu Kōrero o ngā Tauira Māori

A mihi to Āpirana Ngata
I want to begin this part by remembering the long association Māori have had with university education, especially at the University of Canterbury. Āpirana Ngata who was a student at Canterbury College in the mid 1890s was the first Māori to graduate from a New Zealand university. An outstanding scholar his academic achievements were considerable – he graduated with a B.A. in 1894, a MA the following year and a LLB in 1897. Ngata was a strong advocate of Pākehā education. The strength of his belief is expressed in the whakataukī E

138
Tipu e Rea that he wrote in the 1930s for his niece. In it he urges his niece to take hold of Pākehā knowledge while at the same time retaining her Māori identity.

E tipu e rea mo nga ra o tou ao
Tou ringa ki nga rakau a te Pākehā
Hei oranga mo to tinana
Tou ngakau ki nga taonga a o tipuna
Hei tikitiki mo tou mahunga
Tou wairua ki te Atua
Nana nei nga mea katoa

Grow up tender shoot in the days of your youth
Let your hands grasp the rod of the Pākehā
for your physical well being
Let your heart remain steadfast to the treasures of your ancestors
As a plume for your head
let your spirit remain in the care of the supreme being -
for whom and to whom all things belong.

Together with fellow old boys from Te Aute3 he established the Te Aute Student Association. One of the stated aims of the Association was to promote higher education. Despite Āpirana Ngata being a role model and despite his advocacy for higher education, participation by Māori at university has historically been low. Up until the late 1980s when the recording of ethnicity began, participation trends were estimations only. Notwithstanding this, the Hunn Report in 1960 was the first to highlight in a small way the disparity between Māori and Pākehā university participation. Then in 1968 it was estimated that the number of Māori graduates, since the universities had been established, a hundred years earlier, totalled about 2004. This estimation was based on the list of graduates5 that had been compiled over the years by Māori and kept by the Assistant Officer for Māori Education. Although a significant list, it only tells part of the story of Māori participation. I was left wondering about what these graduates studied, how many were wahine and how many were tane, and how many other students they studied with who did not complete their degrees or were still in the process of completing them6. Since the 1990s a fuller, but still by no means complete7, picture of Māori participation has emerged with the gathering of more comprehensive sets of data.

I have used data that the University collects and that which is published by the Ministry of Education to locate Rangimarie, Dawn, Hone, Mārama, Kahu, Nuku, Māui, Ngaire, Tiaho, Tania, and Haami within the context of participation at Canterbury and the university sector as a whole. In telling this particular story I use the students’ kōrero to put a human face to what otherwise would be a sea of numbers. This is in part a critique of the way statistics de-personalise the people they represent. Yet at the same time I acknowledge that they are useful in providing insight to the issue of Māori participation in university education8.

**Being part of a minority**

When Hone observed on his very first day on campus, at Māori orientation, that he didn’t meet as many Māori students as he expected he was expressing in his own way what the statistics had been saying ever since the records had been kept. That he was one of a relatively small number of Māori students to go to university, despite Māori enrolments reaching an all time high in 19969. However, Māori were still under-represented in tertiary education in general and universities in particular at this time10. While this was clearly the case if we
were to look at participation rates across the university sector where 8.5% of all enrolments were Māori\textsuperscript{11}, the trend at Canterbury was somewhat less clear cut.

In 1996, Hone was one of 148 Māori enrolled for the first time at Canterbury. They in turn joined a further 473 Māori students who were continuing their studies at the University of Canterbury (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Māori and non-Māori first year and returning students enrolled at the University of Canterbury, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First Year Students</th>
<th>Returning Students</th>
<th>All</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>5.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Māori</td>
<td>2,049</td>
<td>8,639</td>
<td>10,688</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,197</td>
<td>9,112</td>
<td>11,309</td>
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</table>

Source: Ministry of Education, (1997a) Table A.2.1 in Full Year Tertiary Education Statistics 1996

In all, 621 Māori students enrolled at Canterbury in 1996; they made up 5.5% of the total student enrolment. This appears to be a considerable disparity given that Māori made up 15% of New Zealand’s total population in 1996\textsuperscript{12}. However, when looking at the rate of participation at Canterbury in relation to the local or regional population a different picture emerges - even after taking into account student mobility\textsuperscript{13}. The number of Māori who live in the South Island is significantly less than the number living in the North Island. In 1996, 7% of the total Canterbury population was Māori\textsuperscript{14}.

Therefore, the University of Canterbury’s Māori student population of 5.5% in 1996 reflected relatively closely the Māori/non-Māori mix of the community within which it was located\textsuperscript{15}. Just as Christchurch is not as ‘brown’ as cities in the North Island, nor is the university. Nevertheless, even with a smoothing out of the disparities the number of Māori students at Canterbury is small. Hone’s supposition that Māori students can go through university not meeting other Māori students is a real possibility, especially considering the range of faculties, departments and courses students can be enrolled in. Indeed, the issue of being and feeling part of a minority is a recurring theme in the students’ kōrero.

The issue of age
Nuku, too, was concerned about being part of a minority. Believing that university students were young, he thought before he went to university that at the age of 27 he would be old compared to his fellow students. It wasn’t until the year had begun that he could see that he, along with Dawn, Haami, Maui, Ngaire, Tania and Rangimārie, were amongst the 235 Māori students (38.4%)
Upoko Tuaono: te mihi
Wāhanga Tuarua

over 25 years of age studying at the University of Canterbury (Table 1.2). Even though the majority of Māori were young – that is in the core tertiary age group of 18-24 years of age – compared to non-Māori students Māori students tended to be older (28% and 38.4% respectively). It is the 18-24 year age group that the University is set up for and targets in their recruitment drives.

Table 1.2. Māori and non-Māori students enrolled at the University of Canterbury by age, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Māori</th>
<th>Non-Māori</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≤17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td>7748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>1104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>10752</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, 22nd May 1996

While being older may bring added insight to a student’s work, in many ways it makes study more difficult given that the University does not recognise, nor cater for the needs of older students, particularly those who work and those who have children to take into consideration. Certainly my own experiences reflect the tensions between being a student and a mother (see Upoko Tuawha). Five of the kaikōrero – Maui, Haami, Ngaire, Tania and Rangimarie – had families as well as their studies to think about.

Pathways to university

Rangimarie raised the issues of race and gender and educational access when she talked about the expectations her father and teachers had of her. It is the consequences of such lowered expectations that I want to look at first. Historically, Māori students have been less likely to remain at school to the senior level and to have gained fewer qualifications. By not being given the opportunity to stay at school long enough or the encouragement to gain a qualification that would give her the option of going on to university, Rangimarie was limited in what she could do once she left school. University only became an option for her, as it did for most of the mature students, after they had turned twenty and could enrol under the Adult Admission provision. For all the mature students there was a clear expectation from their parents that
once they left school they should get a ‘real’ job in the ‘real’ world. Although Rangimarie was talking about her father’s gendered attitude towards her education, the idea that education was a ‘waste of time’ equally applied to Nuku, Haami and Maui’s parents’ long term aspirations for their sons. With the exception of Nuku, who came to university with an entrance qualification, none of the mature students stayed at school long enough to gain formal qualifications that would permit them entry to university. At 20 years of age, and within the core tertiary age group, Tiaho too, enrolled at university under the Adult Admission provision. For Mārama, Hone and Kāhu, who came straight from school, Bursary was a requirement of entry. Out of the eleven kaikōrero, only four came to university with formal entry qualifications. Over half of the Māori students who enrolled at Canterbury for the first time in 1996 did so without any formal qualifications (Table 1.3).

Table 1.3. First year Māori students at the University of Canterbury by entry qualifications, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Bursary</th>
<th>UE¹</th>
<th>AE²</th>
<th>PRV³</th>
<th>AA⁴</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>185²³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, July 1999

¹ University Entrance – the matriculation qualification that has been superceded by Bursary.
² Ad Eundem Statum – qualifications from another university or place of learning
³ Provisional Entrance – entrance based on good Sixth Form Certificate grades
⁴ Adult Admission – no qualifications but over the age of 20 years

Gender issues
In recent years women have been at the forefront of participating in university study. In 1996, irrespective of ethnicity, more women than men were participating in university study across the whole of the university sector²⁰. But it has been Māori women in particular who have been leading the way²¹. In this respect all the wāhine Māori who volunteered to be a part of the research were trailblazers. However, when looking at their participation at Canterbury their trailblazing takes on a new meaning. At Canterbury Tiaho, Mārama, Rangimārie, Dawn, Ngaire and Tania were a minority. In 1996 there were fewer first year
wāhine Māori compared to non-Māori women students (Table 1.4). On the other hand, the rate of participation for first year Māori men was higher than for Māori and non-Māori women, and for non-Māori men.

Table 1.4. First year Māori and Non-Māori students enrolled at the University of Canterbury by gender, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Māori</th>
<th>Non-Māori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wāhine</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>45.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tane</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education., (1997), Table A.2.1 in Full Year Tertiary Statistics 1996

When I looked at the overall numbers of Māori men and women at the University there were only slightly fewer Māori women than non-Māori women enrolled in 1996 (Table 1.5). Similarly, against the national trend of fewer men participating in university education Kāhu, Hone, Māui, Nuku, and Haami were part of the Māori male Canterbury population whose rate of participation was higher than both Māori and non-Māori women, and non-Māori men.

Table 1.5. Māori and non-Māori enrolled at the University of Canterbury by gender, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Māori</th>
<th>Non-Māori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wāhine</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tane</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>52.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education., (1997a), Table A.1.4 in Full-Year Tertiary Education Statistics 1996

Irrespective of ethnicity, or within the Māori student population, the differences between the rates of participation between men and women reflected traditional patterns of participation. I couldn’t help wonder whether this in turn reflected a more conservative university and if so what impact this might have had on Māori students.

**Full-time and part-time** student issues

While fewer Māori women were studying at the University for the first time in 1996 those who were, were more likely to be studying part-time as compared to Māori men (Table 1.6). Just over a third of first year Māori women students were
part-time students. Four of the kaikōrero wāhine - Dawn, Rangimārie, Ngaire and Tania - enrolled in part-time studies. The only full-time kaikōrero wāhine in this study were the young women, Mārama and Tiaho. By contrast Haami was the only kaikōrero tane who was enrolled as a part-time student. Nearly 80 per cent of Māori males, including Māui, Kāhu, Hone and Nuku, were studying full-time.

Table 1.6. First year Māori students enrolled full-time and part-time at the University of Canterbury by sex, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, July 1999

I was interested to see how those first year trends compared with the overall student population at the University. The trends were similar with more men studying full-time (Table 1.7). Yet while they showed similar trends, by comparison slightly fewer Māori were in full-time study.

Table 1.7. Participation by all students at the University of Canterbury by full-time/part-time Status, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>4,952</td>
<td>85.3</td>
<td>4,038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>1,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,803</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>5,561</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, 24th May 1996

Again, this is in contrast to the national trend where more Māori were more likely to be enrolled full-time in university study in 1996\(^2\). And again it was wāhine Māori who led the way nationally for being full-time university students.

Most part-time students are adult students as well. In 1996 only one part-time first year Māori student was in the 18-24 year age bracket. Research\(^2\) has shown, and I will show later in this Wāhanga that part-time students are less likely to engage in their study, and therefore more likely to drop out. Less time for study and less time on campus coupled with the pressure of work and family commitments add to this kind of alienation. In this study four out of the five
part-time kaikōrero – Rangimārie, Tania, Ngaire and Haami – did not return to study in 1997. Dawn, on the other hand, first enrolled as a part-time student but the following year came back and enrolled as a full-time student and eventually went on to complete her degree. Then there was Māui, who began as a full-time student in 1996 but then, because of family and work commitments, changed to being a part-time student in his third year.

Deciding on a degree
When the students first enrolled at the University they had dreams about what they wanted to do and what they wanted to become. Some like Tiaho, Hone and Kāhu wanted to be lawyers. Nuku was set on working in the Information Technology field. Mārama, Rangimārie, and Māui wanted to be teachers, while Dawn and Haami wanted to work in the health sector. The range of degree programmes – Arts, Law, Science, Law and Commerce – they enrolled in reflected their diverse desires. At the University in 1996 just over 52% of Māori students were enrolled in the B.A. programme (Table 1.8). Law was the next preferred degree then Commerce, the Sciences, Engineering and Education. Albeit in small numbers, compared to non-Māori students, Māori students were
more likely to have enrolled in Law, Education and Forestry while Non-Māori students were twice as likely to enrol in the Sciences, Commerce and Engineering.

Table 1.8. Māori and Non-Māori Students Enrolled at the University of Canterbury by Faculty, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifying Code</th>
<th>Māori Students</th>
<th>Non-Māori Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>52.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering#</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education^</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forestry</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fine Arts</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>609</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, 24th April 1996 (Māori data); 24th May 1996 (non-Māori data)

* This set of data includes students enrolled in certificate and diploma programmes as well as post graduate studies.
# I have included Engineering Intermediates here rather than in the Sciences. Ordinarily Engineering Intermediate students degree code falls within the Science degree code - 213
^ There are two kinds of Education students – those enrolled in the B.A. programme and majoring in Education or those doing a Bachelor of Education. In this table the number of those enrolled in Education represents those enrolled in the B.Ed. programme only.

However, by 1997, all but Nuku were enrolled in the B.A. programme, which reflected the national trend. Historically, across the university sector, Māori have tended to be enrolled in arts based programmes. The Māori students at Canterbury and the kaikōrero were no exception. As we will come to see in UpokoTuawhitu, the kaikōrero were aware of the differences between the subjects that Māori and non-Māori students were interested in and consequently took. In particular the young students talked about their experiences at school that impacted on the kind of choices they had once they had left. With the exception of Kāhu none of the young students took Maths or any of the science subjects in their senior school years, which again reflected national trends^{15}. As far as they were concerned the emphasis on, and the encouragement from their
teachers for them to become teachers, as well as the lack of role models in the sciences limited the options not only for themselves, but for all young Māori. They were also concerned, along with the mature students, that a B.A., by comparison to other degrees, was a ‘soft option’ – an easy degree. In this respect they echoed the dominant discourses about what constitutes knowledge especially valued knowledge in our society. In recent years, this has taken on a new twist with the Government’s (and business sector’s) call for New Zealand to become a ‘knowledge society’ and part of the global ‘knowledge economy’. Education they see plays a key role in this. However, it is not any kind of education that will do, the Government and the business sector are occupied with fostering entrepreneurial skills in the area of science and information technology. Nuku’s aspirations were to be part of that push and it showed in the degree in Information Systems and Computer Science that he went on to get.

Choice of major
While there are only a small number of degree programmes to enrol in (nine, not including intermediate programmes) the range of subjects a student can specialise in is much larger – 66 in all. Despite the range to choose from seven of the kaikōrero – Māui, Haami, Kāhu, Hone, Rangimārie, Mārama, Tiaho – chose Māori as either their first or second major when they first enrolled. Nearly 30% of all first year Māori students chose Māori as either their first or second major in 1996 (Table 1.9). The next preferred major was Education, followed by Law, History and Psychology. Similarly, the most preferred major for all Māori students in 1996 was Māori (Table 1.10).

Table 1.9: The Five Most Preferred Majors of First Year Māori Students at the University of Canterbury, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Majoring Department</th>
<th>First Major</th>
<th>Second Major</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>20#</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total No. of Students</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>185</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, July 1999

# includes 11 B.Ed students.
Upoko Tuaono: te mihi
Wāhanga Tuarua

Table 1.10. The Five Most Preferred Majors of all Māori Students at the University of Canterbury, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Majoring Department</th>
<th>First Major</th>
<th>Second Major</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education*</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychology</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub-total            | 390         | 64.0         |

Total No. of Students | 609         |

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, 24th April 1996

* includes all students enrolled in the B.A. programme as well as those doing a B.Ed. or M.Ed. through the Education Department.

When I thought about the programmes and the majors that the students enrolled in, it struck me that, perhaps, their choices reflected not just the limited subject options students had or what they wanted to do once they had graduated but what was happening on campus as well. Since the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, the development of kaupapa Māori schooling options and kaupapa Māori developments in the health sector there has been a need for lawyers, researchers, psychologists, social workers and teachers with a working knowledge of te reo Māori me ona tikanga. Perhaps working towards a degree in these five most preferred fields satisfied both their interest and their desire to work in and help their own communities. But perhaps their choice also reflected their expectations and experiences of being university students. It is notable that in 1996 the Psychology, Education and Law Departments had Māori study support programmes operating, while Māori and History offered comprehensive Māori content in their courses. Furthermore, the high number of students majoring in Māori perhaps reflects their expectations that the Māori Department as a Māori space on campus is a space in which they can be Māori. For many of the kaikōrero this was the case, and is discussed in the third part of Upoko Tuawhitu.

Studying in the Māori Department

Although seven of the kaikōrero chose Māori as their major, at some point in their study all but one of them had enrolled in the Department. Their participation in the Māori Department reflected the overall high number of Māori students studying in the Department. In 1996 almost 205 of the entire Māori student population was enrolled in Maor110, the language paper (Table
1.11. Slightly more Māori students enrolled in Maori110 than in the Māori Society paper, while for non-Māori it was reversed. From research in the Māori Department, conducted in 1994, the differences between the Māori and non-Māori students reflected the different aspirations of the two groups. Māori students took courses in the Māori Department for personal reasons while non-Māori students for increasing their work prospects. For some of the kaikōrero, including Māui, Dawn, Ngaire, Nuku and Haami enrolling in the Māori Department was the first opportunity they had to learn te reo Māori, tikanga and/or Māori history.

Table 1.11: Māori and non-Māori students enrolled in the Māori Department, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Year Māori Department Courses</th>
<th>Māori Students ( n = 609 )</th>
<th>Non-Māori Students ( n = 10755 )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( n )</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori104 ( n = 245 )</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maori110 ( n = 229 )</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Māori data Registry, University of Canterbury, 24th April 1996; non-Māori data Registry, 24th May 1996

Completing their studies
At the time of writing this thesis only four, out of the 11 kaikōrero who began university in 1996, had completed their study and graduated. Kāhu and Nuku were eligible to graduate after three years, Dawn after four years, and Tiaho after six years. After three years of study, 16.5% of full-time Māori students, who enrolled for the first time at Canterbury in 1996, and in a three-year degree programme, were eligible to graduate (Table 1.12). This was half the rate for all students and I wondered why. So I then looked at how many were not completing their studies to see if this would shed light on what was happening.

Table 1.12. Māori and non-Māori full-time students enrolled for the first time in 1996 at the University of Canterbury in a three year degree programme and graduating after three years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Full-time Students Enrolled in a Three Year Programme</th>
<th>Completions ( (n) )</th>
<th>Completions ( (%) )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Māori ( n = 185 )</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All# ( n = 275 )</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, July 1999

* The data for all students came from a random sample of all students who first enrolled in 1996. The 10% sample size of 275 students was computer generated.
Dropping out and dropping in
If it was one thing that I found early on in this study was that the students’ participation was anything but a straightforward process. They changed their full-time and part-time status, they changed the degree programmes and the courses they were enrolled in, and they dropped in and out of their study. The students’ dropping in and out of study made it impossible to determine a complete and final graduation rate. What I did determine from the kaikōrero was that there were two types of dropping in and out. First I found that the students practiced a casual or temporary kind of dropping in and out. Haami, Kāhu and Maui stopped attending classes to earn money while still enrolled at university. The extent of Haami’s and Māui’s dropping out to work went on to affect their chances of completing their degrees. Eventually both dropped out completely – Haami in the middle of his first year and Maui after two and a half years of study. Kāhu on the other-hand picked up his studies in the second half of his first year and went on to complete his degree. Then there was the more permanent kind of dropping out, where the students formally withdrew from university. Eight students out of the eleven kaikōrero formally dropped out of university: Haami, Ngaire and Tania during their first year, Rangimarie and Mārama at the end of their first year and Hone, Maui and Tiaho in subsequent years. After one year of study, 33.3% of the 1996 first year Māori students left university and did not return within the three year timeframe of this research (Table 1.13). A further 17.8% left at the end of two years of study. After three years of study 64% had left the university before completing their degree, that is they had not returned to the university for what would have been their fourth year, compared to the 26% of Māori students who continued to study in their fourth year and beyond. Compared to all students, the non-completions for Māori students is significantly higher. Again I was left wondering why. So I began to look at some of the different aspects that might have had an impact on the level of discontinuations.
Table 1.13. Non-completions and completions for Māori and all students first enrolled at the University of Canterbury in 1996 by full-time and part-time status and by years of study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of study</th>
<th>Māori Students (n=185)</th>
<th>All Students (n=275#)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>Part-time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>37(^1)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Non-completions</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing students</td>
<td>44(^2)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completions</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, July 1999

# 275 = 10% random sample of all students who first enrolled at the University in 1996.

\(^1\) excludes four students who enrolled in the one year social work diploma course

\(^2\) includes six students who had completed their degrees and continued with graduate study

\(^3\) excludes one student enrolled in the Certificate of Proficiency

\(^4\) includes eleven students who had completed their degree and returned as graduate students

\(^5\) excludes two students who enrolled in the ESOL course

I found that those studying part-time, those who failed their courses in their first year and those who did not have formal qualifications when they enrolled at university were more likely to leave without completing their degree.

Although mindful that part-time students take longer to complete a degree – perhaps 6, maybe 10 years – when I looked at the data between 1996 and 1999 I found that a large number of part-time students had discontinued within the first three years of their study (Table 1.14). Of the five kaikōrero who enrolled as part-time students in 1996, Ngaire, Tania, Rangimārie and Haami all left during their first year of study. By contrast Dawn, who became a full-time student after her first year was one of the 15.7% of Māori part-time students in 1996 who continued with their study beyond the three year time frame of this study.
Table 1.14. The percentage of discontinuations of Māori and non-Māori students first enrolled in 1996 as part-time students at the University of Canterbury after three years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of part-time students</th>
<th>Number of non-completions</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Māori students</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All students</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>275#</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, July 1999
# 275 = a 10% random sample of the total number of all first year students

I also found that mature Māori students who entered university through Adult Admission were more likely to have left before completing a degree. Nearly 55% of the 1996 first year Māori students who enrolled as adult students left after one year of study compared to 13.7% of students with Bursary (Table 1.15). Over the course of the three year study the non completion rate for adult Māori students was double that of students who enrolled with a Bursary qualification. Four out of the seven kaikōrero who dropped out of university were part-time students with no previous school qualification. Hone and Mārama were the only kaikōrero with Bursary who discontinued their studies after studying full-time. I think that the high failure rate of adult students can also be accounted for in the part-time statistics as mature students are more likely to be enrolled as part-time students. A combination of lack of preparedness for study and outside commitments and responsibilities on top of their study, I am sure contribute to the overall high rate of discontinuations for adult students.

Table 1.15. Completions and non completions of 1996 First Year Māori Students at the University of Canterbury by number of years of study and entry qualification*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of study</th>
<th>Adult Admission</th>
<th>Bursary*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 year</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 year</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of non-completions</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>80.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing</td>
<td>14#</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completions</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of students</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, July 1999
# includes 2 students who have graduated and continued with graduate study
* does not include students who had qualifications other than Bursary on entry n=14
Finally, another group of students who left without completing their degrees was those who failed\textsuperscript{32} their first year of study (Table 1.16). Out of the 185 first year Māori students 22.7% (\textit{n}=76) had a grade point average of 3.9 or less and of those, 55\% did not continue with their study beyond their first year.

Table 1.16. Discontinuations of 1996 First Year Students with a 3.9 or less Grade Point Average at the University of Canterbury by number of years of study*  
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Number of study years & Māori Students & All Students  
\textit{n}=76 & & \textit{n}=82 & \\
\hline
1 & 42 & 55.3 & 37 & 45.1  \\
2 & 17 & 22.3 & 22 & 26.8  \\
3 & 6 & 7.9 & 7 & 8.6  \\
Total (non-completions) & 65 & 85.5 & 66 & 80.5  \\
Continuing in 1999 & 11 & 14.5 & 16 & 19.5  \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Source: Registry, University of Canterbury, July 1999  
*Includes students enrolled in 3 and 4 year degree programmes.  
\# A 10\% random sample of all first year students in 1996.

However, some, like Dawn, did. Despite failing, she was eager to continue with study and returned the next year as a full-time student. Rather than think that she was not cut out for study Dawn saw that her failure was a combination of underestimating the amount of time she needed to commit to study given that she worked full-time, nor did she take her study seriously.

A caveat to reading statistics on rates of participation  
From these data it is tempting to infer the success of Māori students at Canterbury. However, given the way the students in this study participated in university this data can only provide a ‘snap shot’ of students in a specific moment\textsuperscript{38}. Although considered ‘drop-outs’ in the data Mārama and Rangimārie are anything but. While they might have left the University, they did not leave study behind them for they both went on to complete teaching diplomas elsewhere. Rangimārie has re-entered tertiary education and is currently enrolled in a Masters programme. In recent years Mārama has dropped back into university as a part-time student to complete her degree. Tiaho is another student who is recorded as a ‘drop-out’ in the statistics. But after dropping out she opted back in and became eligible to graduate with a B.A. six years after beginning her study. Currently she is completing a Law degree. On this basis, the data on students who discontinue their study will never be complete as students who drop out of study may just as likely drop in again after some time –
years perhaps. The actual completion rate of the 1996 first year cohort over time will be greater as students complete enough papers to graduate or drop back into study.

As I near the end of writing this thesis five kaikōrero left university before completing their degrees, and to the best of my knowledge have never returned to study. Of those, three had left before they had completed their first year. Six of the kaikōrero continued with their study either at the University or elsewhere.

**Loans and Allowances**
Money was not a dominant theme in the students’ kōrero as I thought it might have been given that it is often cited as a reason that constrains Māori participation in the tertiary sector. A report on Māori participation in tertiary education published by Te Punj Kōkiri also found that debt was not an over riding concern of Māori students. Rather, most of the students accepted that the allowance and loan scheme provided them with opportunities they would not have otherwise had. The debt they were incurring was something they ‘put at the back of their minds’ as they got on with study. Of the kaikōrero, Māui, Kāhu, Dawn and Haami talked about the financial strain of being a student and needing to work at the same time. As students with children Haami and Maui both found it difficult to survive on the student allowance and provide for their families. Both took on full-time work while they were studying to supplement their incomes. Eventually both left, citing the need for money as only one of the reasons. Dawn also worked to finance her way through her studies. In her first year she worked full-time and studied part-time, and in subsequent years she studied full-time and worked part-time. Her desire to get a degree outweighed, in the end, her desire to earn money. Kāhu was the only young student who found study and working difficult, although all four of them worked part-time. Juggling work and study in his first year because he was ineligible for allowances almost saw Kāhu give up. Without support from his parents he would not have stayed to complete his degree. Once he had got back on track he never talked about money again. All the kaikōrero, except Tiaho, accessed student loans to pay their fees and study costs, and most of them were eligible to receive a student allowance. Here, the students were similar to other Māori students across the tertiary sector. In 1996 Māori students were more likely to have drawn down a loan and received a student allowance than non-Māori.

Much has been said and written about the disparities between Māori and non-Māori student participation in university study, indeed the whole of the education sector. Māori have viewed education, since the beginning of time, as a means to development and the realisation of aspirations. Despite increased participation rates Māori still lag behind Pākehā, inequalities continue to exist – not just with the number of Māori in university education but also the number who graduate. My concern in this thesis is not with access or outcomes of Māori participation, but what happens to Māori when they become students. While the data tells us what some of the inequalities are, the nature of the inequalities
remain hidden from view. It is only through looking at the lived reality of the students that we can begin to see what the underlying issues for Māori students are. The next Upoko explores the experiences of the eleven students whose introductory stories have threaded their way through this Wahanga.
End Notes

1 The version of the karakia used here is the one cited in Graham Smith's doctoral dissertation (1997) The development of Kaupapa Māori: theory and praxis.

2 Walker (2001: 66)

3 Te Aute was the school that Ngata attended. A boarding school for Māori boys, many of the leading Māori figures of Ngata’s day were schooled there. With Ngata the driving force they formed the Te Aute College Students Association (Walker, 2001). One of the stated aims of the Association was to promote higher education.

4 This estimation was conducted by Thomas Fitzgerald as part of his Ph.D. study on the social position of the Māori graduate (Fitzgerald, 1969; 1977).

5 Those who completed diplomas were also included in his study (Fitzgerald, 1977).

6 To be fair, the research that this estimation was part of did not ask these kinds of questions because they weren’t the focus of the study.

7 While statistical data does tell a story about participation and trends in participation it does not tell the full picture. It simply cannot tell the reasons why Māori participate in the way that they do.

8 Although my study is a qualitative one, and notwithstanding my critique against positivism, I am also open to looking and thinking about Māori participation in a range of ways. Such a stance reflects a pragmatic approach to research, however, it also reflects a willingness to open up the collaborative process and establish a dialogue between paradigms (Chenail, 2000).

9 The number of Māori choosing to go to university had increased markedly in the five years leading up to 1996. Between 1991 and 1996 there had been a 57.8% growth in Māori university participation compared to a 16.9% increase in non-Māori participation rates (Ministry of Education, 1997c). Data since 1996 shows that the growth experienced in the first half of the 1990s has halted and possibly reversed (Ministry of Education, 1998).

10 In 1996, 10.97% (n=27594) of students enrolled in the tertiary sector were Māori (Ministry of Education, 1997a). Over a half of those students were enrolled in polytechnic education while a third attended university (Figure 1.1a).

12 Statistics New Zealand (1997)
13 There are a number of students who travel away from their home to study. This is difficult to assess as limited data is collected on it, and none published with regard to Māori students. The data that is collected is part of the information gathered on students who have come straight from school. In 1996, 74.2% of students at Canterbury came straight from school (Ministry of Education, 1997a: 43). In turn the majority (61.3%) of those students came from schools in the Canterbury region, most of the other students came from the rest of the South Island while only 1% came from the North Island (Ministry of Education, 1997a: 51). On the basis that Māori students made up only a small percentage of the total student population, I presume that the number of Māori students that move to Christchurch to attend Canterbury is very small.
15 Looking at the rates of participation in this way changes the shape of the disparities across the university sector. The disparities are greater in the North Island where more Māori live (Table 1.1a).
### Table 1.1a 1996 Māori enrolment rates at the seven university’s and their regional populations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>total number of enrolments</th>
<th>% of Māori enrolled</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>% of Māori in Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>25,213</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>Auckland</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waikato</td>
<td>10,980</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>Waikato / Manawatu /</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massey*</td>
<td>27,331</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>Wanganui</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>12,703</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>11,309</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>4,013</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>15,390</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>Otago</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Ministry of Education (1997a), Table A.1.4 (p13) in Full-Year Tertiary Education Statistics 1996; Statistics New Zealand (1997), Figure 2 (p16) in Māori.

*Massey’s roll comes from both resident and correspondence students.

16 See for example Norton, Thomas, Morgan, Tilley and Dickins (1998); Kember (1999); Norton (1998); and Richardson (1998).

17 Davies and Nicholl (1993).

18 University of Canterbury (1995)

19 This figure is higher than the figure published by the Ministry of Education. When I asked about the discrepancy I was told there were several reasons for this. Firstly, the data I was given included students who were fresher students at other tertiary institutions in 1996 and who transferred to Canterbury sometime between 1997 and 1999 when this data was obtained. Secondly, the way the University determines ethnicity is different to the Ministry of Education. On enrolment forms students are given a number of ethnic affiliations to tick. Accordingly, many students indicate that they have multiple ethnic affiliations. If they include Māori then they are automatically included in the Māori statistics. However, the Ministry of Education only records two or three ethnic affiliations. Thirdly students make mistakes on their enrolment forms and lastly they may change their affiliations from year to year. Once they change their affiliation it becomes part of their permanent record. The university does not keep a record of their changes.
Table 1.2a. Maori and non-Maori students enrolled at all New Zealand universities by sex, 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Maori</th>
<th>Non-Maori</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5,300</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3,839</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9,139</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education (1997a), Table A.1.4 in Full-Year Tertiary Education Statistics 1996

Ministry of Education (1997a)
I considered a part-time student to be a student enrolled in papers totalling 24 points or less. Most papers offered at Canterbury in 1976 were worth six points, although some like Laws101 is worth 12 points.

Figure 1.2a. Maori and All Students Enrolled at New Zealand Universities in 1996 by Full-time and Part-time Status

Kember (1999)
Davies and Nicholls (1993)
Intermediate courses are offered to students who plan to study for a professional degree at other universities such as Medicine and Dentistry at the University of Otago, Architecture at Victoria University and Veterinary Science at Massey University.

Students have the option to specialise in more than one subject when they enrol. Some choose to do a double major, which requires studying two subjects to Stage Three.
29 These were the findings of two studies that I and another post graduate student undertook for the Māori Department in 1994 (Harrison & Phillips, 1995; Phillips & Harrison, 1994).
30 Given the diverse ways that students participate at university, it is difficult to assess the rates of completion with accuracy. To calculate the completion rates of the 1996 Māori and non-Māori fresher students after three years of study I have taken into account the full-time/part-time status of students and whether they were enrolled in a three year or a four year degree programme. That is, I have not included students who enrolled as part-time students nor students enrolled in a degree that took four years to complete – for example Law, Engineering, and Forestry. Students who went on to graduate in subsequent years because they failed papers or dropped in and out of study, or students who transferred to other tertiary institutions to complete their study are included in the non-completion numbers. The data in this table, therefore, can ever only be provisional.
31 This also includes students who did not return to enrol at the beginning of a year.
32 Failure for the purposes of this study was an overall end of year grade point average of 3.9 or less. A grade of four equates to a C-, and when awarded in any given subject gives the student a restricted pass in that subject. A restricted pass allows the student a credit for that particular course but is not allowed to use it as a prerequisite for entry into other courses.
33 This warrants further study.
34 Jefferies (1998: 65)
35 Ministry of Education (1997c)
Te Huihui Kōrero

Before we know it, the formal speeches are over and it is off to the Wharekai to have a cup of tea. I am still catching up with people when my sisters call us back to the Wharenuī – it is time for the discussion to begin. I feel kind of anxious and excited all at the same time. I wonder what is going to be said and what challenges will be made. The feelings are very similar to the excited nervousness that I and the kaikōrero felt when we came together for the first time in 1996. Then, we did not know how things would pan out, but we persevered.

Upoko Tuawhitu tells the students’ stories. In four parts, the first part, Wahanga Tuatahi tells the story of their journeys to the University, while Wāhanga Tuarua tells of their encounters once they have arrived. Stories of their experiences in the classroom are told in Wāhanga Tuatoru, and in Wāhanga Tuawhā I weave together a final story that endeavours to shed light on their collective experiences.
I met John some twelve years ago when we were both undergraduate students. I was in my last year, he in his first. Sitting in Te Awaroa we would talk about 'our lives'. His story struck a chord deep within me then, and as I sit here trying to make sense of the traces of the students’ lives that are strewn around me I recall the last time we met. He had just finished his first year and was, to put it mildly, 'over the moon'. He hadn’t got his results back, but that didn’t matter to him, just finishing the year was a triumph, for he had proved to himself, his family, his church and to anyone he had ever met that 'he could do it'. This was very important to him because up until then no one thought that he could or would ever finish what he had started. Brought up in institutions since he was a baby he had no recollection of ever meeting his parents, although he figured that at least one of them was Māori because of his features and skin colour. Growing up a troubled youth and young adult his life only 'righted' itself when he became involved in the church, married and had children. On the dole for most of his adult life going to university opened up a whole new world to him. With little formal schooling behind him and no support he embarked on a journey of self-discovery. Knowing nothing of his cultural heritage he enrolled in the Māori Department in search of a Māori identity. And in the process came to a deeper understanding of himself and his capabilities. No matter what the future held for him, John finally saw himself as successful and he was rapt.

John’s story as I have told it here is the ‘bare bones’ of an immensely complicated 36 years of living. His whole life and being are reflected in what he does, thinks and says. When looked at in this way, what I have recaptured here is woefully inadequate. It does not, and cannot reveal the complexity and the subtleties of his own telling. But this is not the reason why his story begins this chapter, although it does provide a reminder that the stories that unfold here can only ever be partial representations of the experiences students have. John’s story begins this chapter because it provides a useful starting point for thinking about the places from which Māori students embark on their journey into university. John was no traditional university student. He wasn’t Pākehā, middle class or young and he didn’t have any school qualifications. In a sense he didn’t have a ‘map’ to guide him in his journey. What he did have, though, were his life experiences which shaped his dreams of who he wanted to be and what he wanted to do, guiding his foray into the world of the university. His is a story of hope. So too, are the other stories that are retold here.

Retold in this chapter are the stories of the students’ journeys to becoming students. Some of these stories were first told in Upoko Tuawhitu but I felt that it was better to repeat them rather than refer back to them for they play an important part in understanding the students’ experiences within the University, particularly as they situate their journeys within particular contexts. Like John, most of the kaikōrero, came to the University without ‘maps’. With the exception of Kāhu, whose parents both had degrees, all the kaikōrero were the first in their whānau to become university students. Thus they came without any prior knowledge of what university was like. Like their tupuna before them they truly
were explorers. And like all explorers, journeys always start from somewhere, always begin with dreams. Ultimately, their journeys, like John’s, are journeys in search of te whaiāo, te ao mārama.

Ngā Tūmanako o ngā tauira Māori

The reasons that brought the kaikōrero to university, the dreams that many of them had carried around for a long time were sometimes tentative, often contradictory and always complex. These were students who did not take going to university for granted. Most of them went only after considerable thought as to what they wanted to study, and what they wanted to do beyond university. Their career goals were tied to their educative goals, which were tied to their life goals, which were tied to the values they held, the concerns they had, and ultimately to who they were and who they wanted to be. In short, the decisions they made about coming to university were embedded in their lived reality. The dreams behind their decisions provide the light for their journey as they negotiated their way to becoming university students.

Te rapu ara: a good job and good money
The desire for a good job and earning good money were reasons that all the students gave for becoming university students. In doing so they all considered a degree would bring them increased work opportunities, income and career prospects. Implicit in their kōrero was the idea that a degree was going to materially improve their lives.

Haami: I associate education with a good job. And I have seen it, ah. As my kids get older I want to be able to get the gears that they want - things that I never had. It’s like, the first thing that jumps into my mind is that I am a farmer, ah... I like fencing, I like scrubcutting. Not many people do, but I do - that’s what I like... ‘cos it is good physical work and it is outside. But I don’t want to be a scrubcutter all my life. I don’t want to be a fencer because after years of doing that and the accidents I have sustained, it’s like I have got a stuffed back. There are somethings I just can’t do anymore. So, I want an education so that I can sit back and earn good money - nothing overly physically strenuous, just using my mind.

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

Nuku: Me, I was sick of doing unskilled work and that was the only way I could see out of it. I want my degree and hopefully a job where I can use my brains and earn money rather than doing a hard slog which I have been doing. You can get a good job with a degree in either computer programming or information systems. So I want my degree and, well, I want to earn some decent money. You can earn good money from doing unskilled work, but you’ve got to work very very hard for it. That’s why I am here, that’s my main reason.

Nuku: Kōrero #1, 26th March 1996

163
Most of the students had specific careers in mind. Nuku wanted to work in the computer field, the field that he made faltering steps towards when he first left school. Haami and Dawn had plans to work in community health, an area where they had both been consumers and workers prior to enrolling at university.

**Haami:** I want to be a counsellor. I want to have that behind me. I would like to work in the drug and alcohol field. It pays well. I see these Pākehā counsellors that get paid a 100 bucks an hour, stuff like that, and its like... half of them haven't got a clue.

_Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996_

**Te rapu ara kei roto i te ao Māori: working in their community**

Many of the kaikōrero talked about where they wanted to work and what kind of job they wanted, and about their desire to work in either the Māori community or within Māori settings. Mārama, Māui and Rangimārie wanted to become teachers. Rangimārie, though, in the long term was thinking about working in the field of Māori psychology. For, she saw that's what she needed if she was to help young Māori who fell through the cracks of the education system. Tiaho wanted to be a lawyer. She came to feel an obligation to reciprocate the support that she had received from her wānau, and as a lawyer she saw herself well placed to do just that. Furthermore, as a lawyer she would be able to extend her support to the wider Māori community.

**Mārama:** I want to be a teacher. I came to uni to get qualifications to be a teacher because I knew I would have to anyway. Since I was a kid I have always wanted to be a teacher or a dental nurse. But when I got to high school all the teachers used to go on about how there needs to be more Māori teachers, especially teachers fluent in the reo...I would like to teach the reo out there. I am not that good at it but at least I can, you know, give it a go.

_Ngā Korimako: Hui #3, 8th November 1996_

**Rangimārie:** I want to be a teacher but ... I read these statistics last year and, you know, schools are still failing our Māori children. The majority of children that get suspended in the Christchurch area are Māori students. Even though the schools have had a big swing around with incorporating things Māori into the education they provide we are still... at the bottom. To me if the ground roots or the foundations are wrong then you can't just slap another coat of paint over it. I thought, maybe I would just start up my own school - different to what is already happening. But then I thought teaching wouldn't give me enough. I want to get into psychology, but Māori psychology. I don't believe I need to learn psychology in a European whakaaro because Māori already have those things. Yeh so ... I'd like to finish, well get my teaching diploma, finish some sort of degree at university and then do Māori psychology.

_Rangimārie: Kōrero #1, 7th September 1997_

**Māui:** Ultimately, I want to be a teacher, to teach Māori kids. That's my goal. And I'll get there. I want to teach children at the impressionable age. Maybe round about Standard 4, maybe Form 1, Form 2 because I want to... you know, because I lost the interest of learning at that age. I can remember that vividly. That's where I want to be, because then you could probably determine how well they are going to do at secondary school - like if you get their interest and keep that interest going. If you can encourage
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanganga Tuatahi

them and instill in them that education is good and that knowledge is a good thing maybe they would stay. You can gain knowledge outside of school but you can gain both [education and knowledge] in school. You can’t gain both if you’re not going.

Ngā Titi pou nanamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

Tiaho: Law is really what I want to do. When I decided to come to university my family was proud, especially my nanny who is over the moon that one of us is going. She said she would like me to go, and that she would support me all the way. My whānau have paid for me to come, they’ve set up a trust for the education of my nanny’s moko and I am the first moko out of my nanny’s kids to come. It puts pressure on me. Every time my nanny rings up it’s, ‘How are you doing at varsity dear?’ So I am going for them really. In the end I become accustomed to it and it is now what I want too. It is a new experience for all of us… Because my whānau is putting me through varsity I think I owe them something – to help them out and to help Māori people in general. I just want to help our people, and personally I just want to get out there and be someone.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #3, 8th November 1996

While Kāhu and Hone did not know what they wanted to do, they did know that they wanted to work in the Māori community.

Hone: I wanted to come to varsity last year but it was after I got my Bursary marks back that I finally decided to come. I am not too sure what I want to do. I enrolled in a Bachelor of Commerce degree and I was going to do that…now I am doing Law, ‘Contemp’ [Contemporary Māori Society], Māori Reo, Māori Art and American Studies. I don’t know where that will end up - working with Māori, hopefully. I do want a good job, like in a government department.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #1, 17th July 1996

Kāhu: Like I’ve got dreams but I’ve chopped and changed them. Like, one minute I was going to be a journalist and the next minute I am heading in another direction. I am always heading in the right direction though. I don’t know what I want to be but I do know what type of person I am. I’d like to be working in the Māori community but I am not sure where university fits into that. Sometimes I get pretty scared. It’s like taking one step forward and taking a step back. If I get a degree and money what is the price I’ll pay in terms of māoritanga? If I went on the dole or got a job and didn’t get paid much I wouldn’t be furthering myself. Sometimes I wonder if I should stay or do something else like go up ‘The Coast’ and learn stuff up there. Out of my family, I am the one who likes the old ways.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #3, 8th November 1996

He aha te utu?: the cost of studying

All of the students were aware of the costs associated with going to university. Kāhu in the above excerpt was not sure that the personal cost of being a student is worth it. He expresses some uncertainty as to the impact coming to university will have on his cultural integrity, while at the same time expressing concern about his development if he doesn’t.
In another conversation he, Mārama, Hone and Tiaho allude to the personal investment that is required in getting a degree. Hone begins by reflecting on the pressure that he felt to leave school and find a job rather than go to university.

**Hone:** Money is like the biggest thing. People say, ‘Oh why do you go to varsity when you can earn a couple of hundred bucks a week.’ Also, like, most Māori just don’t want to get educated, ah, not until they are 30 or 40 years old.

**Tiaho:** When it is time for kids – when you’re senile.

**Kāhu:** The only reason why we are here is ‘cos we want to be here, not because our friends tried to get here, ah.

**Mārama:** Yeh, that’s because we saw the pot at the end of the rainbow.

**Kāhu:** None of our friends ... like none of the boys wanted to come here. They just wanted to get a job.

**Hone:** True.

Dawn and Nuku too make explicit their belief that holding off getting a job in the short term will benefit them in the long run.

**Dawn:** It’s the thing though, if you want good money – I don’t mean thousands and thousands but a good paid job - you either work eighty hours a week of hard back labouring jobs or you go and spend ... invest some money in education. I left a job where I was getting paid thirty-three and a half grand, and I was untrained. That’s not bad money for an unskilled person. But do you know what…

**Nuku:** The potential’s a lot higher with a degree.

**Te Wero**

Like my own entry into the world of the university many of the students were presented with challenges that started them thinking about making changes in their lives and becoming university students². For some students a significant event in their lives provided the catalyst for making the decision to come to university, for some it was a growing dissatisfaction with their lives. Some were out to prove to themselves and others that they had the ability to be university students, while some were determined not to follow the same path as their mates. Many of them desired to learn or improve their knowledge and fluency of te reo Māori.

**A significant event**

For Dawn and Ngaire a significant event provided the spur for them to consider tertiary study. The birth of her son provided Dawn with the impetus for thinking about education. Not interested before, Dawn saw that education would be the key to her financial independence. By being independent, by changing the circumstances of her life she considered that she would be a role model for her son, someone that he could be proud of. Her story is included in Upoko Tuawhito but for the purposes of the point I am making I include part of it here.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatahi

Dawn: It was only after the birth of my son that I took up the challenge of gaining educational qualifications. I never wanted to do anything before that. So, soon after he was born I started correspondence school. I knew I was going to be bringing him up on my own and I didn’t want to do it on the ‘DPB’ – I wanted him to be proud of me. When he died several months later I knew I had to keep on track so I began doing voluntary work. It got me a job even though I had no qualifications… I enrolled at university to do Psychology and Māori but I didn’t follow it through – that was in 1992. In 1995, I completed a Certificate in Community Psychiatric Care through the Otago School of Medicine. This reaffirmed me and helped me get back on track. Once I had begun, I wanted to get more qualifications and so I enrolled at university to continue down the track I was on. The whole reason I am here is to change the circumstances of my life, which I began doing when my son was born...

