Chapter Eight

The Colonisation of *Maori* Children

Why did you send me to school? Why did you not teach me to speak my own language? Why did you send me to school with no lunch? Why did I have to go to school in funny looking clothes? Why did that teacher call me dumb? Why don’t you come to report nights? Am I *Maori* or a *Pakeha*? Are *Maori* people good or am I bad?1

Introduction.

For many *Maori* parents the questions asked above are still very real, they once asked the same questions of their own parents and then found that once they became parents, they were being asked the same set of questions by their children or grandchildren. It is generally taken for granted that the story of colonisation is a 'big peoples'’ story, it is about whole populations, or about men and women, or about groups of 'people'. And yet one of the most important social categories in colonialism, particularly where education is concerned, was children. Children were the means through which their communities would be civilised. Schooling constructed and then regulated new forms of social categories; children, childhood and parents. In this chapter I intend to focus on the two inter-related categories of childhood and children. Childhood is a social category, constructed as a means of attributing significance, of according status, of making distinctions between one social group and another. Children, however, are an essential category of biologically young human beings. The two categories intersect, for example, when we try to determine when one stops being a child and becomes an adult. How this is decided is socially determined, it relates to concepts of

1 *These questions are based on ones I have heard being asked of parents and grandparents.*

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childhood and to the wider concept of the human life cycle. Schooling brought children to the centre, it constructed new ways of thinking about them, that is, new concepts of childhood, and in doing so, regulated not only childhood and the lives of children but also parenthood, motherhood, fatherhood and other social groupings. These new social categories cut across and dis-ordered Maori concepts of the human life cycle and Maori social categories. Some of the ways this process occurred will be discussed further in this chapter.

In early written accounts about the encounters between Maori and Pakeha, little attention was given to the effects of that encounter on Maori children. Although there are some accounts of children in early journals they are, by and large, peripheral observations. The glimpses of children that we can glean from these accounts are tantalising but incomplete. In later nineteenth and early twentieth century accounts, Maori children escape attention again, as these writers focus for the most part on the larger story of Maori cosmologies and the observable behaviours of the adults. Once again children feature by accident in the accounts. Given the prevailing western views of childhood, this lack of attention is not surprising. However, the civilising mission of New Zealand’s colonial project was to be carried out through the education of Maori children. From the development of the first mission schools it was the children who were separated out as a group to be ‘educated’ and ‘civilised’. It was, for example, ‘youths’ befriended by Samuel Marsden in Paramatta who convinced Mardsen that Maori were educable, and it was two ‘youths’ who were sent to England to help develop an orthography of Maori language.

Also, from this early period of mission education, it was clear that the chiefs did send the children willingly to school. The child became the means by which the encounters between Maori and Pakeha could be mediated. However, what is often overlooked, is the fact that the chiefs initially also sent their wives, their slaves, both boys and girls, and other adults to the

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2 Nineteenth century western views of children generally speaking regarded children as belonging to the same category as women, that is, as people needing to be brought under control. There were different views of childhood and class, gender and other cultural contexts made for different views. However, Pakeha accounts of Maori concepts of childhood were not sympathetic.

mission school. There were also examples where the chiefs withdrew their children from school for a variety of reasons, one of the most important of which was related to discipline. For the missionaries, it would seem that they found the children on their own difficult to control, and at times it suited the mission teachers to have adults who could work outside while the children went to school inside. Just these few examples would suggest that children and the concept of childhood, which was used to make decisions about what children could do and ought to do, were sites of struggle.

Because the link between the provision of state schooling for Maori and the agenda of civilising Maori has been well established, and has become taken for granted as a process which affected Maori people as a people, we tend to overlook the simple fact that it was children, in the first instance, who were being colonised through schooling. If, as Fanon has argued, colonisation was a violent process, then it was a process which was done systematically, through schooling, to children. If, as Freire and others have argued, it was a process with psychological as well as social consequences, then those consequences were carried by children. The first part of the chapter examines, at a general level, the relationship between the ways in which children and 'primitive' people were regarded in the west as people who needed to be civilised and tamed. These views are contrasted with Maori conceptions of childhood. The second part of the chapter examines some of the ways schooling was used as a mode for the realisation of colonialism.

Western Views of Childhood.

In chapter two the concept of development and its importance to history was discussed using the parallel of the development of an infant to illustrate the underlying views of progress and movement towards self-actualisation and advancement. The similarity between views about the evolutionary development of a child and the evolution of a society are not accidental.

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5 Examples of this will be elaborated on in chapter eight.

6 Barrington & Beaglehole, p.12.
Western views of childhood, and the recognition of the child as a separate entity which could be tamed, shaped and made into an adult, can also be framed within the modernist project. One historian of childhood in the west, Lloyd De Mauss, argues that, 'the history of childhood is a nightmare from which we have only begun to awaken'. He writes of the systematic brutality towards children which has occurred throughout European history. This included the sanction, in classical Greek times, of infanticide and child sacrifice. Although Christianity brought about a change of attitudes to the child, De Mauss argues that the shift in attitude was based, not on a concern for the child but rather, for the salvation of the adult.

A contrasting view of childhood, however, is given by another historian, Phillipe Aries who argues that childhood as a concept was socially constructed well after the middle ages and was more to do with the construction of the modern family. In this sense, childhood is a social category which has been constituted in relation to other aspects of social life, such as the economy and the role of the family and of women within those economic arrangements. Postman similarly argues that in the middle ages, what constituted childhood ended once children had 'command over speech' at about age seven, and that this is primarily why the Catholic Church designated the age of seven as the time when children could be 'assumed to know the difference between right and wrong, the age of reason'. Postman attaches changing attitudes to the child to the development of 'Literate Man'. Literate Man was an adult and adulthood had to be earned,

It became a symbolic not a biological achievement. From print onward, the young would have to become adults, and they would have to do it by learning to read, by entering the world of typography. And in order to accomplish that they would require

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8 The classification of 'infanticide' is important because it was used to account for the way Maori people got rid of the weak and disabled members of its community with little actual evidence presented to prove that this was in fact a practice.

9 De Mauss, p.28.


education. Therefore, European civilisation reinvented schools. And by so doing, it made childhood a necessity.\(^{12}\)

In his discussion on the discourses related to civilisation, Laffey argues that civilisation began as a normative concept, which enabled groups of people including women, children, criminals, the insane and savages from abroad, to be 'relegated to civilisation's margins or cast beyond its pale'.\(^{13}\) The concept of civilisation was, in Laffey's argument, used more assertively in relation to colonialism up until World War I. World War I brought the notions of the 'savage within' Europe to the centre, and the concept was reformulated by Freud to deal with this recognition.

