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**Hei oranga Māori i te ao hurihuri nei. Living as Māori in the world today:**

**An account of kura kaupapa Māori.**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor  
of Education, The University of Auckland, 2014.

## **He kōrero whakarapopoto—Abstract**

Kura kaupapa Māori provide education for primary school aged children (5–12-year-olds) within a Māori language and cultural environment. They offer a logical progression from the Māori medium pre-school education known as Te Kōhanga Reo. The main aim of kura kaupapa Māori is to enable children to ‘live as Māori’. According to Durie (2003, p. 199), the goal of enabling Māori to live as Māori should be an objective of educationists when preparing Māori children for the future. However, the notion of ‘living as Māori’ is a very complex idea, not least because in New Zealand we live in a society governed by the English language and a set of values and social structures that are far removed from the traditional world of Māori.

This thesis interrogates the ideas about ‘living as Māori’ that underpin the objectives of kura kaupapa Māori. A selection of graduates from the first kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland are interviewed in order to develop a critical sense of the empirical and other possibilities of ‘living as Māori’ in the modern world, and the effectiveness of the kura kaupapa Māori in realising these possibilities.

There is much anecdotal evidence about the positive outcomes of kura kaupapa Māori. Whānau members often comment on the benefits of the kura for their children’s education, but there is little systematic research to substantiate claims that kura kaupapa Māori provide an educational environment that prepares their students to live as Māori. The question guiding this study is: What are the tensions that face kura kaupapa Māori graduates as they seek to live as Māori in a world that is often at odds with the objectives of kura kaupapa Māori?

This study examines in detail what the kura kaupapa Māori objectives have meant to those who experienced being students in three of the first kura kaupapa Māori that were created in Auckland. It was in these kura kaupapa Māori that the objectives were developed and the path set for kura kaupapa Māori into the future.

## Dedication

**“I paeheretia he roimata noa iringi ki te puna aroha**

***We are bound together by tears from the pool of love.*”**

(Words from the song ‘Te Ripo’, *Te Ripo* CD 1997 by Mahinaarangi Tocker)

I tāpaea tēnei tuhinga roa hei whakamaharatanga ki ōku mātua, ki a Norman Tocker rāua ko Rihitapu wae Rauhihi otirā ki tā rāua tamāhine, ki taku teina ki a Mahinaarangi Ngā Purupuru o Kahukura Tocker. Nō ngā tau 2007, 2008, 2010 i mate ai rātou i te wā i te tuhi au i tēnei tuhinga roa.

This doctoral thesis is dedicated to my parents, Norman and Rihi Tocker, and to my sister Mahinaarangi. The passing of my mother in October 2007, my sister six months later in April 2008 and my father, in December 2010 happened in the life-span of this thesis.

Mum, Dad and Mahinaarangi—you were always hugely supportive of me throughout my life. Your unwavering faith and belief in my abilities to achieve my academic goals inspired and encouraged me to aim for the pinnacle of success. I cherish the pride and love you bestowed on me.

As I end this arduous journey, I am reminded of the three of you. I know that you have been with me all the way through, prompting and guiding me along. I shed a tear as I think of you all. This is for you.

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I wish to acknowledge Graham and Linda Smith for their reminders and gentle coaxing that influenced my decision to begin the doctoral study. Were it not for their persuasive powers and belief in my abilities to succeed with this study, I would never have considered such an undertaking.