Dawn: Kōrero #1, December 1998

Rangimārie’s experience as an undervalued and underpaid kaiawhina – teacher aide – spurred her into thinking about becoming a teacher. She resented being called ‘unskilled’, especially given that no one else at the school had the skills to teach te reo Māori me ona tikanga. Pragmatically, then, the next thing for her to do was to go and get a qualification that would be recognised. In this respect Rangimārie and I share similar reasons why we came to university (see Upoko Tuatoru).

Rangimārie: I used to be a kaiawhina at primary school, and I always remember when they were establishing [the position] what they were going to pay me. But they said that because they had their tohu they could get this, and because I was unskilled – that’s how they termed it – I could only get x amount of dollars. I resented that and so I said, ‘No hang on a minute I am skilled at what I do, no-one can teach the reo and teach tikanga and so I object that you are putting down that I am unskilled’. They said, ‘Oh well, this is how it looks on paper.’ And I think that’s what started me thinking about going and getting some sort of teaching degree, if that was what was necessary to be recognised.

Rangimārie: Kōrero #1, 7th September 1997

A growing dissatisfaction
For Haami and Maui the decision to come to university was more out of a growing sense of dissatisfaction with what they were doing. Haami wanted to move beyond his past to a brighter future. At a time when Maui was searching for ways to improve his life, the possibility of coming to university was presented to him by a friend who encouraged him to enrol to university.

Haami: I first thought of coming to university last year. I thought I didn’t want to be one of those people that keeps going to AA meetings like for twenty years and saying, ‘Hi my name is Haami, I am an alcoholic and I will always be an alcoholic’. I wanted to go beyond that, and that’s why I have come to university. I want to learn.

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

Māui: I got sick of my work. I got sick of working as a mechanic. I mean, I have been in and out of fixing cars for the last three years, either looking for work or going for higher money. I was not fulfilled, and had this feeling of needing to learn more. I can’t explain it
any more than that, but just wanting to widen my horizons so to speak. I didn’t know what I was going to do until my friend encouraged me to come.

Māui: Kōrero #1, 18th March 1996

Laying to rest the ghosts of the past
A further reason for the mature students to become students was their desire to address their earlier experiences of school. Rangimārie, Haami, Nuku and Māui were all out to prove to themselves and others that they could ‘foot the pace’ at university. In doing so, they wanted to ensure that their children did not have the same experiences as they did. All of them wanted to provide their children with more options and opportunities.

Rangimārie: Oh, and a part of it is to prove to myself that I can do it. I needed to believe I could do something like that. I was brought up in a big family and ‘university’ just wasn’t a word that was around, it was never in my whakāaro. And as an adult I resent that I wasn’t given the opportunity when I was 17, 18. When I went to high school I was a good academic student but I didn’t fit the criteria pertaining to what the teachers thought a ‘good academic student’ was like. Me, I was a girl and a Māori and good for factory work and getting pregnant. Besides, jobs were dime-a-dozen then. So at the end of the day we didn’t count for squat. I suppose that’s why I am here now to prove to myself that I can foot the pace. I also want to show my children a way forward.

Rangimārie: Kōrero #1, 7th September 1997

Haami: No matter how long it takes to get a good education and a good job I will. And in doing that, that may pave the way for my children to follow in my footsteps. They might associate university with a good job. That’s the other reason why I came to university because I want a future for my children.

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

Nuku: Yeh, one of the reasons for coming here is to prove to myself that I can educate myself and that sort of thing, there’s never been a push from my family for me to go on and further myself. If I can sort of prove to myself that I can get a degree then hopefully when I have a family I’ll be encouraging them to go to university or go as far as they can… And my sister at high school, hopefully I will be a good role model for her.

Nuku: Kōrero #1, 26th March 1996

Māui: In my family there was no support for going to school, it was just like go to school get out of my hair. I think personally coming to uni is saying, ‘Well, yeh, I have been here and I can do this’, and secondly it’s for my whānau. I know if I was to get a degree I could get a better job, support them better because with fixing cars you aren’t going anywhere. I think the more education you have the more knowledge you have. University is a higher form of education and I strongly believe that knowledge means principle forces and a better life style.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996
Not repeating the past
Mārama, Tiaho and Kāhu on the other hand were spurred on by what they saw happening to their fellow Māori students at high school. Concerned at the high drop-out rate, they were adamant that they were not going to become statistics like the majority of their peers who left school early. For these young students becoming ‘someone’ meant making the most of the educational opportunities that were presented to them, even if they were not too sure what it was they eventually wanted to do.

Mārama: One of the reasons why I came to university is that lots of Māori drop out of school and lots don’t do Bursary. So it was a spur for me to come and do it.
Tiaho: Yeh, that’s about it for me too. Plus, at school it just got drummed into us, from the fifth form to the seventh form, that if you want to be someone you’ve got to carry on. Things like that.
Kāhu: When I was at school my parents said it was up to me what I wanted to do. I wasn’t sure if I wanted to go to varsity because none of my friends were going. Like out of class of forty when I started school we had three people left last year. Most of them became bums and dropped out. I just didn’t know what to do so I came to varsity anyway.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #3, 8th November 1996

Whāia te reo: in search of te reo Māori
Later in the same conversation above Tiaho goes on to reiterate the point that she wants to be someone. The way she saw it education was going to help her ‘get out there and be someone’. Woven through many of the students kōrero is their desire to learn. While some of the kōrero about their desire to learn was non-specific, some students were more specific in what it was they wanted to learn. For Māui, Kāhu and Hone the desire to learn te reo was paramount, while for Dawn it was a hesitant desire. Not because she was unsure of whether she wanted to, but because she was unsure of her adequacy as a Māori given her tenuous links to her whakapapa.

Māui: My long term goal is to be able to learn and talk and read Māori. I would like to have a lot more doors open for me. It is too early for me to say what I actually want to do with the Māori I am learning, but the more doors that are open to me the more options I have got. If one closes then there is always another one for me to go through.

Māui: Kōrero #2, 17th July 1997

Kāhu: I want to be able to speak Māori, that is my primary goal in coming here, to improve my reo.
Hone: I want to continue with the reo.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #1, 17th July 1996

Dawn: I want to learn, I want to learn the language...When I speak it I speak quieter, softer instead of loud and harsh and boisterous.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

In wanting to learn Māori, Māui recognised that this desire was part of his overall search for his Māori identity and his place in the world. However, he also
pointed to the University’s limits in being able to provide him with all that he
needed for his Māori identity. Rangimārie also talked about her desire to find
herself. She made the connection between identity and empowerment. The more
secure she felt in herself the greater the sense of empowerment she felt and was
able to articulate. Although the kind of empowerment that she was expressing
here is not particularly related to being Māori, in other places she talks about her
search for her Māori self.

Māui: Part of the reason I came here is to adapt to Pākehā society, and at the same
time find my Māori identity. But I do that [search for my Māori identity] in other ways too. I
do that with my family, the place where I am from, and the place where my mother and
father are from.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996

Rangimārie: So one of the reasons I came to university was for my own empowerment,
for myself, for my identity and who I am as a person. There are a lot of things now that I
won’t take that I would have accepted last year. So it has been good like that, good for
personal growth.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #3, 16th September 1996

Whāia te mana motuhake: in search of empowerment
Kāhu, Tiaho and Dawn also made the connection between education and power.
In questioning why he came to university Kāhu reasons that there is more to a
university degree than a ticket to a good job and income. It isn’t the degree that is
going to get him places it is what it stands for that will be the key to his success.
Kāhu: I used to say, ‘Oh I feel like getting a job and a decent wage’ but where’s that
going to take me? If I have a degree then I can say I should be manager now, or I should
be whatever. I can move up ah...

Tiaho: Instead of working for a place you can say you can own that place.
Kāhu: Yeh, so I guess power sort of. I sort of think that getting a degree is showing that
you have got, like, good analytical skills, ah. It shows that you have learnt a lot, that
you’re smart.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #2, 2nd October 1996

Dawn: Knowledge is power. Knowledge is invaluable, you know, it’s much more than
money. Oh, in some sense it is money – the amount of money you pay for certain
knowledge type of thing. But I think education is a good way to further your life style, it
furthers everything. It also cements things that you already know.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996

In a variety of ways all of the students articulate the desire for empowerment
that learning and knowledge brings, and which is encapsulated in the
whakatauaki:
Whāia te mātauranga hei oranga mō koutou. Seek learning for the sake of your well being
Ngā Hikoitanga: journeys without ‘maps’

With their dreams of exploring new horizons and traversing new terrain in front of them, the students were ready to begin their journey into the world of the university. But just as each of them had their own reasons for coming to university, they each had their own location from which they began their journeys. This section situates the students within particular cultural, social and educative contexts that impacted on the students’ experiences at university. I begin with the 1960s, which presents a common time frame for all the students. It was a time when the effects of the ‘second wave’ of Māori migration to the cities were beginning to be felt, when Government policy changed ‘tack’ in response, but only to stay on the course it had been steering since colonial times. It was during this time that all the mature students were born, while all the young students’ parents were beginning their journeys into the world of work.

Te whakapapa kōrero o ngā mātua: parents’ background

Times leading up to the 1960s were difficult for Māori. While the Māori population had been growing, so was the gap between Māori and Pākehā. Poverty was high and Māori families living within their traditional tribal boundaries were coming under increasing pressure to move to the cities. Many were still living on, and working ancestral land. Although some whānau, hapū and iwi were relatively well off and able to maintain economic viability, many were struggling to survive. By the 1960s little land was left in Māori ownership. What was, was more than likely to be of poor quality and unproductive. Others still lived within their tribal boundaries, but not on ancestral land. Government policies and local authority regulations at that time provided little in the way of support for these rural and often isolated communities. Rather, they offered incentives for Māori to move to the cities and towns where jobs were plentiful, and cheap housing was made available. Couched in the rhetoric of the times as ‘a modern way of life’ and an ‘inevitability’ the reality of the government’s focus on urbanisation was that the economy needed labour; not in the rural sector but where industrial development was occurring, and it was occurring in the cities. That is not to say, however, that the poverty faced by the majority of Māori living within their rohe was not real, nor their desire for a better life important. So it was that many Māori families moved to the cities and towns in search of a better life for themselves and their children.

Rangimārie: We came to the city because our families recognised that in 20 years time when we were grown up we were going to move there anyway, because there were no jobs back home.

Ngā Tipouanamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996

Wainuiomata was one of the many state housing suburbs that was developed to provide cheap housing for working class families. It was where many Māori families ended up. Rangimārie and Māui both grew up in that rapidly developing suburb in the 1960s. At that time Rangimārie recalls few Pākehā families living there. Māui agrees.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatahi

Rangimārie: Wainuiomata was predominantly Māori. I mean we came down to Wainuiomata in 1962. When we moved down it wasn’t just us, it was a whole contingent – there were about 24 whānau from the East Coast that moved down. It was still all gorse and back blocks. There weren’t a lot of Pākehā there.

Māui: No there wasn’t. It was one of those state housing areas.

At least seven of the nine kaikōrero who participated in hui rangahau’ had Māori mothers and/or fathers who grew up in their tribal rohe. All of them eventually left their rohe in search of work. Of the other two students – Hone and Dawn – it is unclear where their parents grew up. Dawn, adopted at birth by a Pākehā couple knows only that her biological father is/was Māori. Hone, on the other hand, did not talk about his whānau beyond his own life. Hone’s whakapapa, though, tells me he is from the North Island, so I presume that at some point his whānau had moved away from their tribal rohe.

Of the seven kaikōrero whose parents had grown up in their tribal boundaries, Nuku’s, Kāhu’s and Mārama’s parents left before they were born, while Rangimārie, Māui, Haami, and Tiaho all tell stories of moving to the city when they were young. Nuku’s father left his people in his early 20s to find work. Similarly, Mārama’s mother left her whānau when she went to work in the city. Kāhu’s mother was born and brought up in her tribal rohe, but left when she went teaching. Both of Haami’s parents were born and brought up in their iwi’s rohe. His father worked on various stations in the district that were owned by Pākehā. At the age of ten Haami and his whānau moved to Gisborne, leaving their rohe but still living within their iwi’s wider boundaries. Rangimārie’s mother was brought up on the East Coast, but moved to Wellington when her father died. After she met and married her English husband they went back to “The Coast” but then moved to Wainuiomata when Rangimārie was a toddler. Both of Tiaho’s parents were brought up in their tribal rohe. Her father, who left school to work on the family farm gave that up to move to Taupo where he met and married Tiaho’s mother. They lived in Taupo, her mother’s tribal area, up until Tiaho was 14 when they moved to Christchurch.

Whether with young children in tow, or as young adults entering the workforce the parents of these seven students left their tribal boundaries in search of work and better times, becoming the first generation of their particular whānau to move beyond their iwi boundaries. Their physical and spiritual ties to the land were stretched as they made their way to towns and cities in search of opportunities that would increase their own life chances, and for those with children, their children’s life chances. What this tended to do was to further break down traditional practices and life styles that supported and enhanced whanaungatanga and maintained te reo. And it added to the already weighty historical record, of the state neither understanding nor accommodating Māori cultural practices. As a consequence of the marginalisation of their cultural values, practices and language, many Māori felt the stigma of being Māori and
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huīhuī kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatahi

speaking te reo, which in turn impacted on the way they were to bring up their children.

Rangimārie, in particular, talked about her European upbringing and about being discouraged from speaking te reo. Yet she also talked about being part of a community that actively maintained cultural values and customs that were considered to be vitally important. It would be whanaungatanga that would ensure their survival in the ‘big smoke’ and it would be whanaungatanga that would be one of the key factors in the students’ survival in the university.

Rangimārie: From when we went to Wainuiomata my parents made a conscious effort to give us a European upbringing... Like, my father was ostracised from his family for marrying a black woman and my mother, she was one of the ones that got strapped for speaking Māori. Her teachers even gave her a nice quaint little English name which people still call her to this day. So I think there was a conscious effort to bring their children up European. Like, in Wainuiomata none of my generation can speak the reo but all our parents were fluent, we heard them speak but they would stop speaking when we were around. I think at that time it was a time of Māori [self] preservation. They took a whole swing away from the culture and we lived, grew up sort of Pākehā. Like, the whole tribe spoke to the Pākehā culture and that was one of the prices that my generation paid - we lost the reo - the cost of progress. Like it or not, the world wasn’t going to go back so we had to go forward and tackle it the best we could. Once we moved down from ‘The Coast’ we still had our whanaungatanga because a lot - the majority - of Wainuiomata was related. We still had those connections and we still did things, like have picnics together as a whole roopu. And when I had a young family of my own, I used to get half a mutton each week from my whanaunga that lived next door.

Rangimārie: Kōrero #1, 7th September 1997

Twenty years later, when Tiaho and her whānau moved to the city the situation had not changed significantly. Similar in many ways to Rangimārie’s kōrero, she talks about the cultural shock of moving to the city. Her kōrero is part of her introduction in Upoko Tuaoono but I think it is important to repeat it here.

When we came down here I went to Westlake High. In my third form I went to Kereru Girls High and was automatically put in the bilingual unit there. So when we moved here there was a major change. Westlake was pretty much monocultural in the way that they did things – there was no Māori unit. Talking about major change, it was a major culture shock coming down here. Up north is Māori: you go to the airport and there are carvings, you go to McDonald’s and there are carvings. Christchurch isn’t so brown. It was a major culture shock but I don’t really mind now I have adjusted.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #3, 8th November 1996

Going from worlds in which being Māori was validated to worlds in which it wasn’t they both articulate a sense of grief at what they each were losing. But their kōrero also reflects pragmatism, a necessity for survival. Rangimārie talks about the need for her whānau and community to accept the reality of the situation and move on. For Tiaho it was a matter of ‘adjusting’. While Haami does not talk about shock or loss he does talk about the pragmatic need to adjust.
to the Pākehā world despite growing up in his own rohe. It was due to the pragmatic need to speak English that his, and his brothers’ and sisters’, home language was English.

**Haami:** My parents spoke Māori but they didn’t speak Māori to any of us. We were all brought up speaking English ‘cos we were brought up on the stations round Pākehās. I think my Mum and Dad said that it was outlawed at school so they didn’t see a point in teaching it.

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

**Te Ahuatanga o ngā whānau: the economic reality of everyday life**

It was also clear from their kōrero that moving didn’t necessarily guarantee the better life and increased opportunities that urbanisation promised. Māori workers continued to be found in low paid, low skilled occupations and where there was unemployment, the unemployed were more likely to be Māori\(^\text{10}\). Given the systemic and historical nature of the disparities that Māori faced in the work place, moving to the cities was not to be the antidote. For the majority of the kaikōrero and their whānau moving to the cities and towns may have brought employment but not a change in their social status. Several of the students identified themselves as coming from working class backgrounds, some talked about lack of money as they were growing up while others talked about the work their parents did. On that basis seven out of the nine students can be identified as coming from ‘working class’ homes.

**Māui:** Like, I, mean I’m from a working class family.

**Dawn:** Me too. I come from a small red-necked little town.

**Nuku:** My Dad was working in the freezing works, but now he is a courier. Yeh, he works for himself now but things have been tough for them.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

**Haami:** Yeh, things were pretty tight, and there were a few of us. Dad spent most of his time working out on stations and was hardly ever at home - he just paid the bills and that. There was always food in the cupboard and stuff...

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

**Tiaho:** So my Mum and Dad both worked at the hospital. Mum was a nurse aide, and Dad he was an orderly.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #3, 8th November 1996

Kāhu’s and Hone’s parents occupations, on the other hand, suggest a more middle class background. Hone does not talk about his parents in hui but in a phone conversation we have he tells me that both his parents work in the business sector. Kāhu’s parents are teachers and their incomes are such that he is ineligible for Student Allowance.

**Kāhu:** I don’t get nothing really because of means testing – my parents earn too much (they’re teachers) but I don’t get none of it. They are on all right wages but it is not like we have any money to throw around.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #2, 2nd October 1996

174
Te Whakaakoranga o rātou mātua: their parents education

If moving to the cities didn’t bring the increased opportunities that urbanisation promised, it was argued, education would. Education was considered to be the key to Māori progress and development. Hunn wrote in 1960 that it was to be the ‘one thing, more than any other,’ that would ‘pave the way to further progress in housing, health, employment and acculturation’\(^\text{11}\). But this was nothing new, for education from the beginning of provision for Māori had those same intentions. Seen as a means to control Māori and shape their development, as well as hasten land alienation, a policy of assimilation was first implemented in 1847. Believing Māori to be, by nature and intellect, more suited to manual work a limited curriculum was implemented and remained the focus of Māori education up until the 1960s. In the process it curtailed Māori educational aspirations, displaced Māori cultural traditions and language, as well as provided the New Zealand labour market with a pool of ‘trained’ manual workers. Very early on Māori became a marginalised people in their own land. By the 1960s the cracks began to show. The ‘classless’ and ‘racially harmonious’ paradise that New Zealand considered itself to be was beginning to unravel. The Hunn Report showed for the first time, across the social indices, just how impoverished Māori had become. Māori were dying younger; had poorer health; were more likely to live in sub-standard housing; more likely to be on a low income and in a low skilled occupation; more likely to be arrested, charged and in jail; and, in education less likely to stay at school beyond the compulsory school age and consequently less likely to become university students\(^\text{12}\).

The remedy according to Hunn lay in integration, the combining and adapting of Māori and Pākehā cultures to make ‘a whole new culture’\(^\text{13}\). But by and large the attempts to accommodate cultural difference and encourage cultural tolerance were at best naïve and at worst culturally arrogant. For in the raft of recommendations that were put forward, Māori were expected to continue to fit into the existing social and economic structures as well as take responsibility for New Zealand’s race relations. Hunn’s key educational recommendations were: hastening the abolition of native schools for the ‘good of race relations’; providing a technical education for Māori because that is where he considered their future lay; and, turning ‘to good account’ fragmented land interests by placing it in the ownership of a Māori Education Foundation which would help fund Māori education.

If a ‘Māori’ report had been written, it would have detailed an education system complicit in the near demise of te reo Māori; an education system that undermined Māori cultural traditions and mātauranga Māori; a system that viewed Māori as culturally and intellectually deficient; a system that provided a limited education that encouraged limited Māori aspirations; a lack of consultation by Pākehā on Māori educational issues; and, a lack of autonomy and self determination. It was in this milieu that the parents of the students were schooled.
With the exception of Kāhu's, and possibly Hone's parents, all of the other students' parents had a limited high school education – not going beyond the fifth form. Some, like Haami's and Tiaho's fathers had very little formal secondary schooling.

**Haami:** My father had very little education, same as my mother. My father can just barely write. I know that because seven years ago he wrote me a letter, and then I realised why he never writes... he doesn’t know how... but he made an effort... that says something. So they didn’t have much of an education.

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

**Rangimārie:** My father at the age of 12, over in England, had the choice of coal mines or the boats, and he went on the boats. He’s quite a tall man, he is 6ft 6 or something like that, he chose to lie about his age and get on the boats. And my mother, she was sort of in and out of hospital most of her life with TB until she got to about 14 when her father died. After that she was on her own basically. Her cousins sent her some money over, she caught the train from Gisborne to Wellington - the longest trip she had ever made in her life. She was telling me that at all the train stops on the way she’d get up thinking she was in Wellington. So both of them, didn’t have a lot of education. My father still can’t read you know except for what we taught him when we were children. My mother she… taught herself. Everything she did from then on she taught herself.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996

**Mārama:** Um... Mum. Dad, oh Dad he went up to fifth form and got subjects and Mum I think went to fifth and got her subjects.

**Tiaho:** Dad was brought up on the family farm, he automatically left school about Form Two and he ran the farm for a while. Then he ran away and married my Mum (laughter). Mum went to the fourth form and then she dropped out and became an orderly, not an orderly... a nurse thing there at the hospital - one of those... a nurse aide. Yeh, a nurse aide, and that’s where she met Dad because he was working there too. They really didn’t have much of an education they just... they just grew and learnt on the way.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #3, 8th November 1996

**Nuku:** My mother left school when she was fifteen, my father left around the same time.

**Dawn:** Mum and Dad didn’t have much of an education. What did they need it for?

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

Although Māui did not explicitly talk about his parents’ education, his kōrero around class and education issues strongly suggests that his parents had similar secondary schooling experiences to those of the other students’ parents. Hone didn’t talk about his parents’ education either, nor did he provide any clues as to what kind of education they might have had. On the other hand, Kāhu’s parents both went on to get University Entrance, degrees and teaching diplomas.

**Kāhu:** Dad and Mum are teachers

**Hazel:** So your parents have had an education?

**Kāhu:** My Dad was paid to go to varsity and he went with all his mates but he was the
only one that stayed. Mum went because Koro said women weren’t allowed to go to university. Like he said, ‘Oh, women aren’t allowed to go to university, women should just stay at home.’ So she said, ‘Oh stuff you I’m going to get a degree.’ So she went and got one – they both got degrees and went teaching.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #3, 8th November 1996

It is almost as if Kāhu’s parents grew up in a different world to the other students’ parents, as well as each other. In many respects they did. His father came from a Pākehā farming family in which going to university was expected, while his mother who came from a working class Māori whānau had very different expectations placed on her. Expectations that had their origins not only in the dominant gendered discourses of the time but also in her fathers’ traditional Māori upbringing where it was not appropriate for women to engage in higher learning. In spite of her father’s directive she went anyway. Having parents who knew what university was like, enabled them to support their son when his initial experiences of university undermined his confidence to the extent that he was thinking of pulling out. Encouraged by the advice his father gave him, he turned himself around to complete the year and subsequently his degree.

Ngā awhi o ngā mātua: parental support
Parental support was also an important factor in Tiaho’s, Mārama’s and Hone’s decisions to become university students. Indeed parental support had an impact on the educational endeavours of all the students in this study. Where the students were encouraged by their parents to remain at high school and to gain the qualification that allowed them entry into university, they remained. Where the students were supported in their desire, however ambivalent they might have been about going to university, they went. The experiences of the young students differed markedly from those of the mature students when it came to the support they received from their parents. Irrespective of their parent’s own educational experiences, all the young students were supported in their educational endeavours to stay at school and go to university. Tiaho’s whānau support extended to financial support. Her whānau have set up a trust to provide financial assistance for moko who want to further their education. This was to be a considerable support for Tiaho as she didn’t need to take out a loan when she enrolled.

Tiaho: My family really support me, ah. They all wanted to work and things like that so I am the first one of us going on. My nanny, especially, is over the moon – proud, ah.
Mārama: Same for me too. I was totally, totally supported. They really wanted us to go to university, wanted us to have a good education. They pushed us all the way.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #2, 2nd October 1996

The experiences of the mature students were very different. Without exception none of them were encouraged to stay at school beyond the fifth form. Consequently going to university was never considered an option. Rather, there
was an overwhelming expectation from their parents that ‘real’ learning occurred in the ‘real’ world and that it was work that was going to get them ahead.

**Haami:** I think my Dad wanted us kids to have some schooling but I think my mother didn’t give a hoot really. My mother’s attitude towards the world was, ‘Get out there and live it, the only way to learn is to actually live it’. School just didn’t say anything to her, that was my mother… she threw us all out… ‘Get out there and live’. And yeh, I wanted to work. I wanted to be out of school, I wanted to be out of my whole family structure that was the bottom line. I just wanted to leave the whole scene – the school everything behind me and just cruise and go.

**Hazel:** What about when you didn’t go to school, when you bunked? What did your parents do then?

**Haami:** Dad didn’t have much to say at all, he spent most of this time out working… where as Mum, she gave me hidings to start off with and then in the end she gave up. She just thought, ‘Oh well…’ My mother was pretty well known, ah. She had really violent streaks and when they came round to confront her, she told them where to go. And then she goes, ‘Yeh, yeh, I know he is not going to school, he’s sick’. Like, I was sick for four months!

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

**Māui:** In my family there was no support for going to school. It was like, ‘Just go to school, get out of my hair, I’ve got to work you know’. That was pretty much like it was, there was no encouragement to go to school. I was never encouraged, never encouraged to pursue schooling. They always said, ‘Yeh it’s good to go to school’ [speaking in flat tone] but that was it that was their attitude. There was no, ‘Oh you should do it, it’s going to benefit you’ [excited tone]. I mean, my parents were more concerned about money and everything. They had their own problems, and I think they thought that school would look after me, but it didn’t… When Māori Affairs came to school and I got accepted to go to Christchurch to do a mechanics course my Dad was pretty rapt that I was getting a trade. I am the only one in the family who has a trade.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996

Even Nuku, who stayed to the sixth form and was awarded U.E., felt pressure from his father that he should have been at work instead of school.

**Nuku:** Mum gave me a lot more encouragement than my father. I did kind of feel at the time that I should be out working. I always got that message from my father that he would have liked me to be out working when I was fifteen sort of thing... Whereas my mother was happy for me to do whatever I wanted to do.

Nuku: Kōrero #1, 26th March 1996

Despite being encouraged by his teachers to think about going to university, Nuku never seriously considered it. It simply was not an option that he thought was open to him. Reflecting on his experience, he felt that if he had been encouraged to think about university by his family and in particular his father, he might well have gone straight from school. He came to realise that his aspirations then were not so much determined by his educational experiences, but rather by his family experiences. Rangimārie agreed. But she went beyond
Nuku’s explanation, by connecting the lack of encouragement to stay at school to the wider social and economic contexts of the times that she grew up in. On the one hand, the economy was booming and jobs were plentiful when she left school. On the other, poverty and struggle were still recent memories for her parents. Elsewhere in her kōrero, Rangimārie situates the lack of support she received for continuing her schooling beyond the fifth form within the dominant and commonly held view of the time that a girl’s education was of little consequence. As far as her father was concerned there was no need for Rangimārie to stay at school beyond 15 because her future lay in motherhood and domesticity and not in academia or a career. At the same time her father’s gendered expectations of Rangimārie’s schooling, and her subsequent experience of it were coloured by their whānau’s lack of money.

**Nuku:** There has never been a push from my family to go on and further myself. Maybe if there was a push, so I thought that it was valuable I might have gone. I don’t simply see it as a school thing because I had teachers who used to encourage me to go to university – to go on. As far as I am concerned I see it as a family thing. If my father had encouraged me to go on, then I might have gone…

**Rangimārie:** I agree with Nuku. You know we didn’t have a lot of encouragement to stay in schools. In those times, I am talking about the 70s, the late 70s and that, the thing was then to just go out and get a job. You really did go from one job to the next – started work, got paid, partied and then went down the road to the next job. I regret it now… From the third form on I was working after school in a cigarette factory, and in the fifth form a car factory because we had to be responsible for bringing in our own income. I wanted to go to school. You know my father was very Victorian and education was just a waste of time for girls and he wasn’t prepared to put me through another year after my fifth form year. So I left…

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996

Nuku wondered what might have been if his father had encouraged him in his educational endeavours. Ten years after he left school his father continued to remain reserved about his son’s intention to become a university student. But this time round Nuku did not require his father’s support. After a decade of ‘hard slog’ and life experience he came to learn for himself the value of education, as had Haami, Nuku, Rangimārie, and Dawn. They all received mixed responses, ranging from non-committal acceptance to skepticism, when they told their whānau that they were going to university. Haami’s mother was non-committal, his father ‘rapt’, and his sisters amazed at the way that he had straightened himself out and was moving forward. Rangimārie too, received a mixed reception from her whānau when she told them that she was going to university. Her father, and brothers and sisters were supportive of her, but her mother considered that she was wasting her time. While not needing her support Rangimārie acknowledged that it would have been ‘nice’ if she received some from her mother.

**Nuku:** My Mum thinks it’s great because I have made some decision about what I want to do. And Dad, well Dad … it’s really hard to tell with him. I make my own decisions, basically, and he is supportive of that. It is really hard to say.

Nuku: Kōrero #1, 26th March 1996
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huhi kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatahi

Haami: My Dad’s pretty rapt, my Mum’s okay with it, my brother doesn’t give a flying shit and my sisters are pretty blown away that I am here. They have seen where I have come from.

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

Rangimārie: Yeh, my brothers and sisters are quite pleased about it. But I had a real battle with my mother... you know she just thought it was a total waste of time and ended up making me cry. It was like ‘you couldn’t do it then so I don’t see why you are bothering now’. Dad was really pleased he just said, ‘That’s nice girl’... I sort of never rang them up until the beginning of this year [1997] and said, ‘I passed my papers’. And it was... ‘Yeh, okay so?’ I think she still thinks that it is a waste of time and at this age of my life. It would be nice if my mother actually said something [positive].

Rangimārie: Kōrero #1, 7th September 1997

As I was going over Māui’s transcript where he was talking about his parents and their response to his decision to come to university, it was clear that his telling had a rhythm all of its own. Although more subtle than Rangimārie’s mother, there is, nevertheless, an intimation by both of his parents that perhaps he is not capable of academic study. Also like Rangimārie, he too was constrained by his parents gendered expectations of him. With expectations that Māui financially support his family his father questions his ability to be student, husband and father. As it turned out, Māui struggled with this all the way through his time as a student.

Māui: My mother’s response was sort of subtle like.
I rang her up and said, ‘I need to know your whakapapa.’ And she says, ‘Why?’
‘Cos I need it for manaaki tauira.’ And um, she says, ‘What’s that?’
And I say, ‘It is sort of a grant thing for going to school.’
‘Are you gong to school?’ ‘No I am going to university.’
‘You’re going to university?’ (That was worse ah, than going to school)
And I said, ‘Yeh.’ And she said, ‘What for.’
And I said, ‘I want to broaden my horizons, I want to learn more, I want to be educated.’
And she said, ‘Oh, oh, oh.’
That was the response I got.

My father’s was a little less subtle.
I said, ‘Um I am going to university.’ And he said, ‘Oh why?’
‘So I can learn, I want to become a teacher. I wouldn’t mind teaching Māori kids.’
And he goes, ‘Do you know how to speak Māori?’
And I said, ‘No, that’s why I am going to university.’
And he goes, ‘Do you know how to teach kids?’ And I say, ‘No that is why I am going to university Dad.’
‘Oh do you think you will do alright?’ I said, ‘I don’t know, I guess I will find out.’
‘Can you afford that, don’t you have to work?’ (He’s from the old school.)
I said, ‘Oh no, no I will just get a student loan.’ ‘Oh, oh, right then... do you need anything?’
‘Yeh, just your whakapapa.’ ‘What’s that for?’ ‘Grants!’
‘Where are you going to get those from?’
‘From Whakatohea Trust from... Te Arawa, I will get as many as I can.’

They are supportive but they don’t get involved, don’t want to get involved. They have been like that since I was young.

Māui: Kōrero #1, 18th March 1996

Te whakaakoranga o ngā tauira: the students’ school experiences
Their school experiences also influenced the kind of dreams that they dreamed and the decisions they made about what they were going to do with the rest of their lives. In a myriad of ways their school experiences helped or hindered their ‘navigation’ to university, ultimately determining which route they took. There were marked differences between the younger students’ and the mature students’ experiences of school. While for the younger students university was an option following school, for the mature students, with the exception of Nuku, their experiences foreclosed any choice in the matter. Haami, Rangimārie, Māui and Dawn all left school before they had gained the qualification that gave them that choice. While all the younger students had experience of bilingual classrooms and immersion Māori learning and teaching, the mature students, including Rangimārie despite taking Māori at school, all noted that their education was within a Pākehā school system.

Haami left school after one year of high school. At 14 years of age he packed his bags and left home and school and moved to Wellington to a ‘better life’ and ‘independence’. The very first thing Haami told me when he began to tell me his journey to university was that he didn’t like school. Indeed his memories of school were punctuated with resistance, disengagement and violence. He also talked about his ‘unhappy’ homelife and the effect that had on his ability to learn.

Haami: I didn’t like school, I didn’t like going to school. My memory of going to school was getting the strap for not doing my homework. I can’t remember much of primary school... Intermediate was different I had to wear a uniform and I didn’t feel comfortable. I think, in my last year there I spent all up five months at school. I didn’t go to school after that...

Hazel: Why didn’t you want to go to school?

Haami: I felt inadequate at school, they told me I was lazy and they talked about things I could barely grasp. And from then on if I didn’t know what was going on I wasn’t interested. Things like math equations I just couldn’t grasp. There was no way I could understand that stuff. I started bunking, I used to go to my sister’s and then go home at the end of the day. I don’t think that she liked school when she went so she knew what it was like for me. I got into trouble for stealing, fighting, not doing my schoolwork, using foul language. They even put me in the slow class. That’s the other reason why I didn’t
want to go to school. I didn’t want to be associated with being slow. Like, I knew I wasn’t slow. I didn’t know what I was but I knew I wasn’t slow but I didn’t know where I was going.

**Hazel:** How much did that set the scene for your high school years?

**Haami:** A lot. I didn’t want to go to high school. I knew that whatever they were going to teach me at high school I was just not going to have a clue what they were talking about because I had missed so much stuff. So when I went to high school I was geared up to fail. I didn’t last a year.

**Hazel:** Why do you think you were geared up to fail?

**Haami:** I think I was geared up to fail. Like my homelife sucked... I wasn’t happy, not at home, how could I go to school and be happy and ready to learn. Bottom line I just couldn’t concentrate.

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Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

When he left school Haami went to Wellington and lived with his older brother. Life was just as tough for Haami there, as it was at home. Although he had begun to drink and smoke cannabis when he was at intermediate, by the time he was 14 he was ‘full on drinking and drug using’. This was to be Haami’s life until his partner, and the mother of his children, reported his cannabis growing to the police. As part of his sentencing he was directed to go to Hamner a drug and alcohol rehabilitation centre. After thirteen years of drug and alcohol abuse he left Hamner ‘clean’. When I met him at the beginning of the 1996 university year he had been ‘clean’ for four years and keen to get on with his life. From the time he left school it took Haami sixteen years of travelling before he eventually found his way to university.

Dawn’s journey to university was equally painful. The death of her son, a trip to India and coming to grips with her demons were part of the route she took to enrolling at university in 1996. Education was not something that Dawn was interested in before her son was born. As far as Dawn was concerned school was boring. But from her kōrero ‘boring’ was synonymous with feeling marginalised. While she doesn’t talk about her experiences of school in any depth what she does say conveys a sense of alienation which is highlighted by the way she talks about others rather than herself. It took sometime for me to recognise Dawn’s adeptness at deflecting talk about herself, even when she was talking about her own experiences.

**Dawn:** I think, if you like what you are doing then you can live without school. I wasn’t interested in learning until after Joey was born. School was boring, except for seeing friends and that. I thought it was quite boring.

**Hazel:** In what way?

**Dawn:** Mmm.

**Hazel:** Was it because you had no choice?

**Dawn:** Yep, because teachers treated you like second class citizens. At high school they didn’t treat you like young adults, they treated you far below that. When our teacher told us off he made us feel like, about that small [indicating size with thumb and forefinger], not because he was yelling and screaming at us, but because we felt that small... I used to
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huiaui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatahi

get quite angry at school when people picked on, when people picked on this girl who by
today’s standard came from a dysfunctional family. People used to give her a lot of crap
and I used to hate that. I used to stand up for her. I punched this boy once for saying
things to her. It was in the third or fourth form, yeh I just don’t like it. Peer pressure and
teasing almost go hand in hand at school. I’m not perfect, I’ve done things that I am not
proud of.

Ngā Tītīpounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

Much of Rangimārie’s recollections of her experiences of school revolve around
her own emerging sense of being Māori, as well as a growing awareness of how
others perceived her. But at the same time Rangimārie enjoyed school. She liked
going to school, and she wanted to go to school but in contradictory ways her
search for her Māori identity lead her to act in ways that belied that desire. The
teacher’s lowered academic expectations of Māori students would also hinder
her participation and those of her friends. The kōrero that follows is long but is
deepl[y insightful of the struggles Rangimārie faced at school.

Rangimārie: I wanted to go to school. Arakura Primary was one of the very new schools
in Wainuiomata. It was strictly English. I didn’t know there was any difference between
me and a Pākehā until it was pointed out and that came as a big shock. It was when I got
to high school that I realised I was, you know, a Māori. But I didn’t know what that was.
It wasn’t just me there was a whole lot of other Māori then trying to figure out what it
was to be Māori. I mean if someone said, ‘Okay, to be Māori you wagged’ you could
guarantee that half the kids wouldn’t be at school because they were looking for what it
was to be Māori. I think we were all going through an identity crisis then, and we knew
that we were Māori but no one was telling us what it was.

Hazel: Was that because the school wasn’t reflecting anything Māori? What kind of
Māori content was there in the high school that you went to?

Rangimārie: Oh, we had Māori teachers then. Believe it or not we had Rangi
Nicholson, John Clarke and Moana Jackson then. Rangi and Moana were straight out of
college and we had our own Māori section – D Block. We were learning from the Te
Rangatahi book and we had kapa haka. I mean we had these people there but they were
just ordinary people to us. When we started hitting 13 and 14 we didn’t know what it
was to be Māori. It wasn’t until I got to college that I fully realised I was different. It was
like we got to that age and we were looking for something. If I met a Māori who wagged,
well, we all wagged. We would all go to so and so’s house and have a party. Suddenly we
were Māori, before that I was just Rangimārie. We didn’t have a grounding in our own
identity for what being Māori was, so if it meant that we all went to Wellington and
hung out on the streets, then we did it. It wasn’t so much bucking the Pākehā system, it
was more like trying to find out who we were.

Hazel: Was that because you were searching for who you were or were you searching for
a validation of who you were?

Rangimārie: A bit of both really. Maybe our parents did too good a job at bringing us
up in a European fashion. All of a sudden things changed. I never knew I was different to
anyone else until my father’s brother came round and treated us like second class citizens.
And then it became more obvious when I went to high school. We were Māori, that
person [there] was Pākehā, kind of thing... When I was at college I was a good academic
student, but I didn’t fit the criteria pertaining to what the teachers thought ‘a good academic student’ was like... I did fourth form and then I went and worked in a car factory for a year to pay for my fifth form year... I got School Cert. in English and Geography I think... As I see it, [failure] wasn’t just [happening to] me, or my group of friends, it was happening to a lot of us at that time. We all failed school.

Leaving school after sitting and getting two School Certificate subjects Rangimārie headed for the factories where there was plenty of work. With her husband and son she moved to the South Island in 1981. Twenty years and five babies later Rangimārie returned to study.

Māui’s recollections of his school experiences are mixed. He remembers his primary school years as being enjoyable and successful. At sometime during his intermediate years he began to lose interest in schooling and by the time he left school at the age of sixteen he had lost any interest he had in learning. He puts this down to having ‘boring’ teachers who lacked a creative drive to maintain their pupils’ interest. He sat and failed School Certificate and ended up going back to repeat his fifth form year. This was more a case of not knowing what to do once he left school rather than a desire to be there. His lack of enthusiasm for school showed in his attendance, and eventually in his failure to get School Certificate, the second time round. But perhaps he learnt his lesson only too well when he rationalises his failure as not trying hard enough.

Māui: At primary school I was an excellent student. I was really good. In Standard Four I slipped a bit because I changed schools when my parents split up. I went with my mother and went to another primary school, that was pretty hard looking back. I didn’t know anyone there. I was doing pretty well at intermediate too, but in Form Two I started slipping. And in the third form it seemed a lot more complicated. I had no support and my family were like, all dispersed... There are two colleges in Wainuiomata and the college that I went to was predominantly Pākehā, the other one was predominantly Polynesian and that’s where my brothers and sisters went. Now when I look back I think it set me apart from my family. My mother told me I had to go there, I suppose she thought it would be good for me. It was supposed to be ‘the’ school, the ‘intelligent’ school, in Wainuiomata. The stigma of the other college was that they were dumb, but they were good at rugby... In the third form I was in a class of intelligent kids, ah. I thought I was smart, that I was different to my family - like all of them left school at an early age. But I didn’t want to end up being dumb, but then, I didn’t want to do anything either. I was bored. I wasn’t bored because I knew too much, I was bored because of the style of teaching.

Hazel: What style of teaching was that?

Māui: Voices at one tone, not creative, they would just go, ‘Learn this’. Geography was good though. My Geography teacher was cool. She was about 65, she was really old, but she related to the students really well! She would move around, waving her arms about, and show us things and make it exciting. I mean, the things she taught me I actually remember... But then I left school when I was 16. I sat the School Cert. exams twice and failed twice. In my first School Cert. year I was pretty good. I was actually disappointed
in my marks because I thought I would have done better than that. But I suppose I didn’t try hard enough. In my second year fifth I didn’t have any enthusiasm to go to school and it showed in my attendance. My attendance was pretty shocking. I bunked school a lot. I just didn’t have any interest at all in going to school.

**Hazel:** Why did you go back to school?

**Māui:** I didn’t have anything else to do. I didn’t have any goals or anything so I thought that I might as well go back to school. My friends were going back too so I kept up with my friends as well... I wanted to get a job but I wanted to get a good job. I had no idea what I was going to do, I remember that vividly. I wanted a good job but I didn’t want to end up in a factory. I went to the guidance counsellor at school and told her I didn’t know where I was going and that. And she didn’t help me at all. She said, ‘Oh I don’t know. What do you want to do?’ She was supposed to be guiding me, I didn’t know what I wanted to do. That’s when Māori Affairs came to school. Just to get out of class I went to see them in the library. I filled out a couple of forms and then they sent me back a letter two to three weeks later asking me whether I wanted to pursue a trade. They showed me what I needed to have, and so I got three references together and sent them away. Then, I got a reply back saying I had been accepted to go to Christchurch to do a mechanics course. That’s where I began my apprenticeship.

Māui left school and went straight into the Māori Affairs Trade Training scheme that took him to Christchurch to begin an apprenticeship. After completing his trade certificate in Auckland his route to university took him, his wife and two children, to Wellington before they finally made their way back to Christchurch.

Nuku has muted recollections of his school experiences. He enjoyed his school years but not enough, he admits, to have stayed to the seventh form. He left school at the end of his sixth form year after being awarded University Entrance. Despite having the qualifications that gave him entry to university and despite the encouragement his teachers gave him about going to university, Nuku did not consider university as an option. With a job already lined up when he left school, he decided, at the last minute, to go to Polytech instead where he studied computer programming for a year. His year at Polytech was not a success, but it did not stop him from getting a job in a government department the following year.

**Nuku:** I don’t have a lot to say about my school days. I enjoyed school but probably not enough to stay until the seventh form. Yeh, I liked school and I was sort of good at it. I was into doing my school work. I enjoyed it and I never used to like taking days off because I would have to catch up on the work sort of thing... The guidance counsellor we had at school was actually just another teacher, so she already knew everybody. Like she took 3rd and 4th form English so most of us knew her personally. If we wanted to talk about our future and career we would go and see her. I went and saw her to get some advice but I didn’t take her advice.

**Rangimārie:** What was her advice?
Nuku: Oh, she thought I should go to university. But you know, I just had it in my head that I was not going any further than the sixth form. I still wanted help from her as for what I could do after I had left...

Hazel: Did you take into account your school experiences when you made the decision to come to university?

Nuku: That sort of helped me to decide what to do. I mean I looked at myself and asked myself what I was good at and because I didn’t do too bad at school it gave me the motivation for coming here... When I left school I actually got a job. But I wasn’t really cut out for it yet. So yeh, I turned down the job and went to Polytech to see what courses they had going and I thought that computers would be good. So I ended up doing the course, but I don’t think I really knew what I wanted to do then, I was just filling in the year. In fact I didn’t do too well. Although I passed my internal exams I didn’t pass the national ones. It wasn’t a very successful year, I think I was more interested in rugby and going out and partying. And it got to the stage where I got sick of learning really. After I finished the year I contacted Māori Affairs and I went in and had an interview. They were happy with how I had done at school so they gave me a list of places where I could get a job. So I chose a place I thought was alright. I still had to apply and go through an interview, but that is how I got my job.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #6, 15th December 1997

Nuku’s route to university would take him via Australia, Asia, Europe and the UK before finally coming back to Christchurch and enrolling at the University of Canterbury in 1996. His decision to go to university was in part made on the basis of his earlier successful school experiences.

Mārama’s, Kāhu’s, Hone’s and Tiaho’s experiences of school were different to those of the mature students. While the mature students had mixed feelings and talked at length about their school experiences the younger students were much more succinct and positive about theirs. I wondered whether it was because their experiences were so new and fresh that they had not yet come to fully reflect on them. It was a comment Kāhu made the last time we met that led me to think this (and this is dealt with in the next part). Despite some reservations about their experiences, they all indicated that they enjoyed their schooling. All of them spent some, or all, of their high schooling in bilingual units and took te reo Māori to Bursary level. They were certain and confident in who they were and where they were from. Unlike the mature students who struggled with their Māori identity when they were teenagers, these students’ Māori identities had been nurtured at school and their educational endeavours encouraged.