However, if we remain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for a few more moments, there are two other sets of ideas which helped to shape western ideas about childhood. The two individuals who represent these views are Rousseau and Darwin. Rousseau was a romantic who believed that there was a relationship between nature and purity, nature and innocence. The child and others born close to nature were innocent, more noble. By contrast, Europe, whilst more modern and more advanced, was also more decayed and corrupt. Darwin's views were more concerned with people as species and he made distinctions between those who lived within civilised conditions (the English), and those who lived in barbaric conditions (this included the Irish and Scots). Significantly, these two contrasting versions of childhood existed alongside each other, and in fact reinforced each other when encountering oppositional views, partly because they defined the outer limits of what was possible to discuss and what was simply 'irrational'.

In Victorian society, children of the working class worked, even after compulsory education was introduced. In this sense there were class distinctions which were imbued in the notion of childhood. According to Rose, in Victorian England, factory laws and education laws were introduced in tandem in order to 'tame them as child workers and make them more tractable

\(^{12}\) Ibid., p.36.

in their place of work'. The relationship between schooling and learning to labour was part of the foundations of public education for the masses. For girls, this meant domestic work and work which was domesticating. For working class boys, this was essentially manual work. The relationship of schooling to work was also supported by the notion of a 'protestant ethic' which equated hard work with access to 'heaven'. In the nineteenth century this was taken further through the efforts of the evangelical upper working class christians who formed the first wave of missionaries to the South Pacific.

*Maori* concepts of Childhood.

If as is the usual method, we resort to the literature to find *Maori* views about childhood, we will find, not surprisingly, that very little has been written, and what does exist has either been filtered through *Pakeha* eyes or has been written directly by *Pakeha* writers. Taken further, what exists in the literature about *Maori* views of children falls into two major themes. The anecdotal material from early visitors and teachers tends to represent *Maori* children as being lively, quick to learn and difficult to control. The children are regarded as being spoilt and indulged in by their families. The matter of discipline was one issue which was likely to bring down the wrath of *Maori* parents on missionaries and teachers. Children were withdrawn from schools because of chastisement and discipline. Parents would complain about the use of discipline, in the way their children were treated, and in the use of other forms of social control such as drill and having to work in the gardens. The second view of *Maori* attitudes comes from studies carried out from the 1940s until the present day. These views suggest that, whilst young children are spoiled and shown affection, older children are subjected to harsh punishment and expected to be quite independent of

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15 See accounts by Thomas Kendall who started the first mission school in Kerikeri cited in Barrington & Beaglehole, pp.10-16. In her account of life as a teacher in a Maori school after the Second World War Sylvia Ashton Warner wrote in her diary, 'I'm tired these evenings. There has been an influx of five year old Maori boys. Only infant mistresses who have handled these will know why I am tired these evenings. Their boots weigh a ton each, their attention span is about ten minutes, their voices are like wild bulls', and to teach them is a simply fantastic performance'. Warner, S.A., 1966. *Teacher*, republished 1986, New York, Touchstone Book, p.165.

16 These points are illustrated in relation to Te Teko school.
adults in terms of care and survival. Recent research in the area of violence and child abuse would also appear to confirm the view that Maori attitudes to children are harsh.

There are a number of points to be made in relation to the two views posited above. Firstly, the two views suggest a shift in the way childhood and children were regarded. One of those shifts is in the way childhood was seen by researchers. Another shift is reflected in the way Maori people may have come to regard their own children. In terms of research, children had become the focus of science through the development of child psychology at the end of last century. As suggested by Kessen, 'The vagaries of casual stories about children, the eccentricities of folk knowledge, and the superstitions of grandmothers were all cleansed by the mighty brush of scientific method'. Children could be studied more systematically and certain scientific variables enabled the study of children to be assembled around key ideas such as; the primary importance of the mother-child relationship, the concept of the self-contained individual, and the importance of the child as a carrier of social progress. The establishment of these ideas as normative principles not only facilitated more systematic methods for researching Maori children, but justified unrelenting intervention in to the way Maori children have been educated.

This previous point intersects with the second shift which may account for changes in the ways Maori people regarded children. In the hundred years between the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the Second World War, Maori people had undergone major social changes which had an impact on all aspects of Maori life. The deterioration of Maori life could be measured across the entire range of social indices. The struggle to survive for most Maori was the major focus of life. In many communities poverty was exacerbated by the impact of epidemics of various kinds, by tuberculosis, by alcoholism and general 'hopelessness'. Schooling was also having an impact, and parents were often fined (thus disciplining the

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17 Beaglehole, E., P. Beaglehole, 1946. Some Modern Maoris. Wellington, New Zealand Council for Educational Research. This study as outlined earlier in the introduction to section two, had a major effect on interpretations of Maori child rearing patterns.


19 Ibid.
parents), and always blamed if their children were truant or disobedient. We find then that the comments about Maori children change from the 1820s, when Mrs Henry Williams found that the children ran away if she scolded them, and 1946, when the Beagleholes’ study of a Maori community reported that ‘discipline and control was casual and capricious and often very severe. Punishments tend to outweigh rewards’.\textsuperscript{20}

The present day problem is that the dominant, and therefore ‘common sense’, view of ‘Maori’ attitudes to children is that, (i) Maori parents don’t care about their children, (ii) Maori parents use excessive punishment on their children, (iii) Maori children don’t know how to behave properly.\textsuperscript{21} It is assumed that these views are essentially embedded in Maori culture and philosophy. What the development of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Maori have both encapsulated and recovered, to some extent, are some views about childhood which connect with and are sympathetic with other Maori philosophies and value systems. This process has required a wider programme of whanau education in order that Maori parents themselves can change their patterns of parenting.

Recovering Maori Views of Childhood: Some Preliminary Glimpses.

In this section some examples will be used simply to illustrate the very different conceptions of the child which were held by Maori prior to Pakeha contact. It is not intended to give an overall picture of child development, but to indicate some aspects of conceptions of the child in order to show later how these ideas were then undermined by schooling. One of the first difficulties in attempting to reconstruct a view of childhood is that the whole social system was organised quite differently and childhood, as a social category, can not simply be translated from one cultural setting into another. In Maori world views, a child is part of a complex system of whakapapa which includes those people immediately around the child,

\textsuperscript{20} Barrington & Beaglehole, p.18.