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## Glossary of Māori Terms

For further reference see Williams, H. W. (2000). *Dictionary of the Māori Language*, New Zealand: Legislation Direct.

aroha	love, compassion
āwhina	assist
haka	type of dance
hapū	sub-tribe/section of a large tribe
hinengaro	mind
hui	gatherings or meetings
iwi	tribe, people
kai	food
kaimoana	seafood
kapa haka	Māori performing arts
karakia	prayer, incantation
karanga	call of welcome
kaumātua	elders
kaupapa Māori	Māori philosophy and practice
kawa	tribal protocol
kina	sea urchin
Kīngitanga	Māori king movement
kīwaha	colloquial language
kiwi	indicates a person born in New Zealand
koha	present, gift
kōhanga reo	Māori medium programme for pre school children
koroua	elderly male
korowai	cloak
koura	crayfish
kōwhaiwhai	painted scroll ornamentation
kuia	elderly female
kumara	sweet potato
kura	school
kura kaupapa Māori	Māori medium schooling based on Māori philosophy and practice
mahi ā-ringā	action songs, haka, waiata, poi
mako	shark
manaakitanga	support, care for
Manu Kōrero	public speaking competition
Māori	indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand
marae	tribal and community centres for Māori gatherings
marae ātea	courtyard area in front of meeting house
mātāmua	the first/oldest child
mātauranga	knowledge
mauri	life principle
mere	a short flat weapon of stone
mihi	greeting

mita	dialect
mokopuna	grandchild
ngākau	heart, seat of affections and emotions
Pākehā	a person of European origin
papa kāinga	type of village settlement
piritahi	a close relationship
poi	ball attached to a string and used in a type of dance
pouako	teacher
pounamu	greenstone
pou tokomanawa	main supporting post that stands at the centre of a meeting house
pūhā	sow thistle
pūrākau	telling of stories, myths, historical events
rākau	sticks
rangatiratanga	self-determination
reo	language, voice
romiromi	type of massage
taha Māori	Māori dimension
tangata/tāngata	person/people
tangata whenua	people of the land
tangi	weep, mourn, rituals of mourning
tangihanga	funeral, rituals of mourning
tāniko	ornamental border
taonga	a treasure
Te Ataarangi	a method of teaching the Māori language
teina	younger sibling (same sex), junior line in ancestry
tikanga	Māori customs and protocols
tohunga	skilled person, mediator of the spiritual world
tuakana	older sibling (same sex), senior line in ancestry
tukutuku	ornamental lattice work on the walls of a meeting house
tuna	eel
tūpāpaku	corpse
tūrangawaewae	place of standing, home
waiata	song, chant
wairua	spirit
wā kāinga	tribal base
wānanga	Māori learning programmes or a place of learning
whaea	aunt, older woman
whaikōrero	formal speech
whakaaro	thought, thinking
whakapapa	genealogy
whakataukī	tribal saying
whānau	extended family
whanaungatanga	relationships
wharekura	secondary school level of kura kaupapa Māori
wharenui	meeting house
whenua	land

## Chapter One: Introduction. Motivation

Recently I returned to my home town of Taumarunui and resided there for three years while looking after my father who was ill from cancer. During that time, I taught part-time in the local kura kaupapa Māori<sup>1</sup> and in a mainstream primary school situated next to my marae (tribal meeting place). As I became ensconced in community life, it was a concern to hear that some of my whanaunga (relatives) could not see the value in their children learning to speak Māori. While keen for their children to engage in the cultural aspects of Māori life such as kapa haka and marae protocol, and to pick up token parts of the Māori language during primary school days, the parents could not see any career prospects benefitting from the use of the language or immersion in the Māori language through schooling. Consequently, the local kura kaupapa Māori had a small number of students on its roll at that time, and the mainstream high school had few students enrolling for the Māori language option. Sadly, the thinking and ideologies of some dominant groups in New Zealand about the low status of Māori language and knowledge have been effectively internalised by many of the local Māori people in my home town. This is a direct outcome of 100 years of assimilation and integration policies that have promulgated the view that Māori language, culture and beliefs should be discarded as relics of the past, and Pākehā knowledge be sought as the only way to success (G. Smith & L. Smith, 1990). A similar observation in the context of efforts to recover native knowledge for the indigenous people of North America is made by Wilson (2004). She maintains that some of the greatest resisters to the recovery of Indigenous knowledge are “our own Native people who have internalised the racism and now uncritically accept ideologies of the dominant culture” (p.72).

