

**SPACE FOR MAORI IN
TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS:
Exploring Two Sites at the
University of Auckland**

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Kupu Whakataki

Ko Ngongotaha te maunga
Ko Rotorua-nui-a-Kahumatamomoe te moana
Ko Te Arawa te waka
Ko Tametekapua te tangata
Ko Ngati Whakaue te iwi

E nga reo, e nga mana whakahirahira
Tena koutou katoa

He runga manawa, he koanga ngakau
Kua huri mai ra koutou ki te panui,
otira, ki te matakitaki i tenei
putoi korero kua oti nei i a au
te hanga, no reira, haere mai.

Ka mihi hoki ki o tatou tini aitua
e hinga haere nei huri i te
motu, no reira, e nga pareraukura
te mate, haere!

Ka hoki mai ano ki a tatou e
pakari nei ki te whai i o ratou
tapuwae, tena ano tatou katoa

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Abstract

This thesis explores space for Maori in western traditional tertiary educational institutions. In the context of a colonial history of education, Maori have been multiply marginalised and tertiary education has been a site of struggle for Maori in terms of participation as a people and as a knowledge base. In recent years, Maori have developed new initiatives for Maori in western tertiary education institutions and this development has been described as creating space for Maori. This thesis explores notions of space from the perspective of western material theories of space and western discourse of metaphorical space. It also explores notions of space from Maori perspectives. Kaupapa Maori theory is considered as a theoretical space in education for Maori and as a model of practice. From here, two spaces for Maori at Auckland University, Waipapa and the Maori Education department, are studied in relation to the theories and in relation to how Maori students and lecturers view these spaces. It is argued that space for Maori is necessary for Maori cultural frameworks to be affirmed within Pakeha institutions.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is about space for Maori in tertiary education. It is focused upon traditional western tertiary institutions, specifically the Auckland University. Almost entirely since colonisation, the experiences of Maori in the education system of Aotearoa have been governed and directed by the dominant power of the coloniser. However, the last ten to fifteen years have seen new initiatives by Maori that have attempted to reverse this trend and regain some control over education for Maori. These initiatives have been visible in the pre-school area with the proliferation of Kohanga Reo, in the school area with Kura Kaupapa Maori and Kura Tuarua and in the tertiary area with Whare Wananga. Within dominant schooling institutions these initiatives are visible in bi-lingual and total immersion units.

In dominant tertiary institutions however, initiatives for Maori or space for Maori is somewhat less visible. This may be because the institutions are much larger and the course structures are more complex or that the institutions have relative autonomy from one another and from central government. Some may argue that it is because there are far fewer Maori who participate in tertiary educational institutions than in pre-school and school institutions. However, given the dramatic under-representation of Maori within tertiary institutions and the relative 'success' of Maori initiated education systems we need to carefully analyse both the structural and cultural ways in which tertiary institutions are organised. This thesis goes in such a direction by providing an analysis on the way in which space is organised in one western tertiary institution. This thesis studies 'space' as its main subject to better understand the conceptual and material impact of such a notion on education for Maori at tertiary level in a western styled university setting. Furthermore, it seeks to explore notions of space as constructed by Maori within educational sites as forms of resistance.

Space is a concept, an assumption or a pre-requisite of the most basic reality of our lives. Space is ever present both materially and metaphorically. Material notions of

space are part of our physical realities whilst metaphorical notions of space are often used to describe our thoughts or understandings in a wide range of subject areas. Space is present in many, if not all, academic disciplines, sometimes as the primary subject of study and at other times, it is incidental but nonetheless important or vital to the main subject. In the social sciences, space has predominantly been a subject of study in the material sense, however its metaphorical use has been widespread in all manner of social science discourses. This thesis considers both of material and metaphorical notions of space. Material space is considered in the form of the dominance of capitalism and metaphorical space is considered in the form of cultural and educational theories.

My interest in this topic stems from the work I have been doing since 1989 in Te Tari Awhina - The Learning Support Centre, at UNITEC Institute of Technology. In 1989, the staff of the centre, that became Te Tari Awhina, decided that the unit should have a Maori co-ordinator to share the role of co-ordination for the unit. A shared management position between Maori and Pakeha within the institution was very unusual at this time. The reason why this arrangement was acceptable to the polytechnic management was that the Ministry of Education had called for policies and practices in formal education to reflect the principle of partnership between Maori and Pakeha in the Treaty of Waitangi. It was envisaged that this arrangement was a reflection of the commitment by the staff of the unit to the Treaty of Waitangi¹. It was also seen as necessary to the introduction of provision that they thought would better cater for the needs of Maori students. It was strongly advocated that staff who came from a similar cultural base as Maori students would be better able to facilitate learning for those students in an institution that embodied the dominance of the Pakeha culture in New Zealand society. Thus Maori staff would help Maori students to achieve success in the institution.