\textsuperscript{21} Duff, A., 1993, Maori, The Crisis and the Challenge, Auckland, Harper Collins. Duff’s view points are a good example of these negative views of Maori parenting.
and the tipuna of whom the child is a living manifestation.\textsuperscript{22} This system locates the child in a whanau or extended family, in a hapu or enlarged whanau, in an iwi or tribe, and across other iwi. The concept of whanau is regarded as the basic social unit within which individuals developed their core relationships. Whanau, which is usually translated as extended family, included the different generations and the extended relationships to second and third cousins. It also included people who were adopted into the whanau and other people taken in by the whanau whose relationships may be more distant.

In terms of 'households', a whanau could be scattered over several dwellings in a kainga and over several kainga. At some point very large whanau became hapu. The whakapapa also locates the child in multiple positions. Mahuika lists four ways whakapapa lines could be determined, (i) 'tararere', which is a direct and single line of descent which does not show marriages, (ii) 'tahu', which lists main lines of descent using senior members of the whakapapa, (iii) 'whakapipi', which is a selective whakapapa showing connections across different hapu, and (iv) 'tatai-hikohiko', which lists a descent line in which some generations have been missed out.\textsuperscript{22} A child enters the whakapapa at birth and, through different systems of whakapapa, can be positioned in a wide range of genealogical relationships.

A child is born into a set of complex relationships. They can be tuakana to others who may be much older in age than the child. Similarly, a child on one whakapapa line can be a tuakana to someone, and through another whakapapa line, can be their teina. A mokopuna is always a mokopuna. In this sense the child always had their own identities, which was recognised by the wider group, and was not solely dependent on the parent’s status or skills as a parent. The idea that one grows out of a set of relationships as one grows into adulthood is not an idea that can be taken for granted in Maori terms. Childhood is not 'ended’ in the same way as it is in western views of childhood. Physically, an individual becomes part of an adult’s world, but all of a whanau still remain as mokopuna, or grandchildren, of their


iwi. Similarly, a grown man or woman can still be addressed as if they were in a child-adult relationship by a kaumatua.

Although there are some generic words for child and children in Maori language, many of the terms used place them in relation to others in their whakapapa, and those relational terms will stay with the child forever. Nepe lists a number of matrices in which relationships are prescribed. The chart on the following page is based on a Ngati Porou perspective and is, as Nepe says, a 'selection'. For other iwi, relationships which link a descendant to a waka or canoe, are also important ways of establishing an identity. These are shown, for example, in the following ways of identifying oneself:

| Ko Mataatua te waka       | Mataatua is the canoe |
| Ko Putauaki te maunga     | Putauaki is the mountain |
| Ko Rangitaiki te awa      | Rangitaiki is the river |
| Ko Ngati Awa te iwi       | Ngati Awa is the tribe |
| Ko Pahipoto te hapu       | Pahipoto is the sub-tribe |
| Ko Kokohinou te marae     | Kokohinou is the marae. |

This form of identification answers the most important question, and that is, 'Where are you from?' In the case of Ngati Awa, for example, through the Mataatua waka, our iwi is closely related closely to other iwi groups such as Tuhoe, Whanau-a-Apanui, Whakatohea, Ngaiterangi. Simply to claim descent from a waka establishes one level or form of identity. However, for some iwi such as Ngati Porou, our 'waka' which brought our ancestors from Hawaiki was not a waka, but a tohora or whale. Ngati Porou does have waka in its history, some are associated with Maui, the ancestral figure who fished up Te Ika a Maui (the fish of Maui) or the North Island. These brief glimpses contradict colonial accounts attributed to Percy Smith of there being a great fleet of seven canoes which arrived here about the year 1300 from which all iwi are descended. This account of the 'Great Migration' is still taught in schools.

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A child’s relationships

\textit{whenua/maunga/awa}
land/mountain/river

\textit{iwi/hapu/whanau}
tribe/sub-tribe/extended family

\textit{tipuna/matua/uri}
ancestor/parent/descendant

\textit{tohunga/tauira}
revered expert/student under tuition

\textit{rangatira/pononga}
chief/siave

\textit{kaumatua/kuia}
elders male/female

\textit{matua/whaea}
father and uncles/mother and aunts

\textit{tuakana/teina}
older/younger

\textit{tuahine/tungane}
sister/brother

\textit{tama/tamahine}
son/daughter

\textit{tipuna whaea/matua/mokopuna}
grandmother/parent/grandchild

\textsuperscript{25} This chart is adapted from Nepe, pp.22-30.
a child was often told of an event which needed to be remembered, or named a tipuna who that child came to represent. Children were also known to have participated in the politics and decision making of community life. Father Chouvet, a French Marist who travelled through the Bay of Plenty in the early 1840s, comments on the fact that when he was welcomed into a village, he had to greet or hariru, everyone including the children.

Many iwi had 'sacred' sites within the iwi territory where children were dedicated in tohi rites. These dedications were an integral part of the education of a child, in that the kaumatua and tohunga were involved in determining the educational needs and opportunities of their mokopuna. A child dedicated to the 'arts of war', for example, would have been trained as a warrior, another child dedicated to the 'arts of carving' would have been taught how to carve. Children played an active part in many of the formal as well as informal activities of life in the community. Biological parents were not necessarily the primary care givers of children. Adults of the same generation as the parents were also parents and were referred to by the same term, for example, the term for mother, whaea or koka, was used for aunties and other women of the same generation.

According to a number of writers, the primary responsibility for the education of children lay with kaumatua, not with parents. Makareti identifies the children of chiefs, especially those who came from Te Aho Arika or a chiefly line of whakapapa, as being marked out as

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26 This practice of naming children after an event still occurs and has been used to name children after battles fought during World War II. I know people whose names are Elamein, Malta, Monte (after Monte Casino).

27 My name Tuhiai was given in exchange with another family who took my grandmother's name. Whenever I met the grandmother of this family she addressed me as her kuia or grandmother because Tuhiai was her grandmother's name.