Examples of the subconscious acceptance of the dominant group’s ideologies are presented in the comments below from some parents who shared their anxieties with me about their children’s futures when I was teaching a class of Year 2 and Year 3 students in a kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland from 1997 to 1999.

*He tino kakama taku tamaiti ki te tae ki te kura ia ata. He tino koa tōna ngākau mō te kura nei, he rawe hoki tana reo Māori. Ko tāku – pēhea tana kimi mahi hei ngā rā kei te heke mai? He reo Ingarahi katoa i waho rā [author’s paraphrase of oral comments].*

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<sup>1</sup> Kura kaupapa Māori provide an education rich in Māori knowledge, traditions and cultural values in which Māori is the language of communication at all times.

*Kei te mōhio ahau, kua whai hua taku pēpi ki ngā taumata Pānui–Tuhituhi, me tana Pāngarau hoki. Engari ka huri ki te pānui i roto i te reo Pākehā, kei raro rawa tana taumata pānui i tā te taumata pānui o tana whanaunga he rite te pakeke. Kei te āwangawanga ahau ka noho ia ki raro [author’s paraphrase of oral comments].*

In the first statement, the parent relates the enthusiasm her child has for his schooling—always very keen to attend kura and enjoys his days there. While proud that her son speaks Māori well, she is worried that being schooled in a Māori language environment may hinder his future career prospects in a world that is monolingual and monocultural. She ponders, “*Will he be able to get a job later? It’s all English out there*”. In the second statement another parent acknowledges her child is achieving success at kura in reading and writing, and in maths, all taught in the Māori language. But the mother of this second child becomes concerned when she compares her daughter’s English reading skills with those of a cousin of the same age who is schooled in an English-medium school and she, too, worries that her daughter’s options and the possibilities for success in the English language world may be hampered by her Māori language schooling.

It was clear that these parents were very happy with their children’s kura education but they had concerns about the children’s future in an English-dominated world if the children were learning only in the Māori language. At that time there were no studies to back up my belief that the children—the subjects of the statements above would eventually learn the skills of reading and writing in English, and that immersion in Māori language education would prove to be advantageous in terms of employment. In order to appease the concerned parents I could only quote anecdotal information about the the first wave of graduates from the beginning kura kaupapa Māori (Hoani Waititi and Maungawhau) who were by then, doing very well in the workforce and wider community. It was the lack of relevant research that prompted me to begin a master’s in 1999 on the outcomes of kura kaupapa Māori (Tocker, 2002). Eight years later I began this present doctoral study about the possibilities of living as Māori in the world today and the effectiveness of kura kaupapa Māori in preparing their students to meet those possibilities.

This thesis examines ideas about what ‘living as Māori’ means to 12 graduates who had been students at three of the first kura kaupapa Māori established in Auckland. In their narratives, the graduates provide insight into the way that kura education has prepared them to live as Māori and, upon leaving kura, to contribute to New Zealand society and the world as bilingual

and bicultural citizens. The graduates share some of the complexities and tensions that they faced when they left the cloistered world of kura kaupapa Māori and entered a world that is not yet ready for young people who strongly identify as Māori, confident as Māori and English speakers keen to start out in their chosen fields of employment and study.

In this thesis I also give an account of the history that led to the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori through legislation in 1989 and the Education (Te Aho Matua) Amendment Act (1999) which protected the distinctive nature of kura kaupapa Māori. As a past teacher and whānau member of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau I am interested in preserving the history of the kura kaupapa Māori movement in Auckland, especially the role of the Natari and Awhireinga kōhanga reo whānau who created Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau. In doing this research I was privileged to spend time with key people from the kura kaupapa Māori movement who shared their recollections of a crucial time in the history of Māori education. The spearhead group for the political campaign that led to the creation of kura kaupapa Māori aimed to set up a Māori language schooling initiative to continue the Māori language preschool education for the five- and six-year-olds ready for the primary level of schooling. Implicit within the pioneers' aspiration to create an education steeped in Māori traditions and values was the aim to revitalise the Māori language (Nepe, 1991; Rata, 1991; Smith & Smith, 1990).

