

CHAPTER FIVE - THE TAINUI MAORI TRUST BOARD AND EDUCATION

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Establishment of the Tainui Maori Trust Board

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

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

The Introduction of Educational Scholarships

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

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

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

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

Selection Criteria

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

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

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

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

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

The Board and Educational Scholarships: 1950s

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

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

The Ngarimu VC Memorial Scholarship

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

Boundary Changes for Scholarship Eligibility Criteria

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

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

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

Views on the First Ten Years

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

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

The Board and Educational Scholarships: 1960s

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

Implications of the Hunn Report for Waikato

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

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

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

Postgraduate Education – Some Concerns

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

Establishment of the University of Waikato

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

Adult Students

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

Exceptional Awards

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

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

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

The Board and Educational Scholarships: 1970s

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

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

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

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

Changes to Scholarship Administration

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

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

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

The Board and Educational Scholarships: 1980s

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

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

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

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

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

The Tainui Education Strategy

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

The First Report

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Second Report

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

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

Basis of the Objectives: Drawing on the Research

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

After the Research: Moving Forward

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tainui Maori Trust Board Education Network

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

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

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

Teacher Training

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

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

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

The University of Waikato

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Preliminary Evaluation of the Tainui Education Strategy

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

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

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

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

The Board and Educational Scholarships: 1990s

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Issue of Whakapapa

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

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

Accountability

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Financing the Scholarships

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

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

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

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

Initiatives Post-Raupatu Settlement

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

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

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

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

Establishment of the Seminar Series

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

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

Other Scholarships

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

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

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

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

The Endowed Colleges

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

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

The Board’s Approach to Education – An Analysis

Since the establishment of the Tainui Maori Trust Board in 1946, it has kept to the fore its interest in education, and the need to assist in the advancement of the education of its tribal members. This has been a consistent objective that has survived

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

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

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

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

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

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

Summary

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

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

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