29 See for example Buck, 1949.

30 Koka is a dialect word used more frequently in Ngati Porou for mother or aunt.

31 For example, Buck, p.358. Buck explained this responsibility in pragmatic terms in that parents were able to work while their children were being cared for. This rather implies the concept of 'parents' in a western sense rather than say in a Maori sense where most adults within the community were either parents or grandparents.
special.\textsuperscript{32} There were clearly social hierarchies in place which ascribed rank to children, but it appears from most accounts, that young children in a community played together regardless of rank. Writing in 1820, Mrs Henry Williams commented that if she scolded the children the 'rangatira's (would) run away and the \textit{kukis} would laugh'.\textsuperscript{33} Children who were \textit{matamua}, or the first born, children who were \textit{potiki}, or the youngest, children who showed special aptitude, girls or boys, were all part of this social system. The nature of the society as described would suggest that the group, particularly the \textit{whanau} or \textit{hapu}, would have played a vital role in the socialisation of children and then in the selection of children for more specialised activities. Some children were considered to be 'pre-ordained' into a role, this may have been due to \textit{whakapapa}, but it could also have been due to the circumstances surrounding the conception or birth of the child. If certain signs were present when a child was either conceived or born, these were regarded as signals about the child’s future, and therefore about the ways the child should be educated.\textsuperscript{34}

There are numerous recorded examples of children who were brought up by their grandparents or by other \textit{kaumatua}. Some were taken by their grandparent specifically to be educated in certain ways, others were taken because they may have been sickly, and others simply because their grandparent wanted a \textit{mokopuna}.\textsuperscript{35} There were probably also economic reasons for having children raised by their grandparents, the parents, being younger, would need to do the work of gathering and preparing food and carrying out the survival tasks of a community. This custom was different from the practices of adoption which also existed and

\textsuperscript{32} Makareti, 1938. \textit{The Old Time Maori}, reprinted 1986, Auckland, New Women’s Press, pp.112-156.

\textsuperscript{33} Cited in Barrington & Beaglehole, p.18.

\textsuperscript{34} The circumstances surrounding Sir Apirana Ngata’s conception and birth are an example of this concept. He was conceived after his parents had visited a tohunga as they were unable to conceive. On the day he was born there were also signs in the sky which marked his birth as auspicious. There is an account by Eruera of the circumstances of his older brother’s birth and his in Salmon, A., 1980. \textit{Eruera, The Teachings of a Maori Elder}, Wellington, Oxford University Press, pp.81-83.

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., p.88. \textit{Eruera, The Teachings of a Maori Elder}, Wellington, Oxford University Press, p.88. Eruera Stirling tells of being taken by his old people so that he could be educated. I was an asthmatic child and whenever I stayed with my grandmother I slept with her. The first time I did not sleep with her was when I went home as a married woman and even then she came into the room at night to check on me!
still exists with whanau. ³⁵

Makareti also suggests that children in Maori society were never hit or beaten. If this did happen it could result in either a war or what is called a muru, or act of plunder, by the aggrieved relations. This observation is supported by other examples and accounts from missionaries related to the consequences for them if they hit the children. If children who had ancestor names, for example, were hit, it was interpreted as the hitting of that ancestor and therefore the damaging of the mana of that ancestor. The fact that children were loved and accorded affection is affirmed by a number of very early observations of Maori, for example, from the French voyager Crozet is the comment that 'the women] seemed to be good mothers and showed great affection for their off spring. I have often seen them play with the children, caress them, chew fern root or pick at the stringy parts, and then take it out of their mouth to put into that of their nurslings. The men were also very fond of and kind to their children'. ³⁷

It was also thought that children could learn quite complex histories and whakapapa. They were expected to work out kinship relationships but, through stories and oriori as well as through participation in adult social activities, they were taught very specific histories and concepts. Some of this teaching involved the child while it was still in the womb. Unborn children were regarded as being spiritually active and had a power all of their own. If a child was stillborn or died at birth this was regarded as a potentially dangerous sign. An example of this can be found in the story of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga who was tossed by his mother (Taranga) into the sea tied up in her topknot. ³⁸ His life was one of mischief making and of great spiritual power.

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³⁵ Whangai are 'adopted' children. This practice was quite common and did not have the stigma or secrecy attached to it that Pakeha adoption used to have.


³⁸ Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga literally means 'Maui the topknot of Taranga'. He was an unborn child or foetus and after being thrown into the sea was nurtured by Tangaroa the 'Sea God'. Maui possessed enormous spiritual prowess which enabled him to slow down the sun, develop fire for human beings by taking it from one of his grandmother's (Mahuika) finger nails, and capture wisdom from another of his grandmother's (Murirangawhenua) jaw bone.
The Introduction of Schooling.

There are a number of histories which have already been written on the introduction of schooling to Maori, and the broader framework of 'native' policies within which schooling had been developed. It has become almost routine now for people to recite the history of schooling, beginning with the missionaries in 1816, and then the development of Native Schools in 1867, and their demise in 1960. Rather than revisit this as a broad picture of colonisation, I intend in this section to foreground the example from one area in order to show how these policies worked at the local level during the period from 1867-1930. The examples used illustrate some of the uneven-ness of colonialism, in that there are some specific contextual shadings in the way that the deeper structure of colonialism was realised at the local level. Schooling was one modality through which the underlying principles of colonialism were thus realised.

Te Teko school is located within the rohe, or territory, of Ngati Awa and more specifically, is the school closest to my own hapu of Ngati Pahipoto. As mentioned in chapter four, Ngati Awa was one of the iwi whose lands were confiscated by the Crown last century. The confiscations are referred to in Maori as the Raupatu. Confiscations were constructed as a way of punishing a people for what the government regarded as acts of rebellion. This was simply one form of punishment meted out. Individuals, particularly those seen as the 'ring leaders', were also targeted by imprisonment.

The Native Schools Act was passed in 1867 as part of a broader package of Native policy.

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40 The archives for 'Native' or 'Maori' schools are held in the National Archives, Auckland. This study of Te Teko Native School is based on an analysis of the archival records for Te Teko which begins in 1881. It includes teachers log books, departmental correspondence, school attendance records and school committee minutes.

41 Raupatu literally means a hundred patu. A patu is a hand weapon. This is a very indirect way of calling the confiscations theft.

42 Ward, A., 1973. A Show of Justice, Racial 'Amalgamation' in Nineteenth Century New Zealand. Auckland, Auckland University Press. Oxford University Press. Note also that there had been an earlier Act in 1858 which was repealed. The 1858 Act gave subsidies to the Church schools to educate Maori.
Under the 1867 Act the community had to request a school be established, provide the land and part of the teacher’s salary. This Act was amended in 1871 to facilitate more rapid progress as it was soon apparent that many Maori communities could not afford the establishment of a school. The Education Act which established compulsory education for all children was passed a decade later in 1877. Under the Education Act, the Department of Education was established, the administration of Native Schools was carried out by a separate wing of the Department of Education in association with the Department of Native Affairs until these schools were phased out in the 1960s. In 1880 a Native Schools Code was published and provided the standards, rules and responsibilities to be carried out by Native Schools.