Tiaho: School was fun in the sense that everyone was mates and we didn’t care.

Mārama: I loved high school, I loved school.

Tiaho: It was pretty monocultural in the way that they did things down here. We didn’t have a Māori unit like we had at Korimako [high school she went to before she came to Christchurch].

Mārama: It isn’t so brown?

Tiaho: Yeh, it was like, everything up there was Māori, everything we did up there was Māori and when I came down here I was totally alone. The majority of students at school
were Pākehā. The Māori I did know didn’t know their background, they didn’t know who they were. But when I did get to know people I got back into Māori circles again... There were only a few like me.

Mārama: When I was in the bilingual class it was cool but we were like the naughtiest class so I didn’t get much studying done there. It only went to the fourth form and it wasn’t very good. Our Māori teacher wasn’t a very good Māori teacher and our social studies teacher was like the Māori teacher and he is Pākehā. He did all his classes in Māori. After the unit I went into the normal stream but I took Māori all the way through. There weren’t many Māoris at school. I was like the only Māori at primary school, um maybe there were two of us. At intermediate there were a few more and at high school there were more still. But the majority were Pākehā. All the Māoris stuck together.

Kāhu: We had a bilingual unit. All the Māori in the unit stuck together. But as for the other Māori [in the school], they weren’t hard core and we sort of didn’t have much time for them. It was like they thought that being in the whānau and learning stuff in Māori made us dumb, that we would never get anywhere. There were heaps of people [at school] that just wanted to do kapa haka and not learn Māori. And we would wonder why they were never let into the whānau. But our teacher said if they were committed that they would join. To me they were Pākehā. You know, if they were Māori they would be in the whānau. They may be brown but they were still white and some were in and out.

Hazel: Was there anything about your schooling that helped you make the decision to come to university?

Tiaho: When I was at school it just got drummed into us. We had people come round and talk to us about what we wanted to be and then we had people from varsity come and talk to us about varsity. And so we got it drummed into us from the fifth form right up to the seventh form that if you want to be someone you’ve got to carry on – things like that. That helped. They were good that way.

Mārama: All our teachers were supportive, especially of Māori students because there were less of us.

Kāhu: Our teachers said we should go to university, said we should carry on because no one had gone on to varsity before. Most people drop out and become bums. Any Māori who succeeds becomes a teacher. The only ones that stay at school became teachers.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #3, 8th November 1996

Tiaho was the only one of the young students who did not get Bursary, which would have given her direct entry into university. A year older than Mārama, Kāhu and Hone she entered university as an adult student after a years break between school and university. But, unlike the mature students her experiences of school were helpful rather than obstructive in her aspirations to go to university. Kāhu, Mārama, and Hone took a direct route from school to university.

I do not think that the routes that the students took to university can be understood outside of the social and political contexts of the times that the students were born and schooled in (see Appendix I). I consider that the differences between the mature and the young students’ journeys are a reflection
of the different times that they grew up in. The mature students were born in the 1960s – a difficult time to be born Māori. Although a policy shift by the Government was supposed to bring the best of the Māori and the Pākehā world together to form a new society, all it did was perpetuate the dominant view of the time that Māori were culturally and intellectually deficient. Their schooling in the late ‘60s and through the ‘70s continued to be caught up in the deficit theory that underpinned educational policy at the time. It wouldn’t be until the mid to late ‘70s that Māori political challenges and protests would begin to bring changes in Government policy, and more importantly to galvanise Māori. This period of Māori resistance, for example, spawned the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal and the Māori led educational initiatives of kohanga reo and kura kaupapa schooling. It was into the cultural and political ‘Māori renaissance’ that the young students were born. At the time they began their schooling kohanga reo and kura kaupapa were being established across New Zealand. Although it wasn’t until 1989 that Christchurch’s first kura kaupapa was established, by the time the young students went to high school their schooling options had increased. By then, several of Christchurch’s high schools had established bilingual units in which students could be taught in both Māori and English. All the young students had some schooling in kaupapa Māori settings that validated who they were. It is this, I argue, that shaped the different routes the mature and the young students took to becoming students. Where once, young Māori aspirations were shut down by mostly unspoken social expectations and attitudes, by the 1990s there were places in which young Māori were encouraged to follow their dreams. It was the cultural and political renaissance, I am sure, that also enabled Nuku, Haami, Māui, Rangimārie, and Dawn to break with the past and rewrite their futures.

The 1990s also saw the emergence of a new way of thinking about and organising the world. Although rooted in old ideas about society, human nature and economics neo liberalism has come to dominate the political and social landscape of New Zealand (as well as the world). Nothing, neo-liberalists argue, resides outside of the economy and outside of competition. In this view education becomes something that can be bought and sold and knowledge can be accumulated and used like money. Where once learning was valued for the sake of learning it is now valued for what it can do for us as individuals as well as the economy. Thus, since the early 1990s, we have been told regularly how important knowledge is to the prosperity of our society, and we have been urged to educate ourselves, upskill ourselves, to be part of the knowledge economy. I hear traces of this in the students’ kōrero when they talk about the reasons why they wanted to come to university.

But at the same time I acknowledge there is no straightforward correspondence between the students’ decisions to come to university and the cultural and political renaissance. I am reminded of this when I think of the young students’ kōrero about not wanting to be like their peers – ‘bums’ and ‘drop outs’ – earlier in this Wāhanga. Not all young Māori who have grown up within kaupapa
Māori settings stay at school and gain the qualifications that give them the option of going to university. Statistics continue to tell a story of young Māori disengaging from their learning. Having a strong Māori identity may operate in contradictory ways to limit the opportunities young Māori have (see part four for more on this). Āpirana Ngata’s participation at university over a hundred years ago also reminds me that no straightforward correspondence can be made. He certainly did not have a ‘map’ to guide him in his journey to university, and despite the overtly racist times he lived in he was an extremely successful student.
End Notes
1 New Zealand’s unique policy of open entry to university was initially established for returning soldiers after the First World War (Butterworth & Tarling, 1994). The provision enabled adults (21 years and over) to enter university without formal qualifications.
2 There is a large body of research on student participation and success in higher education. In the positivist tradition much of this research comes from the disciplines of adult education which locates participation and success within the individual and their personal attributes. Thus adult educationists seeking to explain participation have drawn on psychology to develop models of participation largely based on motivation-barrier theories (Cervero & Lin, 1986). Within this field significant events are one of the recognised catalysts for making life changing decisions such as enrolling in university.
3 Mead (2001: 422)
4 In 1951, 56% of Māori lived in rural communities (Booth & Hunn, 1962).
5 Map of New Zealand and the amount of land left in the 1960’s.
6 Hunn (1961) pointed out in his report on the state of Māori affairs that industrial development was hampered by a lack of ‘manpower’. ‘In Wellington itself there are jobs for another 2,000 people. More housing and hostels in Wellington would enable Māoris to take advantage of these opportunities’ (Hunn, 1961: 31).
7 Nine students ended up taking part in the hui rangahau. Two students had left university before the hui began. They haven’t been included in the data in these next three Wāhanga because they did not contribute in hui where the data was generated.
8 Right from the beginning of settlement the state actively dismantled Māori cultural practices through legislation and policy. For example the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 and the educational policy of assimilation which remained the focus of Māori education right up to the 1960s when it was superceded by the policy of integration.
9 I borrow this term from Mike Smith’s account of his whānau’s move to the city in Witi Ihimaera’s (1998) Growing Up Māori.
10 Unemployment at this time was low, nevertheless, Māori were four times more likely to be unemployed than non-Māori (Hunn, 1961).
11 The Hunn Report (1961: 22) published in 1961 was the document in which the Governments ‘racial policy’ of integration was launched. Concerned with worsening race relations and the socio-economic status of Māori the Government replaced the policy of assimilation with the policy of integration. And in doing so ‘sought to combine Māori and Pākehā elements into one ongoing New Zealand culture without destroying the cultural distinctiveness of either’ (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999: 115).
12 The section on education in the Hunn Report confines itself to issues of attendance. At the time it was written attainment statistics did not include a break down by ethnicity.
Booth & Hunn (1962: 2)

My sister pointed out that the use of traditional in this context is less than precise because of the way in which colonial/Christian discourses have influenced Māori gender practices, in particular the assertion of men’s authority over women. At the time of contact, early written accounts suggest that the roles Māori women played in society and the opportunities they had were diverse and depended on a range of conditions such as their status, economic conditions, their abilities and so on. More contemporary accounts also suggest a diversity in the roles women played and continue to play in their iwi’s affairs (see for example Rose Pere (1983), Tom Smiler Junior (1998) and Eruera Stirling (1980)).

In 1977 the Department of Māori Affairs oversaw the implementation of the Tu Tangata policy initiative. It was through this initiative to ‘wean Māori away from government dependence by encouraging Māori to ‘stand tall’ and take responsibility for their actions’ that trade and employment training schemes, amongst a host of initiatives, were established (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999: 116). It was through the Tu Tangata programme that Māui learnt his trade and Nuku found work.

Despite more young Māori staying at school longer and gaining qualifications there is still a considerable disparity between Māori and non-Māori students. The disparity widens if we add to that the high number of Māori who are suspended and expelled from school.
ENCOUNTERING THE UNIVERSITY

It was the Friday morning before enrolment week. Few people were to be seen as I made my way across campus to the Students’ Association building. However, it was a different story over there. In the carpark at the back of the building a large group of manuhiri was gathering. Out the front in the grassed amphitheatre, which looks towards the campus, a much smaller group had gathered and was busy preparing the space for the pōwhiri that was soon to take place. I joined this group and helped with the chairs. Once the chairs were in place we milled around. After a few more people arrived, we all came together and were briefed about the order of the day’s happenings. We sorted out amongst ourselves as to who was to do what. I was sent out the back to see what was happening. In the carpark approximately 150 new students, their whānau and friends had gathered. They indicated that they were ready to proceed. I showed them to a place left of the amphitheatre, where they could be seen by us but were still some distance from the grassed space which was our marae atea for the morning. Two kuia moved to the front of this large ope, and with the people behind them they stood quietly waiting. I rejoined the smaller group and without further talk we arranged ourselves, except for a few who placed themselves by some of the chairs, into two lines facing the large ope: women in front and men at the back. Directly in front of us stood a lone barefoot Ngai Tahu1 woman, and despite the faint hum of city noise there was silence and stillness in the amphitheatre as we all waited. Then, her karanga rang out across the space. And so began the pōwhiri in which Māori students new to the campus were formally welcomed on to the University of Canterbury in 1996.

Morning tea closed the formal welcome. Then the kaupapa of the hui, the orientation of new Māori students, got underway. The Māori Liaison Officer conducted the proceedings and introduced key people to the students. The HoD of the Māori Department was introduced, so too were the people who administered Manaaki Taura2, Student Loans and Allowances, the Writing and Study Skills course and so on. Lunch was served over on the ground where the proposed Māori student study centre was to be built3. There was a general air of interest as the students were told what was proposed for the site. More excitement ensued as lunch was served. It was KFC4, picnic style, and was definitely a popular choice of kai amongst the younger people. As people were finishing their kai a roopu stood and performed some waiata-ā-rianga. After lunch the new students were shown around the campus by returning students like myself.

Our first stop was the café under the library. After a drink we went up to the library ‘tower’ where we looked out over the whole campus. The views are impressive as they extend beyond the campus to the Southern Alps in the west, the Port Hills to the south-east and the sweep of the city to the north-east. Once we had come back down to earth I took them into the library for a quick look around. Then we went to the Science block where enrolment was to take place the following week. Our next stop was the Arts lecture block where most of their lectures would take place followed by a quick visit to the various departments that the students were planning to study in. Finally, we wound our way back to the Students’ Association building where an informal social to end Māori Orientation was being held.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuarua

Every year Māori students enrolling at the University of Canterbury for the first time are invited to attend Māori Orientation and ‘meet’ the university according to tikanga Māori. To new students it may seem, from this first gesture, that the University is a bicultural institution that incorporates Māori values and practices in the ambit of its own practices. However, it is only one of a few opportunities that Māori students have to participate in specifically Māori activities on campus. In what is otherwise a monocultural institution the students grapple on a daily basis with being students in a university that does not reflect who they are. This Wāhanga tells the stories of the students’ encounters with the University – the struggles they faced and the strategies they employed that helped them realise their dreams.

First Encounters

Māori Orientation
In 1996 about a quarter of first time Māori students, including Kāhu, Mārama and Hone, took the opportunity to attend Orientation. When it came to their first hui, our shared experience of Māori Orientation helped to cement our relationship, and to establish an easy flowing kōrero between us. I asked them directly about their experience of Māori Orientation.

Hazel: What was your experience of Māori Orientation?
Kāhu: I thought it was ratshit.
Mārama: The feed was good
Hone: Yeh the feed was choice... KFC... you can put that in
Hazel: What was ratshit about it?
Kāhu: It was like... when we went it wasn’t like we were part of an ope. It was just stand in the corner, I have no idea who anyone else was. When you go on to a marae you talk to people and you sort of meet everyone and even though there might be heaps of people you always have a mihi – it sounds silly but the power of the mihi... And afterwards, they said we’d have a tour and have all these different things but heaps of people went off on their own buzz. No-one stuck around for the social, ah.

Hone: The only people we talked to were like the ones we already knew from high school that had already gone on [to university].
Kāhu: We only sort of talked to a few people because it wasn’t like a group being brought together which is what happens if you go on as manuhiri. After that, you’re like, tangata whenua... I don’t know, maybe they did that ’cos there were large numbers of people. But I have been to pōwhiri where there have been heaps of people and they still do it.

Kāhu: They concentrated heaps on academic stuff, going on about policy and stuff.

Hone: Yeh, they didn’t have much social stuff. They should have had a social at night, so everyone could get to know one another.

Kāhu: Really, all that anyone was there for was to get to meet people.

Hone: I reckon we need a buddy system where you buddy up with someone you don’t know.

Hazel: Like tuakana, teina?\(^5\)
Kāhu: Yeh. Like without a mihimihī we didn’t get to know all the staff [of the Māori Department].

Hone: We are only just starting to get to know them now... Māori Orientation is crucial. When I came here, it is like I didn’t know anyone. Most of my friends didn’t come so I’m by myself. I expected to meet heaps of people at orientation but I didn’t. So it was just like myself and kia ora... this is so different from school.

Kāhu: I am not out to criticise any of the students but they are just so different from ones you get at school... oh some are cool... but they’re like, learning their māoritanga. And they’re not into whanaungatanga where you like grab other people and take them under your wing. That’s a Māori whakaaro and a lot of [Māori] people don’t have it.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #1, June 1996

Establishing relationships was important for these three students. Pōwhiri as the formal ritual encounter as well as mihimihī a less formal but equally important process of introduction, separately and together, pave the way for establishing connections and appropriate relationships when Māori meet. Coming from schools and home environments that operated within and supported kaupapa Māori aspirations Kāhu, Mārama and Hone expected that Māori Orientation would facilitate the establishment of relationships. Relationships with other Māori students who like them were new to the University, as well as returning Māori students, and the lecturers of the Māori Department. But it was not like they expected. They felt orientation, in concentrating on ‘academic stuff’, did not provide them with opportunities to meet other Māori students or Māori staff. No time had been set aside for mihimihī where the students could introduce themselves and make connections with one another. Kāhu considered why this was the case but remained unconvinced that it was due to the large number of people who attended. As a consequence they did not feel they had become part of the university community, rather, they still considered themselves to be outsiders. Perhaps this was the reason why few new students went to the social. Hone seemed to think so. According to Hone, more social activities and a social at night would ensure that everyone would get to know one another.

Kāhu, Mārama and Hone’s reference points for making sense of orientation, their first encounter of the University, came from their understandings and experiences of te ao Māori, especially their school experiences. Thinking about his experiences of the ‘buddy system’ at school prompted Hone to suggest putting in place such a system at orientation. A buddy system he argued would help new students integrate into the university. More tellingly, though, by comparing their experiences at school with their first experiences of university their alienation was accentuated. They perceived that other Māori students were not like them, that is, they did not have the same grounding in kaupapa Māori and were, therefore, not as conversant in tikanga as them. Consequently, their transition from school to university began rather shakily. This first experience did not bode well for their time as students in the university.

But not all students felt like Kāhu, Mārama and Hone. Te Ara, a friend of Māui who came with him to his first interview, attended Māori Orientation and he
saw it differently. He was glad that he went. Not only was he pleasantly surprised at the number of Māori who went to orientation, he was also surprised at the number of Māori enrolled at the University overall. Even if he had not personally met them at Orientation, knowing that they were there meant that he did not feel so alone in his first week when he saw them around campus. More importantly, connecting with them when he did see them strengthened his own sense of whanaungatanga. For Te Ara, being Māori and a new student wasn’t such an alienating experience. However, he was shocked when he learnt that the HoD of the Māori Department was not Māori.

**Te Ara:** Māori Orientation, that was good. I was like, ‘Wow, there are so many Māori people here’. I’m glad I came to that. I thought university would be really, really Pākehā, like, really really white. I was surprised at how many Māori people were out here actually, especially being in the South Island, that was a big shock coming to the South Island. I found orientation really good ‘cos when it came to the first week I saw those new faces straight away so I didn’t feel so alone. Like, I would see someone, and go over there and say hello. That was good. Actually, I find that Māori students sort of magnet together anyway. Like we have that connection, you know. Like coming out of a department if I see a group I would just sort of go over there - go over to them, yeh. One thing that did blow me away [at orientation] was that the Head of Māori Department was Pākehā - I couldn’t believe that. That really shocked me I just assumed it would be a Māori person. I just... I just couldn’t get over that.

**Hazel:** So that was your first encounter with the University?

**Te Ara:** Well, actually no. I did the ‘New Start’ earlier in the year.

Māui: Kōrero #1, 18th March 1996

**Te Ao Mārama: a ‘New Start’**

For many of the students who turned up to Māori Orientation, including Kāhu, Hone and Mārama, it was their first experience of university. But some had already had a taste of what university was like when they enrolled in the ‘New Start’ programme run by Continuing Education earlier in the year. The ‘New Start’ programme established to support adult students returning to study consists of two courses; one designed as an introduction to the university and the other, a study skills course, to prepare the prospective students for university study. Two kaikōrero, Māui and Nuku, signed up for the Study Skills course. It was there that they also met Te Ara, and it was from this initial meeting that Māui and Te Ara’s friendship developed. All three considered that they had benefited from attending the course.

**Nuku:** Yeh, it was really helpful.

Nuku: Kōrero #1, 26th March 1996

**Māui:** ‘New Start’ was really good; their general Study Skills course helped me, especially with essays.

**Te Ara:** Oh that was so good. That, like, really opened my eyes up to exactly what I was getting myself in for (chuckle). They just gave me some tools like essay writing and stuff like that. That was really beneficial. Huia was the Māori support person. I suppose that was what she was... anyway they have some Māori come in and start up whānau support, and yeh, she did and she was really nice. She was the first Māori person I saw
here. ‘New Start’ had said about how to build up support, your own support study groups, and stuff like that, and straight away from that we (Māori students who were doing the ‘New Start’) formed a group. That was really helpful, it was like we were having our own tutorials before we even started doing tutorials in the courses. So that was good.

Māui: Kōrero #1, 18th March 1996

Designed to give potential students an idea of what university study entails the Study Skills course provides students with practical study and essay writing skills in a supportive environment. One of the ways the programme does this was by facilitating the establishment of whānau like study support groups. A Māori tutor is part of the teaching team and in 1996 the tutor was Huia. Her presence signaled to the Māori students that university is a place for Māori. This did not go un-noticed by Te Ara who made the point that she was the first Māori teacher he met at University. Not only did the students in this whānau setting learn practical study skills and strategies for successful study, they also got to know one another. While all three talked about the practical benefits of attending ‘New Start’ it was only Te Ara who acknowledged the benefits of getting to know the other Māori students doing the course. His relationship with this group of students was maintained beyond ‘New Start’. By the time the academic year got underway Te Ara’s social and study support networks were already well established.

Enrolment week
Enrolment week signals the beginning of the academic year. Held in the last week of February, which also happens to be the last week of summer it is usually hot – 1996 was no exception. The Science lecture block, a large two-story building, becomes the enrolment centre for the duration of the week. In 1996, over the course of the week, approximately 11,000 students filled the building to its capacity. When it was busiest the queue stretched all the way to the library steps. It was easy to pick which students were new. The relaxed camaraderie of returning students served to highlight the nervousness of the students enrolling for the first time. When the students finally arrived at the enrolment desk they were given an enrolment pack which provided them with instructions on what to do next. This required them to stand in more queues waiting to see Deans, enrolling departments, and eventually after their courses of study had been approved, the cashier. Once students had finished the formal requirements of enrolling they went to get their student IDs over at the Students’ Association building. The queue over there was just as long, winding down the stairs and around the building, but the wait was not so tedious. Music blared from the building while various organisations, groups and promoters lined the queue handing out fliers and anything from bottles of drink to calendars. Some students, already thinking about lean times ahead were collecting as many of the free packets of coffee as they could. Te Akatoki, the Māori Students’ Association, had a desk there too. In 1996 I was one of a number of students who helped out at the desk to promote and gather support for Te Akatoki. Once the students’ IDs
had been processed all that was left for them to do was turn up the next week to lectures.

By the end of the week, like most students, all the kaikōrero had enrolled. For some it was ‘no big deal’, it was just something that they had to do, but for some, the process was daunting. Unsure of what to do and where to go Hone, Kāhu, Tiaho and Mārama felt overwhelmed by the whole process and were too ‘shy’ to ask for help.

Mārama: Enrolment was long, I hated running around and plus I didn’t know where to go.

Hone: Neither.

Tiaho: There were a lot of people. I felt intimidated that’s for sure – it felt like mmm spot the Māori.

Kāhu: I walked round the library for an hour trying to find the Law Department and honestly, I didn’t ask anyone I just kept walking and walking.

Tiaho: You just feel intimidated ah... you feel too shy to ask people. I don’t know why.

Hone: Whakamā... I reckon if there was a social beforehand to get to know everyone, then have a buddy system for, like, enrolment then it would make it easier on your first day.

Ngā Korimako: Hui # 1, June 1996

While many students share Mārama, Hone, Tiaho and Kāhu’s experience of enrolment, what is different for these young students is that being conscious of being Māori in a predominantly non-Māori environment added another layer to the vulnerability they felt in this new environment. Tiaho struggled to make sense of it. On the one hand she talked about feeling intimidated because of being different, on the other she didn’t know why it made her feel ‘too shy to ask’ for help. Hone summed it up in one word – whakamā. In restating his case for a social and the establishment of a buddy system, Hone argued that getting to know other students at a social before university started and having a buddy system in place for new students would make their first days easier. This was certainly the case for Māui who had a friend help him through his enrolment.

But it is the notion of whakamā that I want to focus on here. Whakamā was to become a recurring theme in most of the students’ kōrero. A state of being⁹, whakamā is variously translated as shy, embarrassed, shame, humility and loss of mana¹⁰, and like most Māori concepts can only be understood within a social context. For example, a student may feel whakamā when he or she is praised for getting a good grade on his or her essay; equally a student may feel whakamā when their essay writing efforts are put down or ridiculed. In some situations, as in the first scenario, feeling whakamā would be considered a culturally appropriate and positive response. Otherwise, it is associated with negative and potentially damaging feelings about one’s self that can have detrimental and limiting consequences. Feeling alienated, intimidated, and anxious I consider are consequences of being whakamā. It is this second and more commonly understood notion of whakamā that these students experienced when they negotiated their way into the university. In this instance these young students
were too shy to ask for help not because they are ordinarily timid people but because as Māori they felt intimidated by their surroundings.

Haami, by contrast, was not too whakamā to ask for help, despite being ‘freaked out’ by what greeted him when he turned up to enrol. Nor was he too whakamā to ask for help in other situations, but as we will come to see in the next part of this Upoko his ability to study is deeply affected by this notion. Be that as it may, with his first encounter with the University he was not too shy to ask for help.

**Haami:** It really freaked me out. They gave me a pack of stuff and that was it. I looked at this pack and thought what am I supposed to do with this. I walked up to this old guy and asked him what I was supposed to do with it. He cracked it open and told me what I had to do. After that it was easy, it was all mapped out so all I had to do was follow the map and get everything done.

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

Once Haami was shown what to do he found enrolment ‘easy’. With map in hand and following instructions he completed his enrolment and was ready to embark on his journey into tertiary study.

**Initial weeks and impressions**

If not with a conceptual map then at least with a map of the university (as part of their enrolment pack), by the end of enrolment week each of the kaikōrero was ready to begin his/her study. Before, they had only dreamed about coming to university, now they had made it their reality. Here they were eleven very different people, in the words of Tiaho, seizing the opportunity to ‘become somebody’. For most of them the decision to come to university had not been made lightly and only under exceptional circumstances would there be any turning back. Different to anything they had experienced before, they were overwhelmed by the sheer size of the campus, the number of students and its institutional and academic presence. ‘Scared’, ‘intimidated’ and ‘excited’ were just some of the words that they used to describe their first encounters. While they might have been intimidated by the institution, they were at the same time, excited by it and the learning challenges that lay ahead of them.

Hone, Kāhu, Tiaho and Mārama have already talked about their experiences of orientation and enrolment and how they felt alone, out of place and intimidated. In their kōrero about Māori Orientation, they made sense of their experience by comparing it with their school experiences. As their study year got under way they continued to compare university with school in order to understand the sense of isolation and alienation they were feeling.

**Hone:** University is such a big place… It is so different [to school] especially because I come from a bilingual unit that was just like a whānau. You could go there anytime and sit and have a kōrero.

**Kāhu:** Like, whenever a new person came to school, immediately all the Māoris adopted them so that they were not walking around on their own. We would talk to them and, you know, they’d get some mates. When we came here it’s just like we didn’t know anyone.
Mārama: It’s harder here I reckon. Like, at school we always had our mates taking the same subjects, but, like, there is no-one I know in other classes, so I have to work all by myself which is a bit hard... I just wish that some of my mates would have come here.

Hone: The Māori Department here isn’t welcoming I reckon. Like we don’t even know their [lecturers’] names... The Māori Department should be a place we feel good about. It should be a place where we can go and hang out and talk. If it were, it would be like school.

Kāhu: I still don’t feel I belong, I still think it is a stink Māori Department.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #1, June 1996

These young students expected university to be a place that welcomed and supported them just like they had experienced at school. In particular they expected the Māori Department to be a welcoming and safe place for Māori students to ‘hang out and talk’. But, by the end of the first term they still did not know the names of their lecturers and did not feel they were made welcome in the Department. Mārama’s loneliness was intensified in part by the size of the University, the way it was organised, as well as the small number of Māori students on campus. Not only were her first year classes large, but also she did not know anyone in her classes as none of her peers from school came with her to university. For the first time in her schooling she found that she was studying by herself rather than with friends. Their continued feelings of loneliness were heightened by their perceived lack of belonging in an institution that did not reflect, recognise or support in any tangible way, things Māori.

As a mature student, Dawn suggested that being older lessened the likelihood of feeling intimidated. She talked at length about a situation that occurred outside the Law building one day. While not talking about herself directly, she talked about how others might have felt in a similar situation.

Dawn: Sometimes I think it’s because I’m not straight from school - I’m 29 - I’m not so intimidated. But had I been, say, the same as probably the majority of my peers which, in lectures, are probably maybe 18, 19, 20 I’d be quite threatened by some of the people in Laws 101. Because I was sitting outside the Law building one day when there was a group of - don’t take offence people if you went to private schools - sitting there going ‘Oh yes I went to ... oh no Scotts College blah, blah, blah’. Now that’s fine. But as more of them came out [of the building] they started moving closer to where I was sitting on the bench until one of them was basically standing on top of me 19. They just thought they had this whole right to bombard people. I got up and he said, ‘Oh you don’t have to move’. And I said, ‘What! If I don’t move you will be standing on me next.’ You know, they had no respect for my space or nothing. I got up and I said, ‘you might have gone to a private school but you didn’t learn any bloody manners’ (laughter). That doesn’t intimidate me because I see myself above them, purely because they’ve got no bloody manners and they think they’re so much better than anyone else. They’re just bullshit. I know that if I was that age I probably would be subtly threatened, I don’t like that. They basically pushed me out and it wasn’t very nice. I mean I could have sat there and put up with it but I didn’t want to. Yeh, I feel sorry for people that are threatened or feel intimidated by things like that. I don’t like it!

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26 April 1996
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuarua

Feeling intimidated, I suspect, does not diminish with age. All the mature students expressed feeling intimidated. Haami used the word ‘freaked’ to articulate his first impressions of university. The passion with which Dawn shared her experience suggested that she was intimidated by what she perceived were to be privileged young students, particularly in light of her brief contribution in a conversation at the end of that first year in which she admitted to feeling ‘lost’. It was at this last hui in 1996, that Dawn along with Nuku, Rangimārie and Māui reflected on their initial impressions of university. Their kōrero started with Rangimarie talking about and at the same time trying to make sense of how she felt at the beginning of the year.

**Rangimārie:** In the beginning, the first term... well... coming to university was a whole new world to me and no-one ever taught me about it. Sometimes I feel so alone. It’s a big place and there are lots of people. It intimidated me, frightened me, I was on shaky ground all the time... It took me a long time to actually feel that I could handle it. Being out of school for twenty years, I’m not sure that’s just because - you know - I am a first year student that everyone feels that it is touch and go - quite often.

**Hazel:** Did you all feel that it was touch and go?

**General agreement:** Lots of mmmms.

**Māui:** Intimidated.

**Dawn:** Real lost.

**Nuku:** It was a bit stressing the first term. I was really scared about the tests and assignments and things like that.

**Māui:** I still feel intimidated every time I come here. I mean especially when it comes to doing assignments and tests and that.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #3, 26 September 96

In her kōrero Rangimārie expressed similar sentiments to the young students. The size of the University and the number of students overwhelmed her as she navigated her way around campus in her first weeks. And, as a consequence, like the young students she felt alone and unsure of what she was doing and where she was going. She could not put her finger on whether it was because she was an older student or a first year student. Even though she talked about eventually being able to ‘handle it’, a sense of alienation remained in her kōrero as she shifted between past and present tense and subtly moved beyond thinking about first impressions to the ongoing anxiety over her ability to do the work. Māui, too, talked about his ongoing apprehension with his study. It was fulfilling academic requirements that Nuku was primarily concerned with when he began university. And it was the anxiety about his ability to do this that caused Nuku distress in his first term.

Indeed in earlier kōrero the mature students all expressed anxiety about the University’s academic requirements. They were overawed by what they imagined were the academic standards of the University, and expressed in varying degrees anxiety about their own intellectual ability to measure up.

**Māui:** I thought it was only intelligent people who came to university and you had to be real brainy – you had to have U.E. or Bursary or what ever.

**Dawn:** I have the same feelings as you, that university is only for brainy people.
Rangimārie: Coming to university has been quite an eye opener. Prior to that I thought I would be struggling because I failed school because of this, this and this. It took me a long time to actually feel that I could handle it. Being out of school for twenty years I was not too sure whether I could do it.

Haami: I want to learn but I’m still finding myself fighting these thoughts in my head that say, ‘You don’t know this, just get out of it’. I sit there and listen and there are all these thoughts saying, ‘Walk out, walk out, you can sit here until the crows come home but you are not going to get this’.

They reveal, in their kōrero, an anxiety that is felt by many students, particularly those who have come from groups that traditionally have been kept out of university - mature, working class, women students, as well as students of colour. The outcome of the fear of failure has not just produced educational barriers but also psychological ones. Deeply etched in Haami’s kōrero and just as deeply affecting his ability to study are the scars from his school experiences. For some, their feelings of intellectual inadequacy were soon dispelled as they met and talked with other students on campus, experienced lectures and completed their course work. While others, regardless of their experiences, were to remain unsure of their abilities, sometimes in spite of achieving considerable success in their coursework. For example, Rangimārie, if you recall in Upoko Tuaono ended her year at university with an A-grade point average yet remained afraid of failure throughout. Her fear of failing went on to be influential in her decision to continue study at Polytech, rather than university, where she considered she had greater chances of success.

By contrast, the younger students had come to university with their confidence intact. None of them expressed anxiety about measuring up to the standards of the University, however, Hone and Kāhu’s experiences once they had become students caused them to think about their ability and will be discussed in the next part of this Upoko. They were looking forward to university and were excited about the learning opportunities that lay ahead of them.

Mārama: I love the mode of the university... the whole learning thing.
Tiaho: I just like the challenge (laugh) that’s all. It is competitive and I like it. That’s why I thought, ‘Oh yeh this is me’. And it’s stuff I like. Some people find it boring but I quite like it.
Kāhu: University is the end institute. I mean, what I learn at university I could never do in total immersion. I could never learn to analyse things in that way. But I just wish they could bring more Māori stuff in so that it achieves excellence. The thing that puts me off Māori things is that they are easy. There is no challenge. If I wanted to, I could have gone to polytech or other places and just cruise through. But like, university is a challenge. It is the way to make yourself better. I just wish I didn’t have to pay such a big cost.
Mārama enjoyed being a university student. She identified exactly what it was she ‘loved’ about the University – its culture of learning. In a similar vein, Tiaho and Kāhu relished the challenge that university provided. Specifically, Tiaho liked the competitive aspect of university learning while Kāhu liked the way it extended him, particularly his analytical thinking skills. In recognising that the University, as the ‘end institute’ presented him with challenges, that he would not have got elsewhere, Kāhu also considered that the University fell short of achieving excellence because of the lack of Māori content. He decided against going to ‘other places’, where they teach in immersion settings and have more Māori content, because he considered they would not have provided him with enough of a learning challenge; ‘cruising’ through a degree or qualification was not what he wanted to do. Yet it was these very things that he considered ‘easy’, that affirmed his cultural and spiritual identity and nurtured his development. Despite the ‘cost’, he did, nevertheless, enjoy the learning opportunities and challenges that university study brought.

The older students too talked about the culture of higher learning that is at the heart of academia. Nestled in a conversation that began with talking about the benefits and value of learning, Māui and Dawn touched on what that meant for them. And like Tiaho and Mārama they were excited about it.

**Nuku:** Plus you know it is good to learn – to motivate yourself.

**Māui:** University has its own culture. I didn’t believe it at first, ah. I was really overwhelmed by it. I’ve only just touched it. You can feel it ah. I feel it is as soon as I come in - driving or biking in – as soon as I hit University Drive. I’m overwhelmed by the whole aura of university life. Maybe it’s just the way I feel about it. Obviously there is no physical thing out there saying, ‘Come here... gotcha’, it’s just the way I feel about it. I love this place. I’m a bit intimidated by it. I can’t help it, I just love coming here!

**Dawn:** Everyone that’s here wants to learn, ah. Well, I can’t speak for everyone but I’d say a good 99% maybe want to learn. Everyone wants to learn. That’s exciting, isn’t it?

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26 April 1996

Māui in particular conveyed, like Kāhu, the ambivalence of being a university student. He was surprised that the University has a culture all of its own and although he was not too sure just what that is, he was nevertheless excited by it. However, I think he had a sense of it when he talked, elsewhere, about his desire to learn, and the satisfaction he got when he immersed himself in his study.

Almost a year after she had left university Rangimārie reflected on the culture of the university too. She had come to my house and it was just the two of us talking as we sat in the warm afternoon sun. Wondering at times whether she was making herself clear, she struggled to make sense of her experience of the university culture. In no uncertain terms she was critical of the monocultural nature of the University and the way it had subordinated Māori since it was first established.

**Rangimārie:** I think any institution that is not a wānanga reeks of colonialism, (laugh) or you know is monocultural flavoured with a bit of biculturalism thrown in. My hardest
battle was actually trying to think whether these institutions really are trying to be bicultural in the true sense of biculturalism or is it that they want to retain their grip on being monocultural. Does that make sense? They are seen to look bicultural when it is tokenism and when it is actually true to form.

Hazel: Well that would be fair to say. I would put it like this - that our institutions what ever they are - education or health or whatever - are very much Pākehā, very much monocultural. But what they do is, they give us snippets of biculturalism, just enough to recognise biculturalism. But these are only there to ensure their legitimacy and to ensure our acquiescence – our keeping quiet. Unless there is a marked shift in their thinking we will not see a change because to do that they will have to give up too much. And they are not going to do that.

Rangimārie: University has its tikanga stamped on the ground, that’s how I see it... you know all the buildings were built on the ground - that was their tikanga. I don’t know, does that make sense?

Hazel: Are you meaning because the University and all its traditions, practices, and structures were brought here, were transported here? If that’s what you are meaning, yes.

Rangimārie: Yep. So I see their tikanga is stamped on the ground; it wasn’t part of the ground, it was stamped on the ground. And, in between all of that, where are we [Māori]?

Hazel: We are under the ground.

Rangimārie: I know that it is in the charter or constitution - that they recognise the Treaty of Waitangi. So yeh, I saw their tikanga stamped on the ground and I know that they have it in their charter – that they recognise the Treaty of Waitangi. But when it came to the crunch, like the students’ thing (getting the Treaty of Waitangi in the Students’ Association constitution), there are a hell of a lot of red necks out there. The Treaty means nothing. It meant nothing when it came to things like that. But it is our culture in the university and it has to be an economic culture. I mean... I was in the reo class and I went to Māori 104 and the Pākehās there were doing a hell of a lot better than us.

Hazel: Some things don’t change.

Rangimārie: And so our culture had to be of an economic gain [to be in the university]. It wasn’t there because of aroha or recognition of the Treaty, it was there because it had now had become an economic language. And the people paying for it are predominantly Māori. Even the wairua of the whole thing left a lot to be desired. I mean I was doing Education and felt that there was more wairua in there than in something that should have been ... by my whakapapa or blood links ... you know should have more wairua. I also resented the fact that last year the head of Māori Department was a Pākehā. I consider myself to be a bicultural person. The earlier part of my life I had a Māori upbringing and then I had a totally European upbringing and the fact that my parents are from both nations I kind of thought I knew what bicultural was (laugh). You know when I went to university and they had those things I couldn’t see where the bicultural relationship was. But then, I suppose, I was only new to the game.

Rangimārie: Kōrero #1, 7th September 1997

Rangimārie’s kōrero fascinated me. Not just because of the overarching and damning critique she put forward but because of the shift in her thinking that it signified. The ambivalence she articulated during her first year is now less
compromising. Where once she was inclined to think of her participation in terms of personal struggles she now connected those to the force of a particular history which Māori have been collectively subjected to. Her kōrero reflected a sharpening in her ability to think critically and make multiple and complex connections between her life, the University and the larger social forces in which Māori continue to be subordinated. In doing so the measure she used through which she made sense of her experiences was the notion of biculturalism. To Rangimārie bicultural meant to know and be conversant in both the Māori and the Pākehā world and for there to be dialogue and a sharing of power between the two. She also used the Treaty of Waitangi as a point of reference to measure the university’s relationship with Māori. But in doing so, the relationship she saw was very much one-sided in which Māori were ignored on the one hand, and exploited on the other. Ignored because much of what she saw around her, in the university with regard to Māori, was tokenism rather than any real attempt by the institution to be bicultural and inclusive. And exploited not only because she saw the university exploiting the Māori language and Māori knowledge for economic gain but also because Māori had to pay for the privilege of learning what was taken from them! Furthermore, she saw that Pākehā students were the ones that ‘did better’ than Māori when it came to grades. Central to her analysis of why this was the case she highlighted the way in which the university as one of the products of colonisation was brought to Aotearoa and ‘stamped’ on the ground without regard to the local people, their history and traditions. It didn’t grow out of the environment within which it was established, in reality the imported curriculum, customs and practices of the university built itself over the physical and cultural landscape of the Ngai Tahu people. And prospered from its land endowments at the expense of the local people whose lands had been alienated. Even though much has changed over the last 130 years with regard to the way the university is organised and what it teaches, little has changed with regard to the relationship between Māori and the institution. Somewhat rhetorically, Rangimārie asked where Māori fitted within a university that is not of the physical and cultural landscape it was built on. It is this question that forms the basis of my study. It is also the question, which in their own unique ways all the students continued to struggle with as long as they remained students.

It was the unique culture of the University that the students were confronted with when they walked, drove or biked into the grounds of the university. It was the all-encompassing and overwhelming culture of the place that they struggled with, which excited and scared them, which challenged them (often all at the same time) and for which they came unprepared. In one way or another all the students articulated a desire to learn and acknowledged that university is the place in which it can be achieved. It is, of course, this belief that has brought them to the University in the first place. Intimidated they might have been, they were also excited about the learning challenges that lay ahead of them. They were all looking forward to the challenge of expanding their knowledge and developing a greater understanding of their world.
Whakawhanaungatanga: establishing relationships

As I sit, and think and write about the relationships that these students established in their first weeks on campus I am struck by just how small the campus really is. Only Kāhu and Hone knew each other when they first came to University, but by the end of the first month many of the kaikōrero had got to know one another, if not personally then at least by sight. The irony of this did not escape me as I recalled the students’ initial impressions of the University. At the same time as they were feeling alone and intimidated they were also busy establishing relationships with other students. The multiple links that many of them had to one another made this easier. Despite the range of degrees\textsuperscript{18} they were enrolled in, all but two of the students were doing courses in the Māori Department. Dawn and Tania, the two kaikōrero not enrolled in the Māori Department were, however, doing the first year Psychology course with Haami and Ngaire. Ngaire was also enrolled in the first year Education papers along with Mārama, Rangimārie and Māui. Māui and Nuku (who first met when they did the ‘New Start’ programme) and Hone all began a Computer Science paper together. Hone also initially enrolled in the stage one Law paper in which Kāhu, Dawn and Tiaho were also enrolled. By the time we were ready to begin our hui rangahau all of them knew at least one other kaikōrero. Their coming together as kaikōrero also helped to further cement the relationships they had with one another.

Tikinga ngā akonga Māori: in search of other Māori students

It came as no surprise that, without exception, all the kaikōrero sought out other Māori students to be with. As an undergraduate student I did the same, making Te Awaroa\textsuperscript{19} my base from which I engaged with other Māori students and the University. Countless other Māori students past and present across the universities have also sought out other Māori students\textsuperscript{20}. Despite the physical barriers to meeting other students – large first year classes\textsuperscript{21} and the way they were taught\textsuperscript{22} – the kaikōrero were all remarkably successful in getting to know other Māori students. But not all the students initially saw that that is what they did, or that there were benefits to seeking out other students.

Earlier, Te Ara used the metaphor of a magnet to express the way in which Māori students were drawn to one another. Rangimārie considered just why it was that she and Māori students in general gravitated towards other Māori students. To begin with, building relationships for Rangimārie was as much an antidote for her loneliness and sense of alienation as it was a strategic alliance to overcome the ‘odds’ of dropping out.

Rangimārie: Sometimes I feel quite alone. I come to Te Ara Pounamu where I’ll see a familiar face and then I will settle down again. It’s just like, I’ll only go so far away from the building and that’s it, then I will come back up here. It’s like, well for me, I need a sort of central focus you know. I find the Māoris here, we haven’t got the whakapapa links to each other, but we are linked in a way because we are all trying in a world that is unfamiliar. So we have a strong bond with each other and we get into study groups. We have all come from different places. Some from up north, some are from here and yet we
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huiahu kōrero
Wāhanga Tuarua

build up a strong relationship because we want to...we have to work together to try and succeed together. You know the odds are pretty high if we don’t try and carry each other. It’s harder just being on your own.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #3, 16th September 1996

According to Rangimārie it was not whakapapa that connected Māori students to one another, rather it was the experience of being Māori in an ‘unfamiliar’ world that did. The resulting ‘strong bond’ provided her and those around her with a sense of belonging and purpose in an alien environment. It is a pragmatic and political response to being Māori and a minority in the University and to the weighty historical record that has militated against positive educational access and outcomes for Māori. Success in Rangimārie’s eyes was more likely to occur if students worked together and supported one another. All the students, both young and mature, shared that sentiment even though it took the younger students longer to put into practice.

One of the benefits of establishing relationships with other students was that it extended to supporting each other’s study. All of the mature students had made friends who they also studied with, and they were all aware of the benefits of having other students to study with. For example, the notion of ‘argument’ took on a whole new meaning for Māui when he became a student. Having friends to ‘argue’ with showed him an alternative way of interacting with others in which people’s points of view can be heard and discussed.

Māui: Like, I talk to other Māori out of class and discuss things and really thrash them out - I haven’t done that before. I mean the only arguments I have ever had were with my wife, and they were arguments, like domestic arguments. But now I have arguments, social arguments with friends that are not abusive, they are just straight out thrashing out, talking about something. I’ve never done that before and I reckon it’s really healthy. They help me to see other [people’s] opinions and to be able discuss them. That’s cool.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996

Nuku found that establishing study groups and having friends to talk over what he was learning helped him understand and integrate his new found knowledge. He also found that sharing with his fellow students in this way helped to maintain the momentum and the motivation of the group. I do need to point out here that Nuku’s situation was different to the other kaikōrero. Apart from one Māori paper, all of Nuku’s courses were in the Computer Science and Commerce faculties where there were few Māori students enrolled. From his own observations there were very few obviously Māori students in his classes. Although the one friend with whom he spent most of his time studying was another Māori student (whose ‘subjects were all the same’) most of the people with whom he and his friend studied were Pākehā.

Nuku: Looking back, especially last term, the workload just jumped - trebled compared to the first term. I should’ve got them [study groups] going a lot early. I had one going for Maths, but Computer Science where I am having most of my trouble... yeh I think I should have tried to organise a group earlier. Well I got together with two other guys for our midyear exam for about a week before that and it was good. It was great, because first
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuarua

of all you have to be able to explain things, therefore it makes it a lot clearer for yourself, and of course then there are other ideas as well that you come across... that you didn’t see in that way. Yeh, it was really good. I think, I felt like in the second term that I was better off doing it by myself because getting everyone together was hard. Not everyone was... yeh, like we organised with two other guys, one guy didn’t turn up and the other guy turned up late and I thought, ‘Stuff this, I could be spending valuable time at home doing my own study’. But once we got going it was a real gift. Although I didn’t get much from one of the guys, but the other guys I got quite a lot of stuff from them and they felt that they got stuff from me so, yeh, it was really good. And it kind of motivated us.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996

Once Dawn found students that she was comfortable being with and studying with, her grades began to pick up, and along with them her confidence. While this didn’t improve her 1996 end of year grades, on her return the next year she made sure that her support mechanisms were in place early. She began her kōrero by characterising her first year as a ‘waste of time’, especially the first half of the year before she met up with some people who she felt able to study with.

