

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCING THE THESIS

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

Overview

The paradoxical experience of higher education, as Carey (1997) states above, is one that is shared by minority and indigenous peoples alike. The struggle lies in being able to find comfortable spaces (hooks 1994), to live dual existences (Barnhardt 1994) - maintaining cultural identity and traditions on the one hand, while achieving western standards of academic success on the other. This struggle continues against an historical backdrop that has excluded Maori, and other indigenous and minority peoples, from participating on equal terms with the dominant 'other' in education. For Maori, the struggle is manifested in tribal bodies asserting their tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) and using education as the key to achieving it. For the dominant 'other,' the struggle is manifested in higher education institutions that strive to maintain the status quo, set against a rhetorical backdrop that has paid lip service to the aspirations of Maori. This practice of 'lip service' to Maori has characterised Maori-Pakeha¹ relationships even before the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840.

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

¹ Pakeha is the term given to describe the British and European colonisers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Settings and Participants in the Research

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

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

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

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

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

Maori and Education

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

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

effectively the governing structure of the tribe until its retirement, I have chosen, for consistency and to avoid confusion, to retain the title of the Board throughout the thesis.

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

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

Analyses of the Tainui Maori Trust Board scholarships are also patchy and inconsistent. However, scholarships awarded to tribal members attending the University of Waikato accounted for nearly half (49 percent) of all scholarships awarded in 1993, dropping to 43 percent in 1999.³ While little is known about the completion figures for Tainui students enrolled at the University of Waikato, data

³ Tainui Maori Trust Board Annual Reports 1994 – 1999.

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

The New Zealand Education System – A Background

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

In 1847 the Education Ordinance was passed, which provided government aid to mission schools, through land grants and subsidies. According to Ka’ai-Oldman (1988:22), the aim of the Ordinance was to isolate Maori children from influences of traditional villages, assimilating them into the habits of European culture, thus bringing under government control the activities of the mission schools. McKenzie (1982:3) believed that Governor George Grey, author and proponent of the Ordinance, intended that it would provide an opportunity in which the “two races would be schooled together with a curriculum carefully chosen for its relevance to a colonial environment.” Settler intent, however, differed from Grey’s hopes for the Ordinance. According to McKenzie (1982:3), the settlers thought the idea of universal schooling “absurd as to be not worth taking

⁴ See Pember Reeves 1924; Butchers 1930; Campbell 1941; Parr 1961; Barrington 1966, 1971; and Cumming & Cumming 1978, as initial points of reference on the history of education in New

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

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

Zealand. Simon’s (1990) analysis of the history of schooling for Maori provides an understanding of the power relationships between Maori and Pakeha in education.

It is interesting to note that support for the establishment of the native schools differed amongst the tribes, particularly after the Land Wars of the 1860s. Barrington (1971:24) noted that initially, a large proportion of the support for the establishment of the schools came from North Auckland, where the tribes had “either fought on the Pakeha side during the Wars or remained neutral.” The East Coast was also another region, which, relatively untouched by the Land Wars, sought the establishment of native schools.

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

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

which recognised that forcing Maori children to attend schools (particularly in the Waikato region) would prove fruitless. However, McKenzie (1982:5) also noted that, because of the clear definitions between Maori and non-Maori, “the wording of the Act also made it legally possible to exclude Maori children from public schools,” and because the schools were run by locally elected committees, “the intentions of the parliamentarians remained to be shaped by local circumstance.”

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

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

Maori secondary schools founded by the different denominations included Te Aute College, St. Stephen's School, Hukarere and St. Joseph's School. Te Aute College (in the Hawke's Bay region) is noted for matriculating the first generation of Maori graduates during the late nineteenth century, and according to Fitzgerald (1970:49) was where the idea for university education for Maori was first born. The first Maori graduates, Sir Apirana Ngata, Sir Peter Buck and Sir Maui Pomare, subsequently became leaders in the diverse arenas of politics, culture, anthropology and medicine.

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

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

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

believed that the government's interest in this report stemmed from a trend at that time "toward similar policies in the administration of indigenous people in many parts of the world." However, despite the report's emphasis on "the use of local vernaculars in education" (Barrington 1976:64) aspects of Maori culture were introduced instead in a lacklustre and non-committal way (Ka'ai-Oldman 1988:23). Cumming & Cumming (1978:330), however, were of the opinion that despite government inactivity in addressing Maori education underachievement, "men in authority have acted with the best of intentions."