The concept of a unit that embraced the principle of partnership of the Treaty of Waitangi did not mean simply employing Maori staff to work in the same way as their Pakeha counterparts. The appointing of a Maori co-ordinator alongside a Pakeha or

tauwi co-ordinator was a means of power sharing at the managerial level and a way of instituting Maori cultural practices in to the practices of the unit so that the unit could be bicultural². Meetings, for example, reflected Maori custom and practice of meeting making and of decision making whereby all staff members participated in policy decisions through a consensus model. Instituting biculturalism within the centre extended to employing the Maori concepts of manaaki and awhina to students, staff and visitors; to the changing of the name of the centre to a Maori name; and to representing the physical environment as bicultural (sometimes spoken of as 'Maori friendly') by the use of posters and books with content that included Maori people, themes and/or language. Also 'kia ora' was adopted as the greeting on the telephone and between staff members. These changes did not happen overnight and staff training occurred when staff felt it necessary. The purpose of the unit never changed. It was always a place where students could voluntarily gain support and help in areas such as study skills, literacy, numeracy, some aspects of course work and Maori language. What did change was the environment in the context of the physical and organisational; the philosophy of provision to encompass the Treaty of Waitangi; and the content of the provision, for example support for Maori language.

An emphasis was made by the Maori coordinator that the appointment of herself and myself as Maori people, and our commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi and to enhancing the achievement of Maori students within the polytechnic meant that we were in effect attempting to put into practice the idea of Linda Smith and other Maori academics of 'creating space for Maori'³. In our particular situation, we were attempting to make or create space for Maori within a small academic service unit, within a much larger educational institution both of which were and are structures of a dominant Pakeha educational hierarchy.

The idea of making or creating space for Maori within a dominant Pakeha educational institution is problematic considering the dominant/subordinate power relations within

¹ The Treaty of Waitangi is discussed in Chapter Two

² Bicultural refers to Maori culture and dominant Pakeha culture.

³ G. H. Smith and M. Hohepa (ed.) (1993) *Creating Space in Institutional Settings for Maori*, Monograph No. 15, RUME, Auckland University: Auckland

society at large with regards to Pakeha and Maori respectively. Dominant institutions are considered to practice hegemonic power whereby the status quo is maintained and those on the margins and in subordinate positions of power remain that way. However, to acknowledge that one can create space for Maori includes an assumption of Maori cultural dynamism or the idea that cultures are not static, they can and do change to encompass new knowledge, circumstances and so on. The idea that one leaves one's culture at the gate before entering an institution and picks it up again on the way out is rejected. In this context, there are several key questions to explore. Firstly, what are the factors that can constitute space for Maori? What are the factors that constitute space for Maori in western traditional tertiary institutions? Finally, how is space for Maori created? It is these issues that this thesis hopes to address in the context of Maori aspirations for space for Maori in dominant Pakeha tertiary educational institutions.

Therefore, this thesis is driven by my own experiences of seeking to create space for Maori within the institution in which I have been working. My decision to study another tertiary institution however, was also influenced by my own experiences. As a student, at the University of Auckland, I saw that greater advances had been made in creating space for Maori at the university than at the polytechnic where I work or for that matter at other tertiary educational institutions in Auckland. Two sites in particular were selected as case studies for this thesis, Waipapa marae and the Maori Education department. These sites are well established Maori spaces, they also each have a particular history that has brought them in to existence. These points are important to this thesis as it enables me to engage with both historical and contemporary processes in the creation of space for Maori in the institution. As sites they have a record of use by Maori. Both the marae and the Maori Education department became realities in the late 1980's, although this thesis will show that their development began a number of years before that. Both sites have cultural, philosophical and/or theoretical foundations that are specific to them. For these reasons I chose the University of Auckland as the site for this research.

As a student, I spent much of my early time, at the University of Auckland, looking for space that was appropriate to my needs as a Maori student. I found that space at Waipapa and in the Maori Education department. It became important to me in writing this thesis that I wrote about the spaces that had most nurtured me through my degree. I had my own understandings and feelings about these spaces and I was interested in the views of others, particularly in the views of other students and the views of academic staff. For this reason, several students and academic staff were interviewed about Waipapa and the Maori Education department and their words form the basis of the case studies. Interviewing more participants was not an option because my time was limited.

One of the spaces that I found as a Maori student of the Maori Education department has been the space of Kaupapa Maori theory and I have used this theory in the practice of this thesis. One of the ways that I have used it as a space for Maori in this thesis is by not translating Maori words that appear in the text.

Education for Maori since colonisation has been a highly political and contentious issue between Maori and between Maori and Pakeha. Chapter Two attempts to set the context of this contention and position Auckland University in the history of colonisation. The chapter begins by offering a glimpse of formal learning for Maori prior to contact with Europeans firstly by setting knowledge and the gaining of knowledge into a context of Maori cosmology and then by offering an example of a wananga. A lot of the early writings in English about Maori cosmology and wananga was by English anthropologists such as Elsdon Best and Percy Smith. This section, however, attempts to draw on relatively common information delivered through Maori oral tradition that appears in the writing of scholars such as Makereti Papakura and Ranginui Walker. The chapter then goes on to give an outline of western style education for Maori since colonisation highlighting the major policies of assimilation and integration. It shows that the policy of assimilation, which was consciously and assiduously practised up until the 1960's, has helped to divest Maori of land, language, culture and opportunity for achievement in the colonised world. It also shows how the

policy of integration, through the Taha Maori programme that offered basic knowledge in Maori language, arts and crafts, came to be a token gesture to Maori.