When considering the ways schooling became an instrument for the dis-ordering of Maori social relations, there are several dimensions which need to be taken into account. At one level, schooling separated children from their whanau in a physical sense, and assumed both the primary role of socialisation and the formalised role of education, thus usurping the roles of kaumatua, tohunga and whanau. There was also the assumption that what had existed before the establishment of the school (in the area, in the histories of the people) was of little consequence. At another level, schooling created disjunctions between home and school, which eventually had an impact on the language children spoke at school and at home, on the ways of behaving, on ways of knowing. In another way again, schooling dis-ordered the world around children through the way the landscape was renamed, and the definitions of what counted as the centre of importance was transformed by what children were taught at school. And there were the more basic ways of positioning children, through teacher attitudes and teacher talk, for example, children being called names, and children being accorded status over other children through their behaviours and/or achievement.

When we consider the impact of schooling on a single iwi such as Ngati Awa during this

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initial period of schooling we need to consider at least five groups of children:

(i) There were children who were displaced because of the *Raupatu* and were educated elsewhere.

(ii) There were children who remained in the area and attended the Native schools established after the Native Schools Act was passed in 1867.

(iii) There were children who attended church schools.

(iv) There were children who remained in *Ngati Awa*, but who attended Board schools which were established after the Education Act 1877.

(v) There were *Pakeha* children who attended schools in the territory of *Ngati Awa*.

Each of these groups of children were affected by the educational policies, curriculum and pedagogical practices. We do not know what happened to the displaced group. In a major sense they represent the 'orphans' of the *raupatu*. The second group will be discussed in relation to *Te Teko* school. The third group were schooled privately, although subject to educational policy.\(^{45}\) For the fourth group who attended Education Board schools, what is known is that there were very few policies which directly addressed their needs until the phasing out of the Native/Maori schools in the 1960s.\(^{46}\) The fifth group are important in that colonial views of the history of the confiscations and of *Maori* people as they were taught or ignored in schools, generally reinforced a view of New Zealand's past which positioned *Ngati Awa* and other associated *iwi* as rebels, murderers and traitors. What these groupings should suggest is that *Ngati Awa* children were subjected to different sorts of schooling experiences, ones likely to promote fragmentation and dis-order.

*Te Teko* Native School.

The request for a school to be built at *Te Teko* was made by the local chief in 1881 to the Native Inspector of Schools, James Pope. In his letter advising the Department of the request

\(^{45}\) Many children from *Te Teko* attended a convent school at *Matata* which was about twenty miles away.

\(^{46}\) Most *Maori* policies were directed at the Native Schools which originally was where most *Maori* students attended but *Maori* children also attended, Education Board schools and some *Pakeha* children attended Native Schools. However, there was little policy in relation to *Maori* children which was directed specifically at the Education Board schools.
The site offered by the Natives is a good one. The land is of excellent quality. The river is close at hand....There would be no tribal jealousies to contend with if the school were erected here. The name of the chief is Rangitukehu. He has always been loyal. He is a man of great influence with the Maoris and has perhaps more real power than any other chief in New Zealand. The natives of this district except Tu Kehu left their lands during the war. Of course their lands were confiscated. Tu Kehu retained his because of his loyalty and is now the real master of a large (area).

In this letter, the significance of loyalty is to be noted. Also to be noted is the emphasis on the power of the chief's influence which was seen as positive. This aligns with other colonial policies which encouraged indirect rule if the local chiefs could be brought under control or befriended. The fact that the confiscations are referred to as an aside which may account for the reason the people 'left' the district is also interesting. In a report to Parliament in 1884 some of the principles guiding the selection of school sites included such things as; good soil suitable for a garden, accessibility in all weather and situated 'between the kainga to which it belongs and the next largest settlement in the district'. Schools were also not to be sited within the kainga but separate from them, thus delineating spatial separation and defining borderlands.

By July of 1881 a teacher had been appointed to the school and by the end of the year there were 'upwards of thirty' pupils in attendance. In the Native Schools the teacher's wife was generally appointed as the sewing mistress and from time to time local assistants, usually young women, were appointed to help out, and this is what happened at Te Teko. Under the Native Schools Code, school committees had designated and limited responsibilities, which included ensuring attendance and collecting firewood for the teacher. One way of ensuring attendance was for the school committee to fine the parents (another example of indirect rule).

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47 Te Teko Native School Records, National Archives, Auckland.
48 Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1884, E-2.
In the case of *Te Teko*, the possibilities for both the teachers and the school committee to exercise their own agency certainly existed. Some teachers were referred to as being more kindly and well disposed towards the community, others were seen as hostile. The School Committee did request that a teacher be replaced, and in the period studied, two teachers also requested to be removed.\(^{50}\) A letter sent by the School Committee in July 1883 refers to the teacher as, *'He kino no tenei mahita kua rongo ano hoki koe ki tona kino. Na ko tenei he kupu na te komiti ara na te iwi katoa.....me hoki atu tenei mahita'.*\(^{51}\) School attendance by then had fallen to 'five or six children'. There is a Departmental memo which suggests that, due to 'Native aversion to the present teacher', he be removed. In the same year the School Committee wrote to the Department objecting to the teaching of drill and saying that the children would not go to school because of the teacher. It would also appear that the children resisted attending school if they did not like what was going on. In the 1884 report to Parliament, the Inspector-General reports that the school at *Te Teko* was closed temporarily and that the, *'natives and master had failed to come to a good understanding and that a new master had been appointed who had more experience'*.\(^{52}\)

The Issue of Language.

As discussed earlier, language was used to position the colonised under the rule of the colonisers. This worked in quite complex ways. English language was clearly regarded as superior to *Maori* language and as the language of education. Initially, however, *Maori* language had to be tolerated as it was the dominant language of *Maori* communities. Whilst some teachers became bilingual, for the most part it was *Maori* who were forced into communicating in English language. However, language also positioned people in particular ways, for example, the use of terms such as 'rebels' or 'friendly natives'. This kind of discourse had widespread usage in the media so that it was not just the language of school. Schooling, however, recontextualised those images and labels into what the children learned.

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\(^{50}\) One teacher did not get on with the local publican and the other one did not like the school.

\(^{51}\) Trans. 'This is a wicked teacher as you have heard. This is the word of the Committee and the entire iwi. Take this teacher away'.