Dawn: Towards half way through the year, say May/June I met up with someone I felt really comfortable with and it was only then that I started pulling good grades. To be with people I felt comfortable with made a difference to my work. But I got too far behind to start with so I accepted the consequences. I didn’t beat myself up over it you know. Studying with friends and having those sorts of networks helps reaffirm what I am doing and to be more confident like that. Now I am doing it early on. I have got people who I can contact and I do contact, whereas last year it was three, four months down the track.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #4, 16th April 1997

While the mature students talked about establishing social and study relationships with other Māori students on campus, the young students said little about this. At the end of their first year I was curious to know whether this was an issue for them. I was aware that they did not stay at University much beyond their lecture times, if they came in at all. Opportunities, therefore, to mix with other students were limited which was, possibly, exacerbated by their view that they were different to the majority of other Māori students on campus. I was also aware that they had put a great deal of emphasis on whanauungatanga and the lack of it at university. While they noted that being a Māori student on campus was a lonely experience, I wondered if they had gone on to do anything about it. Because it was not something they raised, I asked them whether being with other Māori students and study groups was important to them.

Hazel: A recurring theme in the other roopu’s huis is their desire to hang out and study with other Māori students. They have all organised themselves into study groups with other Māori students. Is this something that is important for you guys?

Hone: It would be choice.
Kāhu: We don’t do it.
Hone: Maybe there should be like Māori class reps in other subjects so like the whole of the varsity is co-ordinated. I am not saying, like, just for the Māori Department.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Waanga Tuarua

Hazel: They have found that it is helpful in getting their māhi done. It also helps their understanding, because when they are talking with others about what they are learning it helps their understanding, and it is enjoyable.

Hone: It is like whanaungatanga. If you have got people to study with, then you will do it and it won’t be so bad.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #2, 2nd October 1996

There was no further response to my question so I left it at that. Although they did not respond at all to the statement about hanging out with other Māori students they did respond to the second part about study groups. From their reply they had not thought about study groups, and when they did, they thought about it as something formally provided rather than something that they could establish for themselves. When I elaborated on the benefits of students getting together to study, Hone immediately recognised that the benefits and values underpinning study groups were similar to the benefits and values that underpinned whanaungatanga. After their response to my question I was none-the-wiser for what they said here and elsewhere did not match with what they actually did. While they might have talked about being different to other Māori students and, therefore, kept their distance from them, they did initially seek each other out. They hung out together when they were on campus and, furthermore, they hung out in specifically Māori spaces such as Te Putairiki – Māori Law Students’ room – and Te Akatoki’s office. They also participated, to varying degrees, in Māori activities on campus such as Te Akatoki hui and kapa haka.

In 1997, Kāhu’s second year, I asked him again whether he studied with other Māori students. When he replied no, he was quick to emphasise that he didn’t see this as a problem.

Kāhu: It’s not so bad. I don’t really care. I am not worried I sort of feel, I still feel I that I don’t belong in the University. Like it is go in and go out. Sometimes I go to Te Akatoki or hang with someone I know. Again my friends are still the same people that I hang out with in the Māori community. So nothing really has changed from last year. I just find it different... Yeh there are no people at University that are, like, my kind of crowd. Oh, there are a couple [of people] like Johnny. I don’t really get along with Pākehās. I am just used to hanging out with my own.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #4, 17th July 1997

When Kāhu shared this with me the group he was part of (when he first started university) had all but fallen apart. Mārama was no longer a student, nor was Tiaho, and Hone was fast disengaging from his study. So Kāhu was on his own. Not interested in striking up relationships with Pākehā or other Māori students (for the most part) he spent as little time on campus as possible. When he did he was still careful to maintain his difference – at least to me. Yet when we met for the last time in 1998 his kōrero indicated a change in the way he thought about study and other Māori students. It also provided a more critical insight into his school days and a possible explanation why he and the other young students did not study together.

208
Kāhu: You know, when you’re studying it is good to know that you can go up to someone and ask them to just give you a hand. Like with studying for exams and stuff just getting into groups was really good. I reckon it is so different from school where everyone is against you, where it is not cool to study. Whereas here, everyone was like real encouraging, everyone encourages hard work. I thought that was really good.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #4, 10th December 1998

By the time he had reached his third and final year Kāhu had found that he enjoyed his experience of being with and studying with other Māori students. He had discovered that other Māori students had similar aspirations to his own – of working hard and doing well. He made the point that this was very different to school where it wasn’t ‘cool to study’. I got the sense of a young man whose school days had been fraught with tension as he carefully negotiated his way between being accepted by his peers and enjoying doing school work. He is not alone in this. Research documents the pressure young Māori (and minority students the world over) face at school to ‘dumb down’ in order to be accepted by their peers. Perhaps his school experiences worked against him by negatively influencing the way in which he initially engaged with other Māori students and his study as he expected the other students at university to be like the students at his school. University by contrast provided an environment where studying and wanting to do well were not just acceptable practices they were actively encouraged. Something that Kāhu enjoyed.

Despite the young students’ initial distancing of themselves, all the kaikōrero sought out and spent time with other Māori students on campus. Being with other Māori students not only fostered their sense of belonging but also helped them in their study.

Ngā wāhi Māori: creating Māori spaces on campus
Place, too, was important for these students. Having spaces where they could meet played an important part in the students getting to know one another. In 1996 there were few specifically Māori spaces for students to meet and socialise in. Te Awaroa was no longer able to be used by Māori students. Although it had always been a teaching room, the increased use of the room in recent years had meant that the room was never empty for long. However, in 1996, two Māori study spaces were set up for students on campus. Te Ara Pounamu, the Education Department’s study room for Māori and Pacific Island students was opened early in the year, so too was Te Putairiki (the Māori Law Students’ Association) room in the Law Department. Almost immediately students were using them. Students also met together at Te Akatoki’s office in the Students’ Association building.

Ngaire, Tania, Rangimārie and Māui used Te Ara Pounamu as their ‘home’ base while they were on campus. Sometimes Nuku and his friend used Te Ara Pounamu to study in even though they were Commerce students. Rangimārie earlier talked about Te Ara Pounamu as a space that she could go to and where she could ‘settle’ herself as she journeyed around campus; a space that provided
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuarua

her with a safe haven in what was otherwise an alienating environment.
Interested in knowing why Māui used Te Ara Pounamu she asked him at our
last hui of 1996 why he kept coming back.

**Rangimārie:** Why do you keep coming back to Te Ara Pounamu Māui?

**Māui:** Why do I? Oh at first it was the free coffee but then we had to pay money.
(laughter) Oh I don’t know, familiar faces I mean, I’m bound to know someone and I’ve
gotten to know people that I would never have ordinarily met. I’ve gotten to know them
because everytime I go in they say kia ora and well...You know it’s just being around
people who you can talk to or having a coffee or doing a bit of writing or whatever. It is
either there or go to Te Akatoki.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #3, 16th September 1996

Like Rangimārie, Māui too liked the familiarity of the ‘faces’ that were in the
room. He could almost guarantee that whenever he went there, there would
be someone in the room that he knew. And if there wasn’t he was still made to feel
welcome. It was in this way that he had got to know other students who he
admitted he would not have ‘ordinarily’ met. The people aspect of the room was
important to Māui, but so too was the space to be able to do whatever he felt like
doing. The room provided a safe space in which he felt he could be himself.

Tiaho, Mārama, Hone and Kāhu, as well as Dawn, made use of Te Putairiki. All
the young kaikōrero used Te Putairiki’s room to meet in, and were impressed
with the support systems they had in place.

**Tiaho:** Over in the Law School they’ve got a good system set up for Māori Law students
– Māori tutorials even with a Māori tutor – and things like that. They are really good in
that sense.

**Hone:** We should all have a Te Putairiki - student support - sort of thing all over [campus].

**Kāhu:** They’ve got like their own corner and everything ah. I don’t see why they don’t
have that for, like, all Māori students, ‘cos everyone goes in there ‘cos everyone knows
that they are welcome.

**Mārama:** And it should be in the Māori Department.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #1, 17th July 1996

It was in Te Putairiki’s room that the young students finally felt welcome.
Mārama noted that the sense of welcome and support they received there should
have been ‘in the Māori Department’. Impressed with what Te Putairiki offered
they would have liked to see similar study and support networks established
across campus. By the way they talked, it appeared that they thought that Te
Putairiki was a departmental rather than a student initiative. I was also left
wondering, when I came to reflect on their kōrero, whether they participated in
the tutorials that Te Putairiki set up or not. Their earlier kōrero, when they were
asked about their participation in study groups, suggested that they didn’t.

Dawn found Te Putairiki ‘helpful’. At our last hui for 1996 she talked about the
support that Te Putairiki had given her and told us at the same time how non-
Māori students also attended the study sessions they ran. What then followed
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuarua

was a lengthy discussion on the merits of opening up Māori study groups to non-Māori students and the problem of students who did not contribute. The mature students’ kōrero ranged over a number of issues that provide insight into the way they experienced and negotiated their learning in collective contexts with both Māori and non-Māori students.

**Dawn:** I find Te Putairiki really helpful. They are really, really good, really supportive to students, especially first years. They put a lot of things together, tutorials and that. But we get a lot of non-Māori people coming along too, which I suppose is okay except when they gobble up all the resources or take up the time of the person who is taking it. But I think the most offensive thing is when you go outside the classroom and that person won’t even say, ‘Boo’ to you, they put their nose up in the air and won’t acknowledge you in lectures or when they pass you. Except when you are in the room and they think there are opportunities to study together. It’s just having respect. There are a lot of nice people that come along that aren’t Māori who are helpful. There is this one guy who gave me a book and he gave another friend of mine notes, he was really supportive, giving back to other people and sharing his knowledge. That’s really great. I suppose it’s just having respect.

**Rangimārie:** I tend to study with Māori because we don’t have sole ownership on anything we have, you know, we’re quite free to photocopy each and everyone else’s work and share it. I’ve been in a study group where it’s predominantly European, and whatever theirs is exclusively theirs and whatever you’ve got they want it too. And that’s that, that’s it!

**Dawn:** I couldn’t believe it when someone said to me that someone wouldn’t let them use their notes, because they weren’t at a lecture. Someone wouldn’t share their notes!

**Rangimārie:** But you know, our Māori study group allow Pākehā to come. But they’ve got to be willing to share...

**Dawn:** And give and take.

**Rangimārie:** Yeh, because we’ve been burnt a couple of times, like if we are doing the reo and someone thinks, ‘Oh you’re Māori so you must know it so I’ll tag onto the group’. Then you find that you’re spending 90% of the time with them and then the next day they don’t even want to know you. There are some good study groups and there are some I’ve just flagged.

**Māui:** Yeh, I find if I get into those sorts of situations I just don’t have anything to do with them next time. If you’re having like 99% of the input obviously that person is going to gain from your knowledge but you ain’t gaining nothing from that person.

**Rangimārie:** See I don’t mind giving 90%, this is like with my Māori study group, because it [the knowledge] wasn’t mine anyway. Like, all this is new to us so if we are going to help each other and try and get as many of us through then none of us have exclusive rights to it. But in other groups I’ve come across, they have their lecture notes and any extra readings are theirs and theirs alone.

**Māui:** If I was giving my all for someone and that person benefited, that would be choice, but in the same respect I would be expecting something back.

**Hazel:** Nuku, I can remember, it must have been in our first hui, where you were talking about someone who you were studying with and wasn’t contributing. Is that still the case?
Upoko TuawhITU: te huIHui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuarua

Nuku: Well we kind of cut ties there. Yeh, he was very slack. You know when you share your stuff for so long and it is just like give, give, give and nothing's really coming back it's... yeh, we ended up cutting ties and another guy who was in the group he was quite happy to do that as well. I feel bad but, like, he was slack. He was forever not turning up at lectures and wanting to photocopy my notes and I got sick of it in the end.

Ngā Tipounamu: Hui #3, 16th September 1996

While the study groups that Māui, Rangimārie and Dawn initiated and belonged to were by Māori and for Māori they were more than happy to open them up to non-Māori students. What they expected in return were students who respected the underlying kaupapa of the group and who gave back to the group. But it appeared that this was not always the case, for they all had similar stories to tell – of Pākehā students expecting Māori students to share their resources and knowledge with them, who did not reciprocate and who ignored them outside of the group. While Nuku’s study groups were not Māori-driven ones he did nevertheless encounter in one of his groups a student who was ‘slack’ and not contributing and who expected the others to share their resources and knowledge with him. Each of the kaikōrero responded differently to the students who did not contribute to their group. Dawn was stunned but accepted the situation. Rangimārie and Māui removed themselves from situations they felt were exploitative while Nuku (and his mates) removed the student who wasn’t pulling his weight.

Mindful of the many issues implicit in their kōrero the theme I want to pick up on here is the concept of utu or reciprocity. The students articulated a keen sense of the notion when they talked about ‘give and take’ and ‘expecting something back’. Incorporating the notion of exchange, utu can be understood as both the concept and the practice of giving something in return for what has been received. Traditionally, utu governed one’s behaviour within the tapestry of whānau, hapū and iwi relations. A form of social control, utu mediated the way people related to one another and effectively ensured and maintained their society’s equilibrium. This was achieved primarily by ensuring that what was given in return was more than what was received, thus placing the recipients under further obligation and at the same time enhancing the mana of the giver. Within the context of whānau relations it was expected that everyone (from the young to the old) participated and contributed what they could (and more if need be) for the good of the group. In return the well being and mana of the group would be enhanced, which in turn would ensure the well-being and mana of its members. It was, therefore, in the interests of the individual members to maintain tika relationships for their own good and the well being and mana of the group. To not pull one’s weight was detrimental to the whānau and therefore its other members. In these situations, utu as reparation was expected and exacted.

At the same time that I have ‘picked up’ the issue of utu in their kōrero I also want to ‘unpick it’ – unravel, if you like, the students’ stories which, express in their own way, the traditional Māori view that knowledge is owned by all for the

212
good of all. Operating in collective ways to study with other students, they were sharing not just their knowledge and resources but also the expectation that everyone benefited from doing so. These students all shared the belief in and took for granted the values and practices underlying whanaungatanga. The significance of this struck me when I thought about the up bringing some of the students had, particularly Dawn who, by her own admission had no exposure to the cultural world of Māori.

Te Akatoki
The ‘office’ of Te Akatoki, the Māori Students’ Association, like Te Ara Pounamu and Te Putairiki, was another place where students could go to socialise and touch base with other Māori students. The parallel Māori body to the University of Canterbury Students’ Association (UCSA) Te Akatoki provides support for Māori students on campus. They do this by hosting Māori Orientation and Māori graduation; participating in Te Mana Akonga (the New Zealand Māori Students’ Association); representing Māori student interests on various university committees; promoting Māori issues on campus; writing a regular column for Canta (the student magazine); providing study as well as pastoral support for students; and organising social activities. Run by students, the executive meets monthly and their meetings are open to all Māori students. Until the new whare was opened at the beginning of 1998 Te Akatoki operated out of a small room in the Students’ Association building which doubled as an office and a meeting place. With two desks and filing cabinets, fridge, coffee table and a couch little room was left for students. Nevertheless, students were always in there.

Kāhu: Like I was in there today mucking around and looking at the [plans for the] new whare. And there were about 20 people in there and we were all sort of squashed up.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #2, 2nd October 1996

Over the course of the three years of this study two kaikōrero would become actively involved in the affairs of Te Akatoki - one as an ordinary member, the other as an executive member. Their stories about what they did are not retold here because to write about their experiences and the contributions that they made would identify them and, therefore, breach the undertaking I made to them about ensuring their anonymity. While these two students were actively involved they were not the only kaikōrero to be a part of Te Akatoki. Several kaikōrero were regular visitors to the small office. Māui and Rangimārie both made themselves known early in their first year, as did the young students. They went there to ‘touch base’ and to socialise. Dawn, once she knew about Te Akatoki began going in her second year.

Māui: It’s good. You don’t have to be in there for business, you can just go in there and play chess or sit down and kōrero or whatever. I mean those are the places I usually end up after a lecture when I should be rewriting it so I understand what they were talking about. But I just veer off to these places and I don’t know what it is...

Rangimārie: To touch base.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuara

Māui: Yeh. Maybe it is just to get away from the mahi for a minute or just socialise. It is either there [Te Ara Pouamā] or go to Te Akatoki and I pretty much know everyone that goes into Te Akatoki.

Dawn: Where is that?
Māui: In the Students' Association building, upstairs.
Dawn: I've never been there.
Māui: It's good...

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #3, 16th September 1996

Although she knew about Te Akatoki earlier in the year it took this kōrero in the last term for Dawn to find out where their office was. Eventually, after overcoming the feeling of being whakamā in overtly Māori situations and in the company of friends she made her way over to the office in her second year.

Dawn: I have sort of started going to Te Akatoki. Finding out more about it since a couple of friends got involved in it.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #4, 16th April 1997

However, one experience, early on, nearly put her off. I was working in my office one afternoon when she called me. Clearly, upset she told me about what had happened to her earlier in the day when she went over to Te Akatoki's office. Instead of being greeted with kia ora when she opened the door, she was greeted with a challenge. The students in the office demanded to know who she was and what she wanted. This wasn't what she was expecting, and it hurt her deeply. She felt that her Māori identity had been questioned along with her right to be there. Her Māori identity was fragile enough without it being challenged by other Māori students. Adopted at birth, not knowing her iwi affiliations, not knowing anything about tikanga or speaking te reo Dawn felt she had been an outsider in Te Ao Māori all her life. Her nascent journey into the Māori world nearly ended before she had fully opened the door, let alone navigated the 'clique' that she (and many others) perceived Te Akatoki to be. Resolved to not let the experience get to her, she summed up the situation with an expression that she frequently used – 'that's bullshit' – and continued to attend Te Akatoki hui anyway. Reflecting on her earlier kōrero, perhaps being a mature student meant that she was not so easily put off. I know many students who would have been put off and walked away from any involvement in Te Akatoki had they experienced what Dawn had.

The young students' first experiences of Te Akatoki almost put them off too. Initially they did not think much of Te Akatoki. But after seeing what they did and what they had to put up with they reconsidered their earlier thoughts. In doing so they locate the problems that Te Akatoki face within the wider context of colonial relations.

Mārama: I think they do a good job.
Hone: I think they need support.
Kāhu: I think they do a good job but they don't really inform the students, Māori students much... Like if I hadn't gone to the meeting I wouldn't have known about the AGM.
Tiaho: They have a campaign - an advertising manager. He doesn't do very much.

Kāhu: I think they should, like, try and get more in touch with Māori students. But then I think it is also the Māori students [responsibility]. I mean, when I first got here I thought they were stink. We were all going, 'Oh, we should take over' and stuff 'cos we had heard that they were really stink. But when you sit back and watch it's like they are doing a really good job.

Hone: I was really impressed ah with people like Sheena [the tumuaki].

Kāhu: I never sort of started clicking till I started listening to them, that everyone's against them. It was weird ah. At school the Principal was pretty good, he'd do whai kōrero and here it is like every other department is against them. Sometime it seems like even the Māori Department is against them. Really un-Māori.

Tiaho: Colonising!

Hone: The effects of colonisation.

Hazel: Can we ever get away from the effects of colonisation?

Kāhu: I don't want to go back to living in the bush. (laugh)

Hazel: Does it mean that though?

Hone: I think it means the ideology of colonisation doesn't it? It's like the ideas that Pākehā perceive Māori to be.

Tiaho: Yeh, sort of inferior.

Mārama: If you are decolonised...

Hone: If you are decolonised then you are a radical.

Tiaho: That's what they pin on you, whether you are one or not.

Hone: Maybe it will get better but I don't reckon it will.

Kāhu’s kōrero, in particular interested me, not just what he was saying but what his kōrero led to. Kāhu’s first impressions of Te Akatoki were not good. Not only had Te Akatoki’s ‘stink’ reputation influenced him but I am sure his experience of Māori Orientation, had also coloured the way in which he initially thought about Te Akatoki. But once he had been on campus for a while and had seen what they were up against he rethought his view. I didn’t need to ask Kāhu what he had heard about Te Akatoki. As a student myself, I am only too aware of Māori students’ concerns and criticisms of Te Akatoki. One criticism that has been levelled at Te Akatoki ever since I can remember was raised by Kāhu. He was critical of the extent to which Te Akatoki kept Māori students (all Māori students are automatically members) informed of what they were doing. But then, he also saw that students have a responsibility to take the initiative, find out for themselves about Te Akatoki and become involved. Yet despite Te Akatoki’s efforts students every year are unaware that Te Akatoki exists. Furthermore, there are always a large number of Māori students who are indifferent to Māori student issues on campus.

Not simply an issue of communication, Kāhu came to the realisation that the institutional environment that Te Akatoki operated in constrained what they were able to achieve. In particular, he pointed to the lack of Māori content in courses and the minimal recognition by the University of Māori issues and aspirations. The University, including the Māori Department, was, as far as Kāhu
was concerned, ‘un-Māori’. Tiaho picked up on this and put a name to it – colonisation. Not that it is colonisation, says Hone, rather it is the effects of colonisation, the ideological remains of the imperial spread of Europe that Māori students face (on a daily basis). Kāhu’s response to the question of whether Māori could ever be free from the effects of colonisation fascinated me. I am not sure whether he was being tongue in cheek or serious – what I did know, however, was that his laugh did not lighten the moment. His comment is in a similar vein to comments I have heard Annette Sykes make when she has been talking about decolonisation. I take her comments to raise in a fundamental way the contradiction of colonisation (and its capitalistic underbelly). That, at the same time as it destroyed Māori symbolic and material culture, it also brought technology to Aotearoa making some aspects of material life easier. In doing so she is addressing the assumption that some people (both Māori and Pākehā) have that to be decolonised means to reject all of what colonisation and capitalism have brought to Māori. Whether we want to or not, going back to 1840, going back to living in the bush, and the recovery of a pristine (pre European) Māori culture is just not possible.

What is equally intriguing in the students’ kōrero is their perception that to be seen as someone who is decolonised is to be a radical. Because of her outspoken advocacy for Māori, Annette is labelled a ‘radical’ by the media, non-Māori, as well as some Māori. Despite the Oxford Dictionary meaning - ‘advocating thorough reform; holding extreme political views; left wing revolutionary’ – being labelled a Māori ‘radical’ in Aotearoa implies unreasonable people, with unreasonable arguments who are ultimately seen as the perpetrators of racial tension not the victims. It is this pejorative notion of ‘radical’ that the students were sensitive too, which they perceive is linked to decolonisation and the accompanying call for the right to Māori self-determination. Their kōrero suggests that they are aware of the power ideas have, whether they are true or not, to shape the way Māori are perceived. They point to the irony of being seen as inferior for simply being Māori and being seen as a radical for wanting to be Māori. The more I reflect on Hone’s comment, the more I wonder how much the despair he articulated affects his engagement in his studies and ultimately his participation at university.

Despite his despair, Hone and the rest of the young students involved themselves in the political affairs of Māori students on campus. In 1996 one issue in particular galvanised Māori students into action – the voting in of the Treaty of Waitangi into the Canterbury Students’ Association’s (UCSÂ) constitution at their annual general meeting (AGM). The previous year the motion for its inclusion was narrowly defeated due to the tactics of a number of students to interrupt and delay the motion until there were not enough students left at the meeting to make a quorum. Determined for a better result in 1996 Te Akatoki made sure that as many Māori students as possible knew about the AGM and the reason why it was important to be there and vote. All the young kaikōrero were there, as were several of the mature students and myself. When we next met I asked each roopū rangahau about their participation. Their responses were
markedly different from each other, perhaps highlighting the different concerns that each of the groups have. The mature students were more concerned that the Treaty was not in the constitution while the young students were more concerned with the resistance that it received.

Hazel: So how did you hear about the AGM?

Tiaho, Mārama and Hone: Eru.

Kāhu: I usually go to the Te Akatoki meetings and I heard a bit about it and I clicked that it was pretty important. So I just went round trying to get, like, everyone going.

Hazel: What did you think?

Kāhu: I was surprised at the resistance there was. I just thought it was really stupid what that guy was saying about disbanding it [the Students' Association]. I couldn’t believe how anyone could go for something where anything could happen. And just like for the Treaty, you know, that women in the Green Peace t-shirt or something, I thought she’d be all right. And then she goes and says, ‘How do you identify yourself as a Māori?’ It kind of caught me off guard.

Hazel: There have been in the past quite overt strategies to keep Māori representation and anything Māori out of the Students’ Association. They have used stalling tactics like when that guy jumped up and asked if there was a quorum in the middle of the vote. When he said that, he said that straight after four people got up and walked out. So I think that was orchestrated.

Kāhu: I heard about Kaos, you know, with the water pistols squirting at Māoris, and having them [Pākehā] walking out. So I knew, and that’s why I tried to get heaps of people to go, so that Māori would have the numbers. I think that is why maybe a lot of them [Pākehā] stayed cos they knew Māori had the numbers in full force. If they left you know...

Hazel: Yeh, that was a pretty good show of Māori students.

Kāhu: Still disappointing though, I reckon.

Hazel: Well it is disappointing on the basis that there are, what, nearly 600 Māori students here and there were sixty odd of us, 10% say, at the AGM. But that is more than there has ever been in the past.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #2, 2nd October 1996

The dynamics of the conversation I had with the young students was interesting in that when I asked how they had heard about the AGM they all pointed to Kāhu. It was if in doing so they appointed him to be their spokesperson, and he without pause slotted into the role. Something I did not pick up on until I was transcribing the tape. The others rejoined the conversation when I asked them about how they would like to see Te Akatoki run, but that is another story that is told in the next part of this Wahanganga. Kāhu was taken aback by the AGM. He could not understand why the motion to have the Students’ Association disbanded was put and was both critical and sceptical of the push for the laissez-faire approach to student life. But what takes him totally by surprise was the resistance to the motion to have the Treaty of Waitangi incorporated into the Association’s constitution. One challenge in particular caught him ‘off guard’. A Pākehā woman, wearing a Green Peace t-shirt, challenged the very notion of a separate Māori identity by asking those Māori present to justify to her, and to the whole meeting, what made a Māori, Māori. In a roundabout way she was
making clear her objection to the inclusion of the Treaty in the constitution and what that represented in terms of recognising and granting Māori separate recognition. Her criticism reflected a growing discontent amongst some Pākehā who perceive that Māori receive, and benefit, from preferential treatment, and that, in the process, Pākehā have become the new dispossessed – the victims of inequality. Despite the challenges and the tactics of some Pākehā students to disrupt the proceedings, the Treaty was voted in due to the large number of Māori students who sat through the subtle and not so subtle displays of racism. Although the Māori student presence at the AGM was high, Kāhu, nevertheless, was disappointed at how few there were considering the total Māori student population on campus.

Rangimārie and Māui also attended the AGM. The issues they were concerned to talk about were different to Kāhu’s. The topic comes up when Māui is reflecting on his collective Māori identity.

Māui: Like what you say about whakapapa and that - we all know our individual tribes and what ever, our individual whakapapa, but as far as a group is concerned we are just Māori. Well, not just Māori - we are Māori and that’s a strong part of the Māori contingent here. I mean everyone is obviously aware of the different tribal affiliations and that but like I don’t go up to Tama and say ‘kia ora Te Arawa’. We both know that we have like other different tribal affiliations but we are just Māori. And that is where the aspect of the support comes in because we know we are all Māori and if we claim to be a big group then we will support each other as a big group, like at the AGM yesterday where there was a big turn out. It was, like, Māori for a Māori cause.

Dawn: What was that for?

Hazel: For the Treaty to be voted in, to be incorporated in to the constitution.

Māui: I thought that it was quite indicative of Māori support as a general...

Rangimarrie: You’d think that the University being a place of liberal thinkers would be on to it [but] they are archaic because they haven’t got the Treaty in the constitution.

That’s not right. It doesn’t seem right, you know, that the University is liberal and where change happens with student protests and that, and there you are the founding document of New Zealand was not even incorporated in the students’ charter. I find that pretty pathetic.

Dawn: I think varsity is a reflection of what Christchurch is all about. It is very conservative, you know, in attitudes. I think Christchurch is a very conservative place.

Māui: But it was good, ah, everyone was humming. You could feel the hum of the place.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #3 26th September 1996

The day after the AGM, Māui was still ‘humming’ over the victory. Not so much because the Treaty was voted into the constitution but because of the way Māori students from different iwi had come together to vote it in. Not at all concerned by the discussion leading up to the vote and the Pākehā woman’s challenge to his identity, Māui used the AGM as a prime example of what being Māori meant to him. Whilst not forgetting about whakapapa, being Māori for Māui meant looking beyond individual iwi differences to a collective Māori identity; an identity which had been shaped out of political necessity. Rangimārie made the same point earlier when she was talking about Māori students coming together
to form study groups. Rangimārie made clear her disgust that the Treaty wasn’t already in the Association’s constitution. Behind her criticism was the awareness that since the 1970s, beginning with the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, there had been a move, however slow, towards a bicultural nation\textsuperscript{33}. The ‘move’ beginning in response to increasing criticism by Māori of the state’s culpability in the crisis that faced Māori, as well as to the increasing calls by Māori for self-determination. With Governments’ recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi the state sector has, since the 1980s, consulted more readily with Māori on policy matters. As part of this move, schools and universities in the early 1990s, were legally required to have the Treaty of Waitangi in their charters. Although this requirement was removed soon after it was implemented, schools and universities continue to be required to acknowledge and work with their Māori communities\textsuperscript{34}. While the University’s charter contained recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1996\textsuperscript{35}, the UCSA’s charter did not. As far as Rangimārie was concerned not having the Treaty in the charter pointed to a conservative university (rather than a liberal one) that lacked the will to become bicultural. Rangimārie levels her criticism at students too. In a round about way she wonders where the radical students, who have historically championed the rights and freedoms of subordinate groups, have gone. In 1996 she saw little evidence of a radical student body ready to fight for the underdog. Although Dawn did not go to the AGM, she joined in the conversation with her explanation that the reluctance of the University to embrace things Māori reflected the conservative community within which it is located.

That the Treaty wasn’t in the Students’ Association constitution and that its inclusion is met with such resistance are both examples of the ways in which being Māori is an ongoing daily struggle against racism at a personal and institutional level for the students. I want to take a moment to consider the way in which the students express their experiences of racism. They appear reticent to directly name racism as something that happens to them, yet at the same time they tell plenty of stories of their encounters with racism. One example is Kāhu’s kōrero about the way Māori students were treated at the AGM. While he does not name what had happened as racism or the student perpetrators as racists Rangimārie does. Earlier, when she was talking about the monocultural nature of the University, she called these students ‘red-necks’ – slang for racists. Intrigued by this reluctance to name their world I went through all their transcripts to see how many times they used the words racism, racist or the term red-neck in their kōrero. Altogether, they used these words eight times throughout the time they were kaikōrero. It is not my intention to provide their kōrero here because they appear in other parts of this thesis. The exception to this is a conversation Māui and I had about an incident that happened in Christchurch involving a visiting South African rugby league player and the racial slurs he had made. Rather, my intention is to raise the point that the students while reluctant to name their world nevertheless describe it. Their reluctance mirrors the way in which we as a society seem to be at pains to not talk about, and therefore not acknowledge, the underlying dynamic of racism that is inextricably part of New Zealand; from the past to the present\textsuperscript{36}. Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley\textsuperscript{37} describe this shyness as
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuarua

being a problem of ‘politeness’. While there may be a danger of talking racism into existence, shying away from talking about it maintains the conditions for its continuation.

Kapa haka
A place in which Māori students are welcomed in the university is the kapa haka group – Te Roopū Kapa Haka o Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha. Coming under the umbrella of Te Akatoki it was another place for Māori students, although not exclusively for Māori or for students, to come together in a specifically Māori setting. My first introduction to the university kapa haka groups was in the mid 1980s, before I became a student. When I became a graduate student, ten years later, I joined again. Not just a place to learn waiata and haka, Te Akatoki is also a place to meet other Māori students. Where students can brush up on and extend their reo Māori skills, learn about iwi history through waiata, learn tikanga and most importantly where whanaungatanga is fostered. Kāhu, Tiaho, Hone, Dawn and Māui went along to see whether it was something that they wanted to become involved in, but only Māui ended up attending on a regular basis. Mārama wanted to join but didn’t end up going at all.

Dawn and Māui are the only mature students who were interested in going to kapa haka. This was something that was not discussed at our hui, rather it was something that we talked about when we met informally. My own participation in kapa haka, I am sure, helped our conversations because it was an interest that Māui and I shared, and one that Dawn was eager to share in too. On a regular basis she told me that she was keen to find out what kapa haka was all about. It was something she had never experienced before, and eventually she came along in her second year to see what it was all about. But unfortunately, work and study commitments made regular attendance difficult for her. Māui, on the other-hand, had a background in kapa haka – his mother was involved and he was involved both at school and when he lived at Rehua Māori Hostel. The comment below was the only comment he made about kapa haka in our hui.

Māui: I have always been involved in kapa haka. I did it at school and I go to kapa haka here. It takes about 2 hours a week out of my time, or family time or whatever.

Māui: Kōrero #2 17th July 1997

But I know, through our mutual involvement, how much he enjoyed kapa haka and how much he got out of it with regard to the whanaungatanga that it fostered between its members. It also helped him to hone his reo skills. Despite the difficulties he faced with his whānau he never gave up taking ‘time out’ for kapa haka. He might have missed a large number of lectures over the time he was a student but he rarely missed Wednesday night kapa haka practices. In stark contrast to the young students, kapa haka provided Māui a space in which he could be himself, that fed his spirit as well as his mind.

Like Māui, all the young students had been involved in kapa haka since they were young. When we came together for the last time in 1996 Mārama, Tiaho and Kāhu (Hone was not present) talked briefly about their experience of the
University’s kapa haka group. The story they told ended up being a story about cultural alienation.

Mārama: I was going to join the culture group with my sister and her boyfriend, but they didn’t want to go and then I felt stink joining by myself so I didn’t end up joining. I didn’t really get into the Māori stuff at uni much and that’s what I miss as well.

Tiaho: I went along a couple of times but there were a lot of things that were happening that really put me off so I ended up stopping. So culturally we were starving .. in a metaphorical kind of way. (laugh)

Kāhu: Choice. (laugh) I went along and I found I had to leave ... even with this new guy - he’s real cool and he does well for the group - but I know more than ... I don’t mean to say that in a bad way, but I know more than him. I don’t say I could take it better and all that... it’s kind of sad to me. Even like, some of the stuff... I know what I’ve been taught and it is like I am so young, you know, and here are these people teaching people things wrong. I wouldn’t say that because that’s pretty rude. I mean, he’s doing them a favour but... it kind of puts you off.

Hazel: So how did you deal with that?

Kāhu: I don’t know.

Mārama: Handle!

Kāhu: Yeh, handle. Just keep your mouth shut and plod on, but you do get disheartened.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #5, 8th November 1996

Mārama began the kōrero by telling us how she was interested in joining kapa haka but was too whakamā to go on her own. Despite wanting to be involved feeling whakamā over-rodte her desire to be part of a world that she missed.

Tiaho went to kapa haka a ‘couple of times’, but didn’t like what was happening so she stopped going despite acknowledging the cultural gap that doing so left. She likened the gap that it left to ‘starving’, which served to highlight the depth of her need, and the University’s inability to fill it. Kāhu, too, went along to kapa haka. But unlike Tiaho, who did not reveal the reasons she stopped going, he was at pains to explain why. Although he didn’t want to be, he was critical of what was taught at kapa haka and how it was taught. As he searched for a way to convey what he thought I could see that he did not want to whakaiti – belittle – the teacher or elevate – whakahihi – himself as the expert. When I asked him how he dealt with being put off, to begin with he didn’t know what to say. With a prompt from Mārama he told us that he handled it by keeping quiet and just getting on with his studies. But his last comment resonates with a sense of resignation to the ongoing alienation he felt. Two years later, at our last hui, Kāhu, recalling his kapa haka experiences, was more explicit about what it was that he didn’t like and why. The kapa haka group he told me was geared to ‘beginners’, rather than people like himself who had a background in kapa haka.

Kāhu: I was never like really into it. I pulled out of kapa haka and stuff cos I was getting bored, kind of. Like, there were perhaps only three or four people that had the same kind of background or the way of thinking as me. Most of the others were beginners and even though I tautoko their kaupapa I just got bored. Like, if you do kapa haka with beginners, and the same with the language, you just don’t learn. I wanted to be around people that were way better than me so that I could learn off them.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #5, 10th December 1998
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuarua

His criticism was one that had been levelled at the kapa haka group every year that I had been involved. The very nature of the university group means that every year large numbers of new students join up to become part of a smaller established group. The dilemma is that the beginners need to learn the rudiments of kapa haka as well as the group’s waiata and haka at the same time as the old members need new material to keep their interest up. In this situation, it is difficult to accommodate the needs of everyone. Although Kāhu knows that everyone starts out a beginner, he has come to university to be challenged and extended. However, his experience of kapa haka does not do this for him, and perhaps given the nature of the group it never could. Still, the alienation he expressed two years earlier remained etched in his kōrero.

Despite the lack of specifically Māori spaces on campus for students up until the ‘whare’ was opened at the beginning of 1998, the kaikōrero made use of what space was available. Te Ara Pounamu, Te Putairiki, the Te Akatoki office, kapa haka practices, and the teaching rooms not being used in the Māori Department were all spaces that the students used to meet and hang out with other Māori students. They were important places for the students as they symbolically represented spaces in which students could be themselves and where whanaungatanga was taken for granted. Some, like the practice space of kapa haka were ‘public’ spaces nevertheless they became Māori spaces when Māori students occupied them. However, whatever space the kaikōrero made their own, its particular backdrop was always one of struggle. Sometimes the struggles were overtly with Pākehā students, and the institution and sometimes between themselves. But whatever the struggle it was always within the frame of relationships that had been 160 years in the making.
End Notes

1 Ngai Tahu are the tangata whenua of most of Te Wai Pounamu – the South Island. As tangata whenua they are the people who have traditionally held mana whenua status or sovereign status over their land. And as part of their mana they determine what happens in their area with regard to pōwhiri. This right was exercised when they refused to allow the wero, which had been planned, to take place. The tikanga behind their refusal was that wero, as a manifestation of mana whenua status, is reserved for high ranking manuhiri on significant ceremonial occasions.

2 Manaaki Tauira is the grant scheme that was established under the Māori Education Fund to help support Māori students in their university study.

3 For the ten years before it was finally opened in 1998 Māori students had dreamed of having their own purpose built whare on campus. Te Akatoki worked to make it a reality. The University provided the land, which is across the road from the campus between the Ilam Playing Fields and the University Halls of residence, while the money to build it was given to Māori students by the Vice Chancellors Committee. At first Te Akatoki wanted to build a marae complex but this idea was not supported by Ngai Tahu. Instead, a study centre was built called Te Whare Akonga o Te Akatoki. In 1996 the dream was closer to becoming a reality.

4 KFC is the abbreviation for Kentucky Fried Chicken, a type of fast food.

5 Tuakana and teina are terms that articulate the relationship between senior and junior relations. Tuakana means the older sibling of a younger sibling of the same sex. A teina on the other hand means the younger sibling of an older sibling of the same sex. My tuākana (the plural of tuakana is indicated by the macron over the a), for example, are my two older sisters, while I am their teina. In a genealogical sense, tuakana also means senior descent lines and teina junior descent lines. Thus, rangatira and ariki are considered tuakana because their descent lines are closer to the atua. But, however the tuakana/teina relationship is expressed, it is expected that tuakana look after teina. Such a relationship is underscored by the notion of whanaungatanga.

6 While Mārama remains quiet through much of this kōrero I read her silence as tacit agreement with Kāhu and Hone. My reasons for making this assumption are based on, firstly, her contributions elsewhere where she has not agreed with what is being said, and secondly, the tenor of her kōrero, especially as it relates to her experiences at school. Ordinarily, in Māori settings silence generally means disagreement.

7 Te Ara was not part of the roopū rangahau but came with Māui to his first interview and rather than just sit there, he participated in the discussion. I have included his kōrero here because his experience of Māori Orientation was in contrast to the young students and provides a different view of orientation that I would not have otherwise had. For a similar reason I also include his comments in the next section on Te Ao Mārama – the ‘New Start’ programme for adult students. While Māui and Nuku attended Te Ao Mārama, their comments about
it were brief. It was Te Ara that provided some insight of the programme and the impact it had on him.

8 Since the completion of my research, changes to enrolment procedures have changed the whole process. Now it is held a week earlier and (I am told) with fewer queues as a telephone enrolment process has been adopted.

9 A state of being is all at once a feeling, an emotional state, a disposition, a subjective human response. It is not necessarily an internally driven state. It is as much (if not more) a response to an external situation which is internalised. Thus, it can have ongoing consequences.

10 Metge (1986)

11 Out in the courtyard of the Law building there is a large round mound of earth that is contained by a concrete wall. Facing the doors to the Law building there is a wooden bench seat partially set into the concrete wall. It was this bench seat that Dawn was sitting on as students came out of the building and sat around her – on the bench, the concrete wall and the grass behind her.

12 The meaning that Haami attached to the word ‘freaked’ is a colloquial expression similar to ‘freak out’ which means to have a strong emotional experience.

13 Being ‘stressed’, as Nuku used it, denoted a sense of mental stress caused by the academic demands he perceived were being made on him by the university. To be stressed is to be affected mentally by stress, which in turn causes distress. The resulting anxiety and anguish is also an outcome of feeling intimidated and frightened.

14 The University is “primarily concerned with more advanced learning” (University of Canterbury, 1992).

15 Graham Smith (1991) has written on the commodification of Māori knowledge and language since the reforms in education began in the late 1980s. With the distinctions between economic and educational policy dismantled the Government’s shift to neo-liberalism saw the radical transformation of educational provision. The market model, they argued, was just as applicable to schools and universities as it was to the economy. With a shift away from education being seen as a public good to being seen as a private good in which students stood to benefit, over recent years there have been successive increases in the amount a student pays to go to university. In this environment all students, the curriculum and university teachers have become commodities. Concerns around social justice and equity in this climate are not considered, as they have no relevance to the ‘real’ issue of efficiency, and inputs and outputs.

16 The University, then Canterbury College, gained from Ngai Tahu’s land alienation. Between 1844 and 1864 the bulk of Ngai Tahu’s land had been obtained by more foul means than fair. Amongst a range of injustices the schools, hospitals, urupa, reserves, and the retention of mahinga kai – food gathering sites – promised at the time the purchases were made, never eventuated (Evison & Tau, 1988; New Zealand Waitangi Tribunal, 1991). Thus Ngai Tahu were left virtually landless and destitute while Canterbury and its University flourished.

17 Since I have completed my research a relationship between Ngai Tahu and the University has been established. As yet, though, little has outwardly changed
apart from the University adopting Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha as its Māori name. What this might mean long term with regard to the establishment of a more bicultural institution is yet unknown, indeed if it is even on the drawing board. Concerns have, in line with the Governments ‘Bridging the Gaps’ policy, been solely around a change in participation and retention of Māori rather than structural changes to the way the University operates, what it teaches and how it teaches.

At this stage students are enrolled in Law, Arts, Science and Commerce degrees. By the time the closing date for making course changes comes round all but Nuku were enrolled in the BA programme.

Te Awaroa is the main teaching room in the Māori Department. The room is named after Te Awaroa Nepia who was instrumental in the establishment of the Department.

See for example students’ narratives in Māori Participation in Tertiary Education: Barriers and Strategies to Overcome Them (Jefferies, 1997), and Education and Identity (Fitzgerald, 1977).

Most of the first year class sizes in 1996 were large, between 200-400 students. Since the introduction of semesters and the abolition of foundation courses many first year classes have become smaller.

The style of teaching at university – the ‘lecture’ – provides no or little opportunity for students to engage in dialogue either amongst themselves or with the teacher. The lecture is an example of what Paulo Friere (1968) calls ‘the banking concept of education’. He likens education to banking – just as people deposit money in the bank, the function of the lecture is to deposit knowledge into the student. This type of teaching and learning shuts out the possibility of any meaningful debate occurring as the students are required to passively acquire the knowledge of the experts. In this environment it is difficult to get know one’s own ‘learner self’, let alone others. Friere is critical of the banking model of education because it serves to ‘domesticate’ students rather than encourage them to challenge what they are being taught. The more students work at memorising knowledge the less they are able to develop a critical consciousness in which they can transform their world. Although Friere’s writing resonates with meaning for me, as we will come to see in the next as well as the final part of this Upoko the University is not simply (or entirely) a vehicle of oppression. The students experience the University in contradictory ways. At the same time that they experience the oppressiveness of the institution, they also experience its liberatory potential.

See for example Sultan (1989), and the Mitchell’s work (1988).

Te Ara Pounamu was established to provide space for Māori and Pacific Island students in the Education Department. Under the leadership of Rose Parker – the Bicultural Studies Lecturer – Te Roopū Manaaki was set up in 1994 to provide academic and pastoral support for Māori and Pacific Island students. Te Ara Pounamu was part of that initiative as was the appointment of paid tutors to support the students. Helen Clothier, now a lecturer in the Education Department, was the first tutor in the programme. When she left, to complete her
PhD, I took over as tutor. Although Te Roopū Manaaki and the establishment of Te Ara Pounamu were Māori led initiatives the Department has supported them. Te Putairiki was established to support Māori students in their study within the Law faculty. An initiative driven by the students themselves, Te Putairiki has worked to provide not only tutorial support for fellow Māori Law students but also social and cultural support. In 1996 they successfully lobbied the Law faculty to set aside a room for their use.

26 Contributions to the group are not only material. For example, it would be expected that the rangatahi would ‘act respectfully, according to what the whānau holds to be the right ways, so that the mana of the whānau and of its tupuna is increased’. It was also expected that kaumataua would ‘provide guidance and an example to the next generation’ (Metge, 1995: 101).

I consider that this is an area for further research. I am unaware of any research that has looked at the issue of Māori Students’ Associations and the impact that they have had on students and vice versa. Indeed very little has been written about New Zealand student politics in general.

28 Annette Sykes is a Māori activist and lawyer who works for her people. Over the years and throughout the country, she and Mike Smith have conducted decolonisation hui for Māori. I have attended their hui in Christchurch and Wellington.

29 An expansion of this very brief definition can be found in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin’s (1998: 63) Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies. Decolonization is the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms. This includes dismantling the hidden aspects of those institutional and cultural forces that had maintained colonialist power and that remain after political independenc is achieved.

In the New Zealand context decolonisation is not only about the dismantling of colonial rule it is also about replacing it with Māori self-determination. Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi Māori have been engaging in decolonisation practices – from Hone Heke cutting down of the flag pole at Russell to the establishment of kaupapa Māori schooling options. Just as education plays a role in the colonisation of minds, so too it plays a role in the decolonising of minds. Through critical reflection the history of colonisation, the production of knowledge and practices that have constrained what we think and what we do, as individuals as well as communities, can be held up and scrutinised.