The chapter then focuses on the history of Auckland University and Maori mainly considering the history written by Keith Sinclair (1983). It looks at the history of the land of the main campus since colonisation and how confiscated Maori lands were used to finance the university. It also looks at Maori in the curriculum and Maori involvement as staff and students. Basically, this section charts how Maori were excluded from the university up until the 1950's when the first wave of scholars started to come through who advanced interests in things Maori. Combined with the general history of education, this section shows that the university was never set up to include Maori and especially Maori who had aspirations to advance Maori causes. It shows why it has been a struggle to create space for Maori within the university as indeed in any western traditional tertiary education institution.

Chapter Three looks at western concepts and theories of space from a social science perspective by tracing discussion which has largely taken place over the last ten or so years. In tracing this discussion, it becomes clear that ideas and definitions about space are varied and that this lack of conformity has become a topic of discussion in itself among academics. The chapter identifies the two main aspects of space that are considered in discussion; these are material space and metaphorical space. Material space considers the physical world and is set in a context of the dominance of capitalism and the power relations which have formed within this context. Several models are outlined as ways of understanding material space including those proposed by John Agnew, John Fiske, Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre.

Metaphorical space is encountered in a variety of discourses. It is also known as spatial metaphor. This section gives a brief view of spatial metaphor in radical cultural politics and how the metaphors are used to describe power relations and their shifts. Specifically, it regards the use of the terms 'centre' and 'margin' as they describe the position of peoples in subordinate positions of power and oppressed peoples especially. It shows that the margin is increasingly being chosen as oppressed peoples as a space

power. Finally, the chapter uses the prior discussion of material and metaphorical space to assume a relevance for Maori in view of colonisation.

Chapter Four offers a contrast to Chapter Three by discussing Maori perspectives of space. Firstly, the chapter discusses the term 'Maori', considering what the term has meant historically and some of the assumptions which are built in to the term in present times. The chapter then goes on to discuss space from what may consist of a cultural historical perspective. The terminology 'cultural historical' is employed to designate a perspective which relates to Maori philosophy and understanding prior to and since contact with Europeans and colonisation. By encompassing this time frame, this terminology seeks to counter some of the confusion that often besets the use of the word 'traditional'.

The following section, in this chapter, discusses some contemporary forms of space for Maori. It acknowledges that colonisation and capitalism have dominated contemporary life for Maori and it also acknowledges that Maori cultural historical understandings are still intrinsic and important in the world-view of many Maori. The chapter then turns to a brief discussion of space in tertiary institutions for Maori, particularly over the last ten to fifteen years. It connects initiatives for Maori in tertiary education to aspirations for rangatiratanga in many aspects of life for Maori. The final section outlines Kaupapa Maori theory as a particular theoretical space from which Maori can continue to create space for Maori in tertiary education. Drawing largely from the work of Graham Smith and Linda Mead, it identifies Kaupapa Maori theory as a platform from which Maori can participate in our own theorising.

Chapter Five presents the first of two case studies on what has been identified as 'space' for Maori. Waipapa marae at Auckland University is the subject of this case study. The chapter begins with a general history of marae by describing marae prior to and after colonisation. It identifies Waipapa as an urban marae in an educational institution and backgrounds the campaign that led to the establishment of Waipapa. The third section discusses Waipapa with regard to western spatial theories as outlined in Chapter Three. The university is considered as part of capitalistic hegemonic

dominance and the marae is seen in a subordinate position or as a margin to this dominance. However, though the marae may be in a subordinate position it is still a place of some power. Finally, Waipapa is considered from the point of view of Maori using several interviews which were conducted with Maori lecturers and Maori students. In this discussion, principles of Kaupapa Maori theory are identified as part of the space of the marae. The discussion as a whole realises Waipapa as being a centre for Maori.

The second of the case studies on space for Maori in western traditional tertiary education is outlined in Chapter Six. It looks at the Maori Education department in the School of Education at the University of Auckland. It begins with a brief history of the processes that took place from 1983 to establish a Maori staff member in the then Education department. Then it outlines the achievements of Maori staff culminating in the creation of the Maori Education department. The chapter then focuses on the department as space for Maori using information based on two interviews which were conducted with an academic staff member and a post-graduate student. Within this section three categories in particular are considered. These are: cultural space, curriculum and pedagogy, and leadership. Kaupapa Maori theory is seen to inform the practice of education in the department and within the three categories, principles of Kaupapa Maori theory are identified.

Finally, the chapter examines the Maori Education department with regard to material and metaphorical space. It identifies the university as the centre of capitalistic and hegemonic dominance and the department as a marginal space. However, the department is also identified as a margin which is chosen to be inhabited because it is space where being Maori is the norm and where Kaupapa Maori theory informs the practice of education. As such the space of the margin or in this case the Maori Education department has become a centre for Maori.

In brief then, this thesis looks at space for Maori by using two perspectives of space, namely western concepts of space and what has been determined as Maori concepts of space. It applies each of these perspectives to what have been considered as two

spaces for Maori in Auckland University. These two spaces are Waipapa, the university marae, and the Maori Education department in the School of Education. It is, I believe, an important topic to engage for those of us who are seeking to ensure that space is created for Maori within our institutions. These case studies provide insights into ways in which Maori in western tertiary institutions work to create space on multiple levels, physical, cultural, spiritual and theoretical.