\(^{52}\) Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1884, E-2.
and how they were taught. 'Good' children and 'naughty' children, for example, was one form of classifying children.\textsuperscript{53}

Language establishes identity in other ways. From the beginning of the correspondence related to the establishment of \textit{Te Teko} school, the local identity of the people is disregarded. They are referred to either as 'Maoris' or as 'Natives'. Other terms used in reference to the people at \textit{Te Teko} are the 'Ureweras', which is an area inland from \textit{Te Teko} associated more with \textit{Tuhoe}. The local \textit{kainga} or \textit{settlements} are named as is the \textit{marae} of \textit{Kokohinau}, but any sense of a community as seen through the eyes of the school is generally negative. \textit{Tangi} and other events at the local \textit{marae} are mentioned occasionally by teachers as a reason for non-attendance, thus establishing and reinforcing \textit{Maori} social practices as being at odds with good parenting and good educational commitment. The involvement of the people from \textit{Te Teko} with \textit{Te Kooti} and the \textit{Ringatu} religion is viewed, by the teacher, with hostility.\textsuperscript{54} When \textit{Te Kooti} visits \textit{Te Teko} it is with some surprise that the teacher finds him to be an ordinary quiet looking man. In a school down the road, however, at \textit{Poroporo} the local teacher is horrified that he is forced to live, 'in the very centre of a \textit{Maori pa} which is a \textit{hauhau} camp. As I write this an abominable \textit{haka} is going on in front of our door'.\textsuperscript{55}

From 1881 the \textit{Te Teko} school committee minutes and most other correspondence between parents or the school committee and the Department of Education, were written in \textit{Maori} language. From about 1900 the letters and minutes begin to appear mostly in English, although \textit{Maori} terms are used frequently by the school committees and by the teachers themselves. Children's names also change into English and the 'surnames' become more like family names. Prior to Christianity \textit{Maori} obviously did not have Christian names and the early school roles show a wide variation for the way \textit{Maori} names were written. The chief

\textsuperscript{53} Jenkins, pp.95-95.

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Te Kooti Rikirangi} started the \textit{Ringatu} religion while exiled to the Chatham Islands in 1868. He was accused of being a \textit{Hauhau} which was another politico-religious group resisting the Government and was sent to the Chathams. He escaped from the Chathams and returned to The Bay of Plenty region. After establishing \textit{Ringatu}, which is a christian based religion, he was eventually pardoned in 1883 and died in 1893. \textit{Te Kooti}'s attitudes towards schools were very hostile. Read for example, Barrington & Beaglehole, pp.135-136.

\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Poroporo} Native School Records, National Archives, Auckland.

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Rangitukehu, for example, is written by the Senior Inspector Pope as Rangi Tu Kehu, his name also appears as Tukehu. Surnames were not known either. Compulsory registration of births and deaths came into operation in 1913. Schools became places where births and deaths were registered although it took some time for this to become common practice for Maori. Also on the registration of birth was a category which recorded how much Maori the parents of a child had, for example, full blooded, half caste or quarter caste. The simple act of being given a christian and a surname then become subtle ways of renaming identity.

The Curriculum.

The 1880 Native Schools Code set in place a basic curriculum for children attending Native Schools. Apart from the obvious subject of English, there were other subjects taught which undermined the validity of Maori knowledge, language and culture. Geography was taught from standard two. By standard three children would be taught such things as the map of New Zealand, with its orientation, to the north and would be expected 'to answer very easy questions on the physical and political geography of the colony'. One example given in the Code was that pupils could answer the question, 'Which is the largest towns in the Bay of Plenty?' The irony for children from Ngati Awa is that the region identified as the Bay of Plenty incorporated the rohe of Ngati Awa and of course, after the Raupatu, there was not much which was plentiful for the Maori who lived within the rohe. This is a very clear example of the renaming of the landscape, the redefinition of what counts as important knowledge. In standard four, children would be able to answer such questions as, 'Why do white people living in India require to have all the hard work done for them by the natives?'

56 In order to get Christian names and surnames you had to be 'Christened' or if a woman married a Pakeha then their names were carried by the children. I know of examples where people simply made up names for the convenience or 'borrowed' Pakeha names. In my father's family the name 'Moko' appears as a first name for some members of the family and as a last name for others. In my immediate family it is a middle name. It is easier to identify us by naming a tipuna from whom we all descend because of the variety of surnames currently in existence!


58 My grandmother had difficulty getting a passport because she was not registered. My parents' generation have also found interesting anomalies when they have received there actual birth certificates as the names on the certificate is quite different from the ones they are known by.

59 Native Schools Code, Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1880, H-1f.
a very good example both of racist ideology but also of the imperial idea. These are just examples of the renaming of the world which occurred in the curriculum and were regulated in the Native Schools Code. Textbooks and school journals, which appeared after 1907, supported these messages and, more significantly, developed the classification systems by which children could 'make sense' of racial differences.\(^{60}\) Despite the fact that other aspects of Maori culture were incorporated into the curriculum in the 1930s, these too positioned Maori people as the sub-text, the add-on curriculum which was especially for Maori.

The development of textbooks and the school journal reinforced the ways in which Maori came to be positioned. For iwi such as Ngati Awa, the terms 'rebel Maori' were, and remain, as marks of shame.\(^ {61} \) Maori warriors and heroes were rendered as people without mana, whilst Maori who helped the Government were positioned as having great stature. For young children, the constant reinforcement of these ideas through school texts and through the way topics were taught, required strategies for dealing with this disjunction between what was taught at school and what was taught at home. In relation to Maori language, we know that one of those strategies manifested itself when the children grew up and became parents themselves. As parents, they believed it was best that their children never learn to speak Maori.

The gender differentiation in the curriculum, alongside the use of teachers as exemplars of European life, also imposed a view of social relations which undermined the validity of Maori social and gender relationships. Although there were gender distinctions in Maori society, girls 'as a group' were not regarded as having an essentially lesser status than boys 'as a group'. Rank and ability, initiative and daring, were recognised. Wairaka, for example, is regarded by Ngati Awa as a significant chiefly figure from whom we claim descent. Her exploits included the events which led to the naming of Whakatane, and refusing to take a husband she did not desire. Wairaka's father was a chief and her status as the daughter of a


\(^{61}\) For Ngati Awa the term used was 'Tangata Hara' which means people who have 'sinned' or people who are criminals, which was the stigma attached to people who had been shamed. Removing this stigma formed the basis of the request for a pardon which was granted by Parliament through an amendment to Part 1, Section 17, Trust Boards Amendment Act, 1988.
chief would have marked her out as different from the son of someone who was either a lesser chief or who was not a chief. It was not simply that schools did not recognise the rangatira status of certain children, but more a matter that schools did not recognise that Maori children had any status other than that they were Maori, and that fact alone consigned them to certain racialised and gendered classification systems.