30 Pearsall (1995)
31 Stuart (1996).

32 The last time that I proof-read this Wāhanga I came across a letter to the editor in the local newspaper that encapsulates these sentiments. The letter, written out in full below, is a response to claims made that researchers are missing out on research funds because they do not take Māori into consideration in their projects. The writer considers that the Treaty of Waitangi and the industry that has grown up around it is the source of the problem.
Sir – Reading the recent letters to the editor, it would appear The Press could assist correspondents by publishing the Treaty of Waitangi in full.

My copy [of the Treaty of Waitangi] must be abbreviated, as I cannot locate the clause covering Māori input and approval for scientific research. Nor the clause that says that if Māori unable to cope with the mainstream health, educational, and welfare provision for all New Zealanders, they must have a second helping all for themselves.

Missing is also reference to the recently claimed ownership of fish, animals, all native plants, coal, and radio waves, etc. The signatories in 1840 were presumably full-blooded tribal Māoris. How can compensation be claimed by the much diluted blood of one-16th or one-23rd “Māori”. For these people to claim they have been wronged is pure and simple nonsense. They are simply tongue-in-cheek claims for freebies. This lucrative treaty industry should be abandoned.


33 O’Reilly (1991)
36 The Treaty of Waitangi is in the University’s charter but its location within the statement on equality and the general nature of its wording undermines any proactive commitment to biculturalism. However, as I have already pointed out, since the completion of my research the University has signed a Memorandum of Agreement with Ngāi Tahu. Perhaps, as the relationship develops a more bicultural university will develop also.
38 There are numerous styles of waiata or song. Waiata-ā-ringa and poi are standard components of a kapa haka repertoire. So too are waiata tawhito. There are many different types of waiata tawhito (see Ngata (1959; 1990; 1961), Royal (1994),Te Reo Rangatira Trust (1998)). Charles Royal (1994) beautifully describes the way in which waiata tawhito are windows into the old world in which one can sense the way tupuna Māori saw their world.

227
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatoru

BECOMING STUDENTS

Mere walks up to the doors and pauses, and wonders whether it is the right room. She opens one of the doors and tentatively peers round it. About half the lecture hall is full already and she searches for something that would tell her that she is at the right place. There is nothing, the room is devoid of... well anything really. She looks at the students already seated, hoping for a sign that tells her they are 'psych students' like herself. All she notices is that there aren't any 'brown' faces in the room. As a student brushes past her she asks him whether this is Psyc104. She takes his grunt as being a yes and follows him into the room and up the aisle. All the seats close to the aisle have been taken. Catching herself thinking that the students haven’t been brought up to consider others, memories of home flood her conscious. She smiles as she thinks about what her Nanny would say. Boy, if she ever sat at the end of a table when there were empty seats between her and others her Nanny would give her a good growling. Already she is halfway up the aisle and really doesn’t want to go any farther, so she scrambles past a couple of students and finds herself a seat in the middle of the room. By the time the lecture begins the room is full to overflowing. She looks around and feels like a fish out of water. Half way through the lecture Mere is getting hoha with the some of the students around her. She doesn’t feel like she can tell them to be quiet so instead puts up with it and makes a mental note to sit closer to the front next time. When the lecture is almost over the lecturer asks the large class if they have any questions. Mere wants to stand and ask where the Māori content of the course is but she is too whakamā. Perhaps if her friend Robyn was with her she would. Doubts about what she has let herself in for creep back into her head.

Two months later Mere is tackling her first essay. As she and another student sit in the café talking about the essay she begins to wonder whether she has got what it takes to be a student. Paula seems to know what she is talking about. Mere has ideas but when she begins to try and write or speak them they disappear right out of her head. It’s due in a week’s time and all she has for the study she has done is a mass of highlighted photocopied notes and some scribbled comments. Paula whips out her draft essay. It looks flash and Mere feels herself getting smaller and smaller inside. She asks Paula about using computers. ‘Come on,’ says Paula, ‘I wouldn’t mind checking my emails.’ After many hours and lots of frustration Mere has finished her essay. It is four pages and 1371 words long. It is a bit on the long side but she doesn’t care. Better too long than too short. Right now the important thing is that she has finished. With two hours to spare Mere is feeling pleased with herself. It looks every bit as flash as Paula’s. A little bubble of satisfaction begins to rise, but is quickly burst by her anxiety about how good, in reality, it is. She can’t quite bring herself to hand it in just in case she thinks of something else to say. Finally, after walking around for an hour with it in her hand she takes a deep breath and puts it in the slot. Instead of feeling relieved, satisfied or pleased with herself she walks away feeling anxious. What if the lecturer doesn’t like what she has written. What if she has spent too much time focussing on Māori issues, what if she hasn’t understood the questions properly? What if?
Mere does not exist, at least the one in this story, nevertheless there is a familiarity about her that the kaikōrero (and many other students including myself) would identify with. But that is hardly surprising because she is a composite character constructed out of the students’ stories about their experiences in the classroom. Encountering the university classroom for the first time is daunting for most students. The size of the classes, the way they are taught, the ‘alien language’, the readings, the essays, the exams and the other students can all be intimidating, especially for students who feel that they do not belong, who began their university studies already marginalised learners. By now we have a sense of the alienation Māui, Haami, Mārama, Hone, Kāhu, Tiaho, Dawn, Nuku, Rangimārie felt in their encounters with the University. At times it seemed that the cultural mismatch between them and the University was almost insurmountable. Yet, despite the marginalisation they felt, and continued to feel in the classroom they were not deterred from fulfilling their dreams and becoming successful students. This wāhanga is about their experiences in the university classroom and the impact that it has on their sense of being Māori. In doing so it also includes a section on the students’ encounters in the Māori Department.

**Encountering the classroom**

The culture of the University’s classroom, like that of other universities in New Zealand have their origins in Europe. When Rangimārie talked about the culture of the university being stamped on the ground of the local people in the last Wāhanga she had in mind English colonial culture. However the higher education traditions that the settlers imported were not originally of English origin. Perhaps she would be surprised to know that the culture of the classrooms that she encountered had their origins in medieval Europe. What we have come to know as the traditions of the university such as the ideas of degrees, courses of study, subjects to choose from, the lecture, examinations, divisions between faculties, qualified lecturers, the text book and the canon have all been ‘handed down in unbroken continuity’ from medieval times. The traditions that were ‘stamped on the ground’, therefore, had been a long time in the making. (Although to put it into perspective, by the time universities such as Oxford had begun evolving in the 12th century, Māori had begun settling Aotearoa and establishing their own institution of higher learning, the whare wānanga.) Inextricably coupled with colonial dominance the imported university easily became the model for higher learning in the new colony. Whilst the university’s monopoly on being a degree granting institution no longer exists, and while the institutional culture has been challenged in recent years the culture of the classroom, nevertheless, remains relatively unchanged over the centuries. What moves there have been to more democratic and interactive classrooms have been piecemeal. In their kōrero below the students reveal encounters with traditional classrooms in which the student is a passive receptacle, as well as encounters that actively engage their imagination.
Large classes and silencing

First year classes are usually large and initially daunt most first year students. But for the kaikōrero, the size and impersonal nature of classes compound their anxieties that come from being new and being Māori. Kāhu and Hone talk about the effect that large classes have on them.

Kāhu: Everyone, like walks in and sits down.

Hone: That’s right, it is really impersonal, ah. I thought, like, after going to lectures I thought I’d fit in to the tuts [tutorials] – you know where you get to talk and that. I got a shock.

Kāhu: Like the only time you’re really allowed to voice your opinion is like when there are 500 hundred people and you’re too scared to say something.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #1, 17th July 1996

Kāhu and Hone found their initial classes intimidating. To begin with I thought the anxiety and isolation that they both felt was due to the size of their classes. While Kāhu’s classes were large, they were not as large as he thought. That he thought that they were only served to highlight just how isolated he was feeling. Then there was Hone’s kōrero. Clearly, Hone felt just as out of place at his tutorials as he did in his large classes despite fewer students and smaller classes. As a result of feeling that they didn’t fit they were both too whakamā to speak. As I sat and thought about the way that both these young students were silenced, I began to wonder whether their silence was partly due to the pervasive silence that marks most large classes. To start with lecture theatres are imposing, stark buildings that are not designed for interaction between students or between students and teacher. Then there is lecture style of teaching that forecloses any interaction between the teacher and his or her students. Together they demarcate clearly defined spaces for both the student and the teacher. In doing so students are not encouraged to participate in their learning, and teachers are not encouraged to relinquish their position of authority. Given the importance that these two students attached to establishing and maintaining relationships (for example, their expectations of Māori Orientation) their experiences of the university classroom must have deepened the alienation that they already felt.

Māui, too, shared his experience about feeling whakamā in his classes. But for Māui, the origin of his ‘shyness’ was not so much to do with the size of his classes or the way that they were structured, it was more a case of not having confidence in his ability. I suspect that his schooling experiences after 14 years continued to affect how he saw himself as a learner. But then, as you will see later on in this wāhanga, Māui’s lack of confidence continued to dog him and consequently his study.

Māui: I’m a bit shy to ask questions just in case he [the lecturer] goes, ‘Oh that’s a dumb question’. And yet, you hear these other people – they’re usually the same people that ask the questions. I actually felt the courage to ask a question, I had a really good question, at the last 104 lecture, no the one before the essay writing one. I had this awesome question to ask and I was about to raise my hand and ask it, and then someone else asked it, exactly, or nearly the exact question, bugger! (laughter) It was an awesome question ah.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatoru

It was the most awesomess question I was going to ask and yet someone else asked it.

(laughter)

Dawn: It must’ve really peed you off.

Māui: I thought it was original, I mean everyone was asking these question and I had the most original question to ask and I was just about to ask because he paused – the opportunity was there – I was just about to raise my hand and ask, ‘Do you think...’

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

Whatever its origin, being whakamā in the classroom stopped the students from asking questions and engaging in class discussions. With a simple reading of this it would be tempting to write these students off as potential dropouts. Although the students might not have taken part in classroom discussions, it was a different story outside of them. Right from the beginning, when we began to meet, the students were critically reflecting on what was going on for them in the classroom. They talked about the way different lecturers approached their teaching. And based on their experiences, they had very definite ideas about what constituted effective teaching and what didn’t.

Māui: Man, I’ve only been going to uni for a couple of months and already I’m having this opinion about lectures and that! Different lecturers approach the subject differently ah. I mean they approach their methods differently. Like John will write everything on the board – no overheads – all the headlines on the board and then talks about it for the rest of the lecture. Like it takes 5 to 6 minutes to write it out on the board and then he just discusses everything in depth. And like, Arthur Scott he puts everything on overhead and then he discusses everything, but you can write what is on the overhead and then if you do it quick enough you can sit back and listen to him. Then there is Māori. I’m not very happy there with Contemporary Māori, because there is no flair in what Rangi is saying. You get bored easy and you sort of lapse into thinking about different things. He goes almost verbatim on ‘Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou’, the text. He’ll be finished the book in a couple of lectures I think, if he had his way.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

Good teachers

Māui continued to talk about his teachers. Showing the same critical reflection that he used to talk about his high school teachers, he had definite ideas on what constituted a good teacher. ‘Good’ lecturers, Māui went on to tell us, were teachers that showed enthusiasm for their subject, knew their subject and who got involved in their teaching.

Māui: I think it is because like some lecturers are good like John Chapman. He just involves himself in what he is talking about, ah. You know he knows what he is talking about because he just gets right involved in it and he doesn’t hesitate. He only hesitates when he is expecting a response or he’s thinking. It’s like, like he’s got a suction cup on his hand or something and he’s pulling [his ideas] out of his head and then he just talks. Some things he writes on the board even when he’s having trouble spelling the words. Like he would write it down, and then he would say ‘is that right, is that how you spell
It? So everyone looks at it - you know strategically – and then, ‘Okay that’s fine’ and then he will go on and talk about it.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

What fascinated me with Māui’s kōrero was his insightful reflection of his teachers’ lecturing style. Sixteen years ago I was a student in John’s class and at the time, I just accepted that he was a poor speller as he bumbled his way through spelling words. It was encouraging for us ‘mere’ students who struggled with spelling too. It had the effect of breaking down the distance that usually existed between lecturer and students. I was surprised to find that John still couldn’t spell words like sociology, after 16 years I would have expected his spelling to have improved. However, through Māui’s kōrero I came to see John’s poor spelling differently. Perhaps John was not the poor speller he made himself out to be. Perhaps he had found a way of teaching that worked for him, that strategically capitalised on his ‘poor spelling’ to emphasise the points he considered to be important.

Tiaho, Hone and Kāhu also talked about what they considered to be good teachers. Through their kōrero, about a course in the American Studies Department, they indicated that good teachers were teachers that made connections between theory and practice. Connections that they each were able to understand and connect to their own lived reality.

Tiaho: That’s good, the lecturers good and we can relate with some of things that happened in America because it is similar to what has happened here, in our own home.

Hone: I think she would be a better teacher of Māori.

Kāhu: Because whenever she’s doing a lecture, she points out the similarities between what happened here and what happened in America.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #1, 17th July 1996

Although only brief, it is a kōrero that is packed with significance. Implicit in Hone’s short kōrero is a critique of the Māori Department teachers. Quite clearly they had expectations that a good ‘Māori’ teacher engaged them and like their American Studies counterparts made connections between the students’ lives and what they were teaching. Their kōrero is fascinating because at the same time that they were critical of the Māori Department for not having enough Māori teachers they were also suggesting that an American woman would make a better teacher of Māori. At a deeper level their kōrero was also a critique of educational provision since the 1970s that has had an ‘add Māori’ approach to meeting the needs of Māori students in the classroom. Being a good teacher is not just about adding Māori content to the curriculum, it is about teaching it in ways that connects with students’ lives.

Kāhu’s experience the following year, in another course in the American Studies Department expanded on what constitutes a good teacher – one who is able to make connections not just between theory and practice but also between teacher and student. Kāhu’s enjoyment of this class was apparent not only by what he
told me but also in the animated way he told me. Later in our hui he described the course as ‘awesome’. Rare praise, indeed, from a student who was critical of the university.

Kāhu: I’ve written, like every week or every couple of weeks, a page in a journal. Often it will be writing about a movie I have seen, sometimes about a book we have to read – sometimes we have to read a book and then write about it. Then, in class, we talk about the issues and analyse them. Sometimes he will just come up with just a, ‘What do you think about affirmative action or this, or this?’ I find it really good, it is just like talking. You know you are just writing what you feel, but it makes you think about things a lot more, especially with film… When we started he asked us to write about our experiences of race. You know I would be really interested to know what others put. I talked a lot about my grandmothers wedding and how she married a red-neck – a racist – and the troubles we had with that. I find it really interesting talking to him [the lecturer] ‘cos he is an outsider and people have said to him, ‘Māoris are okay, but never hang out with one, or go out with one, or never marry one’. So he hears all these things I would never hear. I don’t know, it is really amazing hearing things that people have told him.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #4, 17th July 1997

I consider there are several reasons why Kāhu enjoyed this teacher’s class. It was evident that not only was the teacher interested in his students, he was genuinely interested in what they had to say. By talking with them rather than at them, he engaged the students in critical dialogue. In doing so he wasn’t telling the students how to be critical thinkers, rather he was encouraging their participation in critical thinking. One of the ways that he did this was through requiring his students to write a journal. Kāhu liked writing in his journal; to him it was ‘just like talking’. When I was reflecting on this, it struck me that one of the reasons why Kāhu was so taken with this teacher’s class was because of his dialogical approach – even the journal writing was seen in this context. Talking, telling stories, acknowledging emotions were all part of this teacher’s practice just as it is also a part of Māori cultural practice. Kāhu found in this teacher someone he could relate to. And it showed, as Kāhu was interested in what he had had to say both in class and outside. In particular Kāhu was fascinated to hear the lecturer’s stories about his experiences as an American living in New Zealand and the racism that he was exposed to. Racism not directed at himself, as a black American, but at Māori. Like Kāhu, I too am fascinated with the way this lecturer, as an outsider, was seen by Pākehā to be a potential ally against Māori.

Another teacher that was inspirational for the Māori students that attended her class was Rose Parker. A year after Rangimārie left University she reflected on her experiences in Rose’s class. For the first time in her life she had been given ways to look at the world and understand herself and her place in it – and after thirty years of living it was finally making sense to her. Rose enabled Rangimārie to make connections between theory and her lived reality.

Rangimārie: Yeh, I found like you know those ones that I went to of Roses, I mean, I thought my life was just ordinary you know… ah... But through different things that
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatoru

Rose taught it made me understand why my life was the way it was. You know when you talked about urbanisation, colonisation and uni educational chances, you know, it all made sense. I suppose it made me more aware of that I was just one of many that went through that – pepper-potting and things like that.

Rangimārie: Kōrero #1, 7th September 1997

Rose, was also my teacher, and she had a similar effect on me when I first had her as a teacher (see Upoko Tuawhā). She taught Māori education from a pro-Māori stance that enthralled Māori students and turned off (some) Pākehā students. It wasn’t just the content of Rose’s class that engaged her students, it was also how she taught, and the support she gave to her students outside of the classroom.

Poor teachers
While the students talked about their experiences of what constituted a good teacher and good teaching practice, they also experienced teachers who did not engage them and who they considered to be poor teachers. Poor teachers, according to Māui were teachers who taught from a book. Nuku agreed with that and went on to talk about the boring teachers he had. Monotone, standing still, reading from a book, not asking questions and not encouraging class participation made for a ‘terrible’ teacher as far as Nuku was concerned. Nuku put his lecturer’s poor presentations down to the technical nature of what he was teaching.

Nuku: In Māori the lecturer just stands there and talks, and in my other ones [Science and Commerce papers] the lecturers are all over the board, and they’re going – do this here, do this there sort of thing. But the first guy we had lecturing for Computers was really, really boring. People were falling asleep. It was really monotone and he didn’t get class participation, didn’t ask questions, he was terrible. I just put it down to computers because they are quite a hard thing to teach really - to get enthusiasm going for it. And we’ve got another teacher who has just started in the last two weeks, I can’t remember his name now, but he’s a bit better cos he gets more involved. He’s sort of, like, started going towards that sort of boring – I just think it is computers. I think most lecturers would have a hard time teaching it because it’s really very detailed.

Ngā Tītīpounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

Māui and Dawn, on the other hand, experienced a teacher who was too vague, yet at the same time swamped them with too much information. Given that the teacher was only teaching one section in a foundational course, they were critical of the amount of work that the teacher expected of them, especially as she did not give them any clear guidance that helped them make sense of it.

Māui: It was interesting, it wasn’t so much just learning about rubbish – recycling of rubbish or whatever – it was actually to do with social aspects of why we have rubbish and why we have global warming. It is not so much that these things are happening, it is why they are happening. I find that pretty interesting. But then the next topic I found that pretty difficult to grasp because I thought the lectures were very vague.

Dawn: So much of it was so vague that we had to go fishing around for what she wanted.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatoru

Māui: Well she gave us handouts, and like her handouts were, like, [Education] 104 altogether. I think she expected the onus to be put on us to find all the information and not be able to have key points.

Dawn: And forgetting that it was a 6 point paper.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

Then there was the teacher who was poorly organised. In 1996 several of the kaikōrero (all the young ones and Rangimārie) enrolled in the same second half of the year paper. It was a course that they had all looked forward to doing. However, soon after the course started they began to tell me about the way it was poorly organised. For the most part, much of the kōrero that I had with the students on this occurred outside of our formal hui. Only Rangimārie and Kāhu talked about their experiences in hui. When I asked the mature students if they had anything else to say at the end of our last hui for the year, Rangimārie began to tell us all about her experiences in this class. As far as Rangimārie was concerned she had been set up to fail.

Rangimārie: Oh it is really interesting, I sort of felt from the start that I was set up to fail.

Dawn: What was that about?

Rangimārie: Just the way everything... we had slides but our slide sheet either didn’t correspond to the slides or we’d get no slide sheet. Then there was the reading material. Yes well, we had this book, the book that was supplied by the Department – it was $35. There were 50 of us but only 30 books at tops were printed so it was first in first serve. A lot of us... well we had the opportunity at the beginning of the year to get it, but I mean who has $35 to buy a book right then until you actually go to the course and start it. Then it meant that 20 of us didn’t have the book. So while he was doing a lecture he’d refer to the readings ... and we couldn’t get the book anywhere else. But um, I enjoyed the course you know...

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #3, 16th September 1996

When Dawn asked Rangimārie what she was talking about, Rangimārie almost didn’t know where to begin. Unfortunately, the tape ended before she had finished her kōrero, but she continued to talk anyway. Despite the fact that 20 of the students did not have the book, the first piece of assessment was an open book test – automatically disadvantaging the 20 students who did not have it. Rangimārie considered that Māori students like herself, were particularly disadvantaged because they were the ones that could not afford the book in the beginning. In attempting to correct the unfair advantage of those students that did have the book, the lecturer offered the students (who didn’t) the opportunity to re-sit the test. Then, when only three people turned up all of the students enrolled in the course were given the choice of re-sitting the test again or taking a special consideration. This was too much for Rangimārie and she dropped out. But despite the disorganisation, Rangimārie enjoyed the content of the course.

Kāhu enjoyed the paper too; it was a subject that he ‘loved’, which he had had a long standing interest in. But he too was critical, especially of the teacher’s
assessment procedures. Because this was a topic that he ‘loved’, he wanted to do well in it. However, when he got back his marks for the first essay, he felt that he didn’t do as well as he should have. He considered that the grades that he had been given did not reflect the depth of knowledge he already had, nor the work that he had put into his essays.

Kāhu: I just got hoha with him. I got really hoha because you know I’ve got a lot of experience in the subject and I’d do what I thought were, really good essays for a stink question and I’d get like a B+. He wouldn’t say what was wrong and he couldn’t tell me what I had done wrong. I’d read other peoples essays – there was only one other person who I thought was roughly on the same level as me, and I’d read hers and I’d think mine was better. Not trying to be arrogant or something, but you know, I put a lot work in and I’d get good marks but not as good as I’d hoped, and like he couldn’t tell me why – which annoyed me. I was a little bit frustrated with that. Yeh, I love the subject and that’s why I worked really hard. I liked New Zealand history. I found that was really good, then again it was constructive. I don’t mind getting slammed as long as they tell me what I am doing wrong. They were saying I was doing this and this wrong. I also got good marks from them as well so that was really good.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #4, 17th July 1997

The source of Kāhu’s criticism was not that he did not do as well as he wanted, rather it was the frustration of not being given the information he needed to improve on what he was doing. Kāhu came to university to be challenged and to be extended. Throughout his kōrero over the three years we met, he talked about the desire to learn and to grow. He identifies in this kōrero the frustration of not being given the opportunity to do so.

Getting his own back: strategies for success
At the end of his final year, when he was reflecting on what had influenced his success as a student Kāhu talked, among other things, about his first year tutorial experience.

Kāhu: I just wanted to do well and I think it was more like... when I first went to the [Law] ‘tuts’ I felt real stupid. Like people laughed at me and it did head things – I would say something and they would crack up and I would feel real stink and I suppose to me it was like getting my own back... I can do this I’m not going to fail... I am going to kick your arse and get a better grade... whatever, and so I just worked hard cos I didn’t want to fail.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #4, 10th December 1998

Being laughed at and made to ‘feel stink’ or whakamā was a spur for Kāhu to do well and ‘get his own back’ on those who had laughed at him. However, at the time, those experiences, as well as others he had, almost had the opposite effect. By the end of his first term at University, Kāhu was ready to leave and it was only through the intervention of his parents, his father in particular, that he stayed. He remained a student and in the process dropped Law, picked up other papers to replace it and persevered. By the end of the year he was on an A-grade point average and well and truly able to get his own back.
Getting his own back can be understood to be a strategy that Kāhu employed to survive the institution. Paradoxically his resistance to the alienation he felt was to work even harder. But then, he also employed another strategy to ensure his safety on campus. Whereas the mature students organised themselves into study groups and actively established relationships based on whanaungatanga, Kāhu and the other young students simply did not go to all their lectures, choosing instead to spend as little time as possible on campus. In 1997, Kāhu talked about only going to a couple of lectures – the ones that he enjoyed.

**Kāhu:** I only go to a couple of lectures – I can choose which ones I have to go to so I just go to those and my American Studies which I really enjoy. That class is awesome. I do a lot of writing for that, journals and stuff. I work quite hard but I find it really good. I just find it amazing ‘cos it is just teaching us to analyse and stuff.

*Ngā Korimako: Hui #4, 17th July 1997*

In 1998 when we met for the last time, he elaborated on how he managed to do the work in the courses he did not attend.

**Hazel:** Were you saying that you didn’t go to a lot of your Anthropology classes?

**Kāhu:** I didn’t go to any classes – at all. I only went to Mark’s ones.

**Hazel:** Why didn’t you go?

**Kāhu:** Oh, they were a waste of time really. I worked out a system that was good for me anyway. I couldn’t be bothered going. If I went to Māori, I wouldn’t try and be disruptive or anything, but I would just get so bored.

**Hazel:** Was this your language paper?

**Kāhu:** Yeh, and in all my other papers. Like you know how people write notes, I just don’t do that. I just got bored. I found that I could just get an essay question and skim the books and do my research and concentrate more on the assessment side of stuff than going to lectures. I found that worked really good for me ... whatever the assessment was I would just go home and do that and not worry about going to class. I did it like that last year too. Māori classes weren’t so bad I mean I still found them boring. I really only went to Māori oral classes ‘cos I enjoyed them. There were debates going on and if you had a question you could just blurt it out. I just found it really interesting. I would go there just for the fun of being there. I didn’t get that out of any of my other [Māori] papers.

*Ngā Korimako: Hui #4, 10th December 1998*

While it may be attempting to understand Kāhu’s strategy of not going to class as a form of disengagement from his study, I think it is much more complex an issue than that. Kāhu had found a way to resist the University in ways that also enabled him to engage in it and do what was required of him in order to succeed. And he did it well. Moreover, his voluntary removal from his classes could also be understood to be the ultimate act of silencing. Not the silence that comes from being complicit in ones own subordination, rather the opposite. Invoking a Māori strategy of silence that comes from a position of power, Kāhu’s absence reflects his disapproval of what went on in them.\(^4\)
Working at Being a Student

Assignments and assessments
Although Kāhu did not attend his classes he did what each of his classes required of him. In his own words he ‘concentrated on the assessment side’ of his courses. He made it sound easy, but initially it was anything but when he first encountered university and its culture.

Kāhu: I had a real bad start with Law. I just got Es ah, and I didn’t know what to do. I missed so much that I just sort of got put off. I didn’t like it here. I felt stupid. I’d go to a class and not understand what they are talking about well I sort of did but ...In the holidays my Dad said, ‘Oh what are you going to do. You can either like go hard out with Law and try and just get a C or you can quit and pick up something else’. And so I quit and I picked up American Studies and a History paper. He sort of challenged me so yeh I made a fresh start and went to all my lectures and did my first essay and got a good grade and that was it. It was like that one grade, an A-. I went, ‘Well if I can get an A- and it is the first essay I have ever done then at least shows that I can do it. But I still don’t feel like I belong. It’s just like, when Dad said to challenge I thought, ‘Oh yeh’. I want to get it now so I can turn around and say, ‘Na, na, na I got it!’

Ngā Korimako: Hui #2, 2nd October 1996

Only when Kāhu realised he could do it, did his confidence return. By his third year he had found ways to negotiate the University, mostly on his own terms. Furthermore, he was exploring ways to express himself outside of the academic framework. In our hui together Kāhu talked about his experience.

Kāhu: I suppose with the research paper and Mark’s, I was allowed to think and put down my own stuff instead of referencing every one else’s. And that’s kind of what I did. I got sick of the usual stuff. I just wanted to say what I thought, but I got told off for it (laugh). Yeh they said, like they were good but I was slammed because I didn’t reference enough books... The first essay I did for Mark was a really good one. He called me in and asked me what was going on. I wrote a 3000 word essay and I didn’t have one footnote or reference – no books – in it, I just wrote it off the top of my head. He blew me up (laugh). He thought I was lying, that I had copied it. So he grilled me for about an hour and asked me all these questions. It just cracked me up, like ‘specially the Māori stuff, you know, you just know it. You can’t say, ‘Oh I learnt this from this and I got this out of this, this is the story so and so.’

Hazel: So how did he accept it?
Kāhu: Yeh, he was really cool. The thing was that he thought I’d lied, you know that I had copied it (laugh). And he said, ‘Look just do footnotes’ and so the next one I did, I did footnotes.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #5, 10th December 1998

In this kōrero Kāhu brings to the fore a fundamental tension between the academe, its academic requirements and underlying values, and what constitutes valid knowledge and publication in the Māori world. It is a tension that I am only too aware of, and one I continue to grapple with as I write this thesis. The stories that Kāhu has heard since he was a baby have become an integral part of
him. When he wrote his essay for Mark, ‘the sources’ of his knowledge had become so embedded in him that he was unable to directly pin down where they had come from. Had he been able to point to his Koro or his Nana, or Aunty as the source of his information unless their work had been published in a journal, preferably a peer reviewed one, they probably would not have been accepted. For the academe, especially the established canon, determines a texts legitimacy\textsuperscript{15}. With whakapapa, Māori, too, have their own system of determining the legitimacy of ‘texts’. One only has to listen to the whai-kōrero that occurs on the paepae of the marae to get a sense of the way whakapapa is ‘published’ and ‘accepted’ or ‘challenged’, or be witness to people pouring over each other’s whakapapa to verify (or not) their connections\textsuperscript{16}. However such mechanisms for determining the validity of whakapapa remains outside of what is counted as valid in the academe.

**Work, whānau and study**
While Kāhu’s confidence had grown with each year he was at university Māui’s had shrunken. In his first year Māui, as were all the kaikōrero, was apprehensive about his work. Although, by his own admission, he was not spending the time he needed to on his study he ‘careered’ from one assignment to the next.

**Hazel:** You’ve gone through two terms now.

**Māui:** More like two years! It’s frightening and even now it is still scary. I’m worried about the third term. Um, I think I have been a bit too complacent with my work. How I got through I don’t know. It has been nerve wracking, especially with these essays and tests and that. And I am really nervous, and I am just glad that half the year is over. I can’t wait till the Christmas holidays. I have a test and I don’t care what I get, I just want to get it out of the way. When I’m doing an essay, and I know I’ve got heaps of time, that’s okay. But when I give myself – and it is myself – if I give myself two weeks to do an essay or like two weeks to cram for my test, oh man! I just got to do it to get it out the way and then I can hand in an essay. And then, when I finally start working on it I start thinking that it isn’t right, I get really particular. Then when it is over and I have handed it in, I am happy as Larry.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996

Two years later, Māui was still careering from one assignment to the next. Work and whānau commitments continued to make it difficult for him to find the time and the energy for study. His confidence as a student was at an all time low.

**Māui:** Confidence is a major thing – it is a major aspect – just getting the confidence to go up and say, ‘Hey I am having problems.’ I mean that takes a lot for me to do, ‘cos I am not that sort of person. It is not so much admitting that I have a problem but it is more like you know confronting these people. I went up to my lecturer and he says, ‘Okay you can have a weeks extension’. ‘All right you’re the man’. But I wasn’t asking for a week’s extension, I just wanted to understand what it was that I was supposed to be doing. Even so it took a lot of courage to do that, and it will take a lot of courage, confidence to do it again tomorrow... Last year I found that I was failing. I felt such a failure - at home and here – I was failing everywhere... and one thing I didn’t want to do was to give it all up.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatoru

Because I have done that in the past you know. It may sound cliched but I didn’t want to quit, I didn’t want to be a quitter. I didn’t want to do that, it wouldn’t look good for my kids. Like, if my son or my daughter saw me quitting... I want to show them that it is okay to take a little bit longer than I wanted to, but I have stuck with it and I have got my degree.

Hazel: So is this about maintaining your mana?
Māui: For sure, its mana in myself and its mana for my kids to see, for Raukura. It is not so much that I want her to be proud of me, it is just that I don’t want her to see me as a quitter – someone who just gave up.

Māui: Kōrero #3, 25th May 1998

In his third year Māui had enrolled as a part-time student so that he could spend time with his whānau, earn some money as well as continue to study. He was determined not to quit. But not long after that he made the decision to leave university. His decision to leave was for him, at that time, the hardest decision he had to make but it was also the best decision given his circumstances. There are several issues in Māui’s kōrero that I want to briefly pick up on, that contributed to the situation that he found himself in. Although Māui finally plucked up the courage to go to his lecturer for help, the help that he wanted was not forthcoming. Māui didn’t need an extension, it ended up creating more stress as a backlog of assignments began to develop, what he needed was some guidance on what he was supposed to be doing. A week’s extension under the circumstances was not at all helpful. Māui’s experience brings into sharp relief the impersonal and distanced relationship the University has with its students, especially those students who have commitments outside of the University and needs beyond the classroom. Māui’s kōrero in 1998 is steeped in pain. There had been a marked shift in the mood of his kōrero, from when we first met to when we met in 1998. The pressure to be a successful student, father and husband became a terrible burden for him. He saw ‘not quitting’ as a way to maintain some control over his life, yet ironically it caused insurmountable difficulties for him. While his lecturer gave him an extension it were other Māori students who endeavoured to support him through his difficulties. I frequently saw Māui over this time. He would come and sit in my office and talk. Almost daily, I heard his kōrero about leaving, about staying, about being desperately unhappy. The moment that he finally made the decision to leave he felt an enormous relief. As far as I was concerned Māui’s decision to leave was not about being a ‘quitter’. Rather, in ‘quitting’ he was able to retrieve the dreams that first brought him to university, but had been forgotten in his struggles.

Success and the fear of failing
On reflection of her year at university Rangimārie talked about needing balance in her life to be a successful student.

Rangimārie: I had to try and find a balance in my personal life as well as family life. You see I was still afraid of failure and although I passed university, I think with an A- average or something like that, I was still afraid of failure. There was so much of my own physical input that I had to put in, and the money and the cost it was to the
whole family I just couldn’t, I just couldn’t afford to fail. And, I never got over feeling afraid of it. So I decided that Polytech would be better than university because it didn’t take so much to be successful.

Hazel: And has that been the reality?
Rangimārie: Yeh, yeh. You know I had a lot of self-doubt last year too. Was I going to pass that exam or not? I needed to know that just by going to university for a year was a success. I mean, I can say that now at the end of the day (laugh) but then… The only other thing I found at university, was when it came to exams, even though for the last hundred years we have been educated within Pākehā schools we are still an oral people. I found that, the University wasn’t catering for us when it came to exams.

Rangimarie: Kōrero #1, 7th September 1997

Despite getting grades that indicated that she was anything but failing, Rangimārie nevertheless could not get over her fear of failing. Exams were particularly daunting for her. However, her marks showed that while she might have been anxious about sitting exams it did not affect her grades. And went on to affect the decision she made at the end of her first year to only study at the Polytech. While exams are daunting for most students Rangimārie made the point that they are especially so for Māori students given that Māori, despite the past one hundred years, continue to be an oral people. In arguing that exams do not cater for Māori students she was critical of the University’s reliance on written exams to assess its students. Read with her kōrero elsewhere, it is a critique of the University’s lack of will to walk its bicultural talk. While the University has been working at increasing Māori participation at the same time it has not made any changes to the way it operates that reflect Māori cultural and learning practices.

Whereas Rangimārie spent her year at University in fear of failing, Haami expected to fail. He felt that it was almost inevitable that he would fail, given his earlier school experiences, but with perseverance he considered that he would be able to overcome his ‘block’ and in years to come would be amongst those to graduate.

Haami: Like in Stats I sit there and listen and there’s all these thoughts saying, ‘Walk out, walk out, you can sit here until the cows come home, but you are not going to get this’. I am still looking for a way to deal with it. It is like I walk away and then I have to try twice as hard to catch up. I go to the library and I read, read, read and I go through it and I go, ‘Oh, god’. It was like when I was young, I have still got this thing in my head that says, ‘You cannot do it’. I have come into this establishment with the mind that I will most likely fail. That’s the bottom line.

Hazel: Why?
Haami: Because that’s the way my head is set up.
Hazel: To fail?
Haami: Yeh, in Psy. In Māori no.
Hazel: Why is that?
Haami: Cos Māori is something I can relate to... It’s like sailing to me.

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

241
To begin with Haami worked hard. Although he might have thought he was going to fail that didn’t stop him from wanting to succeed. He arranged to have extra tutoring and he spent long hours trying to make sense of his texts. But he found it difficult to grasp the language of the university, which he considered, was setting him up to fail. Like Rangimarie (in Upoko Tuano, Wāhanga Tuaru) he considered that the language of the classroom was a foreign language.

**Haami:** I see this shit, it is like they use terms that when they are broken down I can understand them you know ... many people can understand it that way, so why do they use those terms?

**Hazel:** Why do you think they use those terms?

**Haami:** To weed out the undesirable it is like if you don’t understand this term you don’t belong here anyway.

Haami: Kōrero #1, 17th April 1996

Dawn was another student who worked hard. In her first year she studied part-time and worked full-time and found at the end of the year that she did not set aside enough time for her studies. Although a less than successful year her appetite was whetted and she enrolled as a full-time student in 1997. Acknowledging that she had not taken her studies seriously the previous year, she worked hard at her study and thoroughly enjoyed the challenge of it. Like the other mature students she established relationships with other students and found it to be beneficial both personally and academically. When Dawn received an A+ for an essay she was ‘over the moon’ and came to tell me as soon as she had picked it up. A few days later at our hui she couldn’t wait to tell Nuku about it.

**Dawn:** I got an A+ the other day.

**Nuku:** Yeh, congratulations.

**Dawn:** I suppose you have had them before?

**Nuku:** Oh no, I have hardly had any A+’s.

**Dawn:** Yeh well, there is a difference between none and any.

**Nuku:** So what did you get it in?

**Dawn:** Social Policy – that’s my favourite paper.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #7, 2nd September 1998

**Silence in the tutorial**

Dawn’s enjoyment of the subject showed in her engagement in her learning. Her experience in the paper went on to be pivotal in her decision to major in Sociology, despite her experience the previous year with a tutor.

**Dawn:** My first tutor was wonderful, I think she was really good when I did my essay on Māori and she was really good with that. But this tutor, she said to me (I wanted to do the essay question on Māori representation in the media and pick either the medium of newspaper, radio or TV), she said, ‘I think you are going to focus too much on Māori’, and I said, ‘Ah?’ I couldn’t understand it. ‘What do you mean isn’t that what the question is about – Māori representation in the media’. And I started jumping up and down at her going on about things, and then a couple of days later after it all soaked in,
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huhi kōrero

Wāhanga Tuatoru

when I digested it all, I thought what the hell does she want. I didn’t have any idea and it really threw me. James helped me with that, he was really good because I didn’t want to go and see her. I was quite squeaky about it. I just found her very unapproachable... she might be a really nice person (I don’t know her), I just didn’t like her as a tutor. She was not very supportive of other students I know – well this one student – that wasn’t Māori but who had taken up the same question. The tutor gave her the same crap and told her that she was going to fail her, and she did fail her. I have to get in touch with her [the student] to get her to look at laying a complaint, to have her tutoring looked at ‘cos another student has also had a similar problem with her.

Māui: Did you go to anyone, to address the problem?
Dawn: Sort of, but what I did was I just withdrew.

Māui: That’s standard.
Dawn: That’s what you do ah? You know, you either deal with it or leave it. I am really interested in ‘soci’ and I know I am going to come up against her this [next] year but I haven’t had any full on arguments with her or anything but I am sure she realises that I don’t think much of her. (laugh)

Hazel: You know you also had the option of changing your tutor.
Dawn: Yeh, but by this time it had gone too far, so I just withdrew out of the thing [essay].

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #6,15th December 1997

Dawn was stunned at her tutor’s response to her choice of essay question for one of her assessments in the stage one Sociology paper that she was doing. The topics had been set and the students were to choose what they wanted to do. Dawn wanted to do the ‘Māori representation in the media’ question but was put off by her tutor. Rather than continue to challenge the tutor and jeopardise her grades, she chose another essay question. Although she talked about making a complaint to the Department about her tutor she never did. What interested me about Dawn and Māui’s interaction was their acceptance that the way to deal with such situations was to withdraw. It is of concern that as more Māori content is being implemented in courses across the campus, opportunities for students to engage in are still being limited by lecturers and teaching staff inadequately prepared to teach it.

One of my primary interests when I began this research, was to conduct a longitudinal study based on the assumption that the students would be changed by their encounters with the university. In various ways, they have all revealed changes in their thinking and the way they saw themselves. However, it were the mature students who reflected on and pointed to experiences that changed them.

**Becoming critical**

Rangimārie, reflecting on the way her year at University had changed her acknowledged the development of her critical thinking skills and the empowerment that it brought. In doing so she wondered what she could have been if she had come to university when she was 18.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatoru

_Rangimārie:_ I really liked university. I came here in my thirties and I found that I sort of developed my thinking process and I got to thinking, ‘Wow if had come here when I was 18 I’d be thinking like this when I was 18!’

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #6, 15th December 1997

Māui and Nuku talked about the way their thinking had changed not only themselves but also their relationships with others.

_Māui:_ Before coming here I was pretty ignorant, I didn’t know much about Māori – contemporary Māori especially. I had an idea of what traditional Māori were like but I was totally ignorant of contemporary Māori in the sense of the Treaty of Waitangi and the struggles that my contemporaries face – why they are protesting. I had a pretty much Pākehā view about it all really – wanting everyone to get along and be happy. And then I came here and I began thinking about why they were protesting, and why they were demanding their rights and that. It didn’t bother me because I felt it didn’t affect me And then, like I came here and am told the reason why these things have happened. I have become aware.

_Nuku:_ Oh it’s good. It’s really um opened my eyes. It’s, ah yes, it is quite funny it has opened my eyes. Take my mother, for example, who tends to believe everything she reads in the newspapers. I was talking to her yesterday, and she’s going, ‘Oh she’d read about a Māori family who weren’t paying their rates and decided that no, they weren’t going to do it, ‘cos they were on Māori land’. So, she has got this view that they are a lot troublemakers. She doesn’t really understand what is involved so I was trying to explain to her that the injustices they suffered and stuff like that. It’s just opening my eyes and letting her know a little about what I learn, hopefully she can sort of understand. All she can see are the protests that have been going on, she really doesn’t know what it is all about.

_Māui:_ Gaining the knowledge is part of it, ah, but being able to discuss it and analyse it is the other part. It is not just about having all this knowledge. Just having the knowledge you only just think okay colonisation – yeh, Māori – yeh, Treaty of Waitangi – yeh. You’re not actually analysing it critically. But if you can talk with someone about it – you know that is pretty crazy how Māori got blankets and whiskey and all that. But it is not just blankets and whiskey they got, they got their lands confiscated!

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #2, 4th July 1996

Both Māui and Nuku, as a result of their classroom experiences, went from knowing very little about Māori issues to being critically ‘aware’ or conscientised. And as Māui pointed out this was not just about gaining ‘empty knowledge’ – interesting facts that had no bearing on their lives – but a knowledge that helped them understand their world, to critically engage in it and at the same time engage with others.

The following kōrero exemplifies the way in which kōrero is a powerful vehicle through which we can come to know our world and ourselves37. Māui had been to an Education lecture and had come to our hui, later that day, still thinking about what the lecturer had said. He began the hui by telling us about the content of his lecture. A discussion followed on the value of
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huhi kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatoru

qualifications, credential inflation and the relationship between education and society.

Māui: I think he was referring to the idea that it is not practical in this society to have an Arts degree, it is more practical to have an Engineering degree ...

Dawn: And computers.

Māui: You have to advance. Just having a B.A. is not enough, you have to have a Ph.D. or Masters, you know.

Rangimārie: John FM says that schools pick up on what’s happening in society and we are steered into thinking about the economics of society and not the...

Māui: Humanities.

Rangimārie: Not the well-being of society, and that’s half the problem.

Dawn: It is economic policy that determines social policy.

Nukù: I used think you could go straight out into the workforce, I always believed you could do that. But you just can’t do that without some sort of certificate now. When I used to see jobs [advertised] I used to think I could do it, but because I didn’t have the papers I couldn’t go out and do that.

Rangimārie: When my husband first started working he just walked into a job, wrote his name down and started, and on payday he walked out and went next door to the next job. You just systematically worked your way down the road. You can’t do that anymore.

Māui: Times have changed.

Rangimārie: Sometimes, I think that degrees are overused. There are so many people wanting a job that employers have got the pick of the crop.

Dawn: An Arts degree is seen as airy fairy – easy – and you have to do essays. I am just doing one of those funny Art degrees – a BA.

Māui: You can get a BA in a Weetbix packet.

Dawn: I don’t buy Weetbix so I haven’t got mine yet

Māui: I’ve got 10.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #6, 15th December 1997

The stories that have been told so far have shown how, from the beginning, the students were actively engaged in their learning despite some of their experiences in the classroom. I leave the last word on this to Māui who sums it up beautifully.

Māui: I think knowledge is more important than education, you know gaining knowledge. Because knowledge is power and knowledge is experience. But it is like Moana [Jackson]¹⁸ said it has got to be quality, it can’t be, ‘Oh read this book’, ‘What’s it about?’ ‘It doesn’t matter just read it.’ You know you have got to know what you are doing and why you are doing it.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #6, 15th December 1997

I now want to turn to the students’ experiences in the Māori Department. In the last section of this Wāhanga the students’, in particular the young students’, kōrero reveals their expectations and disappointments of a department that they considered would be ‘theirs’.
The Māori Department

The Māori Department was established in 1974 under the leadership of Te Awaroa Neipia just over one hundred years after the first call for the study of Māori was made at Canterbury. Initially the Department came under the umbrella of the German Department but in 1986 it gained its autonomy to become an academic department in its own right. Historically, the Department’s area of expertise has been the study of nineteenth century Māori manuscripts, although they teach a range of courses from te reo Māori to contemporary issues. In 1996 when the kaikōrero became students, nine of them enrolled in the Māori Department. The young students, who all had Bursary in Māori, wanted to extend their knowledge and fluency in te reo. For many of the mature students, it was their introduction to the language. While the starting points for the students were different their desires were the same – to develop their understanding of te ao Māori and learn or extend their reo Māori.

Students’ expectations

As new students they expected that the Māori Department would have their interests at heart and provide them with learning opportunities driven by Māori aspirations and kaupapa. This was the place they expected that they would feel welcome in, they could call home, feel safe and be able to be Māori. They expected to be taught a Māori curriculum by Māori teachers, in specifically Māori ways. From their first days on campus their expectations were dashed. The Department was never going to be able to live up to the students’ expectations given the culture in which the University itself is embedded. The young students, in particular, felt that they had been let down by the Department that they had come to see as a Pākehā department teaching Māori. In the second hui of 1996 the young kaikōrero talked at length about the Department.