Chapter 2

Maori in Education: Some Historical Observations

Introduction

This chapter is largely a historical description that sets a context of Maori in education since colonisation. It shows how education has been used to colonise Maori and marginalise Maori in our own land through policies of assimilation and later integration. It begins with a description of the mission schools which set out to christianise and civilise Maori. It also describes how Maori were enthusiastic about aspects of the education that was offered out of interest in written literacy and other new technologies and in order to cope with a rapidly changing world. Then it describes how the Native schools had their agenda to turn Maori into a labouring class and how the policy of assimilation was the dominant feature of education for Maori until the 1960's when integration took over.

This chapter also outlines a history of Maori in the University of Auckland to set a context for the case studies in Chapters Five and Six. It shows that Maori, as a group and as a knowledge base, began to have a presence at the university from the 1950's and that this presence slowly expanded. This chapter begins by introducing briefly a Maori world-view of knowledge and education to show that prior to colonisation Maori had our own systems of education and our own understandings of our world.

Maori Knowledge: A Brief Discussion

Maori creation stories speak of the evolution from Te Kore, through to stages of Te Po and then into Te Ao Marama. Translated into English, Te Kore can be described as the void or the nothingness, Te Po as night or darkness, and Te Ao Marama as the world of light. It is a journey that is sometimes likened to a child being conceived and gestated in the womb before being born into the world. In Te Po, Ranginui and

Papatuanuku were created.¹ They were the first lovers and are known variously in English as Heaven and Earth or the Sky father and the Earth mother or others. In Te Po, Rangi and Papa clung to each other; there was no day only night. They conceived children who were born into Te Po and lived in the spaces between their bodies. Their children were cramped in this space and lived without light. The children decided that they must separate their parents to have space for themselves so they pushed their parents apart. Ranginui was pushed far away from his lover and rain is the tears he still cries for her. Papatuanuku is the mother of all living beings. Their children became the atua or spiritual beings responsible for aspects of Te Ao Marama, for example, Tangaroa as the guardian of the sea. Tane-nui-a-rangi is the atua of all living things of the land and it was he who first sought knowledge for humankind. To gain this knowledge, Tane set about ascending through the various spiritual realms. Knowledge was found in 'the three baskets of knowledge'. The baskets are known as te kete aronui, te kete tuauri and te kete tuatea.² Te kete aronui contains the knowledge of the natural world including what the senses perceive; te kete tuauri is our understanding and our interpretation of material reality; te kete tuatea is the basket which contains spiritual understanding and it is the realm of Io, the supreme god or being.

Pre-contact Maori societies had formal learning structures. Generally, these structures are known as the Whare Wananga and they were specific to the various groupings of hapu and iwi. The students of the wananga were boys or girls and they were generally aged in their teens. Makereti Papakura's text, *The Old time Maori*, gives an account of Whare Wananga for boys. She records that boys went into

...the whare kura or whare wananga, the sacred school of learning, at the age of sixteen or seventeen. Here he was in the hands of the great Tohunga and his one or more assistant Tohunga and learned all the traditions, mythology, and religion. ...the whare wananga was held in high regard by the Maori people. Here the youths passed through a severe test of learning, and had to memorise word for word all their traditions and sacred lore, and the very high tapu karakia of Io the supreme being.³

¹ There are differing versions of the events which followed according to differing tribal knowledges.

² They are also known by other Maori names.

³ Papakura, M., 1986, *The Old Time Maori*, Condor Productions, Hong Kong p154

Maori systems of knowledge transmission sat within a complete cosmology. Both were held in high regard and they informed the Maori world-view.

Western Education for Maori

The history of formal western style education for Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand since European contact has been well documented⁴. The Treaty of Waitangi (1840), which can be seen as the constitutional beginning of the 'partnership' between Maori iwi and the British crown, should have acted as a protection mechanism for Maori in early contact politics whether governmental, missionary or land hungry 'new' citizen. Article two of the Treaty guaranteed rangatiratanga to Maori over all of their land, villages, forests, fisheries and taonga. In guaranteeing rangatiratanga, Maori were secure in the belief that their sovereignty was intact, whilst a provision for kawanatanga enabled the colonial representatives to govern over their own people. This was clearly necessary in a time where increasing numbers of Pakeha were entering the country. Article three gave Maori the same rights and privileges as British citizens and article four in the Maori text promised protection of Maori beliefs. However, in spite of the Treaty, Maori suffered atrocities in the early colonial period in the name of British Imperialism. These atrocities resulted in a decimation of the culture, population and Maori land base. Where there were both Maori and English versions the colonisers chose to privilege the English version and thereby followed article one of the English version of the treaty which agreed to the cessation of Maori sovereignty to the Queen of England. This meant a locating of British sovereignty as a superior concept to which the other articles were conditional or in the eyes of the colonial settlers gave them grounds to ignore the Maori version altogether.