The differentiation in schooling between boys and girls had both moral and economic underpinnings. The curriculum was designed, quite explicitly in the 1900s, to fit Maori into the labour market as the semi-skilled, manual, working class.\(^{62}\) Children had to be taught to know their place and accept a status that was not based on their rangatiratanga, but on their ability to perform certain tasks deemed appropriate for Maori. For boys, this was to be farmers and labourers on other people’s farms. For girls, it meant learning to be the wives of farmers and labourers and to perform basic domestic tasks.\(^{63}\) Implicit in this approach to education was a sense of what constituted the family unit. Although customary Maori marriages were still legal until the 1950s, the Maori sense of whanau was seen as the antithesis of what Maori people needed to be if they were to become civilised or modern. Large families, sibling upbringing, peer group influences, have been enduring themes in the cultural deprivation research, leading through to even recent claims.

Discipline and Punishment.

The issue of colonialism and violence was also realised through schooling. In areas such as Ngati Awa, which was subjected to military rule and the raupatu, one form of violence, namely; military invasion, court martials, death by hanging, life imprisonment terms, and land confiscations, were represented and realised in different forms, in both symbolic and real ways, through school. When Te Teko Native School was first established, it was in the old Block Houses owned by the Defence Department. James Pope recommended that the school begin here and there is correspondence in the archives which relates to the gaining of


\(^{63}\) Strong, T.B., 1931. 'The Education of the South Sea Island Natives', in Maori and Education, ed. P.M. Jackson, Wellington, Ferguson & Osborn, p.192.
permission from the Defence Department to begin a school. The best way to show how the representation of violence works in relation to discipline and punishment is to quote the words of a teacher written in the logbook at Te Teko school in 1903: 'This is an uncommon case, because by the statements of the committee and the children themselves they have had no discipline for a good long time. Now it is a case of showing them what discipline means and naturally enough it must feel hard for them. Still I hope in a months time to be able to dispose with severity and still have perfect order. (February 1903)' In April he writes, 'the fact is that while a month or two back I was really severe (and I had to be) the children behave very well now and although I keep the rod in sight as a deterrent, it is very seldom (hardly ever) used. I don’t pretend to rule by my eye alone but in conjunction with the prospect of something harder, the former practically does all the work'.\(^4^{4}\) In this case, the rod represents the power of the punishment and is expected to act as a deterrent. The military presence in the whole establishment of Te Teko school, and in the settlement of the land around Te Teko, can also be read as the representation of discipline. The actual practice of beating Maori children was not encouraged by the Education Department, but it was employed, and taken for granted, as a strategy for maintaining control.

The issue of discipline was important, and such innocent items as desks were considered as being appropriate for maintaining certain forms of discipline. A letter from another teacher, the very first teacher at Te Teko school, in 1882 requests dual desks which, 'I understand are a great help in maintaining good discipline'.\(^4^{5}\) A new teacher in 1883 asks to be removed, 'if you will be good enough to imagine all the disadvantages that a Maori school can possibly labour under I can show them to you here. A certain amount of tone and discipline must be gradually introduced to any school to which the Department may think proper to send me'.\(^4^{6}\)

Drill, which was a formal part of curriculum, and other physical exercises, were also seen as ways of bringing unruly children under control. In 1883, for example, the Te Teko School

\(^4^{4}\) Te Teko Native School Records, Teacher’s Logbook 1903, National Archives, Auckland.

\(^4^{5}\) Te Teko Native School Records, 1882.

\(^4^{6}\) Ibid., 1883.
Committee, Matutaera wrote a letter to the Department of Education objecting to the teaching of 'drill', which he refers to as 'tirira hoia' or soldiers drill. He gave two grounds for complaint, firstly, that they did not see the purpose for any of the children doing the work of soldiers (and asking 'who' they were getting angry at), secondly, that they particularly objected to the teacher making the girls do drill. Although the letter is written in Maori, it is very clear that the school committee saw drill as being the work of soldiers.67

Maori attitudes towards Pakeha forms of discipline were already well known and had been noted by Native Inspectors. For example, in 1862 the Report of the Native Inspectors says, 'Corporal punishments and an over-rigid discipline have done much to drive away many children from the schools. A punishment which to us would appear by no means harsh, would to a native seem cruel and excessive. As native parents never inflict chastisement upon an offending child, our summary mode of dealing with young delinquents must seem strange and tyrannical. It would not be unwise in future to pay some little deference to their feelings in this subject'.68 Disciplinary issues were said to be behind the reasons parents took their children out of schools.

Flagpoles and holidays also seemed to be major matters. The Education Department used the issue of a flag to bribe the school committee. In June 1901, the logbook states that the Department promised to give the school a large flag if the firewood supply were kept up and the committee also provided a flag pole. In Te Teko and in other areas where the Hauhau movement had become established, prior to the events which set off the invasion of Ngati Awa, the flagpole or niu was an important part of 'Hauhau' ritual.69 The flagpole is a colonial construction and a way of building allegiances and patriotism. It is not clear if other

67 There are several issues in this incident. In Maori terms the work of warriors is tapu and therefore cannot be carried out without the correct karakia and in the right context. Secondly, girls and women would not have had automatic entry into this activity. In Pakeha terms the work of soldiers must still have been very present in the consciousness of the chief Matutaera as 1883 was only 16 years after the Raupatu confiscations had taken place.


schools were similarly offered flags and flagpoles as incentives, but metaphorically the orientation to the flagpole is just one other small part of the wider shifts occurring.

The one issue which sparked community ire was the punishment of children, either verbal humiliation or hitting the children. There were several disputes between the parents and the different teachers at the school. One account is recorded of a dispute between the community and the teacher over a remark by the teacher. The teacher’s account is that the child was troublesome and the teacher said ‘I will salt and pepper and eat you’.\textsuperscript{70} This comment lead to several meetings at school and at the marae. One of the school committee members was named as Pene Tito, one of the men imprisoned after the invasion of Ngati Awa and later released from Mt Eden prison. He, according to the teacher ‘acted as spokesman and said ’in days gone by my remark would have caused a great deal of trouble and the parents or tribe would have demanded solid compensation’.\textsuperscript{71} The last two words were underlined. The teacher did write an apology, but the school committee wrote to the Department and asked for his removal. The teacher was a retired army captain.