Kāhu: Like you know with other departments that they are Pākehā, that, that’s the Pākehā world. Yeh, it doesn’t really faze you. But I used to always get really annoyed with the Māori Department ‘cos I’d kind of think, ‘You’re my own, you should be different.’ I think that in other departments you expect to have Pākehā lecturers – lots of Pākehās. But I think having Pākehā in the Māori Department is really stink.

Hone: They are not Māori. It’s like there are no role models out there. I mean if you want academic sure, but if you want people’s commitment then you know...

Kāhu: I think I just got used to being round people who are on to it. You just don’t get that at varsity. You know its just like with family and culture group there is always someone to sit down and listen to, and hear awesome stories... I would like to go up to Waikato and learn Māori but I can’t afford it. I don’t feel as if I should have to go up there, they should be providing me down here. That’s why I get annoyed with the Māori Department, if the Department was good and had heaps of whanaungatanga with everyone then it wouldn’t be so bad.

Hone: I think as a Māori Department in principle they should hire Māori, even the secretary I mean...
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huīhui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatoru

Kāhu: I never considered it [the Māori Department] to be my home – which it should be. They should get their shit together and be ready to teach people at my level because I get real angry. Its like, Pākehā can go to all these other places – they’ve got the whole world – this should be my place. Everything at varsity is compromised - a woman Pākehā lecturer speaking at pōwhiri – you know. This is your country and this little, wee space here is mine and I want that for me and for my reasons. I want to have my language, you know, you’ve got the rest of New Zealand to do your thing!

Hone: The Māori Department is really weak. Like especially coming from a school that has a bilingual unit. They make all these excuses like there are heaps of Pākehā students. But I don’t reckon its true.

Kāhu: I feel I’d rather go on a course or something where it is nowhere as good but you get the wairua and you learn...

Hone: Māoritanga

Kāhu: It’s like stink. I want to be here, I want to learn stuff but it is like you learn stuff but you lose too much, ah. It shouldn’t be like that. I mean I am paying $2000 to come here and I paid $800 to get 12 points [in Māori] and they justify it by saying, ‘Oh you will get good grades’. I thought university was for learning. The Māori Department...

Hazel: You keep on coming back to the Māori Department?

Tiaho: We are disgusted with it.

Kāhu: When you go in there [the Department] they have got all these doors that are shut.

Mārama: It’s cold ah.

Kāhu: It is just a corridor of doors.

Hone: You go in there and like there is only the secretary, closed doors and a bunch of empty rooms. It’s got no heart.

Tiaho: They need a marae.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #2, 2nd October 1996

The young students raised several issues in their kōrero. Kāhu began by talking about his expectation that the Māori Department would be a Māori space on campus for him and other Māori students. In accepting that the campus was predominantly Pākehā he did not see why the Māori Department couldn’t be an explicitly Māori space that catered for Māori students. While he expected to see Pākehā lecturers everywhere else he did not think that they should be teaching in the Māori Department and occupying spaces which should be reserved for Māori teachers. Hone made the connection between a lack of Māori lecturers and a lack of Māori role models, and as far as he was concerned the Department should have a pro-Māori policy when it came to recruiting new staff, either academic or general. A lack of Māori presence in the Department, especially of older Māori, meant few if any opportunities for young Māori, and learners of te reo to be immersed in their language and tikanga and supported in their study. Consequently, Māori values and practices such as whanaungatanga were missing from the Department and tikanga was compromised. And as far as Kāhu was concerned so too was his learning. The Department, according to the young students, lacked a ngākau Māori – a Māori heart.
At the end of his third year Kāhu summed up the Department as having no Māori kaupapa. Although a department that teaches courses in Māori, as far as Kāhu was concerned it was not a Māori department, rather it was a traditional academic department. And, as far as he was concerned, the Department’s move to their new complex at the beginning of 1998 did not change anything, despite the opportunity for it to do so. At the same time, he found the space that was designated a study area for students a space in which he and his fellow Māori students could claim as theirs.

Kāhu: I don’t think that the Māori Department has ever had a Māori kaupapa. To me it has no purpose. They’ve just got researchers who shut themselves in and kind of lock the door. They don’t want to let anyone else in that might threaten them, and they are not listening to what everyone is saying. Moving to the new building hasn’t changed the atmosphere either; that’s for sure. But I liked being away from everyone else; I liked being in a Māori space again. It was like all the Māori students in the Department upstairs and then the offices downstairs. I don’t think their attitudes changed, I thought they’d say, ‘We are in our own world now and we will do things our way.’ I felt like everything was just so compromised. I suppose it’s just like traditional academic department. I think that’s my view of the Māori Department.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #5, 10th December 1998

The curriculum
The absence of a Māori kaupapa impacted on what was taught in the Department and how it was taught. This did not escape the students, and they raised several concerns about what was being taught in the Department. Of particular concern was their perception that what was being taught was from a Pākehā perspective, even when taught by the Māori lecturers. The implications of this are dire for Māori students who are learning about te ao Māori for the first time. Just because what was taught was Māori in content does not mean that it was the same as Māori content. For what has been determined as ‘Māori content’, has been defined by Pākehā. And as a result, Māori knowledge and culture have been re-presented in ways that are acceptable to Pākehā. Consequently, Māori have been learning a distorted view of what it is to be Māori. In light of this ‘What,’ asks Kāhu, ‘Are they going to become?’

Kāhu: Even though they know the reo they are Pākehā, they are not Māori.

Tiaho: They haven’t got the wairua thing. All Māori people have got it, you know.

Kāhu: We have learnt about our culture through the Pākehā system. And I think that is bad because none of them have the wairua. And I think they all have ‘a wrong thinking’ about Māori. I mean you can tell it by stuff they say – a Pākehā view point that comes from a book. They don’t actually get people in to talk. They take this one-sided view, it’s like a Pākehā historians view. They never think of actually asking the people that have been there, asking the people why they talk this way, why they do this.

If you’re like a born-again Māori, if you don’t know your culture then it is easy to go along with it. I feel scared. The stuff they teach is really airy fairy, that is sort of a Pākehā point of view falling under a sort of mystical sort of spiritualism. It’s like filling in something which they haven’t got from their own culture. You can see that in the books written about Māori by Pākehā that are very, very spiritual. If they are learning off
people like that what are they going to become? And another thing, most of the lecturers are Pākehā.

The young students were also concerned about the teaching of te reo in the Department. They considered that the Department in teaching basic Māori at stage one did not cater for native speakers, nor for students like themselves who had Bursary Māori. While they did have the choice of going straight into stage two they were not encouraged to do so. Instead they were encouraged to enrol in stage one and get an ‘easy’ 12 points. Hone began their kōrero wondering how the Department was going to cope with the graduates from kura kaupapa schools, when they started coming to university.

Hone: I don’t know how they’re going to handle the Kura Kaupapa kids when they come to varsity ‘cos I mean they can’t even cater for us, and we’re second language learners. But our reo is far more advanced than stage one, probably even stage two. They need to have two streams.

Tiaho: We’re not saying ‘Don’t worry about them [Pākehā] worry about us’. What we’re saying is that it would help us and the Pākehā students as well. It would give them a better understanding and it would raise their reo too.

Kāhu: I mean it’s like Japanese has half the intake of the Māori Department, yet they have two streams. I don’t see why the Māori Department can’t. What kind of speakers are they producing and how are they going to cater for the ones that have had a really good start with kura kaupapa. My study through Māori [Department] was nothing compared to my Bursary, nothing compared to my School Cert. - all the people in class didn’t pass for a start. I think a few changes are needed for the benefit of the students. You know, there are students that couldn’t handle that [total immersion]. The only way to learn the Māori language is by total immersion but some students switch off and that’s where they need two streams. They need a simple stream for people like that ‘cos some people when they get swamped with it their brain switches off. They don’t learn whereas other people just see it in, just soak it in. And that’s how you really learn - that’s how you can ever learn how to speak Māori. I went up to them [the Māori Department] and asked them why they they don’t have two streams. Like they talk about this Māori renaissance like it happened ages ago but it is still happening and we are the first ones out of it. Already there have been two [students] above us who have come from a bilingual unit and now there is us and, like, there will be more and more and more. They tried to justify it by saying that doing the course [stage one] would get me good grades. But like it is stupid because I get so bored and then I don’t bother to go and I am getting A+’s. That’s a sign that it is too easy and they need to make two streams.

The students considered that a streamed first year language course would better cater for the different needs of the students who wanted to take te reo. Kāhu found that the stage one course was too easy, which bored and frustrated him. A second stream designed for students with Bursary, native speakers or fluent second language learners would, he argued, meet his needs. Knowing that the Japanese Department, a smaller Department than Māori, had two streams for
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero  
Wāhanga Tuatoru

their first year class, Kāhu wondered why the Māori Department couldn’t. In 1998, however, a two tiered stage one programme of te reo Māori course was implemented. The students also talked about the benefits of immersion learning for the acquisition of te reo Māori; the preferred medium in which the young students wanted to be taught. Yet Māori was taught through the medium of English. In 1997, when a new lecturer in the Department began taking her classes in te reo Māori only, some students complained that it was disadvantaging them. Thus she was required to return to teaching te reo Māori in English.

Kāhu: Te Rita. I thought she was awesome I really enjoyed the classes even though I was still sort of bored. She fine-tuned te reo. But I got quite annoyed when she got complaints against her for speaking too much Māori. I got really pissed off when she stopped speaking Māori. People couldn’t handle her speaking too much Māori, they said it was too hard. I got really annoyed because last year Māori was just crap and this year I felt I could actually learn something even though the course work was still too easy. I went to class one day and she was speaking English and it sort of ruined it. I just felt really angry because it was like, ‘Hey, this class was for me,’ and then all of a sudden it was not for me. It was for them again. So I didn’t go anymore.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #4, 17th July 1997

After a disappointing first year, Kāhu had thought that he was finally going to benefit from his reo class. At last, he thought that he had come across a classroom space that was recognisably Māori. When te reo stopped being the medium of instruction, Kāhu stopped attending class.

Teaching practice
It wasn’t long after, that Kāhu stopped talking Māori in the Department, except when he was in class.

Kāhu: We’ve learnt our reo, we have got the spark, ah. But I don’t get it here. I’ve still got my reo and that, but I just can’t be bothered speaking it ah. I mean, I’ve tried talking to some of the tutors and they just walk away from me, it’s like they couldn’t understand me or anything I said. I mean how can they teach like this?

Hone: From what we’ve seen, ah, some of the tutors that take us for the whakamatautaun [the tests] don’t speak better than us. We know how to speak better reo than them.

Mārama: And some of the lecturers

Hone: That has to be sorted out, ah.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #1, 17th July 1996

The teaching practices of the Department came in for heavy criticism by the students. Given the young students previous experiences of kaupapa Māori schooling they expected the Department to foster spoken Māori outside of the classroom. In the absence of a Māori kaupapa, te reo Māori continued to be seen as an academic subject belonging in the classroom. That the students felt that they knew more about te reo than some of the tutors served to alienate them.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatoru

even further from their studies. They went from students who were hungry to extend their fluency when they began, to disengaged learners.

The competencies of the tutors also affected the students who were learning te reo Māori. Māui pointed to the confusion that arose in his class when inconsistencies occurred between what was being taught and what was in his textbook. Māui considered learning te reo was too important for him to be ‘getting things wrong’. In his late twenties he had waited long enough to learn Māori.

Māui: Like everyone in the class is going, ‘Well maybe we are wrong’. Then we start questioning ourselves and yet we have the book right in front of us! I just don’t think you can have stuff happening like this. This is too important for us, to me I can’t really say for the rest of the class. But for me it is too important for someone to go in there and start getting things wrong or contradicting what we have already learnt.

Ngā Titipounamu: Hui #1, 26th April 1996

One of the issues that Māui’s kōrero highlighted was the difficulty of teaching te reo Māori in institutional settings. To me the issue here was not so much about incompetent teachers, as it might be easy to infer, rather it was about the difficulty of teaching one way of speaking Māori given the dialectal differences between iwi. In a Department that prides itself on being ‘universalist’ I wondered how that might work in practice when teaching the language.

Like Māui, Kāhu found being taught wrong information unsettling, but he was uncompromising about what should be done about it.

Kāhu: I guess one thing that really put me off were the several times when a Pākehā told me I was wrong or told me what to do which was something I was not used to doing. That really pissed me off. I think they need to get their heads out of the books. I think for a start you need to kick the Pākehā out. In principle they shouldn’t be in there doing research. The problem is that they rely too much on books and stuff like that. You know we were doing Araiteuru – how Ngai Tahu came down here. It was the stars it wasn’t real and I was saying, ‘You’re telling me that this was my canoe. My people are saying it is not real, you know.’ She did say that she would take that into consideration. There is never any credit or value given to where you come from or what you know. That is the big problem. Who is to say that whoever wrote that manuscript wasn’t full of shit. I think they need to look at their recruitment.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #5, 10th December 1998

I found this kōrero of Kāhu’s interesting. He took the frequently expressed concern Māori students have had about being expected to be the ‘all knowing repository’ of Māori knowledge and turned it on its head. Rather, he expressed his concern about not being taken seriously as a legitimate holder of knowledge. Coupled with his earlier kōrero, Kāhu’s kōrero is also a critique about Pākehā researchers not listening to the community in which they did their research. Resulting in the production of knowledge that has distorted rather than illuminated the Māori world. Once it becomes part of the curriculum, it then
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuatoru

becomes dangerous knowledge, as it becomes the legitimate and ‘final word’ on what it is to be Māori.27

Perhaps if researchers and teachers worked in the Māori community then maybe ‘misunderstandings’ would not occur.

Kāhu: I don’t understand why these lecturers stay so far apart [from us]. I am not saying that lecturers should be your best friend but I do think as lecturer’s of the Māori language they have a responsibility to fill a role ... to be active in the Māori community. That’s why, even though I didn’t like features of last year I have got some respect for Rangi Nicholson because I see him out there. And I know he is doing stuff. Whereas all these others are just sort of cooped up in their own world. I think they do have a responsibility to Māori. If you’re teaching something then you should be out there [in the community]. I think it would be better for the lecturers if they were involved in the Māori community even though it might be an extra responsibility.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #4, 17th July 1997

Kāhu was very critical of lecturers in the Department who had not got involved in the Māori community. He considered that they had a responsibility to be part of the community that they were teaching about. Not only was it a matter of being accountable to the community, it was also a matter of utu or giving back to the community. However, he did acknowledge the extra work that having community responsibilities would place on the lecturers. Working in the community is not usually part of a lecturer’s workload. When it has been, as it was in the appointment of Rose Parker as the Bicultural Studies Lecturer in the Education Department, community work was added to her full teaching and researching load. Although the Education Department and the University benefited from her work, she received little support or recognition in return.

Student support
When Māori students come to university, many expect that the Māori Department will support them in their studies and provide a space on campus where they do not have to explain themselves. Indeed, of all the departments on campus the students expected the Māori Department to understand and operate according to tikanga Māori. Their experiences, however, have already suggested otherwise. Kāhu’s experience in applying for an extension adds to this.

Kāhu: I just wanted a couple of days extra - just 2 or 3 ‘cos I didn’t want like a week or anything, you know I had done my work. I just didn’t want the pressure of having to work my butt off. I wanted to spend time with people and family. It was pretty weird. I definitely felt we weren’t given any slack at all. I just walked out and I got in a real shitty and that really put me off. I was so pissed off because my mates used to lie about going to tangi but my Aunty had died and I was really angry. I just went right! And I did a 6000 word essay and submitted it. I was just furious. I was thinking this is a genuine reason for not doing this essay, my Aunty is dead, and you know I had to be questioned. I thought the Māori lecturers were a lot colder to me than any of my other lecturers. They follow the regulations to the ‘t’. If I was really, really stressed then they would say, ‘Oh hard luck.’ Whereas, in other departments you’d talk to the lecturers and they’d go, ‘Oh
Kāhu was deeply affected by the death of his Aunty. Her death came soon after another of his whānau had died. It was a particularly stressful time for Kāhu and his whānau as they dealt with their loss, and their concerns about the health of his elderly grandparents. Kāhu went to the departments that he was studying in, including the Māori Department, and asked them for extensions for assignments that were due around that time. Instead of the support, that he expected to receive from the Māori Department he was challenged about the reason for his wanting an extension. Consequently, he felt his integrity had been questioned. Had the lecturer concerned been involved in the community he would have known of Kāhu’s situation. When reflecting on his experience, Kāhu explained the Department’s ‘coldness’ as one of bureaucratic inflexibility – something that he had not come across in other departments. The Department at that time had an ombudsman, a lecturer, who took on the responsibility of dealing with all the Departments applications for extensions. While an ombudsman system might have been a fair and impartial means to granting extensions, it was also inflexible and impersonal. Moreover, in such a system, there is also the danger, when treating unequal or different groups equally, of producing further inequalities. This reminds me of the cartoon in which a collection of animals - an elephant, a penguin, gold fish, seal, bird, dog and monkey - are lined up in front of a tree. In front of the animals sits a teacher at his desk. The caption reads, ‘for a fair selection everybody has to take the same exam; please climb the tree’.

By not recognising differences and accommodating them in his classroom, those animals outside of the ‘tree climbing norm’ were disadvantaged. Similarly, by not taking into account Māori cultural and learning practices in the classroom and in the University’s very structures, Māori students will continue to be disadvantaged.

Furthermore, perhaps the Departments over zealous practices reveals an anxiety about their own status within the University. In 1990, at the Hui-ā-Tau of the Māori University Teachers Association, Hirini Moko Mead raised the issue of the low status of Māori Studies in his keynote address. He noted that Māori Studies departments continued to be perceived by the universities, as well as by students as having a low status. In arguing that part of the problem lay with the lecturer’s themselves, he suggested that ‘students need to know that we are competent, committed, professional and demanding people who in our very attitudes reflect what we want Māori Studies to be’. In order to make them places in which young Māori, leaders of the future, are nurtured in te reo me ona tikanga, he pointed to the need to reexamine the place and the role of Māori Studies in the university. I imagine, that these are the kind of words that Kāhu would have liked to have heard as he called for a ‘total revamp’ of the Department.
Kāhu: It is going to be a real struggle. For a start off for you would have to have someone that is an academic because if you just got an elder they are not going to be recognised. I reckon I would just wipe the slate clean and start again, just totally revamp everything. The syllabus — everything. We want fluency in three years. Get a leader, get someone that’s bright, an ideas person to create a whole atmosphere. You know when Te Awaroa Nepia started, when you hear the stories they sound so good, everything was tight. He was bright, he was a great lecturer and he was a leader and people respected him. That’s the kind of person you need in there … you need someone to drive it.

Ngā Korimako: Hui #5, 10th December 1998

The Students’ Recommendations

Kāhu’s and the other students’ critiques of the Department were in part a reflection of their disappointment that the Department was no different to other departments on campus. Which in turn, I argue is a reflection of their much broader dissatisfaction with the University. However, as we have seen, in the last two wāhanga they have not passively accepted their situation. They have put in place strategies that have enabled them to successfully negotiate the University campus and the classroom. To that end, they have also put forward a set of recommendations for the University. Recommendations that, if implemented, would better meet the needs, and fulfil the learning and cultural aspirations of Māori students on campus. They include:

- The establishment of a bicultural University in which there is a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi and partnership;
- The establishment of a kaumatua position on campus to provide cultural and spiritual leadership for Māori students and staff;
- A pro-active stance by the university in its employment of Māori lecturers;
- The recognition of Māori cultural achievements when employing staff;
- Valuing strong Māori leadership within the university;
- Developing a relationship with the local Māori community;
- Restructuring the Māori Department; and
- Māori immersion teaching of te reo Māori.

It is interesting to note that the concerns that the students had, and the calls that they made, were similar to the concerns and calls made earlier by Māori students.

As I searched for a way to sum up the students’ kūrero in this wāhanga I was struck by the students resilience and tenacity in the face of, at times insurmountable, obstacles. The whakataukī that I used as an epigram for my research proposal almost eight years ago comes to mind as a fitting ending for this Wāhanga.

Whāia e koe ki te iti kahurangi, kia tāpapa koe, he maunga tike. 

Follow your treasured aspirations, if you falter, let it be because of insurmountable difficulties. 

254
End Notes

1 Although I think the students viewed the University in a monolithic sort of way, the University like most entities has multiple identities. The University promotes itself as having at least three cultures – the culture of (higher) learning, a research culture and in recent years an enterprise culture. But I see the University as having more than that. It also reflects the dominant group's culture as well, which for the most part remains mis-recognised. For example, academic freedom, excellence, and the canon are all considered components of the university’s learning and research cultures, yet they are all firmly entwined in the dominant groups cultural system. For critiques on the canon see Iain Chambers (1994) and Henry Louis Gates Jnr (1992). For critiques on excellence see Paula Chu Richardson (1990) and A. W. Austin (1990) and for a Māori perspective on academic freedom see Kathie Irwin (2000).

2 At the same time as the ‘corporate university’ developed in the middle ages the term ‘university’ came into use (Patterson, 1997). However, the earliest European accounts of high learning, has its origins in Ancient Greece.

3 Patterson (1997: 58)

4 I am referring here to the way in which the university was able to establish its dominance as the institution of higher learning in New Zealand and maintain it right up until the reforms of the early 1990s, at which time polytechnics, private providers, colleges of education as well as Whare Wānanga’s were able to become degree conferring institutions. Otherwise, the establishment and the ongoing maintenance of the Universities in New Zealand has been one of conflict and reform (Beaglehole, 1937; Butterworth & Tarling, 1994; Gardner, Beardsley, & Carter, 1973; Parton, 1979).

5 Changes to teaching practice have been left up to individual teachers, rather than coming from the institution (Webb, 1991).

6 Māui is referring to Ranginui Walker’s (1990) book Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: struggle without end.

7 Implicit in much of the critique made by Māori (see for example Graham Smith (1990a) Māori and Linda Smith (1994)), and certainly the development of kaupapa Māori schooling initiatives, is the view that adding culturally relevant content to the curriculum is not enough.

8 Epstein (2001) found in her study on American high school students that it was not enough to make the curriculum culturally relevant for black students, rather the curriculum needed to be ‘congruent with the knowledge and perspectives of students...’ (Epstein, 2001: 43). Otherwise, she argued the consequences were considerable and ultimately alienating for the students.

9 Journal writing as a means to developing critical thinking skills is being increasingly used in university classrooms. Through expressive writing, students are encouraged to write and reflect and forge new understandings of themselves and their world (Pinter, 1997).

10 A dialogic approach to learning is more an exception than the rule in university classrooms at undergraduate level. It is an approach that is in direct opposition
to ‘the lecture’. Where the lecture involves a one way information flow from teacher to student a dialogic approach involves establishing a two way democratic interaction between teacher and student. In Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Paulo Friere (1968) outlines the nature of a dialogic praxis oriented approach.

1) This points to an interesting aspect of the racism that confronts Māori. The expectation that Kāhu’s teacher, as an ‘outsider’, would support Pākehā views of Māori, suggests an entrenched assumption about the ‘normalness’ and ‘naturalness’ of their view. A view not so much based on physical markers but on cultural ones.

2) In 1996, during her series of lectures at stage one, Rose fell ill. I took two classes of her classes for her while she was away.

3) Hoha in this context means to be exasperated with.

4) Silence is a strategy that Māori use to convey disapproval. It is a particularly effective one given the usually dialogic nature of Māori interactions and relationships. For example, several years ago at a conference that I was attending, a woman stood up and told everyone that she had planned to do some research in a particular Māori community. When asked whether she had met with the community, she replied that she did not feel she needed to at that stage of her planning. Her arrogance in assuming that the community would jump at the chance to be researched left her audience silent. Rather than ‘booed’ from the podium she was met with a wall of silence.

5) Gates Jnr (1992)

6) It is interesting to note that there are various versions of whakapapa that reflect iwi differences rather than there being one absolute version of whakapapa, (beginning with the creation of the world).

7) I am influenced by the notion of praxis on the one hand, where theory and practice work dialectically to inform each other (Freire, 1968). And on the other, narrative pedagogy in which narratives are a fundamental means of making sense of our experiences, shaping our interactions with others and the world around us, and ultimately how we see ourselves (Bishop, 1996a; Ochs & Capps, 1996).

8) Moana Jackson had visited the University earlier in the year. One of the presentations he gave was to students in Te Ara Pounamu.

9) The call (along with the call for accessible higher education based on ability alone) was made by the first Chancellor of the University, Tancred, at the opening of Canterbury College, the forerunner of the University, in 1872 (Murray, 1924). To begin with, only one university was established in New Zealand – the University of New Zealand – which had separate teaching and examining bodies. Several colleges, amongst them Canterbury, were affiliated to the University to teach the University’s curriculum. It wasn’t until 1962 that the colleges became autonomous institutions in their own right.

10) The students were not alone in their expectations or their criticisms of the Department. Research conducted two years previously found that the Māori students who had participated in research commissioned by the Department had similar expectations, experiences and criticisms (Harrison & Phillips, 1995). And
in 1996, the same year as I began my research, Te Akotoki in a survey that they undertook of Māori students experiences (in preparation of the University’s academic audit) found similar sentiments amongst those surveyed (Te Akotoki, 1996).

2) Mane-Wheoki (1991)
3) Smith (1994)
4) See for example Barry Brailsford’s (1994) Song of Waitaha: the histories of a nation
5) Entering straight into stage two te reo also had implications for a students’ ability to complete a BA majoring in Māori.
6) Maor115 is a course for beginners while Maor160 is a more advanced stage one course. Those who complete Maor115 then go on to do Maor160.
7) The mature students articulated this concern in the previous Wāhanga. It was also a concern that the Māori students expressed in the research that Jane Harrison and I conducted in the Māori Department in 1994 (Harrison & Phillips, 1995).
8) I am referring here to the way in which knowledge researched and presented in the positivistic tradition does not just become the final word (Rorty, 1996) it becomes the universal word (Spivak, 1990).
9) See Appendix J.
10) Although over ten years since writing about the challenges that face Māori Studies Departments, Hirini Moko Mead’s (1990) kōrero still remains relevant.
11) Mead (1990: 25)
13) This is an oft quoted whakatauaki. Reference to it can be found in Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna by Mead and Groves (2001: 422).
In the early days of my being a researcher I immersed myself in the task by reading anything and everything about the University. I was keen to get amongst ‘the setting’ so to speak, to get a sense of the University – its origin, history and minutiae of everyday life. It was this that led me to the Macmillan Library in search of the University’s archives. And it was there where I came across the Diploma Day songbooks. A compilation of songs put together by the Canterbury Students’ Association each year to be sung during the graduation ceremony. By all accounts diploma days were rowdy and rollicking affairs in which songs were sung throughout the ceremony. In the 1892 songbook I came across a song called Maranga! ranga! ra ki runga! Could the young Āpirana Ngata have written this? James Hight, the student whose songbook this was, thought so. He had written Ngata’s name by the title, just like he had written names by many of the songs in his songbooks. I think he wrote it too, as this song, and one written the previous year, are written in both Māori and English. It is hard to imagine that anyone else could have or would have written them. They stand in sharp contrast to all the other songs in any of the songbooks that the library has copies of (from 1890 to 1912). Here they are two songs in Māori and English amongst scores of songs, of which many are written in Latin and English. They provide a rare snapshot into the world of Āpirana Ngata’s life at university. The very fact that they were written provides insight into the way Āpirana immersed himself in campus life - no sitting back too whakamā to participate for him. This is further supported by the content of the song he wrote in his first year for the College rugby team. That these songs were included in the Diploma Day songbooks provide an indication of how his fellow students accepted him. There is no doubt that he was very much part of the life and culture of the University so much so that he is described by a fellow student as being the ‘best-loved student of his day’.

The young Āpirana was just 16 years old when he left his home in Waiomatatini (145 kms north of Gisborne) to become the first Māori student at the University of Canterbury, indeed the first Māori student at any university in New Zealand. It was a long way from home for him but ever since he was nine years old he had been attending Te Aute College a boarding school for Māori boys south of Hastings. Just getting to school was a ‘major expedition’ as in those days road and rail links had not yet been built to the many towns and settlements up and down the east coast. Consequently the students at Te Aute, many of whom were from Ngati Porou like Āpirana, would spend 10 months of the year at school. Āpirana excelled at school. The school was remarkable in that it provided young Māori with an education modelled along the lines of the English grammar school at a time when Māori were considered ‘not fit’ for anything other than a basic education. The headmaster John Thornton prepared able students like Āpirana for
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero  
Wāhanga Tuawhā

the matriculation examination, the entry qualification for attending university. Āpirana did so well when he sat it that Thornton encouraged him to consider university. I suspect, though, he did not need encouragement. ‘Māku pea ka ora ai te iwi Māori’ (perhaps I will have a role in reviving the Māori people) wrote the sixteen year old to his father when seeking his permission. His father took his son’s request to the iwi, where upon the decision to let Āpirana go was made amid concern for his cultural well being. ‘Kei mate’ (he may be damaged) was how one elder put it. Although Te Aute was about immersing young Māori in and teaching them the values and mores of the English gentleman at least there he was amongst his whanaunga, and in a rural environment (like home). In Christchurch there would be no balance to the Oxford inspired education he would be receiving. He would be on his own.

I can only imagine what it was like for him when he arrived at the College with its imposing gothic architecture and Pākehā students. There were no creeks out the back to go eeling in nor cousins to go eeling with. No one to kōrero Māori with. Yet Āpirana excelled at university too. He graduated with a B.A. in 1894, completed a Masters in 1895 then finished his Law degree in 1896. Still, it was not easy for the outstanding scholar. It is in the song Maranga! Ranga! Ra ki runga! that we get a sense of the impact pursuing an elite Pākehā education had on the young man. Written as a ‘letter’ to his mother the English storyline of the song is a tongue in cheek reference to the tyranny of the Professor and the intellectual hold he had over his students. But then, there is the chorus. Written in Māori, and within the traditional poetic structure of tauparapara, the chorus is an exhortation to rise above – maranga ranga, ra ki runga – the obstacles encountered in the pursuit of higher education – matawanganui. For the young Āpirana the obstacle is the pain – te mamae – he feels as a result of the cultural dislocation he experiences of being a long way from home. Although literally meaning to stamp or tramp, given Āpirana’s upbringing I read his use of takahia to be more in line with its use in haka – the rhythmic trampling of feet. In light of this reading I consider that Ngata draws on a meaningful cultural concept and practice to survive his encounter with a vastly different institution and knowledge tradition. In other words Āpirana’s assertion of his Māori identity was an important aspect of his survival within the academy and yet, ironically, it was his very identity that was at odds with it. In many ways the young Āpirana’s chorus is a ‘draft’ version of his famous tauparapara, written over thirty years later, ‘E tipu e rea’ which urges young Māori to grasp hold of education while holding fast to their tikanga Māori. In later years he lamented the ‘cost’ of his Pākehā education when he wrote ‘[t]he years that followed at Te Aute almost completed the suppression of any taste or desire for a prized accomplishment in the society to which my kin belonged’.

Maranga! Ranga! Ra ki runga! and the song he wrote in 1891, each in their own way, together and separately provide the only public accounts of Āpirana Ngata’s experience at university. For that they are taonga. But I am sure that they were not the only stories that he told about his college days. Undoubtedly he told and retold his stories to his parents, brother, aunts and uncles, his friends and fellow students at Te Aute and in time to his own children, nieces and nephews, and mokopuna. Stories that changed lives in the process of their telling. Take for
example his own children, many of whom lived the stories their father told about education as they went on to pursue higher education. As well, fellow students from Te Aute like Te Rangi Hiroa also listened to Ngata's stories and followed in his footsteps. Stories, that in later years were crystallised in E tipu e rea which became part of his legacy to not only his whānau but also to the wider Māori community and the nation.

When thinking about all the stories that Ngata might have told, I began to realise just how many stories would have been recounted over the years in Māori families about journeys into the Pākehā education system. For every story published, as part of the new (and growing) Māori written tradition⁹, there are countless others that remain part of the spoken tradition. How many have become part of a family’s private legacy handed down to subsequent generations? I can only imagine what these stories contain, but I am sure they would reflect the stories that have found their way onto the written page. Stories of resilience, of success, of pain, of frustration, of struggles lost and won. Stories that weave together narratives about land being taken, language being stolen, the breakdown of whānau, of protest and reclamation and hope, with narratives about the complicity of schooling as well as its liberatory potential. Stories, that are deeply embedded in and derive from the concrete experiences of their writers. These stories may serve to preserve tradition, challenge the contradictory promises of progress, or provide a way into understanding change, one’s identity or one’s identity in a changing world. Whatever their purpose, they all provide a counterpoint to the stories written about us that have us written into ‘the books’ in ways that we know ourselves not to be¹⁰. Our stories, told and written by us for us, also talk back to those who have denied us a public space in which to speak¹¹. In doing so they inhabit a third space, a space full of possibility where Māori and who ever want to pick up the challenge can talk together. It is my hope that this thesis and the stories that it contains continue this tradition.

But for all that, and with all the stories that have been written, very few are accounts of Māori as students in higher education. Despite Āpirana Ngata’s legacy very little exists in the published literature about Māori university students. His songs, therefore, stand out even more. Not only are they part of the historical record, they also raise issues that have just as much relevance today as they did when the young Āpirana first wrote them. His songs speak to the concerns that I have just over a hundred years later. How can we understand Ngata’s (and other Māori students’) participation at university? What made him (and those who followed him) succeed at university when the majority of Māori did not succeed at school? What was it that enabled him (and others) to walk in two very different worlds? Or put another way how was he able to maintain his Māori identity in an institution intent on assimilation? In what way did his (or her) experiences help or hinder his (or her) participation? These questions are the very kinds of questions that I have set about exploring here. Not because they were questions that I began with, but because after the stories that the students shared with me they were the kind of questions I was left asking. It became clear
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero  
Wāhanga Tuawahā

early on that their identity as Māori, if they were not directly talking about what it means to be Māori, was always close to the surface of their kōrero. I am thinking here of the way that telling stories of our experiences are always moments of sense making in which we are constructing ourselves and our place in the world. Wāhanga Tuawahā seeks to understand/stand under the experiences of the students’ journeys into higher education.

When the students dared to dream and made the decision to come to university they began a journey that ranged over both physical and symbolic spaces. And, not so neatly packed in their ‘suitcases’, they each brought with them narratives of their own, a unique sense of place and space that expressed a particular way of looking at and being in the world. Each student shaped by being part of a particular whānau, in a particular culture, in a particular community, at a particular time and out of particular historical circumstances came to the University already constituted beings. In other words when they embarked on their journeys they already knew who they were but also who they wanted to be. First and foremost they were Māori, and as for their desires, they wanted to be successful Māori. A simple enough desire you might think, but given Aotearoa’s social and education history, one that is fraught with challenges for the students, especially to their sense of Māori self. This then is a victory narrative of epic proportions as I make sense of the students’ struggles to maintain their own sense of being Māori in an institution which historically has had assimilation as its goal.

A Story Found

Another time in my early days as a researcher, I came across a short story by Arapera Blank. A good read, preceding but very much in the style of Patricia Grace’s and Witi Ihimaera’s early writings, it tells the story of a young Māori boy’s experience of school and the effect it continued to have on him as an adult: in particular, his relationships with both his whānau and Pākehā. Set in the 1960s, and part of a collection of writings about Māori at that time, her story, in marked contrast to the style of the other pieces, powerfully conveys the impact Pākehā education can have on Māori identity. The story struck a chord within me and so I added it to my might-come-in-handy box of articles, newspaper clippings and stories that I was collecting. When it came time to think about actually writing my thesis, and in particular my own story, I went through my box in search of stories written at the time that I was growing up. I came across Arapera’s story. As soon as I had reread it I knew it would come in handy, not in the telling of my story, but in helping me express what seemed at the time almost inexpressible - the complex, contradictory, multiple and often blurred spaces we inhabit and identify with. When I first read it I had not heard of Bhabha and other postmodern/postcolonial writers writing about the multiple spaces in which we live and the identities they generate. I read it before I had become aware of the mestiza/o where identity boundaries are blurred through the
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huhi kōrero
Wāhanga Tuawhā

intensive exchanges between the Spanish and Portuguese colonisers and the indigenous peoples of the Americas\(^\text{19}\). I read it before I had fully explored the idea of oppositional identity and before I was introduced to Gee’s writing on (multiple) Discourses\(^\text{20}\). Now I was reading it with new eyes and the story came alive in ways that I had not thought about before.

A story to tell
Arapera tells her story through the eyes and voice of Whaimata, initially as a young boy experiencing his first day at school, and then as a man reflecting on his education and the changes that it has wrought in and around him. The change that he undergoes is reinforced by the shift in the language styles Arapera uses to tell her story. To begin with Whaimata talks about his first day at school in Māorified English\(^\text{21}\), a style that suggests that Māori is his first language. The use of Māorified English drives home the point that even though it is Māori that the young Whaimata thinks and talks in, it is a language he cannot speak because he has had to conform to the Pākehā rules of the school and the wider social sanctions of that time\(^\text{22}\). In the postscript or second part of the story Whaimata reflects on his experience in standard spoken English. A change in style that indicates a change from thinking and talking in Māori to thinking and talking in English. Moreover, the quiet and effortless change of style subtly emphasises the taken for granted change in the way he thinks and talks about the world: a change, which ultimately implies Whaimata’s assimilation into the Pākehā world.

For over a hundred years, from the implementation of the 1847 Education Ordinance in which missionaries were paid to school Māori to the 1960s, the aim of New Zealand’s educational policies for Māori was assimilation. The intention was to actively discourage and break down Māori beliefs and practices and replace them with Pākehā ones in a bid to civilise the savages\(^\text{23}\). In principal this also meant the active encouragement of Māori taking on the English language as their primary language. Although partly humanitarian in intent the policy of assimilation was primarily politically motivated to ensure the social control of Māori, particularly as the settler desire for Māori land grew and as Māori opposition to selling also grew. Whilst assimilation policies have had a significant impact on Māori cultural practices and te reo Māori, they have also only been partially successful. As you will come to see Whaimata’s assimilation into mainstream New Zealand society was only ever partial.

A story retold
Whaimata is not looking forward to his first day at school. The stories his parents, and his brothers and sisters have told him about being a big boy and going to school have left him overwhelmed. The list of dos and don’ts they have given him – don’t speak Māori, don’t use swear words, do ask nicely, don’t shame the family by eating crayons, don’t get your new clothes dirty, don’t sniff, do show those other kids you’re clever – makes Whaimata anxious. He worries

262
about dirtying his new clothes with paint and eating crayons like his brothers did when they first went to school. He worries that he might wet his pants because of the ghosts that might live in the 'lav'. And most of all he worries about speaking Māori, not just because he might get into trouble but because he might get laughed at because *only dumb* kids do that.

Because his Mum is too busy, Marino, one of his older sisters, takes Whaimata to school on his first day. It is Marino that he turns to, who takes care of him and looks out for him on his first day, but he also feels safe knowing that he has his other brothers and sisters to look out for him too, if need be. His teacher, a skilled teacher who knows the Māori community she is teaching in, gently introduces him to his classmates and life in the classroom. Aware of the newness of the situation for Whaimata she not only encourages Marino’s help in supporting her brother, but she also encourages the other children in the class to help him too. Despite the anxious moments he has – like when he was asked to stand up and tell the class about his brothers and sisters but couldn't, because the fear of speaking Māori was too much for him – Whaimata enjoys his day and is keen to go back.

Whaimata’s account of his first day at school would be familiar to most New Zealanders. It is a story that I can mostly identify with. I had anxieties about starting school, I had brothers to look out for me, and I had a new entrant teacher who helped and encouraged me. Like Whaimata I enjoyed those first days of school and was keen to go back. Unlike Whaimata, I didn’t have to learn to speak English, as it had already become the dominant language in our home. What Arapera’s story does so beautifully is convey the ordinariness of Whaimata’s day. But, at the same time she also conveys how his day is out of the ordinary, how it is filled with strangeness and unfamiliarity, not just because it is a new experience for him, but because the language and the culture of the school are foreign to the world he inhabits. Much of what is taken for granted by the majority of teachers and children in New Zealand schools is foreign to Whaimata (and once his brothers and sisters too). His staccato Māorified English observations point to a different way of seeing the world and talking about it and being in it...

_Gee, noisy. Shouting, laughing, talking funny._

But the one thing that Whaimata (and his whānau) do share with most New Zealanders is the value of an education. Whaimata wants to be clever, he wants to learn to do sums and write stories and get ahead. It is, paradoxically, what his parents want for him too. Despite their own experiences from which they learnt that the promise of educational opportunity was hollow they, nevertheless, encourage Whaimata to reach out and grasp it. Thus, not only did they fill Whaimata with their own stories of school they also encouraged him to dream, to pursue education and fulfil Ngata’s vision.
It is only later that Whaimata comes to realise what effect this has had on him, and consequently the relationship he has with his whānau and with Pākehā. As an adult he feels the pull between the world his whānau inhabits and the (Pākehā) world he learnt to inhabit and enjoy when he was at school. At the same time that his whānau are proud of him and his achievements, they do not like the way it has changed the way he thinks. His nanny thinks he will become a snob – too good to visit and kōrero Māori with her...

She says that I won’t visit her any more. I’m getting smart. She’ll just have to find some other mokopuna. But she’s too dumb to understand that they’re all like me. All speaking English. All reading and writing.

His father thinks he has become Pākehā – no time for the whānau and too critical of Māori.

Get out or shut up? What are you talking about? Why, I am Māori. I’ve never been anything else... Don’t you understand? You said grow up oh tender plant! You said grab all the advantages of civilisation. Now you don’t like the Pākehā. Why the hell did you send me to school?

Underneath it all, Whaimata knows that despite what he has been told about the benefits of education he will never fully measure up in the Pākehā world. While he might have a house and a new car – the outward signs of getting ahead – he will always be Māori. The Māori experience of assimilation, has not been about the absorption into the dominant Pākehā culture – of making Māori brown skinned Pākehā - and being equal, precisely because of the historical roots of Pākehā domination. No matter whether we have been absorbed into the Pākehā world, or challenge and reject assimilation we remain a racialised other in a society that treats us unequally.

Whaimata is caught in a bind. He has been changed by his experience of school. He hasn’t become bicultural, that is having the knowledge of two worlds and able to walk tall in both as Ngata had urged. Rather, he has become something else altogether. Not completely different though, because echoes of both the culture of his home and the culture of the school (and society) still remain. Thus he finds himself in a ‘third world’ where he is not Pākehā (he still thinks of himself as Māori) yet not wholly Māori (he likes to think his Pākehā education has added to his way of thinking). In this third world Whaimata has grown a third leg...

And now I like everything. That’s what’s wrong with me. I am a three-legged creature.

A creature with three different legs – a Māori leg, a Pākehā leg and a third one which is different from his other two, yet is fashioned from both. It is from the vantage point of his third leg that he is able to see two sides of the question.
Upoko Tuawhitu: te huihui kōrero
Wāhanga Tuawhā

This third leg is clumsy and causes him trouble because he can't hide it from his whānau or from Pākehā. Rather than giving him the (st)ability to stand tall using all three legs it causes him pain. It causes him to stumble.

Mamae ana e  
Painful is my head
Taku matenga e,  
Heavy indeed it is
Ki te hikoi oku wae  
to lift up my feet.

As a result Whaimata considers himself to be an alien, not wholly belonging in either world. Remembering his childhood, Whaimata yearns for the uncomplicatedness of the single cultural identity he once had, in which he was at home. Rather than living in a world of certainty which is what he desires, he lives with uncertainty, paradox, and ambiguity. It seems to me that Whaimata articulates what could be called a post-colonial anxiety in which he has come to realise that his multiply situated identity is the product of particular colonial relationships which defies being neatly defined and boxed.

The world isn't ready for such a creature. But this is what education in a European world has given me. Three legs... And now nobody wants me. I wish I could have only had one as I would have had if I had never turned five.

Story as Theory

I consider Arapera's story immensely useful for understanding and outlining the way in which the Māori students in this study negotiated their way through their university studies. It helped me to see the complexities and the subtleties of the way in which they actively engaged in studying at an institution that they knew and experienced as colonising, yet at the same time wanted to be part of because of the benefits they perceived it would give them. It helped me to see how the ordinariness of everyday practice impacts on identity. It helped me to see the way in which the students saw 'two sides of the question' and the way in which they forged new worlds or spaces in which to operate. In the process it has enabled me to do what I thought was once impossible, that is, to bring together Māori and Western theorising to understand/stand under what it meant to be a Māori student at the University of Canterbury in the mid to late 1990s for nine students. For much of the early part of my doctoral research I thought a great deal about the relative positioning of Māori theorising and Western theorising. I was concerned to privilege Māori theory and thinking because this was a kaupapa Māori project. Also at this time I was concerned with the commensurability between Māori theory and theory from the West. I did not see that given its unique epistemological and ontological tradition that a Māori world-view could speak with other traditions. I have since come to realise that the Māori world-view (as an inherently constructionist world view) opens up the possibility of speaking with other traditions as well as creating new worlds. At a pragmatic level, we (as in different traditions) speak with one another all the
time. This I consider to be part of being human. That we might not and do not listen to one another is also a part of being human. To recognise this does not mean that we should not initiate and engage in conversations with others different from ourselves. To choose not to communicate shuts down the possibility of being heard, shifts being made and new worlds being created. What becomes the issue, for Māori and other indigenous peoples, is how we preserve our unique cultural identity and traditions in this milieu. That is our challenge.

Arapera’s story provides such a way into understanding how Hone, Mārama, Tiaho, Kāhu, Rangimārie, Māui, Haami, Dawn, and Nuku came to make the decisions they made, and embark on the journeys they did and do what they saw necessary to fulfil their dreams. In particular I want to draw on two metaphors she uses in her story – Whaimata’s three worlds and his third leg – to make sense of the students’ experiences.

O ngā ao e toru: a third space
The title of the postscript to Whaimata’s story, o ngā ao e toru (of three worlds) provides the metaphor for the third world that came into being as Whaimata negotiated two different and unequal worlds. This third world is of central importance to Arapera’s story, as it is the space in which Whaimata’s identity is constructed and sustained, and in which he comes to live. Fifteen years on from Arapera Blank’s story Homi Bhabha⁹⁹ a postcolonial writer theorised the idea of a third space and the formation of identity in postcolonial societies⁹⁹.

All cultural identities, Bhabha argues, emerge from and are created in these spaces which are contradictory and ambivalent, no one is exempt – neither colonised nor coloniser⁹⁹, or in the context of New Zealand society, neither Māori nor Pākehā. In this view the formation of cultural identity is dynamic, always in the process of becoming and always the product of particular postcolonial relationships. Whaimata’s third world is the space in which he is constantly engaging both his home and the Pākehā world, mediating between them, and where he is able to use the tools and knowledge he gained from his education to resist assimilation and challenge the dominant ideas of society⁹⁹. In other words, the third world is where the transformation of the self and society becomes a possibility. It is for this precise reason that the third space is important in both Arapera’s and Bhabha’s theorising for it is the space of possibility. It is also the reason why this notion is useful to me in understanding the students’ experiences as they negotiated their way through university.