From early contact days, formal western-style education, in the shape of organised schooling, was used as a weapon to acculturate or assimilate Maori. In theory, assimilated Maori would live the life prescribed by the colonisers and abandon their own culture, political systems and institutions. Assimilation was an overarching policy and included laws that individualised land titles, confiscated land and banned indigenous religious and healing practices. However, assimilation did not mean that

Maori were to be accorded the same rights once they were 'assimilated' as the new citizens of the emerging nation. Maori were to become part of the working class, dependent on Pakeha for their existence.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, the first settlers who started formal schooling practices for Maori were the missionaries. The missionaries were representative of their time in the parochial attitude they had towards Maori as an indigenous people. Maori were thought of as a savage, barbaric and inferior race and to missionaries civilising and christianising Maori went hand in hand. Ultimately, civilising and christianising Maori meant replacing Maori culture, including beliefs, language and customs, with that of the missionaries.

The first school for Maori was opened in 1816. It was a mission school and only lasted for two years. However, Judith Simon says that Maori interest in schooling grew from this time onwards and it was largely due to an enthusiasm by Maori for reading, writing and European technology⁵. The missionaries, for their part, were keen to save souls. They translated tracts from the Bible and by 1830 had printing machinery to produce greater quantities of written material. Mission schools proliferated between 1820 and 1840, in pace with the amount of written material being produced and the growing interest from Maori in literacy. Mission schools taught religion, reading, writing, arithmetic and manual skills in the Maori language⁶.

By the mid 1840's (the period just after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi), more and more settlers began arriving in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Both the settlers and the government pursued Maori to sell their land. At about this time Maori interest in literacy in the Maori language was said to wane as Maori people felt that they needed competence in speaking, reading and writing English. Maori are said to have wanted

⁴ see L. Smith, G. Smith, and J. Simon, among others

⁵ Simon, J., 1994, 'Historical Perspectives on Education in New Zealand' in ed. Coxon et al, The Politics of Learning and Teaching in Aotearoa - New Zealand, Dunmore Press: Palmerston North, pp51

⁶ Simons, J (ed) 'Nga Kura Maori: The Native Schools System 1867-1969, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1998

knowledge of the colonisers and their way of doing business.⁷ The mission schools were only teaching from the Bible and only in the Maori language. The apparent loss of interest by Maori in the mission schools forced the missionaries to look for other options. They decided to set up boarding schools for Maori children and offer English as a subject. They also thought that by removing children from their homes and culture, they would improve the rate of assimilation.

The colonial government of New Zealand wanted Maori land for settlers and Maori people to work on it and so they agreed to help fund the boarding schools under certain conditions. These included that the boarding schools taught English and 'industrial' training and be available for inspection by government inspectors each year. Learning the English language was seen as another aspect of assimilation and the desired situation was that it would replace the Maori language. Governor Grey saw industrial training or manual work as necessary for "...children of an almost barbarous race..."⁸ and this view was shared and promoted. In 1862, the inspector for schools, Henry Taylor stated

I do not advocate for the Natives under present circumstances a refined education or high mental culture; it would be inconsistent if we take account of the position they are likely to hold for many years to come in the social scale, and inappropriate if we remember that they are better calculated by nature to get their living by manual than by mental labour.⁹

The racial and racist justification that Maori were 'by nature' suited to manual labour set Maori up to be exploited as the labouring or working class. The type of knowledge that was being made available to Maori would allow Maori to coexist with Pakeha only in a subordinate status. School inspectors suggested ways in which government wishes could be furthered in the classroom. Two of these included the awarding of prizes for proficiency in the English language and for knowledge of English law. The study of English law meant that the idea of individual ownership of

⁷ Simon, J., 1994 'Historical Perspectives on Education in New Zealand', ed. Coxon et al, The Politics of Learning and Teaching in Aotearoa - New Zealand, Dunmore Press: Palmerston North

⁸ cited in Simon, J., 1994, 'Historical Perspectives on Education in New Zealand' ed. Coxon et al, The Politics of Learning and Teaching in Aotearoa - New Zealand, Dunmore Press: Palmerston North

⁹ Cited in Simon, J., "European Style Schooling for Maori: The First Century" in ACCESS, 11, 2, 1992, p37

property would be introduced into the classroom. Individual ownership of property allowed for easier sales of Maori land to settlers which was very much on the government's agenda. In 1862, the government passed the Native Land Act which in fact forced the individualisation of title of Maori land. Communal ownership or ownership by trust did not conform to British law which the government used at that time¹⁰.

In the mid 1860's, Maori once again turned away from the schooling offered by the missionaries. The boarding schools did not sufficiently satisfy the Maori wish for children to learn the English language and acquire knowledge about Pakeha life and business to begin to help Maori in their struggles with settlers and government. Maori protested at their children being forced to do manual work as part of their schooling. In many areas Maori had donated land and raised money to have schools and did not feel they had received a fair deal. In response to Maori rejecting the boarding schools and in a climate within the country that was highly charged with conflict between settlers and Maori¹¹, the government intervened more directly in education for Maori. In 1867, under the Native Schools Act, the government authorised the setting up of secular day schools in Maori communities. Teaching was to be done by Pakeha teachers in the English language and though there was no law segregating Maori and Pakeha, generally the pupils were to be Maori. The subjects taught followed the same pattern as in the mission boarding schools with reading, writing, arithmetic, becoming good citizens and manual labour. The Native School policy was conceived as a medium of exercising social control over Maori after the upheaval caused during the land wars and it was a continuation of assimilation policies. One statement from a politician at that time was

...things had now come to pass that it was necessary either to exterminate the Natives or civilise them¹².