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

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

deprivation' and the 'problem of the Maori child', to a concept of 'cultural difference' which emphasised Pakeha tolerance of non-Pakeha culture" (Marshall 1991:12-13. See also Walker 1991:8-9).

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

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

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

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

University Education in New Zealand – An Overview

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

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

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

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

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

one thing imperatively needed for the Indian is industrial education. (AJHR 1884, G-2:14-15).

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

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

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

The role of Te Aute College in readying young Maori for university must be acknowledged here. John Thornton, the headmaster of Te Aute, deliberately strayed from government policy of preparing Maori for trade training and instead taught the prerequisite subjects, including Latin, which allowed Maori the opportunity to sit the matriculation examination. According to Fitzgerald (1970:50), Thornton “started an idea that caught on,” and notably “Te Aute alone

produced most of the educated Maori leaders of the early twentieth century.” While Thornton’s views were akin to the government policy of producing “brown-skinned Pakehas,” Fitzgerald (1970:51) states that Thornton’s theory of “resocialisation” attempted to ensure that Maori were more than adequately prepared to participate within the New Zealand education system, and beyond that, to take their place in New Zealand society.

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

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

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

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

They were not quietly retiring to kainga (villages/home) to help effect the 'assimilation' policy. Instead, they were gaining a high profile in Pakeha society and demonstrating that Maori could excel in a European field. Furthermore, in the case of Ngata at least, advanced education was providing Maori with a more advantaged position from which to challenge Pakeha authority.

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

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

Specifically, Ngata and Buck felt that Maori participation in higher education would support Maori development. The impact of these early graduates' contribution to and support from the Maori community was, however, tempered with a fair degree of suspicion by Maori, who did not readily trust and have confidence in these Maori leaders with their Pakeha education. This suspicion, I believe still exists about the concept of higher education.

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

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

The success of the first group of Maori graduates, combined with the superior attitude displayed by government officials (as shown above), saw the government redefining the role of education for Maori. Simon (1990:96) states that government officials believed that "the work of the schools was too academic, with not enough attention being paid to manual and technical education." Intense focus was placed on Te Aute College, and pressure was placed on the school to

⁵ This extract was taken from Mr. Ball's Opening Statement on Native Education at the conference. The conference, held in Auckland in 1939, looked at the issue of education as a means of encouraging development and the training of leaders. As a result of this statement, the conference considered the relationship between Maori and European achievement, and ways in which Maori culture could be preserved and maintained.

change its emphasis from pursuing an academic curriculum to an agricultural one. In 1906, a Royal Commission investigated the school's approach to the education of Maori, concluding that Maori were better suited for manual instruction (Simon 1990). However, Simon (1990:99) reports "former Te Aute students strongly supported the retention of the academic studies, Ngata in particular having never accepted that the future of the Maori should be confined to rural areas and manual labour." Constant pressure placed by the government on denominational schools like Te Aute was reflected in the state education system, with a greater degree of success. This attitude towards Maori learning contradicted earlier beliefs that Maori were quick and eager to learn Pakeha concepts, and adapt them for their own purposes. Simon (1990:100-101) called this a shift of:

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

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

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

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

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

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

The University of Waikato

The establishment of the University of Waikato occurred during the second wave of Maori university graduates (Walker 1991). The Hunn Report (1960) and Currie Report (1962) had also been published, thus publicising the issue of Maori educational under-achievement. Essentially, however, the establishment of the University of Waikato would have been seen as another opportunity to construct, legitimise and maintain the ethnocentrism upon which it was traditionally based. The University of Waikato, initially established as a branch college of the University of Auckland, became an institution in its own right after the University of Waikato Act was passed in 1964. The University was located within the traditional tribal regions of numerous Maori tribes. The land on which the

University was built was part of the confiscated lands belonging to the Waikato tribe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tainui – A Brief History

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Te Kingitanga – The King Movement

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

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

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

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

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

The Impact of Kingitanga: Land Wars and Raupatu

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

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

It was also during this time, Mahuta (1995:23) states that, “the balance of power was shifting as the number of Pakeha settlers began to equal the Maori population.” Governor Thomas Gore Browne threatened the position of the Kingitanga, issuing a “threat of war if Waikato did not bend, and give up the Kingship” (Turongo House 2000:46). The response to this challenge by Wiremu Tamehana⁶ (in Turongo House 2000:48) highlights the frustration of Tainui in being demanded to give up the Kingship:

⁶ Wiremu Tamehana was involved in the establishment of the Kingitanga. During the installation of Potatau as first Maori king, Wiremu Tamehana provided a statement of laws and placed a bible

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

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

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

The confiscation of Waikato lands (known as the Raupatu) was ‘authorised’ with the passing of the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 and the Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863, which “allowed the colonial government to use force against Maori rebels” (Mahuta 1995:23). However, revealing their true objective, instead of confiscating the lands in which the ‘rebels’ were located, the government took land that was the most fertile and productive, and often from the hapu most loyal to the King Movement. Ballara (1996:12) states that this “lopsided choice convinced King supporters that the whole war had been deliberately engineered to acquire the fertile lands closest to Auckland for settlement,” and cemented King supporters’ suspicion of the government. Gorst (1959:253) agrees, writing that the

on top of Potatau’s head. This has formed part of the ritual during the installation of successive kings by descendants of Wiremu Tamehana. It was because of this ritual that Wiremu Tamehana was given the title “kingmaker,” a title that has been passed down through successive generations (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1999).

invasion of Waikato cemented Maori fears and suspicions as to Pakeha aspirations over land.

Towards a Resolution: The Search for Redress

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

While isolated in the King Country (a period of about 20 years), the Kingitanga, under Tawhiao, adopted the principles of the Pai Marire faith, which advocated peace (Ballara 1996:13). Along with this religion, Tawhiao advocated policies of passive resistance to government activities. However, while Tawhiao rejected war, he also rejected opportunities to make peace with the government, until the government returned the confiscated land to his people (Ballara 1996:14). Essentially, the King Country became a ‘no-go’ area for Pakeha, and attempts to open up the King Country to settlement were met with resistance (Turongo House 2000). Simpson (1979:185) states that the aukati held until the mid 1880s.

In 1881, Tawhiao made peace with the government, laying down his arms at Pirongia (Jones 1971, Turongo House 2000). From there, Tawhiao journeyed

throughout the Waikato district, visiting the towns built on Raupatu land, and then visiting the many tribes that had supported the Kingitanga throughout the Land Wars. Uppermost in Tawhiao's mind was the restoration of Tainui, through the return of their confiscated lands. A decision was made to go to England, as Turongo House (2000:160) writes:

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

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

Mahuta, the third Maori King, continued along the direction set by Tawhiao in seeking redress for the Raupatu. Mahuta met with Prime Minister Richard Seddon in 1902, and was offered a place on the National Legislative Council and cabinet in 1903, a position he held until 1910. Ballara (1996:20) states that Mahuta's acceptance to these positions caused division among supporters of the Kingitanga, because it was seen as an "abandonment of the kingdom's independence." Similarly, efforts to work with government over the resolution of Raupatu and the ongoing development of the tribe saw Mahuta in conflict with tribal members, including Tupu Taingakawa Te Waharoa – Wiremu Tamehana's son (Ballara

1996:21). Mahuta died in 1912 with little success in resolving the issue of Raupatu. His son, Te Rata, succeeded Mahuta.

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

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

Many people were critical of the tribe’s stance, believing that “Waikato were shirking their duty” (Simpson 1979:190). However, despite this opprobrium, Te Puea became a significant figure during this period of tribal rebuilding, most notably instigating the establishment of Turangawaewae Marae in Ngaruawahia

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

as the home of the Kingitanga, heralding the return of the Tainui tribe to its traditional land base.

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

Te Rata died in 1933, and was succeeded by his son, Koroki. Tumate Mahuta, Te Rata’s brother, led the negotiating team in seeking redress, assisted by noted Tainui scholar, Pei Te Hurinui Jones (Ballara 1996:24; Jones 1971; Mahuta 1995:25). According to Ballara (1996:24), the leaders of the Kingitanga were affronted by Tarapipipi, the son of Tupu Taingakawa Te Waharoa. Tarapipipi’s interference in the negotiation process resulted in the kingmaker’s role being reduced to a ceremonial function (Ballara 1996:24). Jones (1971:30-31) mentions an episode during the negotiations which may pinpoint the reason for the Kingitanga’s offence:

Turangawaewae Marae, Ngaruawahia, as the official home of the Kingitanga. Refer to King, M. (1977) for a comprehensive account of her life and achievements.