According to Bhabha it is in this third space - where cultures meet and talk, and differences realised - that hybrid identities are created⁹⁹. Bhabha takes the term hybrid and uses it to name and describe the creation of new cultural identities that arise out of contact in the field of colonial relations between colonised and coloniser. Just as Whaimata’s third leg is something different from the culture of his home and school (Pākehā society), so too is Bhabha’s notion of hybridity, a
new creation – something different, yet with familiar elements. On that basis neither Whaimata’s third leg or Bhabha’s hybridity can be reduced to the cultural influences that it has arisen from. What this allows, argues Bhabha, is the potential to challenge and resist colonial domination.

A three legged creature: a hybrid identity
Whaimata is changed by his encounters between his home culture and the dominant culture that the school reflects. Out of the synergy between the two, he has become something else altogether - a three legged creature. It is this third leg that provides the metaphor for the emergence of another way of being, which although having traces of both cultures, cannot simply be reduced to the defining characteristics of either. This hybridity, as Bhabha calls this new identity formation, is constructed out of the interdependent and ambivalent relationship between coloniser and colonised – between Whaimata’s subordinated home culture and the dominant culture of school and society. New Zealand’s colonial history, Māori/Pākehā relations, multiple social forces, and the day to day interactions Whaimata has with others have all contributed to the construction of his three-legged identity. But, Whaimata struggles with his third leg. Being able to see two sides of the question is unsettling. No longer does he see the world in black or white. The edges between his world and the world that he has learnt to live in have merged into each other turning his view into varying shades of grey. At the same time as he enjoys the benefits Pākehā education has brought him, he is critical of Pākehā. At the same time as he feels good when he is at home, he questions Māori practices. This three legged Whaimata is neither wholly resistant to Pākehā culture nor is he wholly complicit in its domination over him. Rather, resistance and complicity reside, fluctuating uncomfortably, within him. Whilst the ambivalence that he feels may be unsettling, it nevertheless compels him to challenge and resist what he no longer takes for granted in his home culture and what he has come to critically understand of his secondary culture. Whaimata’s ability to see two sides of the question indicates that he has developed a critical consciousness in which he is able to name his world.

Bhabha argues that it is the very ambivalence between coloniser and colonised that challenges the authority of the coloniser or the dominant group. While the coloniser wants to produce a compliant subordinate group whose habits, values and practices ‘mimic’ the coloniser, what it produces instead, is ambivalent subjects, like Whaimata who threaten their authority. The threat comes not so much from Whaimata’s overt resistance as it does from what, ironically, he is seen to represent – a ‘blurred copy’ of the coloniser. Bhabha argues, that while the colonial power wants their subjects to ‘mimic’ the coloniser they, nevertheless, do not want to create exact replicas for this would be too threatening to their own identity and dominance. To me mimicry is akin to the theory of assimilation plus some – almost the same but not quite. Unlike assimilation, which fudges what its real intent is, mimicry takes into account that the aim of reproducing subjects is not about replicating them exactly. Yet, it is the ‘almost the same but not white’ identity that threatens the dominant group...
because it is hard to tell whether mimicry is mockery. This in itself produces anxiety and uncertainty for the dominant group. Thus, the very nature of colonial relations contains the seeds of its own destruction. And it is the emergence of ambivalent hybrid identities that is unsettling and potentially oppositional.

**Hybrid Identities and Resistance**

The very circumstances within which hybrid identities are created open up the possibility of the development of identities that challenge and resist colonial discourses—the dominant taken for granted, normalised ways of talking about and being in the world. While all discourses (dominant, subordinate, colonial, indigenous, feminist, religious, etc) have their own language, it is what is not said that I want to focus on here for it is in the context of what is taken for granted that asymmetries of power between discourses are articulated. Each have unspoken rules about what can be said and what can’t, who can speak and who can’t, what is the right way to think and not, what is valued and not, and so on. Knowledge and power are, thus, inextricably linked, for ‘those who have power have control over what can be known and the way it is known’. The inextricable links between knowledge and power is important to the understanding of colonial discourses, which can be understood as the systems in which the dominant groups impose their knowledge, practices and values upon subordinate groups. Within the context of colonial relationships the colonisers determine what can be spoken and who gets to speak. What this means is that the colonised are silenced, along with the knowledge that speaks of their silencing.

It is at the point where power or dominance is exercised that resistance or opposition is created and our identities shaped. Māori since 1840 have been resisting colonial domination in various ways, both collectively and individually. Hone Heke, for example, cut down the British flag pole—the symbol of colonial rule—not just once but three times in 1844 to express his opposition to British settlement. Another example is the community of Parihaka, under the leadership of Te Whiti and Tohu, who peacefully resisted the confiscation of their land (see Upoko Tuawhā). Ngata’s song he wrote for Diploma Day in 1892 can be seen as an act of resistance as can the very act of this thesis. The point to be made here is that none of these acts of resistance would have occurred outside of the colonial relations that they arose in for they were born out of the ‘gut refusal to be subordinated’. Who we are and who we become, individually and collectively, is shaped by the history of our lives. Whaimata’s experiences have transformed him into a three-legged creature, a hybrid identity in which he challenges and resists assimilation. He has not been assimilated as his father thinks; rather he has been able to resist, perhaps imperfectly and in contradictory ways, the colonising influences of his education while embracing aspects that have enabled him to get ahead. And because of his education, he has come to
know that he is Māori. It is paradoxical that his schooling, so intent on dislocating him from his Māori world, has ended up confirming the very thing it was endeavouring to displace – his ‘māoriness’47. Through the assertion of his ‘māoriness’ and not ‘pākehāness’ Whaimata reflects a consciousness that is oppositional in nature48.

The development of oppositional identities
As far as Whaimata is concerned having a Pākehā education, a house, a new car, and a job (that doesn’t allow him to take time off to attend tangi) doesn’t make him a Pākehā despite what his father says. Rather, it serves to make him more Māori in an oppositional, political sort of way, in contrast to his father’s own oppositional identity. A strategic act that arises out of the experience and struggles of being part of a minority group49 it is an identity, as the name suggests, that opposes the dominant culture and its cultural mores because of the threat it poses to the social and cultural identity of those cultures they subordinate. What form it takes depends on the history of domination in which it has come out of50. For Māori it has arisen out of a particular set of colonial relations, in opposition to Pākehā culture and identity as a means to protect our social and cultural identity. In doing so it is an identity that maintains boundaries between Pākehā and Māori, precisely because Pākehā culture is seen as a threat to Māori culture, language and identity.

It is through oppositional cultural frames of reference that boundaries between what it is to be Māori and what it is to be Pākehā are maintained. Both Whaimata and his father have clear (and different ideas) about what being Māori is and what being Pākehā is. By constructing such a frame of reference they form ideas about what they consider to be appropriate beliefs, values and behaviour for Māori and what they consider is appropriate for Pākehā. They also define what is inappropriate for Māori with regard to taking on Pākehā customs and values. Thus, what they consider appropriate for themselves and other Māori, is defined in opposition to Pākehā cultural beliefs and practices. Echoes of this are threaded throughout the young students’ kōrero when they talk about distancing themselves not only from Pākehā but other Māori students who they do not see as being quite the same as them. The mature students too, have developed oppositional cultural frames of reference. It most strongly resonates in their kōrero about seeking out and studying with other Māori students and the differences they consider exists between them and the Pākehā students they have studied with. It is also a way into making sense of some of these students’, those who had little exposure to the Māori world, expressions of being Māori. At the same time, most of the students established a distinction between their cultural identity and the culture of the University. Perhaps more than anything else, asserting their cultural identity and establishing relationships with other Māori students helped diffuse the loneliness of being a Māori student.
Maintaining distinctions: essential strategies

In a deeply ironic way oppositional cultural frames of reference are a contradiction to the development of hybrid identities which challenge the very idea of essential cultural beliefs, values and behaviours. I suspect that this kind of contradiction adds to Whaimata’s confusion. One of the primary assumptions that I began my study with (and I have no cause to change it) was that there were no absolutely essential qualities to being Māori\(^5\). Just as stories and traditions from the past may inform who we are so do our present experiences in the world. Aroha Durie a Māori educationist expressed this beautifully when she wrote ‘in a period of shifting cultural landscapes precise definitions of identity become increasingly difficult to construct’\(^52\). Yet the formation of oppositional Māori identities and cultural frames of reference do construct, at least politically, essential cultural qualities. Indeed, without doing so there would be no challenge to discourses that subordinate and oppress and therefore, no hope for the future. Gayatri Spivak\(^53\), another postcolonial writer, argues for the strategic use of essentialism in order to challenge and resist colonial discourses. But neither Whaimata nor his father have read Spivak (or Bhabha for that matter), their knowledge of the world is born out of their lived reality and the ‘gut refusal to be subordinated’. But the ‘gut refusal to be subordinated’ manifests itself differently in both Whaimata and his father. Whaimata’s leads him to engage with the Pākehā world and enables him to ‘play the game’ – to do what he has to do in order to make his dreams come true. While his father’s cultural frame of reference leads him to not only separate himself as much as he can from the Pākehā world but also to challenge his son’s ‘Māoriness’.

Oppositional identities and marginalisation

The development of an oppositional identity and oppositional cultural frame of reference serves not only to advance Māori personal and collective aspirations, but it can also serve to sidetrack them. Arapera gives us a hint of this in the way she juxtaposes Whaimata’s kōrero with that of his father’s. We are not told directly, but nevertheless, a picture is sketched for us of a father whose cultural frame of reference checks him from having anything but minimal contact with Pākehā. Earlier in the story Arapera sketches a similar picture when Whaimata’s mother is too busy to take him to school. Since the establishment of state schooling for Māori in 1867, Māori have told countless stories that talk of alienation\(^54\). I only have to think about my father’s schooling. But, resistance and alienation are not things of the past, while circumstances might have changed (some for the better and some for the worse) the underlying colonial discourses remain. As long as relations of dominance continue to be played out in schools, students will continue to challenge and resist the dominant discourses in ways that work against their ‘best’ interests, that is if we accept that success in the Pākehā system is in their ‘best’ interests\(^55\). Asserting an anti-school identity may affirm who they are and give them a sense of power and control over their destiny but at the same time though, their rejection of school serves to ‘do the work of bringing about the future that others have mapped out for them’\(^56\). Thus their oppositional identity and cultural frame of reference can work against them.

270
so that they collude in their own marginalised status. Resistance, since Paul Willis’ study, has been used to explain why some students drop out of school while others stay, and it is useful here to explain the school experiences of all the mature kaikōrero in particular. Rangimārie’s bunking, Māui’s lack of engagement and Haami’s bunking and anger can all be understood as strategies of resistance, which all in their various ways led them to leave school without qualifications. It is also helpful in understanding why the school peers of the four young students left school early unlike Mārama, Kāhu, Hone and Taiho who remained at school until the seventh form, and then continued on to university. The young students’ kōrero on this revealed that even when Māori students are taught within kaupapa Māori school settings they are still leaving early. Resistance then, is not just occurring in opposition to the culture of the school it is also occurring in opposition to something much larger – the hierarchically structured society we live in. Research has found that Māori students opt out of school because they know that staying at school and gaining qualifications does not transfer into the meaningful and rewarding work as the dominant discourse says it does. Perhaps the resignation discernible in Hone’s kōrero about inevitability of the racist nature of society signals his eventual withdrawal from university.

Alienation is further off set by the dominant meritocratic discourse, when it conveys to students that to get ahead requires two things – effort and ability. When it doesn’t work like this it goes on to provide the students with the rational for their failure, that is that they didn’t work hard enough or they didn’t have the ‘brains’ to succeed. With the exception of Nuku all the mature students articulated these sentiments when they first became students. For some like Haami and Rangimārie these feelings became so deeply ingrained that they could not rise above them.

Oppositional identities and peer pressure
Earlier I talked about the way in which oppositional cultural frames of reference create boundaries in which cultural differences are delineated. In doing so they serve to maintain distinctions between those that fit or behave appropriately and those that do not. Whilst they may serve to foster a sense of collective solidarity they can also serve to keep those Māori they consider Pākehā out of the group. At the same time the desire to be part of the group can put pressure on students to behave in ways that reflect the culture of the group but hinder their chances of school success. There are plenty of stories of Māori students who act ‘dumb’ in order to be accepted by their mates and also to be with them in lower streamed classes. Kāhu talked about the fear that his mates would see his working hard and enjoying schoolwork as acting ‘Pākehā’. I think it coloured his initial perception of what students were like at university and consequently affected his relationship with them. There are also stories in which Māori students in order to be successful at school feel that they have had to leave their ‘māoriness’ at the school gate. Although Arapera hints at Whaimata leaving his māoriness at the gate, his story is not a story of assimilation and colonisation – his third leg is
testament to that. It is a story of contradictions in which he ‘plays the game’ to get ahead. It is a game that the students play too to fulfill their dreams.

Playing the game
When Tiaho, Dawn, Rangimārie, Mārama, Māui, Kāhu, Nuku, Hone and Haami went to university they were already critically engaged in their world as a result of their everyday realities of being Māori. As Māori students not entirely acculturated to the dominant discourse of the University, but who engaged with it on a daily basis, they had named and ‘played the game’ for themselves. They had created for themselves a space which enabled them as Māori to enjoy, be challenged, find frustrating and be critical of the University all at the same time. Yet, paradoxically it ‘gave’ them the tools, which they would ultimately use against it.

Playing the game is a profoundly ironic act. At the same time that the students conformed to the culture of the University and did what was necessary to succeed they also challenged and resisted it. Never fully accepting the University’s values and practices they reflected critically on their situation and employed strategies to succeed. In playing the game, or what Gee calls ‘mushflake’60, successful students employ strategies that mimic, but are not quite the same as, the dominant culture’s values and practices. To be able to do this, the students have to have, at least, partially acquired the dominant discourse as well as have some meta or critical understanding of it. But schools are poor at facilitating the acquisition of its culture by students who are different. While some mastery may occur it is only enough to ‘ensure that they continually mark themselves as outsiders while using them and are, at best colonized by them’65. Through playing the game students are able to successfully, if not completely, evade the gatekeeping activities of the dominant group. Mārama, Tiaho, Hone, Kāhu, Rangimārie, Māui, Dawn, and Nuku did this in various ways. Take for example the way in which the mature students formed themselves into study groups and shared their notes and reading material with each other, and the way in which the young students only attended lectures that they were interested in. But perhaps the most effective strategy of all was the way in which they talked about their experiences at University. Through telling their stories they came to reflect on how they saw themselves, and what they did64. In a sense they talked their way to success – and into Te Ao Mārama.
End Notes
1 This is the chorus to the song Maranga! ranga! ra ki rung! that Ngata (1892) wrote. See Appendix K for a copy of the song.
2 James Hight was one of the university’s ‘home grown’ academics. Born in Darfield, he was a student at the same time as Āpirana Ngata completing his B.A. in 1893 and an M.A. in 1894. He went on to become a lecturer and Rector of the Canterbury College – the forerunner of the University (Gardner, Beardsley, & Carter, 1973). The library building is named after him.
3 This song, sung at the 1891 capping ceremony is believed to have been written by Ngata (Walker, 2001). Certainly when looking at the song it is hard to imagine that Ngata did not write it. But James Hight has attributed the song to ‘Thacker’. If Ngata didn’t write it as first thought he would have at least helped write it.
4 Walker (2001: 66)
5 Getting to school was a journey of some 360 plus kilometres for the young Āpirana.
6 In Walker’s (2001: 65) biography of Āpirana Ngata.
7 Walker (2001: 65)
8 Ngata (1959: xxix)
9 For example see Bridget Underhill’s (1998) substantial thesis A bibliography of writing by Māori in English. For specific examples of published writing about education and the educational experiences of Māori see Witi Ihimaera’s (1998) Growing Up Māori as well as his anthologies of Māori writing; Irwin (1992); Linda Smith’s writing (1991; 1992a; 1992b); Graham Smith (1997); Selby (1999); Patricia Grace’s writing in particular Baby No Eyes, Rose Pere’s (1983; 1991) work and Arapera Blank (1968).
10 Indigenous and minority peoples the world over tell of similar experiences of being written into the history books, anthropological accounts, academic accounts and popular narratives through the colonisers’ eyes (Marker, 2000; Smith, 1999; Stanfield II, 1985).
11 hooks (1989)
13 As William Tierney (1992: 55) writes, with regard to Native American students’ participation in higher learning, "[a]ny number of dreams may pass through a student’s mind as he or she begins life in academe. In some respects a dream is the most individual of activities...[y]et dreams have a reality about them that involves culture and society".
14 Arapera Blank (1968)
15 For example: for Patricia Grace, see her collections of short stories Waiariki and other stories(1986a) and The Dream Sleepers and other stories(1986c) first published in 1975 and 1980 respectively and her first novel Mutuwhenua: the moon sleeps(1986b) first published in 1978; for Witi Ihimaera, see his early collections of short stories Poumanu Poumanu (1972) and The New Net Goes Fishing(1977) and his first novel Tangi (Ihimaera, 1973).
Arapera Blank's story appears in a collection of writings edited by Erik Schwimmer (1968) on the situation of Māori in the 1960s. With the kind permission of Arapera’s whānau and the daughter of the publishers I have included her story in the Appendices (see Appendix L).

For example see Chow (1993; 1998); Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin (1995; 1998) and Spivak (1990).


This idea comes from Elizabeth Gordon and Mark Williams’ article ‘Raid on the articulate; Code-switching, style-shifting, and Post-colonial writing’(1998) in which they talk about the way Patricia Grace employs ‘a modified kind of code switching’, not from Māori to English but from one kind of English to another, to convey her message. Arapera Blank uses the same kind of technique.

Arapera Blank exploits the use of ‘Maorified English’ to convey a sense of the sanctions against the use of te reo Māori at that time, as does Patricia Grace. In doing so we are reminded that ‘the language cannot be used by the characters ...because use of Māori was at that time prohibited in New Zealand schools and Māori children were thus obliged to conform to the codes of the Pākehā world’ (Gordon & Williams, 1998: 85).


Equality of opportunity, premised on the notion of egalitarianism, has been the catch cry of the New Zealand state since the first Labour Government came into power in the 1930s. Education has been considered the central vehicle through which an egalitarian society would be achieved. The rhetoric of equality of opportunity, meritocracy and egalitarianism has masked the reality for the majority of Māori. Schools have not equally promoted and provided opportunities for Māori. The statistics continue to show the stark reality facing the majority of young Māori. Since the 1980s, the situation has been made worse by the move towards ‘hyper individualism’ (Pitt, 1998) – the valuing of individual rights, competition and achievement – which is antithetical to Māori values (Smith, 1997).

Gergen (1996: 139) argues that we are all 'burdened by the code of coherence...'; that is, a desire for a single coherent one dimensional identity. While social structures, on the one hand, encourage such one dimensionality, on the other our lived reality tells us something different. Potentially, he argues, this is detrimental to our sense of self.

See an earlier discussion in Upoko Tuarima.

Note that I have not included Ngaire and Tania here because they left before they had a chance to participate in the research hui.
The way this thesis is presented, using 'two texts', reflects the way in which different theories and perspectives can converse with one another (see the discussion on this point in Upoko Tuarima).

Bhabha (1994)

The term post-colonial has been the subject of much debate in recent years. I use the term to signal the problematic nature of traditional theories of colonisation: not the end of colonialism as some would suggest the term infers (Ashcroft et al, 1995).

I am only too aware of the underlying assumption inherent in such an arbitrary statement as coloniser and colonised. Although in a general way the coloniser is the one that has the power, I also recognise that not all those who are part of the colonisers group are equally empowered. For example women, those who are poor, those who are queer, those differently able do not have an equal share of the power with their male, middle class, heterosexual and able bodied peers. While I do not deny the inequalities these subordinate groups face, in this thesis I privilege race as the primary site of struggle in New Zealand’s post-colonial society.

Ashcroft et al. (1998)

Despite the word hybrid as a pejorative racial term for ‘mixed-breeds’, it is widely used in contemporary postcolonial writing (Ashcroft et al., 1995, 1998).

As with her use of Māorified English I consider Arapera uses the veiled criticism that Whaimata makes about Pākehā – no one wants to see two sides of the question. Only liars can see two things at once - to press home the point that Māori criticising Pākehā at this time was not something that was permissible.

According to Gee (1996) the potential for Whaimata to become conscientised arose out of the incompatability between his primary home culture and the culture of the school. Ultimately, of his failure to adapt to the master or dominant discourse of the school. It is the internal conflicts that arise from such incompatibilites that sites of struggle and resistance are born.

I am influenced here by Freire’s (1968) notion of conscientisation. Based on Freire’s critical pedagogy Ira Shor (1993: 33-34) posits four qualities of critical consciousness. They include:

- power awareness – being aware of who exercises power in society, how it is exercised and for what ends;
- critical literacy – the discovery of the deep meaning of an event, practice, situation etc and then applying it to one’s own situation;
- desocialisation – recognising and challenging ‘othering’ discourses that have become taken for granted in society such as racism, sexism, homophobia, hero-worship etc; and finally
- self education – taking part in and initiating social change and ‘overcoming the induced anti-intellectualism of mass education’.

According to Ashcroft et al. (1998: 139) the notion of mimicry has come to signify ‘the ambivalent relationship between colonizer and colonized’.

Ashcroft et al. (1998: 139-141)
Consequently, colonial discourse is the complex of signs and practices that organize social existence and social reproduction within colonial relationships (Ashcroft et al., 1998: 42).

Discourses constitute social knowledge in which we come to understand ourselves, others, and the world around us, in which our very social existence is shaped and organised (Gee, 1996). Thus, discourse is used to denote not only that which is spoken but also that which is lived and practised. Moreover, we are shaped by many Discourses each of which represents ‘one of our ever-multiple identities’ (Gee, 1996: 146). Therefore, as a mother, a Māori, Ngati Mutunga and a student (amongst other things) I have multiple identities/discourses and am to varying degrees versed in their language.

Michel Foucault (1980), perhaps the most influential theorist on power, argued that power or dominance is the fabric of social relations that no one escapes. Power and resistance exist in dialectical opposition - without power resistance would not exist and without resistance power would fade.

Other examples include: the wars fought by Māori to defend their land (Belich, 1989); the various submissions and claims made to the settler government since the late 1840’s (Ward, 1999); the delegations that went to England to seek audiences with the Queen (Walker, 1989); the development of the Kingitanga movement (Walker, 1990); the establishment of hapū and iwi runanga in the nineteenth century (O’Malley, 1997); the establishment of religious movements such as Rua Kenana’s (Binney, Chaplin, & Wallace, 1979); the 1975 landmarch; the various occupations starting with Bastion Point; the establishment of groups such as Ngā Tamatao (Walker, 1990); the development of kura kaupapa educational initiatives (Smith, 1997); and the development of kaupapa Māori research methodologies (Smith, 1999a).

It is at this point that I disagree with Bhabha’s (1990: 211) view that the third space in which hybridity emerges displaces the ‘histories that constitute it’, making them redundant. As far as I am concerned we simply cannot leave our history behind. To be sure some aspects of our lives and ourselves cease to be relevant as we live them but rather than becoming superfluous, they become part of our whakapapa, precisely because of their historically constituted nature.


Ogbu (1987) writes about the American situation with regard to race and education. He argues that there are two types of minorities – those that have chosen to immigrate to America and those that have no say in their social position. According to Ogbu the experiences of those who choose to be part of American society are different to those who had no choice in the matter – native
Americans and African Americans. Although the situation is very different here in New Zealand his notion of oppositional identity can be usefully applied here.

*Bhabha’s theory challenges the notion that in postcolonial societies cultures and cultural identities remain unchanged and fixed. I do not consider that this necessarily means that cultures do not have features, practices, values and language styles or codes that define them. What it does do, though, is question the notion of essentialised cultures or identities. I recall reading, sometime ago, an interview transcript in which he talked about the characteristics that define his home culture – the Parsee of India. I cannot remember any of the details but it did strike me at the time that the characteristics he defined contradicted his theoretical position. But I have come to see that his theory, while making problematic the idea of essentialised identities, is more about the dynamic nature of cultural worlds and how they are always under construction, precisely because they are always and everywhere part of the social world. It is, I argue, to this end that the notion of essentialism is challenged.*

*52 Durie (1997: 142)*

*53 Spivak (1990: 45-51) writes:*

> ...why not look at the ways in which one is essentialist, carve out a representative essentialist position, and then do politics according to the old rules whilst remembering the dangers in this? ... In deconstructive critical practice, you have to be aware that you are going to essentialize anyway. So then strategically you can look at essentialisms, not as descriptions of the way things are, but something that one must adopt to produce a critique of anything.*


*55 Sultana (1989)*

*56 Willis (1977: 198)*

*57 Willis (1977)*

*58 Ogbu (1987), Sultana(1989)*

*59 In research on African American students’ educational success Carla O’Connor (1997) found that students’ success/resilience stemmed not so much from being aware of and experiencing struggle but having people in their lives who would actively confront racism. In other words they had role models that did not presume they were powerless. ‘Rather’, she wrote, ‘they signify through their ideology or behaviour that social injustices can be actively resisted and need not be interpreted as given’ (O’Connor, 1997: 623).*

*60 See Sultana (1989) and Alison Jones (1991)*

*61 Mitchell & Mitchell (1988)*

*62 Gee (1996: 147) has taken the term from prison culture where prisoners have ‘to make do with something less when the real thing is not available’. ‘Mushfake’ in
the educational context alludes to the differences between the discourse (culture) of schools and the discourses of its students.

63 Gee (1996: 147)

64 Ochs and Capps (1996)
Te Poroporoaki

The huihui kōrero is over. I can relax and meet up with old friends and make new ones, as we share one last meal together. And it is looking good. The past week my whānau had been out gathering kai moana – kutai, paua and koura – to put on the table, and my brother brought a bucket of mutton birds for the occasion. Food like this is not just food for the belly it is also food for the soul. As we eat people stand and say their thank yous and farewells. I stand to make mine.

In my poroporoaki I reflect on my experiences as a researcher.
Upoko Tuawaru: Te Poroporoaki

THE END IS NOT THE END

I am fortunate to have been given the opportunity to write my thesis at a place not far from 'Our Bay'. One day as I sat and struggled to find the right words to convey what I wanted to say I had an overwhelming desire to retrace my childhood journeys and bask once more in the smells, the sounds and warm breezes that once enveloped us all. On impulse I jumped in the car and headed in the direction of the Bay. My excitement grew the closer I got. But to my complete surprise, a tall fence and locked gates surrounded the once open farmland that leads down to the bay. It had never crossed my mind that the bay would one day cease to be our bay. After all it was 'Our Bay' and had been for over 40 years. In shock I turned round on the narrow metal road and went back to writing. Sad as it is that there will be no more journeys to the Bay there are, however, different journeys to be had now - different landscapes to traverse, pathways to explore and new footsteps to cast. No longer may I leave my footprints in the sand or trace the night sky as I lie in the tussock, at 'Our Bay,' but the dreams remain. It is those dreams that bring me to this place, not far from my childhood memories, where I am leaving new footsteps, and permanent ones at that, as I write my dissertation. The permanence of the words weigh heavily as I write. I worry about what I am saying and how I am saying it and whether I am making sense. This is no easy task because as I write what I thought was relatively constant, I discovered was transformed in the process. I wonder whether my journey as an apprentice researcher will ever be over.

Researching and writing have been part of my everyday life for several years now. It is hard to imagine that it is nearly over. As I stand to make my farewell, I take one last moment to reflect on my experiences as a research student; to think about the students whose stories remain deeply etched within me; to think about how the university might be made into a place that better meets the needs of Māori students; and to think about the people who have been influential in my ability to complete this project.

I began my journey as a researcher full of energy and enthusiasm. As I come to the end of it, I am feeling 'somewhat' shattered - physically, mentally, emotionally and spiritually. It has left me almost empty of the words to tell you of the triumphs and the anguish that have been my journey. And yet, I feel as if I have more to say. I suspect that this journey is far from over as I hold back my desire to keep on writing, to change just this little point, to say that like this and to write in what I have left out. I have had to keep on reminding myself that it is impossible to write a complete account of the students' experiences. That it simply is not feasible to discuss all the issues; to write in all of the last eight years. But it wasn't just a matter of always (and still) having more to say, it was also a matter of how to convey the complexity of their lives, to savor all the nuances. No amount of wishing it was going to make this thesis an easy one. That should not have come as a surprise to me, as my own story as a student was far from straightforward nor is/was my journey as student researcher. I struggled with ways to write a thesis that reflected the way the students engaged
in, and experienced the university. Although this is the story of eleven students who became university students, it also a story about my own journey to becoming a kaupapa Māori researcher.

‘Doing’ research with Māori students was immensely rewarding, at times challenging and always insightful. I came to realise early on, that being part of a group was just as important to me as it was to the students. I looked forward to getting together and talking with them and I missed them once our hui stopped. In stark contrast to gathering their stories, I found that writing them was a lonely process. Not only because it was something that I had to do on my own – as the regulations dictated – but because I found that the only way I was going to finish was to ‘hide’ myself away. Ironically, the things that kept me sane at university – tutoring, being with other Māori students, and being involved in Māori activities on campus – became obstacles once I began writing. Literally, I had to withdraw myself from the world. – not just from the university as it turned out, but also from my whānau. Jean and Larry (my supervisor and her husband) offered me their guesthouse as a place to write and I soon discovered the pleasure of solitude. However, at the same time as I enjoyed being on my own I became aware of the irony of my position. Here I was writing my thesis, in a way that belied the way I conducted the research. As much as I was busy writing about whanaungatanga and the importance of relationships, I was just as busy keeping my distance.

Then there was the ‘other’ kind of loneliness that gripped me in the night – that I couldn’t escape from. A kind of ‘intellectual’ loneliness, that produced an anxiety about what I was doing. Having talked to other Ph.D. students I knew that I was not alone in feeling anxious and inadequate. We talked about how, even with support from supervisors, family and fellow students, we still felt alone, inadequate and anxious. Typical endings to our conversations would always be, ‘But that’s the nature of it, isn’t it?’ I wonder, though, whether it has to be that way. I am not sure how it might be changed; perhaps I will get the opportunity to explore this further one day.

It did not help that I wanted to do research that went ‘against the grain’ of the established research traditions. Doing research that talks back to the institution was/is a risky undertaking. Never one to take the easy route I persevered and came face to face with challenges: some subtle, some not. In 1996 when I began my study there was no one else doing the kind of research that I was doing, although friend and colleague Helen was using feminist and mana waihine Māori (a specific form of kaupapa Māori) theory to inform her research. As the only Māori doctoral students (on campus) in the Education Department and two of very few Māori research students, we felt our isolation keenly. At least I had Rose Parker, the Bicultural Studies Lecturer in the Education Department as one of my supervisors who supported and mentored me. However, once Rose took sick I had no one (by this stage Helen was working at home in order to complete her thesis) to share my concerns, my interests, or the dilemmas I faced. There was
no other Māori lecturer on campus to take her place, such was/is the dearth of Māori academic staff.

When I began my research, I had three supervisors who I considered were experts in their field. I had an expert in te reo me ona tikanga and Māori education, one in the area of colonisation and imperialism and one who knew the University inside out. It was, I thought, a formidable team. We complimented each other well, but when Rose left, my supervision committee began to fall apart. Before long supervision meetings became tense affairs as theoretical differences began to surface between myself and my two remaining supervisors. As far as I could see I had two options – change my supervisors or give up. I couldn’t give up – I had made a commitment to the students who shared their stories with me – so I chose to give up my supervisors. Giving up my supervision committee was difficult to do, as I believed that they had knowledge and skills that were valuable. But for this project, in the circumstances I found myself, I needed supervisors that were sensitive to, and if not sharing the same vision, were prepared to support me in my endeavours as a Māori researcher propping up the sky.

Jean, Baljit and Elody became my supervisors and it is with their support and encouragement that I have been able to complete this project. I have been fortunate to have this amazing supervision committee made up of an Indian, an American and a Kiwi woman. Initially I was concerned that I did not have Māori representation, and I wondered whether there would be too much ‘theoretical’ distance/difference between us. But I need not have worried. Although their fields of expertise are not in Māori education or kaupapa Māori research, they each have a personal and professional commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi. Moreover, their respectful collaborative approach to working with others facilitated the supervision process. Their individual and combined wisdom has enabled me to think and write in ways that ‘fit’ me and the dreams and hopes I have. They also acknowledged Rose as an important and valuable member of the supervision committee. In addition, despite her health, Rose, who was instrumental in my becoming a doctoral student in the first place, has continued to mentor me.

When I began writing I didn’t think that I would be writing a thesis like this. Indeed, I was not aware that I could write a thesis like this. Although I had always enjoyed writing, as an adult I had lost sight of the pleasures associated with it. I have my supervisors to thank for encouraging me to explore writing stories once again and rediscover the different ways to ‘tell it like it is’. As I come to the end of writing I think about all the possible ways I could write this thesis. I consider that I am in a better place now to write a thesis than when I first began. But perhaps that is the nature of the beast.

At this stage of the research process, I am expected to know my topic inside out. But the more I have come to know, the more I realise how little I know. All at the same time, I want to know more, yet need to finish. The fire that was lit when I
was a child burns fiercely today as I make these concluding remarks. I anticipate new journeys ahead.

One of the issues I felt keenly throughout my research was the dilemma of whose knowledge counts. When I began my project, I just didn’t want to privilege Māori ways of knowing, I wanted to take them for granted. I felt that it was culturally and politically important for me to do so. Like Kāhu who couldn’t point to a particular source of his knowing because it was so embedded, I too have found it impossible, at times, to get to the source of what I know. There have been many people, who have influenced me over the years. As well there have been moments when, for example, a cloud formation has ‘talked’ to me and enabled me to see things clearly. This raised the issue of how to acknowledge my sources, which were diverse and didn’t always fit EndNotes. One way round this has been to not only include a reference section for sources that I have used in my thesis, but also a supplementary reading list of all that I have read over the course of my research. But that has not gone far enough because it still leaves out many of my sources. I want to acknowledge here all the people and things who past and present have touched my life and made me see there is more to life than my own horizon.

From the moment we embarked on this project together the students and I became ‘journeying’ companions. Together we have shared many moments: some painful, some moving, but mostly enjoyable. The stories that are retold here are just some of the kōrero that we had shared over the three years. One of the regrets that I have is that the students never got to see their kōrero written into my thesis. This was supposed to have happened but personal circumstances made that difficult. With the deaths of my parents and then my own ill health, it was just not meant to be as I took time off study. Once back into writing, over two years had lapsed between gathering their stories and writing them. By this time, I had lost contact with all but a couple of students.

Perhaps the biggest challenge to me throughout the research process has been meeting the needs of my whānau at the same time doing justice to my work. It was hard finding balance between doing a Ph.D. and being mother, partner, sister, aunty and daughter. In many ways life outside of study had to be put on hold. My youngest daughter has grown up with a mum who has always been ‘too busy’ to play. I have seen two daughters leave home and a third leave the country and a mokopuna born, as I have studied. However, ‘life’, no matter how much I tried to disentangle myself from it, affected me, and affected me deeply. Both my parents died while I was working towards this degree. My mother while I was gathering the students’ stories, and my father almost two years later while I was in the middle of writing.

Dad’s death and then a bout of ill health marked a shift in the way I saw the world. I think it became apparent in my work. A journal entry at that time notes my struggle with what I had been doing and a tentative change in direction.
I have abandoned the desire to finish what I have done, for quite simply I am not the same person. I don’t see the world in the same way anymore. What once seemed certain no longer does and what once I considered irrelevant to my work has become important. How do I adequately convey the journey I am on?

When I got back into study and my supervisors suggested exploring another way of writing I was ready. As a result, a much more personal and human account of students’ experiences was written. It wasn’t always easy to do, and it might not be evenly done, but it is an account that is easy to read. My daughters, who have been my inspiration think so.

But then, the stories the students tell speak for themselves. They provide an insight into the world of a group of diverse Māori students. Consequently, I have come to the end of this project reflecting on what makes this research project a distinctly Māori study in terms of the students’ experiences being specifically Māori ones. This is especially pertinent in light of the similarities between Māori experiences and other subordinate, or disadvantaged students’ experiences in New Zealand as well as indigenous, minority and disadvantaged students around the world¹. The key difference resides in the unique socio-cultural history that continues to impact on the relationships between Māori and the wider world. Indeed, while we may experience similar “fortunes and misfortunes” as Mason Durie² writes "...the distinguishing characteristic is not necessarily material hardship, or risk laden life-styles, or lack of motivation, or unsympathetic school environments or impaired access to education ...the essential difference is that Māori live at the interface between te ao Māori and the wider global society". As a consequence, our status of Other is confirmed on a daily basis. What this has meant for Haami, Tania, Ngaire, Mārama, Tiaho, Hone, Kāhu, Rangimārie, Māui, Dawn, and Nuku is that the stories they told about their experiences as students, as well as the strategies they employed, were framed by the complex and contradictory experiences of being Māori in today’s world. And in turn, framed by an institution that was, at the same time both welcoming and discouraging³ - a participatory institution on the one hand and an inherently marginalising one on the other.

Their stories talk back to the University, challenging the institution to listen to, and engage in constructive conversations with Māori students and their communities. This is particularly timely, given the current climate in which the tertiary sector as a whole is being made accountable for its responsiveness to Māori. Ultimately, though, their kōrero challenges the University to think about and come to terms with how to incorporate and empower their different voices⁴ as well as the diverse voices of all Māori students, indeed of all students. In doing so their stories challenge the University to create a new institution, one which brings te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā together to formulate protocols and practices that reflect the institution’s Pacific location and socio-cultural past. To put it simply, to create an institution in which diverse aspirations can be realised.

As I think about what would be required for the institution to be become both bicultural and bilingual, I am struck by the challenge that this now presents me.
When I first began this study I was concerned to provide the University with a set of recommendations. But re-writing my thesis has led me to re-think what it means to talk back to the policy makers. Just as researchers have needed to grapple with alternative ways of writing in the complexity of the lived realities of the people who participate in their research, so too is there a need to re-imagine ways of writing to the policy makers that take into account those complexities. At the same time that I acknowledge that one of the central objectives of this research was to make a difference, I am mindful of the danger of creating a prescriptive set of recommendations in order to do so. Whilst a set of recommendations may unambiguously point to the changes required, it does open the possibility of creating a ‘checklist’ from which the institution’s biculturalism and bilingualism can be measured. In such a scenario there is the potential for tokenistic rather than meaningful change to occur.

Despite the concerns that I may have, the students’ stories clearly contain ideas about what a bicultural and bilingual institution would look and feel like. At times their kōrero also contains explicit recommendations of the kind of changes that they would like to see the University make (see Wāhanga Tuataoru in Upoko Tuawhitu for a brief summary). Thus I have come to the end of this project, reluctant, on the one hand, to outline a set of recommendations, while on the other acknowledging that embedded (both explicitly and implicitly) in the students’ kōrero are a range of recommendations and ideas. But rather than think of the recommendations outlined here as an exhaustive set of recommendations, they should be thought of as a beginning of the dialogue between the University and its Māori students. According to the students’ korero, in a university that is both bilingual and bicultural:
• there is a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi;
• there is a working partnership with the Māori community, especially with the local iwi;
• te reo Māori is commonly heard and spoken throughout the campus;
• kaumatua are an integral part of the university guiding Māori teachers and students in te reo Māori me ona tikanga;
• strong Māori leadership provides and supports academic excellence;
• affirmative action policies are implemented to redress historical and systemic inequalities;
• the institution proactively seeks to employ Māori academic staff so that there are Māori teaching in all disciplines;
• there is a space in which Māori students and staff are able to come together and be Māori;
• mātauranga Māori and Māori pedagogical practices are part of the curriculum across the various disciplines on campus- not as ‘add ons’ but in ways that are congruent with Māori lived realities and aspirations;
• all teachers are conversant in tikanga Māori as well as the tikanga of the institution;
• te reo Māori is taught through immersion;
• all teachers participate in professional development to ensure their effectiveness as teachers;
• pastoral and academic support for Māori students is part of the institution’s ethic of caring, rather than as a result of deficit thinking about Māori; and
• there would be a taken for granted expectation that Māori students are successful students, just as likely to pursue graduate degrees as their non-Māori peers.

To be sure this is a big ask, for making it a reality requires a revisioning of the past and a rewriting of the future: perhaps the rethinking of aspirations for a bicultural institution. As a teacher and kaupapa Māori researcher, the creation of such an institution is a challenge I take into the future.

As my parents before me lit the way for myself and my brothers’ and sisters’ journeys into the world of light I too, in my own way, have lit the path for my daughters and their tamariki/mokopuna. I envision a university in which the tikanga is not ‘stamped on the ground’, as Rangimārie so insightfully put it, but an institution in which the tikanga is the outcome of a partnership between tangata whenua and Pākehā. Creating, as it were, an institutional third space, one in which my mokopuna will be at home.

I end this poroporoaki with a big thank you to my whānau, Rose, and to my supervisors who have helped, supported, coaxed and cajoled me through this process. I also mihi to the students who so generously shared their journeys with me. Kia ora tatou katoa.
End Notes
2 (Durie, 2002: 5)
3 Tierney (1992)
4 Tierney (1992)
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290


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305
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317


Source: adapted from Te Rangi Hiroa, 1950: pp 433-453
Appendix B: Dad’s school photo at Christchurch West High School, date unknown
Appendix C: Information Sheet for First Year Māori Students

TE AO O NGA AKONGA MAORI

Ko Taranaki te maunga
Ko Urenui te awa
Ko Tokomaru te waka
Ko Urenui te marae
Ko Ngati Mutunga te iwi
Ko Hazel Phillips taku ingoa
Nga mihi nui ki a koe

My name is Hazel Phillips and I am a postgraduate student at the University of Canterbury. I am beginning research on Māori participation in university for my doctoral thesis. The research I am undertaking arises out of the concern for the low participation, retention and success rates of Māori students in university education.

What is the research topic?
The title of my research is Te Ao o Nga Akonga Maori: The Experiences of Māori Students at the University of Canterbury. The research will be carried out over a three year period in order to track the experiences of students throughout the time it takes to complete a degree.
The aims of this research are:
1. to describe the expectations, aspirations and experiences of Māori students so as to find out what barriers they face during their time at university;
2. and to outline what is needed to provide a positive university environment for Māori students.

Who will be the participants in the research?
The only criterion for eligibility to participate in the research is to be an enrolled first year student who self identifies as Māori. However, it is hoped that the participants in the research will represent, in general, the university Māori population. The participants will include school leavers, mature students, female and male students, full-time and part-time students, and students across all faculties at the university.

How many participants will there be?
Ten students will be selected from those who have volunteered to participate.

What will they be doing?
The research is based on the concept of whānau. Thus the participants will become a group of people, a whānau, who will meet at least once a term to discuss their experiences, expectations and aspirations to date. The kaupapa, or structure of the hui, and their take, or issues to be raised, will be participant led. That is, participants themselves will determine what is discussed and what format the hui will take. The participants will also be interviewed individually. These interviews will be confidential. The participants will be asked for permission for their discussions to be taped. If the discussions are not taped, they will be written up by the researcher.

What if a participant leaves university before the three years is up?
Kei te pai! Taking part for however long a participant is at university will be worthwhile and important.
What if a participant does not want to take part any more?
At any time of the research, participants will be able to withdraw from participating or withdraw their contributions or parts of their contributions.

What about confidentiality within the whanau?
How the whanau deals with keeping personal data confidential will be discussed by the whanau. Nevertheless, those who participate will be asked to sign a consent form. Part of that form will also require that all participants' personal data and contributions be respected and kept strictly confidential.

What about student anonymity in the thesis?
Complete anonymity will be assured. Names and possible identifying markers of the participants will be changed.

What is a consent form?
Prior to the research beginning participants will be asked to sign a consent form. This is a contract between the researcher and the individual participants. The consent form is to ensure that participants are fully aware of what they are volunteering to undertake. It also states their rights as participants to withdraw or withhold information from the research, as well as acknowledging my responsibility as the researcher to ensure participant confidentiality. Participants will also be able to negotiate what they consent to before they sign.

What will happen to the data collected?
The tapes or written records will be used to write a thesis. After each hui, the participants will get a transcript of the discussion or kōrero which at that time they will be able to affirm, correct, or delete their contribution. Once the research is complete and written up the original data will be destroyed.

Who else will have access to the data?
As part of the requirements of doing research at a post graduate level I am required to have a supervisor. Consistent with the kaupapa of whānau based research I have three supervisors to guide me. While they will not see any of the original data, findings will be discussed with them. I will ensure that students' identities remain totally anonymous, by either using pseudonyms, or omitting names altogether.

Is there anything else that the data may be used for?
With permission from the participants the data may be used for other publications. Confidentiality and anonymity will continue to be maintained.

What do I do if I am interested in participating?
If you are interested in finding out more or are definitely keen to participate in this research come and see or phone me. You may also contact my supervisors.

Hazel Phillips

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Kia ora.
Appendix D: The Various Rohe of the Students’ Iwi Affiliations

[Map showing various Rohe and Iwi in New Zealand]

Adapted from Rohe Iwi o Aotearoa – Map of Tribal Areas:
Web: www.takoa.co.nz/media/rohe_iwi.pdf

329
Appendix E: Information Sheet for Previously Enrolled Māori Students

TE AO O NGA AKONGA MAORI

Ko Taranaki te maunga
Ko Urenui te awa
Ko Tokomaru te waka
Ko Urenui te marae
Ko Ngati Mutunga te iwi
Ko Hazel Phillips taku ingoa
Nga mihi nui ki a koe

My name is Hazel Phillips and I am a postgraduate student at the University of Canterbury. I am beginning research on Māori participation in university for my doctoral thesis. The research I am undertaking arises out of the concern for the low participation, retention and success rates of Māori students in university education.

The title of my research is *Te Ao o Nga Akonga Maori: The Experiences of Māori Students at the University of Canterbury.*

The aims of this research are:
1. to describe the expectations, aspirations and experiences of Māori students so as to find out what barriers they face during their time at university;
2. and to outline what is needed to provide a positive university environment for Māori students.

The research will be carried out over a three year period in order to track the experiences of students throughout the time it takes to complete a degree. Māori students enrolling for the first time in 1996 will be asked to participate in this longitudinal study.

As an adjunct to this research students previously enrolled at the university will be interviewed. The aim of these interviews is to raise issues and provide insights of what it means to be Māori at the University of Canterbury.