¹⁰ Pihama, L (1993) 'Tungia te Ururua, ki tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke: A Critical Analysis of Parents as First Teachers', Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland

¹¹ The land wars took place during this time, after which time the government confiscated huge tract of Maori land as punishment for trying to defend it.

¹² Cited in Simon, J., 1994: 60

Another opinion was that investing in education for Maori meant spending less on police and jails in future.¹³

Maori were generally willing for Native schools to be set up especially those in areas which had not been ravaged by land wars and subsequent land confiscation. Maori still wished for their children to gain competence in the English language and English knowledge. Barrington noted that a group of Maori petitioning for English language teaching in schools hoped that Maori would become

... 'acquainted with the means by which the Europeans had become great' and consequently would not hold 'a poor position in the future of the colony',¹⁴

The number of Native schools grew steadily at the instigation of Maori. However, the project of assimilation also grew. By 1879, there were 57 Native schools and in 1880 the first inspector of the Native schools, James Pope was appointed. In his view the purpose of the Native schools was

...to bring to an untutored but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with our civilisation and by placing in Maori settlements European school buildings and European families to serve as teachers, especially as exemplars of a new and more desirable mode of life...¹⁵

Once again the schools for Maori were being used to further the governmental and colonist aims to assimilate Maori into the European lifestyle. The European families as discreet family units were intended to portray the family lifestyle that was more appropriate than the extended family life which typified Maori communities. The school buildings also were seen as the appropriate site for education. Along with the overt curriculum, these factors sought to "...promote the Pakeha way of life while simultaneously denigrating the Maori way of life."¹⁶

¹³ Pihama 1993

¹⁴ Cited in Simon, J., 1994:62

¹⁵ Bird, W. W., 1928 "The Education of the Maori" in Davey, I. (ed.) Fifty Years of National Education in New Zealand: 1878- 1928, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd.: Auckland

¹⁶ Simon, J., "European Style Schooling for Maori: The First Century" in ACCESS, 11, 2, 1992, p40

The nineteenth century then saw schooling for Maori as practised by the colonisers, as a mode of assimilation. The main aims of this educational policy were to 'christianise and civilise' Maori, turn Maori into a manual labour force and wrest land from Maori. It was also a way to pacify Maori who wanted schooling to be able to cope with the influx of settlers and it was easier and less costly than war¹⁷. Assimilation, as it continued to be in the twentieth century, was hegemonic in that it tried to impose on Maori a new way of being that would counteract and accept the devastation in Maori terms of loss of land and culture. By the turn of the century, with the help of the Native Land Court, Maori had been dispossessed of approximately eighty per cent of their land. The Maori world had narrowed considerably. In the early mission schools, before Aotearoa was a colony of England, the necessity to attend instruction was related to life after death rather than before. Once the colony came into existence, schooling was seen by Maori as necessary to cope with a life which became increasingly dominated by Pakeha and their imported culture and institutions.

In the early twentieth century, the huge loss of land meant that Maori had a minimal economic base. Other major influences on Maori communities at that time were the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act, World War I, the influenza epidemic, the world-wide depression and World War II. Basic survival was difficult especially when these events were compounded with general ongoing colonisation. The Tohunga Suppression Act was another attack on the Maori lifestyle. It made the practices of traditional spiritual healers illegal. Assimilation was practised more rigorously in the Native schools with the prohibition of Maori language being spoken at school in 1903 by the inspector for schools, William Bird. However the native schools proliferated. The curriculum was still limited, manual labour was considered a norm in these schools. By this time, Maori were also attending public schools and native secondary schools, which were generally the old, mission boarding schools converted. In some of these schools, most notably Te Aute college, the curriculum was extended for a short while. A wave of Maori male scholars resulted from this slip up at Te Aute. The native secondary schools were supposed to create a Maori elite who would spread the word of assimilation but instead Te Aute went too far and produced Maori who could challenge the dominant position of Pakeha, particularly Apirana Ngata. The

¹⁷ Simon. J. (ed) (1998) op.cit.

1906 Te Aute enquiry by the Department of Education reaffirmed the policy of assimilation as one that would limit Maori involvement in society to a place where Maori would work for Pakeha not compete with them economically. The Maori male was supposed to be a "...handyman"¹⁸.

The Labour government which was elected in 1935 and continued in power until 1949 transformed New Zealand society into a welfare state. During this time, houses were built, people were employed, and land development was supported¹⁹. World War II did not diminish this progress and in education there was a general effort made to ensure children were given a longer school education. Two examples of this effort were the abolition of a pass in the proficiency exam as a pre-requisite to enter High School and raising the school leaving age to fifteen years old. For Maori in particular, Maori District High Schools were established, the first in 1941. Prior to this time, most Maori students who passed the proficiency exam would have gone to the Maori boarding schools especially if they were from rural areas. Now Maori could attend secular high schools which were designated as their own school.

During the years after World War II, many Maori left their rural homes in search of work in the cities. The urban drift was a result of decreasing work in the rural areas and an increased industrialisation in the urban centres which required an increased labour force. More Maori children went to public schools than Native schools by this time (since 1927), however, the Native schools persisted up until the 1969 when they were transferred to the control of the Education Board and became integrated with the public school system. In the years up until the end of the Native schools the policy of assimilation that started with the very first schools in Aotearoa was continued.