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

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

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

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

According to Jones (1971:30) the negotiations were disrupted by a number of things - Tumate's death, several changes of government, the outbreak of World War Two and the illness of Tumate Mahuta's younger brother, Tonga, who had been appointed as the negotiator on behalf of the tribe – and were not resumed until 1946. Mahuta (1995:25) notes that, in 1937, Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage was against the return of land, because "this would be unjust for those already living on it," and would agree to pay "no less than had been promised by the previous government, namely, the sum of £10,750." Jones (1971:33) became reinvolved at this point, with negotiations finally coming to a resolution and settlement on 22 April 1946, when Te Puea met with Acting Minister of Maori Affairs, Mr R. Mason, and the Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, at Turangawaewae Marae.

The Tainui Maori Trust Board

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

The role of the Board was to act as the “statutory body” which administered the annual payments from the government (Jones 1971:33). It was responsible for the administration and distribution of these payments on behalf of the tribe. Te Puea selected the first Board “in accordance with the terms of the settlement arranged with the Prime Minister and they comprised thirteen members” (Jones 1971:33). Thereafter, the Board’s composition was decided by election (Tainui Maori Trust Board 1993:8). Mahuta (1995:26) states that the Act under which the Board was established, defined Tainui as “those hapu whose lands were confiscated” and required that only those directly affected by the land confiscations be provided for. However, the Board’s opinion was that “all Tainui has been affected,” therefore the benefits from the settlement were for all Tainui tribal members (Mahuta 1995:26). The first Tainui Maori Trust Board undertook to provide funding for tribal members in their agricultural pursuits. This first Board also set education as one of its main objectives, through the establishment of educational scholarships. This thesis explores these early objectives and the extent to which the Board has fulfilled them. The activities of the Board since its establishment are examined in further detail in Chapter Five. Specific attention is paid to the activities related to Maori and university education.

Participation and Completion: Maori at University in the 1990s

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

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

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

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

Education (1997c:23, 1998b:60) also identified that the subjects of choice for Maori were education, humanities and social sciences, while for non-Maori they were commerce, science and engineering.

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

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

According to a report prepared for Te Roopu Manukura by Kaunuku Awhina (the Maori Student Academic Advisory Centre of the University of Waikato), the Maori participation figures for the University of Waikato were above the required number of total enrolments considered “essential for long-term development of iwi” (University of Waikato 1998:2). Maori student enrolments for undergraduate

⁹ It should be noted that the University of Waikato material from which these figures have been obtained contain slight variances. For example, the Kaunuku Awhina report dated 1998 states that total number of Maori enrolled at the University in 1997 was 2581, while a memorandum prepared by the Statistics Administrator in 2000 reports that the figure was 2474. The figures mentioned do not refer to EFTS (Equivalent Full-Time Student), but represent student bodies.

degree programmes at the University of Waikato peaked at 75.5 percent in 1996, dropping to just below 70 percent in 1998.

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

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

Source: Ministry of Education¹⁰

Between 1993 and 1998, the growth of Maori students at the University of Waikato enrolled for postgraduate degrees had more than doubled, as Table 2 shows. Similarly, postgraduate diploma enrolments had also increased in 1998, although these figures fluctuated during this period. Explanations given to identify these increases included: increasing numbers of Maori students who stay on to study for higher qualifications; availability of scholarships, especially at postgraduate level; influence of Kaunuku Awhina in assisting and advising students; University promotion activities targeted specifically at Maori, particularly from School of Maori and Pacific Development and Graduate Development Studies programme; reality of rising tuition costs in future (University of Waikato 1998:13).

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

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

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

Source: University of Waikato (1998:13)¹¹

Completion

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

However, Ministry of Education data has indicated that university graduates made up the least number of Maori students graduating across the tertiary sector. Table 3 illustrates that between 1994 and 1996, Maori university graduates as a percentage of total student graduation figures increased by only 0.8 percent, while Maori graduates of Polytechnics increased by 1.4 percent, greater than the increase of all Maori completions (1.3 percent). While universities have traditionally not enjoyed large Maori student populations, the lack of growth in Maori students graduating from the university sector raises concerns about future Maori and tribal development, especially as tribal groups consider post-settlement

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

strategies which place more emphasis on highly educated tribal members assisting in such development.

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

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

Note: Excludes international students and ethnicity not stated.

Source: Ministry of Education, 1998a

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

Tainui Education Achievement

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source: Tainui Maori Trust Board¹²

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

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

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

Chapter Summary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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