Four previously enrolled Māori students will be asked to participate in semi-structured individual interviews. Each student will participate in one interview which will take approximately two hours. Students will be given a transcript of their interview and the opportunity to affirm, correct or delete their contribution. A follow up interview may be required.

At any time of the research participants will be able to withdraw from participating, or withdraw their contributions, or parts of their contributions. Complete anonymity will be assured. Names and possible identifying markers of the participants will be changed.

Prior to the research beginning, participants will be asked to sign a consent form. This is a contract between the researcher and the individual participants. The consent form is to ensure that participants are fully aware of what they are volunteering to undertake. It also states their rights as participants to withdraw or withhold information from the research, as well as acknowledging my responsibility as the researcher to ensure participant confidentiality. It also asks permission for the interviews to be taped. Participants will also be able to negotiate what they consent to before they sign.
As part of the requirements of doing research at a post graduate level, I am required to have a supervisor. Consistent with the kaupapa of whānau based research I have three supervisors to guide me. While they will not see any of the original data, findings will be discussed with them. I will ensure that students' identities remain totally anonymous, by either using pseudonyms or omitting names altogether.

Once the research is complete and written up the original data will be destroyed.

With permission from the participants the data may be used for other publications. Confidentiality and anonymity will continue to be maintained.

If you are interested in finding out more or are definitely keen to participate in this research come and see or phone me. You may also contact my supervisors.

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Kia ora
Appendix F: Ethics Committee Application

UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

APPLICATION FOR REVIEW AND APPROVAL

This form should be completed in the light of the Principles and Guidelines issued by the Human Ethics Committee.

1. PROJECT NAME

Te Ao o Nga Akonga Maori: The Experiences of Maori Students at the University of Canterbury

Key words: up to five words for database purposes

Maori students, participation, retention, constraints, university

2. a. NAME OF APPLICANT: Hazel Phillips PHONE: 388 3228 (home) ext. 8213 (university)

b. DEPARTMENT: Education


d. OTHER INVESTIGATORS: .................................................................

AUTHORISING SIGNATURES:

Applicant........................................................................................................... Date........................................

Supervisor/HOD................................................................................................ Date........................................

For Human Ethics Committee use only.

Approved............................................................................................................

......................................................................................................................... Date........................................

3. WILL THE PROJECT REQUIRE APPROVAL FROM OTHER BODIES? No/Yes e.g. Regional Health Authority Ethics Committee

4. IS THE PROJECT BEING EXTERNALLY FUNDED? No/Yes If Yes, please identify the source of funds.

.........................................................................................................................

A. PROJECT Describe in language which is, as far as possible, comprehensible to laypeople.
5. **AIM** State the type of information sought, and give the specific hypothesis, if any, to be tested.

To elicit and document the expectations, aspirations and experiences of Maori students over the course of three years, that is, the length of time it takes to complete an undergraduate degree.
To find out what constraints Maori students face within the University of Canterbury.

6. **PROCEDURE**

   Describe in practical terms how the subjects will be treated, what tasks they will be asked to perform, &c.

   1. Participant students enrolled for the first time in 1996 will be interviewed individually using a semi-structured interview format. They will also participate in group discussions twice a semester - four times a year over a three year period.
   2. Second and third year students will be individuallly interviewed using a semi-structured format.

7. **DOES THE RESEARCH INVOLVE THE USE OF A QUESTIONNAIRE?** No/Yes
   If Yes, please attach a copy.

**B. SUBJECTS**

8. **HOW ARE THE SUBJECTS TO BE RECRUITED?**
   If recruitment is by advertisement a copy must be attached to this form.

   1. Through already established networks.
   2. Through an oral presentation at the Orientaiton hui for Maori students.

   9. **WHAT INFORMATION IS BEING GIVEN TO PROSPECTIVE SUBJECTS?**
   A copy of the Information Sheet should be attached to this form.

   **Information is to be given through**
   1. Oral presentations.
   2. Written Information Sheets (see attached sheets A and B).

10. **ARE THE SUBJECTS COMPETENT TO GIVE INFORMED CONSENT ON THEIR OWN BEHALF?**
   No/Yes
   If the subjects are not competent to give fully informed consent, please indicate the type of dependent persons participating as subjects (e.g. legal minors, hospital patients, prisoners) and who will consent on their behalf.

11. **WILL CONSENT BE OBTAINED IN WRITING?**
   No/Yes
   If Yes, please attach a copy of the Consent Form which will be used.
   If No, give reasons for this.

   **See attached Consent Forms A and B.**

12. **HOW WILL THE ANONYMITY OF THE SUBJECTS BE ASSURED?**

1. Pseudonyms will be used and identifying markers changed in all discussions with my supervisors and in the writing up.
2. Participants will be given the transcripts to read so that they can affirm, change, or delete information that they have contributed. This feedback will also provide the researcher with participant guidance in ensuring anonymity.

**C. OTHER PROJECT DETAILS**

13. **WHERE WILL THE PROJECT BE CONDUCTED?**
University of Canterbury

14. DESCRIBE ANY FORESEEABLE RISKS TO THE SUBJECTS
Besides risks to physical well-being, this includes stress, emotional distress, and moral or cultural offence.

This research is to be undertaken in a culturally appropriate manner based on the concept of whanau.

15. IS DECEPTION INVOLVED AT ANY STAGE OF THE PROJECT? No/Yes
If Yes, please explain how and why it is to be used.

16. WILL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SUBJECTS WILL BE OBTAINED FROM THIRD PARTIES? No/Yes
If Yes, please explain.

D. DATA

18. WHO WILL HAVE ACCESS TO THE DATA?
The researcher only is to have access to the raw data, however, findings will be discussed with supervisors.

19. ARE THERE PLANS FOR FUTURE USE OF THE DATA BEYOND THOSE ALREADY DESCRIBED? If Yes, please describe the future use.

My Ph.D. thesis is to be a preliminary study using only the first two years of data gathering because it is to be written up before the research is completed. On completion of the three year data gathering period the findings will be published.

20. HOW WILL THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE DATA BE ASSURED?
Tapes and written transcripts will be destroyed once the research is completed and written up.

Regy301 HECF  December 1, 2003
Appendix G: Consent form for first year Māori students

Consent Form

I consent to participate in the research by Hazel Phillips on Maori students' experiences at the University of Canterbury. This research is about the constraints that face Maori students at university.

I understand that I will be participating in research over a period of up to three years. I can withdraw completely or withdraw parts of my contribution at any time during the study.

I understand that I will be participating in group discussions and confidential individual interviews over the course of the research.

I agree to all discussions and interviews being taped.

I am aware that the first two years of data will be used to complete a thesis to be submitted for a Ph. D. and that all the data collected over the three years will be used in ongoing research and publication.

I understand that complete confidentiality and anonymity will be assured throughout the whole research project. All data will be destroyed at the completion of the research project.

signed

...............................

date

..................................................
Appendix H: Consent form for previously enrolled Māori students

Consent Form

I consent to participate in the research by Hazel Phillips on Maori students' experiences at the University of Canterbury. This research is about the constraints that face Maori students at university.

I understand that I will be participating in research over a period of up to three years. I can withdraw completely or withdraw parts of my contribution at any time during the study.

I understand that I will be participating in confidential individual interviews.

I agree to the interviews being taped.

I am aware that the first two years of data will be used to complete a thesis to be submitted for a Ph. D. and that all the data collected over the three years will be used in ongoing research and publication.

I understand that complete confidentiality and anonymity will be assured throughout the research project. All data will be destroyed at the completion of the research project.

Signed: .................................................................

Date: .................................................................

336
Mature students

Matua born  Matua schooling  Students born  Students' schooling  Work, parenting  Students enrol at university


Socio-political context

Social Democracy 1935-1984
Economy buoyant, full employment policy, liberal education, equality of opportunity

Oil crisis 1972
Global slump, NZ economy propped up, Muldoon, think big

Neo liberal political economy 1984 -
Markets, individualism, devolution, policy of unemployment, entrepreneurship, knowledge economy/society

Land loss, urbanisation, language loss, diaspora, 'model race relations'

Education Policy: assimilation, social control, native schools, little Māori content, punished for speaking Māori, schooled to become labourers, farmers and farmers wives

Hunn Report 1960 - integration becomes government policy
Urbanisation stepped up, souring 'race' relations

Education policy: native schools abolished, educational integration, compensatory programmes implemented, technical education for Māori advocated

Waitangi Tribunal 1975,
Cultural renaissance,
Māori protest and resistance – 1975 land march, occupations, Ngā Tamatoa, Tu Tāngata programme implemented 1977

Education policy: multicultural – bilingual

Kaupapa Māori educational initiatives:
Kohanga reo 1982,
Kura kaupapa 1985

Treaty settlements underway, tinorangatiratanga – iwi development, urban authorities

Educational policy:
educational reform 1989, markets, cultural pluralism, choice, user pays in tertiary education, bilingual options in mainstream, whare wānanga

Young students

Matua born  Matua schooling  Students born  Students' schooling  Students enrol at university

FOR A FAIR SELECTION EVERYBODY HAS TO TAKE THE SAME EXAM... PLEASE CLIMB THAT TREE

Support Thoughts, March 1999
MARANGA! Ranga! Ra ki runga!

Air—"Trump! Trump! Trump, the boys are marching."

In the college cell I own,
Freezing, mother dear, with awe
For I caught the threat and menace in that look
And the professorial eye
It is evil, it is sly,
As the gentle tones come sweetly "Will you please?"

CHORUS—

Maranga runga! ra ki runga!
Takahia ki raro te maimai!
Whaia ko te mahi pai! ko te matauranga mai!
Takahia ki raro rewa te maimai.

Now I view in dread array
Costume & tangeni φ
ε & γ; mamma I shall die;
But what scares me most is this,
Oh ye gods and little fish,
That the prof. just looks and winks his other eye.

Judges mehércules,
Oh the host of tosy 1's,
Hear them tramp and tramp and tramp o'er Latin Prose.
Hear the keen sarcasms ring,
Books and glasses thundering,
Classic warning, time for clearing, dangerous.

But in spite of all their faults,
Mother, they are not so bad,
Ko te take o te matauranga nui
View them here in dignity
Sober calm benignity,
Ko te pana o te matauranga nui.

TO OUR GRADUATES.

Air—"Sorcerer."

We rejoice that it's decided,
Happy now their life will be,
For at last they are provided
With that coveted degree.

It will soothe them, cheer them, mend them,
Smooth away that thoughtful frown,
Make them bless the fate that send them
Silken hood and sheeveless gown.
ONE TWO THREE FOUR FIVE

Arapera Blank

One, two, three, four, five,
I was only half alive.

No one told me when I was born. My mother was too busy. My father was too busy. We never had birthday parties. But I knew when I was ready to go to school; they told me I was five. I'd been playing a long time round the house. I played cowboys, marbles, shops, ghosts. Sometimes I just slept in the grass. Those times my mother worked in the garden, my brothers and sisters were at school. They were too busy to play with me.

Yeah, they told me I was five. I was a big boy now. I had to wear good pants, keep my nose clean, not talk Maori in school. Only dumb kids did that. Least, that's what my mother and my father and my brothers and sisters told me. They told me the teacher would strap me if I did it in my pants. Then they'd laugh and tell me it was all lies. Funny. I seen that teacher, the one for me. Always talked to my mother across the fence. Not bad really. Nice face. Nice clothes. Not smelly like my mother. She smiled at me too.

Didn't have a good sleep that night. School in the morning. I got a good bath. They scrubbed me hard. My head, my feet. Gee they were sore. Then Mum. Talk, talk, talk.

'Don't you swear in school. Don't you say 'bum' or funny words like that. You say "Please teacher may I go to the lav". Don't you eat crayons. Your brothers did that. Gee I was ashamed. Teacher might think your Mum's too poor to feed you. Don't you put paint on your pants. Can't buy any more. No money. See this new shirt? You dirty it and you see what you get!'

Yeah I was on the bed. The other boys were snoring. I'm five. I don't feel big. My inside is banging. I'm frightened to go to school.

I must've been awake all night. I was tired. They all want to put my clothes on. I feel like I'm going to cry. My brothers said: 'Aw go on! You wait. Nice school that. And you can play real cowboys with us now.' Good idea that. My sisters said they'd look after me at school. See that no one hit me or stole my lunch. I feel good now. I like my new pants. The shirt
makes me want to scratch. Nice smell though. Mum gave me a hanky for my nose. She said 'no sniffing in school'.

Marino that's my big sister in Standard Six she took me to school. My brothers wouldn't. They liked my new clothes though. They said some of those new kids they only had old clothes. They said they couldn't hold my hand all the way to school. Other boys might see them. Give them cheek. Only sisties hold hands. My Mum she was too busy. Couldn't come. Said she took Marino and the boys too, then my other sister. Now it was their turn to take me. Too many jobs to do at home. My father he tickled my head. 'You're going to beat them all. Yeah 'cause you're the button, the baby.'

I never seen so many children all together. Gee, noisy. Shouting, laughing, talking funny. Marino's friends they came up to the school gate. They said 'Pretty brother you got, Marino. Nice clothes. Here give him a lolly. Come with you to see the teacher.' Teacher? I don't want no teacher. What did Mum say? What did they all say? Can't remember. I'm getting frightened. Marino bumped me. 'Say 'Good morning teacher'.' Couldn't say it. Never tried before. Wanted to cry.

I was standing. Marino was gone. She said she was busy. She wanted to play tennis. I stuck out my hand. 'You're a big boy now.' Oh! The teacher, That nice one my mother used to talk to. Didn't want to go with her. Don't know what to say. I want Marino. The teacher she wouldn't let me go. 'You come and play with these little children. Now there's a good boy.' Lots of them playing on the big concrete. Just in front of the school. Not schooltime yet. But they had toys and blocks.

The bell was ringing. Everybody was running. They were standing. I want Marino. I was frightened. Too many kids. I might wet my pants, might sniff, might talk Maori. Not allowed. Here's Marino. She smiled at me. She took my hand. She said, 'Don't be frightened. You show those kids you're clever. Don't talk Maori in school though. Don't want those other kids to tell me that my brother can't talk English.'

She came into my room with me. Lots of kids sitting on the floor. The teacher was standing up in the front. Kids were talking to her. Showed her their hankies. I got one too. Marino said, 'Take yours out. Hold it up.' They blew their noses. Marino said, 'Blow yours. Not too loud.' They brushed their teeth. Just pretending though. I held Marino's hand. Didn't want her to go. Funny smell this room. Like kerosene. Shiny floor. Bet it's slippery. High walls. Me. Gee I was small. Didn't want to sit down. Might get lost but that teacher she made me sit with Marino. I started to cry loud. Marino said, 'I'm still here. What you're crying for?' She said: 'Stop it. Those other kids are looking.' Don't care. She don't know I'm frightened I might wet my pants. She didn't show me the lav. Might be ghosts in it too.

She said: 'You'll be all right. I been in this room too. Nice room. You just say 'yes please' and 'no thank you' and sit on the floor nicely and you'll be all right. Better than home. Lots of nice toys here to play with.' I could tell she just wanted to run away to her room. I held tight. She was looking at me too. She was getting wild. She didn't want to be little like me. Yeah she was sorry for me all right but she want to go back to her own room.

The teacher was talking to the kids. She said I was a new boy. I was going to be clever too. Just like them. They got to help me. Show me things. They said 'yes'. They were looking at me. Gee they were big. Me. I'm too small. I crossed my legs too. Marino she dropped my hand. 'You'll be all right.' You could tell she was sick of me. 'Please teacher I want to go back to my own room. If Whaimata is a nuisance I'll come back again.'

'Yes. Thank you, Marino. Off you go.' I couldn't do nothing. Just sat. Long time sitting when you can't do nothing. The kids were singing. I didn't know the words. I want to cry. A little boy was talking about his Mum. Just like my Mum. She did the same work. A little girl poked me. She said, 'Ay baby. What you frightened for? Dopey. No one's going to eat you.' The teacher said, 'Now, Awhina, we're all going to help Whaimata. It's not nice to talk like that.' You can tell she was wild with that girl.

All the kids went to do things. You know, play. 'You come with me, Whaimata.' That was the teacher. 'We'll go and find something to do. Oh here. You come and paint a picture.'

'No. Don't want to. Not allowed. Might dirty my pants.'

'Well then. We'll go and play with the blocks over there. Make houses and trucks and tractors.'

'No. Somebody might hit me.' I want to cry. Can't help it. I know she's nice.

'Well, dear. We'll go and make a picture with crayons. Look. Lots of children at that table. They're all making pictures. Would you like to?'

Yeah, well that was all right 's long as I don't eat the crayons like my mother said. Maybe if I had a picture they might think I'm clever. Yeah, like my father said.

'Here, Marata. You come and help him. Whaimata. Hold the crayon like this.' Gee it was big. Greasy too. Too big. Funny in my hand. 'No, not like that dear. Like this.' She's talking to me. Showing me how.

'Yeah. He's dumb. He don't know what to do.' Gee that cheeky girl again. Wish I could give her a hiding. I know what. Tell Marino.

'Now, Awhina. Go away from this table. Go right outside and stand there you rude girl.' Good teacher that. She want to look after me just like she said.

Pretty things all round the room. High walls though. Too big. Lots of places for drawing with chalk. Plenty things to do. That nice teacher she was talking to me again. She said not to stand. Find something to do.
Didn’t say anything to those other kids. Too smart for me. They put all the things away. Those crayons and paints. I want to play now. Wish I could tell the teacher.

Gee I know some of the boys and some of the girls too. From down our road. Didn’t want them to see I was dumb like that funny girl Awhina said. She don’t like me. Must be jealous of my new pants and my new shirt.

They were all sitting on the floor. They were showing the things they made. I like that horse. That one that big boy is showing. He made it out of clay. Funny I used to play with that stuff. Yeah down at the river. I took some home too. You know my Mum? Well she was wild with me. She said, ‘Take that muck off my steps. I got enough to do without cleaning up that mess. Do you think I’m going to wash your clothes after? Look at you. Filthy!’ Yeah I’m going to make one at school. You’re allowed. You know.

Gee here’s Kau. He live in the place next to ours. Nice house they got. Better than ours. Marino said. Must be smart. He’s talking. The teacher said, ‘You have a long tongue, Kau. You talk too much.’ I wish I could talk like him though. Want to hold his hand. Yeah but my brothers say only sissy boys hold hands.

‘Well, Whaimata. Would you like to tell us all about your brothers and sisters?’ ‘Course I did. But I might talk Maori. Might go wrong. They might laugh like Marino said. Yeah I want to tell them I got a big sister in Standard Six. She can give them a hiding if they get cheeky to me. Too frightened to talk. Then that teacher she felt sorry for me, picked me up. I don’t like it. Funny. She’s not my mummy. Yeah I know I said she was nice. I just don’t like new people to pick me up. I was wriggling about and kicking. I said, ‘No’. She said, ‘I want you to be happy. I want everyone to see you so they can help you. There’s a good boy’. I just yelled. Couldn’t help it. Those damn kids they were laughing. I was ashamed. Never been to school before.

She put me down. She growled the kids. They were quiet all right. She was nice to me. My nose was dirty. I was sniffig. She said ‘Got a hanky, Whaimata?’ I know I done wrong to wipe it on my shirt. I got my hanky. I’m smart too. The teacher said, ‘Now children, when-we-clean-ours-noses—we use our?’ ‘Hankies’, she said. They thought they were smart. Me too. I kept my hanky in my hand.

The bell was ringing. The teacher said playtime now. Don’t want to go out. Want to wait for Marino. Those kids too noisy. Kau said, ‘Come on, Whaimata. Show you the slide. Show you the sand-pit. We can play there.’ I said, ‘No. I wait for Marino.’

‘Aw you’re just frightened. You sissy.’ I said, ‘Tell Marino. Tell her you give me cheek.’

The teacher came. She said, ‘Come, Whaimata. We’ll go and find your sister Marino.’ She took my hand. She never said I was a sissy. Marino was coming to me with her mates. They took me for a walk. I saw Kau looking at me. He could see Marino. He was frightened I might tell Marino. I’m not a tell-tale. I’m not a sissy. ‘This your brother Marino? Gee he looks like a girl. Who give him all those curts?’ Yeah some of those big boys they’re funny. Must be jealous of my new clothes.

I wanted to go to the lavatory. Marino got Kau. She said she’s not allowed in our lavatory only boys. She said we got a different one from the girls. ‘Kau you take him.’ She was outside waiting. That Kau he was just a show-off. He told his mates I don’t know how to go to the lav. ‘You want to piss? You don’t take your pants right off. Here you take the buttons off. Like this.’ He nearly pulled my buttons off. I nearly pissed my pants. Some funny boys they were looking at me. They gave me cheek. I finished. I went out with Kau. They all came. They said to Marino I don’t know how to piss in the lav. Kau said ghosts in that lav too. Might bite my mimi. Marino got wild. She gave them a hiding. She said, ‘Humbug. No ghosts. They just tell lies.’ She said they always do that to new boys that’s why she was outside waiting.

My brothers were playing marbles. They didn’t want to play with me at school. ‘Spoil their game.’ I know they like me though. Never give me a hiding. Only sometimes. They can give Kau and his mates a hiding. Yeah Marino said all the big brothers and sisters look after the little brothers and sisters at school. We were walking and the bell was ringing. All the kids were running. They got to hurry up into line and no more noise. Gee lot of kids. Big ones too. Marino told Kau to put me behind him. She went to her place. I don’t like Kau he’s a cheeky boy that one.

The kids were busy in school. The teacher was busy too. Just like my mother. She just told me to play with the toys. I was sitting down playing with a tractor. I was making tractor noise. One big kid he told me to shut-up. He can’t write his story if I go ‘Brr brr’ all over the place. They think they’re clever those big kids. They told me they don’t want to listen to baby noises. Gee I want to paint a picture like those kids over the other table. My mother said not to dirty my clothes though. I just pushed the tractor. I got sick of it. I found some more toys. Box full. No good playing by yourself though with all these nice things. That smart girl Awhina she was reading to the teacher. She thinks she’s clever. I want to see the paintings. ‘Here you paint.’ Nice boy this one. ‘Make a story. Show you how. Blue for the sky. No this colour. What’s the colour of your house? You don’t know? Gee you’re dumb!’ He gave me a big brush. He said put it on the paper. ‘No not like that. You’re not allowed to paint the table. Your hands getting dirty.’

Gee it was hard work you know. My hands were real dirty. I rubbed them on my pants. ‘Hey you’re not allowed to do that. You got to use that basin over there.’
The teacher came up. She said she didn't like the paint on my clothes. She said who told me to paint when she's not there to show me how. I said, 'That boy.' She said, 'Wash your hands in the basin.' I said, 'Yes.' She smiled. She said, 'Good boy.' I said, 'Look I done a painting.' She said, 'You say, "I did a painting" not "I done".' I said what she said. I was clever to say what she said. Those other kids they were only jealous. They said I done no picture. Only paint. She was nice though. She said, 'Good boy, Whaiamata. Good picture.'

All the kids were on the floor. She showed them my picture. She said, 'You stand here, Whaiamata, you tell them all about your picture.' I said, 'Sky.' I said, 'My house.' That boy Kauroro said, 'Yeah funny house. No chimney, no nothing.' The teacher she growled. She was wild. She don't like cheeky kids. I said, 'Finished.' She said, 'Thank you. Sit down now, Whaiamata.' Yeah those kids are only jealous. Wish I could make real stories though. Read them to the kids too. The teacher said they were clever too. She said, 'One day Whaiamata will write stories too.'

I know that, Marino told me. She said all new kids are dumb. She said they get clever if they come to school all the time. Like her. She never stayed home. She used to cry if my mother said to stay home and look after me. Then my mother would get sorry and say, 'Go to school then.' Her teacher said she was clever. He said she was going far away because she was clever. The teacher said, 'Now children. Do you know it was Whaiamata's birthday last Saturday? He's five years old. One, two, three, four, five. That's why he started school today. Did you have a birthday party, Whaiamata?' I said, 'No. No party.' Those kids laughed. A big boy said, 'Yeah. Beer party, not birthday party.'

That Kauroro he was a tell-tale. I know. Always having parties at their place. He said we're jealous of their place.

That teacher she was nice to me. She showed us a birthday cake. Five candles on it. My cake. She said, 'This is for Whaiamata. Five candles. One, two, three, four, five.' Not a real cake though. Gee I'm smart. I'm not frightened. She said, 'I hold the cake. You blow out the candles.' I did. Those kids had to sing to me. A birthday song. Nice song and I was standing in the front all by myself.

It was lunch-time. We were sitting on the steps. I had plenty mates. I had a nice lunch. Marino brought my lunch. Nice lunch too. Cake and bread and jam and peanut butter. Some of those other kids they only had dry bread. They were jealous of my lunch. They said I was greedy. Not me. Kauroro wanted some of my cake. I wanted him for a mate. I gave him some. He said, 'I give you a marble for some cake.' He never. Just wanted my lunch. Marino told me that. She said they hang around new boys just for their lunch. She said some of their mummies were too lazy to make nice lunches. Not like our Mum. She said she don't want people to say we got no money for lunches.

Yeah, sure enough! Soon as I finished lunch, no more mates. I said to Kauroro tomorrow I have a good lunch too. He still won't give me the marble. Marino growled at me too. She said I was dozy to give those kids some. Tomorrow she was going to sit by me. She said Kauroro got plenty lunch. Must be keeping it for after school. She said we wait and see. She was going to tell the teacher too.

We went to play. Some little boys were playing football with the big ones. Gee they were tough. You know those little ones got dumped. Specially if a little one got the ball. No crying though. I saw two kids fighting for marbles. Talking Maori all the time. Gee if the teacher catch them they're going to get it. Some kids said to me, 'Come and play.' I said, 'No.' Some big girls were singing. I know those songs. My daddy got a guitar too. Like the one that big boy got. I can dance too. Just like those big girls.

We are in school. We are sitting on the floor again. Nice. Nice floor this. The teacher said she don't like boys who eat new boys' lunches. Only greedy boys do that. Serves Kauroro right. Good job, Kauroro. He's showing his fists to me. He won't touch me though. Teacher's looking. Can't after school too. Marino's going to wait for me. The teacher said to me to go to sleep. I can, because I'm a new boy. She said I must be tired. Not me. I said, 'No.' She said, 'All right, good boy Whaiamata.'

The kids are singing. I know this one. 'One, Two, Three, Four, Five, once I caught a fish alive.' This one too. 'This little pig went to market.' Wish I could tell the teacher I know those. They are clapping. I can clap too. I can count too. Just like them. Right up to ten. Sometimes up to fifteen. Marino showed me.

The kids got up. They went to their chairs. No chair for me. The teacher said I can please myself. I put my hands in my pockets. I went round the room. The teacher said I was a good boy to walk round the room. Anyway I'm not frightened of those kids. Gee I wish I can read like some of those kids. Some of those kids said they were doing sums. But they never. Only playing shop games. Nice beads and pretty buttons and blocks. Humbug! You don't make sums with blocks. My brothers said only babies count with blocks.

The teacher told me not to stand there with my hands in my pockets. She said she's going to sew them up. She gave me some beads. My brothers said only girls play with beads. But they were nice. Pretty. I stuck the string in my mouth. I put a bead on it. Then one more. Then one more. The teacher said I was good. A little girl said, 'Put two buttons on. I give you two buttons.' Heck, she thinks I can't count. Pretty though. More beads, more buttons, more beads. I finished. The teacher said, 'Very good, Whaiamata. What's that colour?' I don't know colour. She said, 'This button is red. That one is blue.' I said, 'Red, blue.' She said, 'Good boy, Whaiamata.'
Yeah they were looking at me. 'Course I'm clever. I'm getting tired. I want to make a truck with blocks. But no good. Not allowed to make too much noise. I put my hands in my pockets. I went to see some kids. Heck! They were making real sums. Pencils and books too. That's the real way to make sums. One boy there, he was nice. He showed me his work. Gee I reckon he's clever. He told me to hold his pencil. He said, 'Do it like this.' Gee I couldn't hold the pencil. Hard! Too big for me.

We are sitting on the floor. The teacher said, 'Nice work, children.' She said, 'Whaimata, where are your beads?' I said, 'Must be there.' I was looking at the box. She said, 'Next time you keep them. Then you can show the children what you have done.'

He don't know how to count, Miss. I put those buttons on.' Liar! She never! Yeah funny girl that. Only two she put on.

'Who said? You never. You only put two on. I seen you.' Nice kid that one. Yeah she saw me put most of them on. The teacher said she don't like kids to tell tales. She was nice to me.

She was telling us a story. I know that story. Marino told me. About a witch. You see these two children. They got lost in the bush. Marino didn't show me those pictures. I thought a witch was a ghost. This witch had a house. Plenty of lollies on it. Real lollies. These two kids were eating them. The witch came along. She caught them. Yeah. She put them in a room to make them fat. Yeah. She's going to eat them. But those kids were cunning. They put her in the stove. Good job! They burnt her all up. They ran away home. The teacher showed us how to make a witch. You got to have no teeth. Make your nose look skinny. Like this. Gee my granny got no teeth. Yeah. She look like that witch.

I was making a witch on the blackboard. Gee I know what to do if I see a witch. Chop her down with the axe. Marino said a witch is bad. My mother said humbug. She seen no witch. Only ghosts though. Her mother seen a ghost too. Kauru said to the teacher plenty of witches down our road. Humbug! Just as well I'm going home with Marino. She's not frightened.

The teacher said go outside and play. I want to go to the lav. Marino got Kauru. He said to me that witches come into lavs too. Specially Paketora lavs. Gee I nearly wet my pants. Marino said to me, 'Only fairy stories. Only humbug. They never go to lavs.' She never been in our lav though. How did she know?

We had dancing. We had to get girls. Nice girl I had. Too fast though. She said, 'Like this.' I did. She laughed. The teacher was playing the piano. She saw me. She said, 'Very nice, Whaimata.' We all sat down. Gee I was tired. I wanted to go home.

Marino came. She said I was good not to cry for her all day. She said, 'Where's that Kauru? I want his lunch. Come here, Kauru. Where's your bag? I'll just make sure you got no lunch. You are Whaimata's, eh?'

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'Ow, Datar. I got no lunch. I ate mine at playtime. Anyway he gave me that cake 'cause he wanted my marbles. Good job! Whaimata was sitting with his lunch. I tell my daddy if you hit me.'

Marino didn't. She just said, 'Next time, Kauru, I give you a black eye.' Yeah me too,' I said.

I was holding Marino's hand. I never saw no witches. Kauru tells lies. I told Marino, 'Sing One, Two, Three, Four, Five.' She said, 'No wait till we get home. I don't want to sing baby songs on the road.' She said, 'What's that you got in your hand, Whaimata?'

I had my painting. The teacher said to take it home for my Mummy. She said I was clever. I said to Marino, 'I been painting.' She said, 'No wonder. You got some on your pants. Gee Mummy will growl.'

'The teacher said she will like my picture. I got a sky and a house. Mummy won't hit me.'

Marino was laughing. Smart yeah. Just like those other kids. She said, 'Gee I used to make scribbles like that.' I was wild with her. I started to cry. I'm not dumb.

My mummy was at the gate. She said, 'How's my baby?' That's me she's talking about. Gee I was glad. She picked me up. Yeah, I liked that too. She said she was sorry when I went to school. She said the house was sad. She said she was going to be lonely now I was a big boy. Aw heck! I thought she was too busy to play with me. She said, 'What's that you got in your hand?' Marino said, 'Scribble. Scribble painting. Only rubbish.

He got some on his new pants too.'

My mummy said, 'Never mind. He's only a baby.' Big boy', baby'. She don't know what to call me. I showed her my picture. She never said nothing. Just squeezed me and put me down.

Gee I had a lot to tell. All about the lav and the boys and the witches and those kids hanging around my lunch. Going to tell her to make me a real big lunch for tomorrow.

My daddy and my brothers. They finished milking. They came home. My daddy said to me, 'How's the big boy?' I said, 'Good school Daddy.' I said, 'Those kids only jealous of me. That Kauru he tells lies. He ate my lunch. He said I don't know how to piss in the lav. Daddy you got the axe? Might be a witch in our room tonight.'

The boys they just laughed. They said, 'Aw hell. No bloody witches in this house.' I said, 'The teacher said you not allowed to swear.' I said, 'I got a nice teacher Daddy. She got new clothes like me. She said I'm clever.'

I went to bed. Gee I was tired. I put my head right under the blankets. Just as well my brothers are here too. I don't want to see that witch. Might take me away. I want to go back to school tomorrow. Gee I like that song.

One, two, three, four, five, Once I caught a fish alive.
Postscript
O nga ao e teru

People do not realise what they have done to me since I left my mother's knee for the teacher's.

My granny says to me, 'Don't talk Pakeha. You're swearing at me.'

'No I'm not, Granny. I'm speaking English.' But she's too dumb to understand.

'What's that you're singing?' I say, 'Pakeha songs.' She says, 'Hohā!' I ask, 'What's that you're singing, Granny?' She says, 'Waita.' She says, 'Hohā te patai.'

We don't get on. She won't let me sing Pakeha songs. She says I will become a snob. What's the use of sending me to school? To read and to write of course. To learn how to spend my money of course. That's why I go to school. But she doesn't want to hear about it. She says I won't visit her any more. I'm getting too smart. She'll just have to find some other mokopuna. But she's too dumb to understand that they're all like me. All speaking English. All reading and writing. We speak Maori only at home. It's not good enough for school.

Yes, I like school. I like the new games we play. I like reading about people of faraway places—Chinese, Germans, Italians. My granny never told me about them. She was always too busy making kits or talking about ghosts or cooking a meal. My grandfather liked to rub his whiskeys against our faces and gave us money if we did him a favour. He was always writing. He said he had sacred books all about our ancestors. He said that's why he went to school for one year. Enough to learn how to read and to write his sacred books.

I am older now. I have finished school. And now I like everything. That's what's wrong with me. I am a three-legged creature. I can't put my three legs down at once either. The world isn't ready for such a creature. But this is what education in a European world has given me. Three legs.

Yes, When I was being educated my parents were proud of me. I liked them. I liked being at school. I was a missionary in embryo too. A kind of ambassador for my race. All the R's (you realise there are four) were hammered into me. The teachers fashioned me and formed me. Like that man who breathed life into his statue after he had fashioned it. I was allowed to keep my Maori leg—the attractive part of it—action songs, the haka, and how to write in my own tongue. They said that's what Māori tanga was. It's no wonder that my Maori leg is rather clumsy. The rest of it? Well, education is an expensive business.

Let not ambition mock their useful toil Their homely joys and destiny obscure

Now this is pleasant to think about in the long grass but totally inadequate for my new leg—the Pakeha one. When I put this new leg down

One two three four five

it must be strong. So I hide the other one—the one Tiki fashioned from clay. My Pakeha leg says:

I must walk where the giant walks,
I must put away all Maori thinking,
Whakarearea te kahou o te hoe.
I must have been a Pakeha
He never faltered.
Time, that's what I must remember.
No time to sit and talk.
No time for the tangi, the hui,
No money for that rubbish,
'Unsociable, energy-consuming'
Better spent in reading and writing
And getting accustomed to civilisation.
That's my new mokai!
Aue taikura e!
Whakarearea te kahou o te hoe.

Get an education
Live in a house like the next door neighbours,
Ming-bloé. Yeah that's the rave. Brand new!
My ancestor turn in his grave?
So what? He knew no sophistication.
Why he didn't bring civilisation.
I must save for a brand new carpet and cups and
venetian blinds and maybe a new car
Yeah that's good for my new leg.
No time to walk, no time to talk. Amen.

My third leg is what I have fashioned from looking at the other two. It's very clumsy. When I go home it gives me trouble even there, where it's not supposed to appear.

Yes. My father likes talking about his life. About fishing and kumara and who's died, or who's had a big tangi. Remember that lady who used to cry beautifully? Well, she's died. Remember who used to lead the pōhiri? She's died too. I feel sad. I stamp hard with my Maori leg. It feels good to be home.

I beg your pardon? Have you not forgiven the Pakeha? He's not an intruder! Why Dad he's made us add to our thinking. We've got to be understanding! Sensational! Who said that story about our village was sensational? Rubbish! That journalist told the truth. We do live in overcrowded houses. Get out or shut up? What are you talking about? Why, I am a Maori. I've never been anything else. Yes of course I've got a house and a new car. Yes of course I couldn't come to Uncle's funeral. Don't you understand? You said grow up o tender plant! You said grab all the advantages of civilisation. Now you don't like the Pakeha. Why the hell did you send me to school?

Third new leg. You are too much of a nuisance. Keep out of my sight.
'One foot at a time' do you hear? When I'm using my Pakeha leg, hide yourself. I cannot walk on it if I have you coming down. No one wants to see two sides of the question. Only liars can see two things at once. No one wants to hear about Mi\oritanga when my Pakeha leg walks. Yes you know everything. You come down clumsily you oaf! And now nobody wants me. All three legs are a curse. I wish I could have had only one as I would have had if I had never turned five.

Mamae ana e
Taku motenga e,
Tino kino te tauwha,
kī te hikoi i oku ma.
Painful is my head,
Heavy indeed it is
to lift up my feet.
### Glossary of Māori Words

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<tr>
<td>ahaú</td>
<td>I, me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahi kaa</td>
<td>keeping the home fires burning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āhua</td>
<td>shape, nature, aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āhuatanga</td>
<td>design, aspects, elements</td>
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<tr>
<td>aitanga</td>
<td>social relations, descendents</td>
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<tr>
<td>ako</td>
<td>learn, teach</td>
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<tr>
<td>akonga</td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anake</td>
<td>alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao</td>
<td>world, daylight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aotearoa</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ariki</td>
<td>noble, chief of chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aroha</td>
<td>love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aronui</td>
<td>sympathetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atea</td>
<td>space in front of marae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atua</td>
<td>spiritual guardian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
<th>B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haere</td>
<td>move, go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haka</td>
<td>rhythmic dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakari</td>
<td>feast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hāngi</td>
<td>earth oven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hapū</td>
<td>subtribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>harakeke</td>
<td>flax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haramai/haeremai</td>
<td>come, welcome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hari</td>
<td>happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hariru</td>
<td>shake hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hikoi</td>
<td>journey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hōhā</td>
<td>pest, bored,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hongi</td>
<td>press noses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hori</td>
<td>derogatory term for māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horoi ringaringa</td>
<td>cleanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huarahi</td>
<td>procedure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hūhunga</td>
<td>ritual exhumation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hui a tau</td>
<td>annual general meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hui/huhi/huhiuenga</td>
<td>gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hukatai</td>
<td>sea foam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hurahanga kōhatu</td>
<td>unveiling of the gravestone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>io</td>
<td>creator of all things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ira</td>
<td>life principle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwi</td>
<td>tribe, race, people, bones</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>K</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka pai</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai whakautu</td>
<td>women replying to the kaikaranga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiawhina</td>
<td>teacher aide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaikaranga</td>
<td>women caller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaikōrero</td>
<td>speaker, story teller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaitiaki</td>
<td>guardian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kaitutuki | support for tohunga teachings
kaiuru | research participant
kanohi kitea | the face that is seen
kao/kau/kaore | no
kapahaka | group singing and dancing
karakia | prayer-chant
karanga | call
kau | to come into view for the first time
kaumātua | old man, elder
kaupapa | strategy, theme
kawa | protocol
kete | basket
kete whakairo | decorative baskets
kia kaha | be strong
kia ora | hello!
kiekie | plant used in weaving
kina | sea-egg
kinaki | relish
kingitanga | kingship
kite | see
koa | happy, jubilant
koe | you (one person)
koha | gift
kohanga reo | language rest, Māori pre-school
kōhi(a)/kohinga | collect, gather
kōrero | speak, story
kōrero purakau | story
kōrerorero | converse, discussion
korimako | bell-bird
koro | sir, old man
koru | flower, carved spiral pattern, new beginnings
kōrua | you two
koutou | you (plural)
kuia | women elders
kumara | sweet potato
kūtai | mussel

M

mahi | job, work
mai ra ano | from long ago
māku | for me
mamae | pain, ache, hardship
mana | integrity, prestige, status, power
mana motuhake | self-determination
mana whenua | sovereign status
manaaki | care, respect
manuhiri | visitor
Māori | the indigenous people of New Zealand
māoritanga | Māori culture, Māori perspective
marae | meeting complex of whanau or iwi
mārama | light, moon
māramatanga | comprehension,
maranga | rise up, raise sail, begin
mātauranga | knowledge, education
matauranga | higher education
mate | sick, death, problem
maunga  mountain, act of carrying
mauri   life essence
mauri ora  life force
mihī/muhimihī  greet, acknowledge, thank
moana  sea
moko/mokopuna  grandchild, young generation, grandchildren
mōteatea  laments, selection of tribal songs
mua  in front, formerly
muri  follows, after/behind

N
nāku  mine
Ngai Tahutanga  Ngai Tahu identity and cultural practices
ngākau  heart
noa  free from tapu
noho  sit
nōu  yours

O
ohaoha  economics
ope  group
oriori  sleep-time chant, lullaby

P
pā  fortified village
paepae  orator's bench
pāi  good
Pākehā  people of European descent
pānui  announcement, advertise
papa  ground, foundations
papakainga  original home, home base
pāua  shellfish, abalone
pea  perhaps
pēhea  how?
pēpeha  proverb, saying
pia  first year student in the whare wananga
pingao  golden sand sedge
pipi  cockle
pō  night, darkness
poi  ball (swing the poi)
poroporoaki  closing ceremony
pōtiki  youngest, last-born
poua  grandfather
pounamu  greenstone
poutama  steps pattern
pōwhiri  welcoming ceremony
pūpū  winkle, shellfish
pūrākau  myth, story
pūrerehua  butterfly

R
rāhui  ban
ranga  group of people
rangahau  research
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rangatira</td>
<td>chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangatiratanga</td>
<td>principality, sovereignty, realm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rapu</td>
<td>search, look for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rapu ara</td>
<td>career search</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rātou</td>
<td>they (more than two)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raukura</td>
<td>albatross feather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rehutai</td>
<td>seaspray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ringga wera</td>
<td>cooks, kitchen helpers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ripene</td>
<td>tape, cassette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roa</td>
<td>long, duration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rohe</td>
<td>district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roopū</td>
<td>group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rourou</td>
<td>food baskets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rūnaki/na</td>
<td>immerse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>runanga</td>
<td>assembly, discuss, council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>runga</td>
<td>upwards, top, above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tā moko</td>
<td>tattoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takahia</td>
<td>stamp feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taki</td>
<td>dart, challenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāku</td>
<td>mine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tama</td>
<td>son, boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamaite</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāne</td>
<td>man, male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangata whenua</td>
<td>people of the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāngi</td>
<td>mourn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangihanga</td>
<td>ceremonial mourning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taonga</td>
<td>treasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tātou</td>
<td>we (all of us)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taua</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauira</td>
<td>example, model, student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauarapara</td>
<td>proverb, saying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāura</td>
<td>continuing student of the whare wananga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tauoko</td>
<td>to support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te ira tangata</td>
<td>the life force of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te kauae raro</td>
<td>lower jaw, knowledge of practical worldly nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te kauae runga</td>
<td>the upper jaw, refers to spiritual knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te reo</td>
<td>language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te tīn o poto</td>
<td>an army of insects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teina</td>
<td>junior in descent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tena koe</td>
<td>hello</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēnei</td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikia</td>
<td>right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikanga</td>
<td>custom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiki/tikina</td>
<td>search</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīmatanga</td>
<td>beginning, starting point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tino</td>
<td>very, absolute, main</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipu</td>
<td>put out new growth, grow bigger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipuna</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipuna mātua</td>
<td>main stem, foremost grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tītī</td>
<td>muttonbird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titipounamu</td>
<td>bush wren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titiro</td>
<td>look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohi</td>
<td>purification ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohu</td>
<td>mark, sign, proof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohuka</td>
<td>Ngai Tahu dialect for tohunga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tohunga</td>
<td>expert, specialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokotokoto</td>
<td>walking stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toru</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuakana</td>
<td>older brother, older sister, senior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuaono</td>
<td>sixth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuarima</td>
<td>fifth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuarua</td>
<td>second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuatahi</td>
<td>first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuatoru</td>
<td>third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuawaru</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuawhia</td>
<td>fourth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuawhitu</td>
<td>seventh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhia</td>
<td>write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhinga</td>
<td>official document, text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuku iho</td>
<td>let down, lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukutuku</td>
<td>ornamental panels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūmanako</td>
<td>hope, objective, expect, trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumaki</td>
<td>head, dean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tūpāpaku</td>
<td>dead body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupuna</td>
<td>ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upoko</td>
<td>head, heading, headline, chapter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urupua</td>
<td>cemetery, burial place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utu</td>
<td>price, fee, reciprocity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**W**

<p>| waewae           | tapu  | stranger, newcomer                  |
| wāhanga          | chapter, section | place, area, position |
| wāhi             | woman  |
| wahine           | sacred waters |
| wai tapu         | song   |
| waiata           | action song |
| waiata ringa     | ancient songs |
| waiata tawhito   | spirit, soul |
| wairua           | Canterbury |
| Waitaha          | canoe  |
| waka             | learning, series of discussions |
| wānanga          | challenge |
| wero             | mother  |
| whāea            | follow  |
| whai             | dawn light |
| whaiao           | formal speech making |
| whaikorero       | pursuit, follow, aim, objective |
| whānga           | in the direction of, towards |
| whanaunatanga    | consent |
| whakaae          | teaching, instruction |
| whakaakoranga    | elevate |
| whakahīhi        | small, humility |
| whakaiiti        | shy, embarrassed, shame, humility |
| whakamā          | uplift, empower |
| whakamanātia     | test, exam |
| whakamutunga     | final, end |
| whakangaro       | confidential, anonymous |
| whakapapa        | genealogy |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whakarongo</td>
<td>listen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakatauki</td>
<td>proverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whakawhiru</td>
<td>choosing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whānau</td>
<td>extended family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whanaunga</td>
<td>relative (by blood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whanaungatanga</td>
<td>kinship ties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whāngai</td>
<td>nourish, care for/adopt child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare kaupo</td>
<td>house of learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare kura</td>
<td>house of higher learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare maire</td>
<td>house of learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare mata</td>
<td>house for teaching bird snaring and fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare pora</td>
<td>house for cloak making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare pūrākau</td>
<td>house for teaching the art of war and the use of weapons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare tangata</td>
<td>relation by marriage, womb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whare wānanga</td>
<td>house of higher learning, university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wharekai</td>
<td>dining room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wharenui</td>
<td>meeting house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whenua</td>
<td>land, placenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whatu kura</td>
<td>stones that held the mauri of the whare wānanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whiwhia</td>
<td>void in which nothing can be obtained</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiriwiri</td>
<td>shiver</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>