The migration of Maori to the cities was huge. Approximately half of the Maori population had moved from a rural to an urban location in the years between 1936 and 1960; a large proportion of this number moved in the 1950's. Rapid urbanisation brought a new set of issues for Maori. Traditional Maori life was disrupted both for those who remained in rural areas and for those who had gone to the cities. For

¹⁸ Barrington, J.M., 1988 "Learning the Dignity of Labour: secondary education policy for Maoris" in *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, 23, 1, p48

example, in rural areas the support of the extended family could no longer be relied upon and those in the city often could not participate in important whanau/ hapu and/or iwi events in the areas where they were from because it meant travelling great distances at a substantial cost. Also, living and working in the city meant Maori were tied to full time mostly labour intensive work instead of seasonal work or working their own resources. This type of work combined with the dislocation from traditional life and values, made the transition to living in the city difficult for many Maori.

Maori leaders were concerned about the welfare of Maori particularly with regard to education. After a meeting of Maori leaders in 1955, the National Advisory Committee on Maori Education (NACME) was set up to advise the Department of Education on issues for Maori in the education system. Even though Maori children in general were receiving a longer education because of attendance at High School, there was concern at the lack of achievement of Maori students. The committee membership consisted of Pakeha until 1970 when it was decided that the membership should have a majority of Maori.

Government also took note of the migration that had occurred in Maori society from rural to urban areas and the issues that were resulting from this shift. They commissioned one of their administrators to write a report on the Department of Maori Affairs and in 1961, the Hunn Report was produced. Basically, the report measured social indicators of Maori against those of Pakeha in the areas of health, employment, housing and education. In education, Hunn concluded that Maori were not achieving to an acceptable level in school and that too many Maori left school at an early age without qualifications and few went on to tertiary education. He also concluded that the reason why Maori were not achieving was because of their deficient home life. In all, Hunn decided that assimilation as a policy had not worked. Maori had not become assimilated according to Hunn's definition of assimilation as "...absorbed, blended, amalgamated, with complete loss of Maori culture."²⁰ The remedy that Hunn proposed to the social ills which beset Maori came in the form of a policy of 'integration'. Integration, according to the Hunn Report is "...to combine

¹⁹ Walker, Ranginui (1990) Ka whawhai tonu matou: Struggle Without End Penguin Books, Auckland

²⁰ Hunn Report cited in Jones et al., 1990, Myths and Realities, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North p175

(not fuse) the Maori and Pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct.”²¹ In the ideal form both Maori and Pakeha cultures would be shared by the population and one culture would form from the two.

Integration involved raising the self-esteem of Maori children and in 1975 a programme called ‘Taha Maori’ was introduced into the school curriculum. The rationale for Taha Maori was that by including some form of Maori culture in the school syllabus, Maori children would feel more comfortable in the system and they would achieve better results. Taha Maori mainly came in the form of practising Maori arts and crafts and basic language learning. It was a curriculum that was Pakeha controlled and which relied also on dominant culture teaching and learning methods. As many educationalists have noted²², in terms of contributing to children’s knowledge of things Maori, taha Maori would have benefited Pakeha children more than Maori children. In many instances, Maori children would have been aware of Maori arts and crafts and rudimentary words in the language whereas Pakeha would truly have been learning something new within a Pakeha controlled environment. In terms of building self esteem, Taha Maori was only a token gesture; it was peripheral to a core curriculum which had not really changed from assimilationist goals.

Where the development of education systems in Aotearoa began with Maori through the mission schools and were initially focused on children, there was soon a movement toward university education. The university quickly became a site of struggle for Maori.

Auckland University and Maori

Auckland University’s main campus since its establishment in 1883 has been in central Auckland. It now covers an area over Princes St, Wellesley St, Waterloo Quadrant and Symonds St. The land that the central campus sits on was originally part of a large block of land sold by Ngati Whatua chiefs on October 20 1840 to the

²¹ Idem

²² refer Smith, G. 1986, Smith G. 1990

Crown. It is said²³ that the chiefs invited the Governor and by extension the Crown to live in Auckland as insurance against Ngapuhi who had recently massacred Ngati Whatua as well as other tribes in the North. Auckland became the capital of the New Zealand colony until 1865. It hosted the colonial government and the military who fought in the Northern wars against Hone Heke and Kawiti.

In the first twenty or so years of its life, the university was located in small unused colonial buildings but as time went on and the stature of the university grew in the community so too did the accommodation. Now, Old Government House, which was built in 1856 as a residence for the Governor, is the senior common room and the stone wall near the main library is all that remains of the more than twenty acres that made up Albert Barracks where government troops were stationed to repel the 'threat' from the North in the 1840's.

The name of the university marae, Waipapa, is the name of the place which Simmons²⁴ says was the only piece of Maori land reserved out of the original block that was sold to form Auckland city. Waipapa was a beach that was located at the juncture of Stanley St and Beach Rd and it was also a stream that came down from the eastern side of the valley. Simmons notes that another stream exited on to Waipapa and this one came down from the place where the university marae is. Its name was Te Ako o Te Tui²⁵. From 1840 onwards Maori landed their canoes at the beach and camped with their produce to supply the growing town of Auckland.