Several other disputes occurred during the service of a teacher who arrived in 1900 from Rotoiti. This teacher is obviously appalled at the state he finds and wishes to return to his former school. There are several occasions when the Chairman reports that the parents object to his excessive punishment of the children and make formal complaints. His response, in February is that ‘I would not alter my way of dealing with the children’. Later on, in March, when only ten out of forty two children turn up for school, he says, ‘this sort of thing wants nipping and that severely. I hear that the same few natives are grumbling at my severity but I shall not alter my course a single point’. In April a meeting was called and two parents, Apihai Temaua and Te Ua, object to their children being beaten on the head with a stick. The teacher denies this and in his notes refers to them as ‘outsiders’.

From the Department’s point of view there were influences outside of school which made the task of education very difficult. Some of these recorded in 1884 included such things as; (i)

\textsuperscript{70} Te Teko Native School Records, National Archives, Auckland.

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid.
native ignorance of sanitary laws (thus causing epidemics), (ii) native improvidence (causing remittent starvation), (iii) native gullibility (causing them not to trust the Government), (iv) native want of home control or parental discipline, (v) attendance at the Native Land Court (causing debt), and (v) native drunkenness. In the first twenty years of Te Teko school some of the reasons listed for children being absent include, attendance at tangi, sickness, attendance at the Native Land Court and at the races, and children working either in the gardens or with the parents on building roads. Death and sickness were a common occurrence and caused some schools to be closed because of the fall off of attendance. Schools became dispensaries of medicines, but many of the illnesses could not be cured so easily. The Native School system was also used as a health intervention through practices such as footbaths for school sores or hakihaki, 'kutu' inspections for headlice, and eventually for the introduction of school milk.

Diminishing the Power of the Chiefs.

Adults and children were subject to the disciplinary practices of the school. Parents, for example, were fined if children did not attend. Although under British colonialism chiefs were used to develop a system of indirect rule, once chiefs did not comply to what was expected of them, their leadership powers were swiftly questioned and undermined. Their 'mana' was constantly undermined in the way they were treated, but also their tino rangatiratanga was gradually appropriated by the Government. Destroying this group within Maori society was part of what Nandy refers to as the traditional hierarchy, the old order, who were most resistant to change. Schools facilitated this process in a number of ways. For example, the word 'chief' occurs frequently in the correspondence related to the establishment of Native Schools. Inspectors and officials were partly in awe of chiefs, but also saw chiefs as an efficient means of gaining approval and maintaining social control.

When Te Teko school was opened, Matutaera, also described as a chief, becomes the chairman of the school committee. The chairman’s role was extremely important and they often became caught up in the complaints between the parents and the teacher. However, from

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72 Appendices to the Journals for the House of Representatives, 1884, E-2.
the teacher’s and the Education Department’s points of view, the Chairman was responsible for controlling ‘his’ people. A good example of how this sometimes positioned them is to be found in the official records of a neighbouring school to Te Teko, PoroPoro Native School. Apparently an inspector comes to visit and finds very few children at school and the Chairman writes a letter to the Department of Education apologising for the poor attendance, almost as a child might apologise. The point being made is that the role of a chief or rangatirā is not only transformed, but diminished beneath the mana of the schooling structures. Chiefly status is appropriated by the state and then rendered as being ‘like a slave’. In effect, being made like a slave, in Maori terms, is worse than death, and for a chief to be made a slave is for the entire hapu of which he is chief to also be enslaved.

The Wider Context.

Just to restate the comments made in the introduction to this section on the dis-ordering of social relations, Ashis Nandy argued that there is an underlying code of colonialism which, ‘releases forces within the colonised societies to alter their cultural priorities’, and that colonialism ‘brings to the centre of the colonial culture, sub-cultures previously recessive or subordinate’. Although he argues that this occurs in both cultures, the main emphasis in this thesis is with the colonised culture. Nandy also argues that a ‘colonial system perpetuates itself by inducing the colonised through socioeconomic and psychological rewards and punishments to accept new social norms and cognitive categories’. These operate at a material level and at an internal psychological level, which he says is, ‘more dangerous and permanent...They are almost always unconscious and almost always ignored’.73 Finally Nandy argues, that it is through the psychological limits set by this process that allows for the colonisers to manage dissent. Of nationalist movements, Nandy says that ‘even in opposition these movements have paid homage to’ the culture of imperialism.

As a mode through which colonialism is realised, schooling has played a significant role in dis-ordering Maori social relationships. Schooling, for example, brought childhood and children ‘to the centre’ by separating them out from the rest of Maori society, and then by

systematically alienating them from their own social and psychological world. Children were the group who were expected to carry the goals of assimilation into wider Maori society. In bringing children to the centre in this way, Maori concepts of childhood were constantly subjected to challenge. This is most evident in the Te Teko example, in the way discipline and punishment was applied. But it is also evident in the very way age was used to regulate who must go to school. Schooling introduced new social and psychological categories which transformed Maori world views and what counted as reality for example; the landscape and identity of an iwi (to a map of New Zealand with many Maori features obliterated); orientations to time (struggles over attendance were struggles over time); orientations to space (flagpoles and court sittings were the new symbols of kawanatanga, schools were delineated and separated spatially and politically from the kainga); and orientations to new forms of power and leadership (who 'professionals' such as teachers).

Also, as a consequence of focusing on children, other groups within Maori society were repositioned in relation to children. This included rangatira, or chiefs, who were expected to keep their people under control, and their parents, who also had to be controlled and forced into a role as primary care givers. This process was not achieved in isolation. Schools were supported in this process by other aspects of colonial policy and by christianity, which asserted a new value system, redefined gender roles and sanctioned the use of punishments. The punishment and reward systems which instituted new social norms and cognitive categories worked, in the case of Ngati Awa, externally through the confiscations and other related punishments, and internally through the way punishment was exacted with the rod. However, these systems in isolation would not have been effective if it were not for the wider restructurings of consciousness, which the schooling context evoked through curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation.

This raises the question of resistance and dissent. Clearly, not all customary practices were wiped out or forgotten, but they were often hidden behind or within the practices sanctioned by laws. Many of these practices were identified as ones which would eventually die out as the older generation died and took their primitive ideas and bad influences with them. This was viewed as a natural occurrence, for example, in 1884 the report to Parliament makes the comment that 'in those districts where there are few or none of these counteracting beneficial
influences the Maoris are slowly but very surely dying out'. In the community, some forms of dissent were realised through religious movements such as Ringatu, and charismatic leaders such as Te Kooti. Although schools did attempt to combat the influences of such movements they were not always successful, and in some instances the teachers needed the stabilising influence of leaders such as Te Kooti in order that they could get on with their work. In isolated communities such as Te Teko, where there were few Pakeha, teachers also needed to establish and maintain reasonably good relations with their communities, and in the very early period of schooling, could not afford to alienate the community.

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74 Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1884, E-2.