A History of the University of Auckland 1883 - 1983 by Sinclair²⁶, is an official history of Auckland University written for the 1983 centenary. Overall, it has scant reference to Maori. However, it is noted in the history that university education in New Zealand "...came to be founded on a great wrong, the confiscation of large areas of Maori land in 1863, during the Anglo-Maori wars."²⁷ This refers to the New Zealand University Endowment Act of 1868 which allowed for 'waste' Crown lands,

²³ Simmons, 1987, p32, Walker, 1990, p99

²⁴ Simmons, 1987, p41

²⁵ Idem

²⁶ Sinclair, K., 1983, A History of the University of Auckland 1883 - 1983, Auckland University Press, Auckland

²⁷ Sinclair, 1983, p4

which were largely confiscated Maori lands, to be set aside for the future use of universities. Provincial governments also funded the universities of Otago, Canterbury and Auckland from selling land bought cheaply from Maori²⁸. Sinclair notes that the "Aucklanders greatly resented the landed wealth of Canterbury and Otago, where Maoris were few and land relatively easily acquired."²⁹ The universities of Otago and Canterbury progressed more rapidly in their establishment than Auckland because their provincial governments were richer. Those who were pushing for a university in Auckland saw Maori and their ownership of land as a nuisance and an obstacle. Even Sinclair's history does not use the term 'owned' with regards to Maori land, rather he uses the term 'occupied'³⁰ which does not carry the same rights as ownership or rangatiratanga. In its outset, the university was a place for the settlers not the indigenous people.

In 1908, Te Rangihiroa and Apirana Ngata were instrumental in gaining from a conference of Maori Councils and the Young Maori Party, a recommendation for the University of New Zealand to establish a chair in Polynesian Studies³¹. A chair, however, was not established for many years and Maori did not become a university subject until 1923. In 1928, Ngata was an examiner for the BA Maori with Archdeacon Henry W. Williams³², but this was not for Auckland University. It was not until 1948 that anthropology was introduced as a subject at the University of Auckland and under its umbrella, a lecturing position was created for a Maori language Stage I level course. A Stage II Maori language course was successfully blocked by Faculty until 1953.

Apparently, Maori was not singled out for restriction of growth, Sinclair comments that the teaching of all social science subjects such as anthropology, psychology, sociology was severely limited by the faculty because of lack of resources and a particularly conservative social science professor, William Anderson³³.

²⁸ The Treaty of Waitangi allowed Maori to sell only to the Crown which meant the Crown could often name the price and the on-sell to settlers at a much higher price.

²⁹ Sinclair, 1983, p5

³⁰ Ibid., p12

³¹ Sorrenson, 1986, p20

³² Sorrenson, 1986, P94

³³ Sinclair, 1983, p202

Maori and anthropology had many supporters outside of the university. These included the Auckland Museum, Te Akarana Maori Association and St Stephen's Maori Boys School. From the 1950's, the anthropology department at Auckland University began producing scholars who advanced further interest in Maori studies from inside the university. One of these was Bruce Biggs who went on to become a professor at the university and have significant input in to Maori language studies from a linguistics perspective. Other scholars similarly looked to the Maori world to find subjects of study. In the 1960's Mervyn McLean was studying Maori music, others were studying material culture, and so on. The study of Maori subjects, rather than being emphasised as study into national or tribal heritages, was viewed with acceptance and encouragement by the general university populace just as the study of any subjects pertaining to cultures other than European, for example, in the 1960's Asian languages were being taught.

In the 1970's, Sinclair's history notes³⁴ that concerns were raised at the low numbers of Maori enrolled at university, though when quoting numbers, Maori are combined with Polynesian students in this history. Steps were taken to attract Maori students including a liaison appointment. Sinclair claims that by 1981 there was a considerable increase in Maori students to about five per cent of the roll. This, he notes, was proportional to half of the Maori and Polynesian population. He also notes that Maori students on the whole achieved at a below average level. In spite of the admitted low enrolment and achievement by Maori at Auckland University, Sinclair rates the university as important for providing understanding of Maori culture for those Maori whose upbringing limited their understanding of their culture³⁵. Sinclair's paternalism at this particular point is perhaps also a signifier of attitudes of university hierarchy to Maori both as a subject of study and as the indigenous people.

The Maori Studies Department buildings on Alten and Wynyard roads and Tane-nui-a-rangi, the university marae, were built in the 1980's. They can be seen to have established a sense of permanence to the presence of Maori as a people and as a knowledge base in the university. The struggle for the marae is described in Chapter Five so the struggles for these spaces will not be expanded upon at this point except to

³⁴ Sinclair, 1983, p293

say that these physical spaces can be seen as a reclaiming of space on land that was originally owned by Maori in an institution that was originally funded through the confiscation of Maori lands.

Summary

The context of formal western style education for Maori since colonisation shows that Maori as a people and as a culture have been severely marginalised in Aotearoa. Maori knowledge and language have been suppressed to a huge extent and Maori people were forced to become working class citizens. In this context, Maori as a people and as a knowledge base were excluded from tertiary education with few exceptions. At the University of Auckland, it has taken years of struggle for a Maori presence to be established in terms of subjects offered in terms of students and staff. This presence came to have some sense of permanence in the 1980's with the creation of physical space in the building of the Maori Studies department and Waipapa, the university marae.

³⁵ (Idem).