The loss of the Māori language—the embodiment of the Māori way of life—was the outcome of one hundred years of assimilation and integration policies administered by successive governments (Penetito, 2010). When Benton's 1978 report raised the alarm about the near-death of the Māori language, Māori vigorously agitated for Māori language recognition in education and in governmental law. It was this period of activism that gave birth to the Māori immersion education initiatives, kōhanga reo at pre-school level and kura kaupapa Māori at primary-school level. Both of these Māori-medium learning environments were attempts to preserve Māori language and culture and to provide a Māori education that validates traditional Māori knowledge and pedagogy—all values that must be struggled for on a daily basis in New Zealand.

The term 'to live as Māori' came out of discussions at a gathering of Māori educationalists and whānau at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga in 2001 (Durie, 2003). The participants at the hui were unanimous in their agreement that education should: equip children to live as Māori; to actively participate as citizens of the world; to enjoy good health and a high standard of

living (Durie, 2003, pp.199-200). But, as Lee (2008) points out, the phrase, ‘to live as Māori’ remains deeply complex. The reality for many Māori is that ‘living as Māori’ equates with living in poverty as a result of poor educational outcomes and a lack of qualifications.

In giving voice to the stories and experiences of the 12 graduates, my study provides clarity about what the words ‘to live as Māori’ might ideally mean to them. For the participants in my research, living as Māori involves the use of the Māori language in their workplaces, at social and sporting events and, with the exception of one family, in their homes when communicating with their children. Intrinsic values such as aroha (respect, love, understanding), manaakitanga (care, support) and whanaungatanga (relationships) are brought to the fore as the graduates manoeuvre their way through a world that is at odds with the mores that they were brought up with through the kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori education. As products of a kura kaupapa Māori education, the graduates actively promote te reo Māori, Māori values, beliefs and the guiding philosophy of kura—Te Aho Matua—in their daily lives. The components of Māori knowledge that were fundamental to the graduates’ learning are demonstrated in the ways that the graduates live as Māori while actively contributing to their communities and society.

Although the focus of this study has not been on academic success for Māori, it is interesting to note that the graduates I spoke to are very strong in their identity and exude a confidence that enables them to achieve whatever they put their minds to. Webber (2012) gathered data about Māori students that demonstrated the link between a positive identity and academic success. The critical nature of the links between identity, language, culture and the educational success of Māori students has been acknowledged by the Ministry of Education (2011) and implemented through the ‘Ka Hikitia’ (2009) policy. According to Bright, Barnes, and Hutchings (2013), the policy’s strategic intent that Māori enjoy academic success as Māori, has not been very effective because of poorly co-ordinated strategies. Perhaps the outcomes of this research can influence and strengthen the content of the Ka Hikitia policy as it seeks to enhance the future for Māori students.

As I have suggested, without relevant research, some parents can be misled into thinking that speaking Māori will limit the employment opportunities of their children. In telling the graduates’ stories about their lives as Māori I hope to dispel the myth that speaking Māori and practising tikanga is detrimental to a person’s future in New Zealand society. Employed as teachers, television producers, radio announcers, and one soon to complete doctoral study in

the field of psychology, the graduates utilise Māori values and tikanga in all parts of their lives and, in doing so, demonstrate that it is possible to successfully navigate the two worlds, Māori and Pākehā.

It is also important that the revitalisation of te reo Māori continues for the language is still in dire straits. Of 4,000 Māori interviewed throughout New Zealand as part of a Māori language survey, only 14%—a small group—speak the language with a high degree of fluency (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006).

More than a decade has passed since I began the Master's study in response to questions put to me by some parents at the kura in which I was a teacher. Yet there is still a lack of relevant literature about kura kaupapa Māori. In recent years, some studies have been conducted about aspects of kura kaupapa Māori including the Master's thesis by Poutu (2007) in which she shares the experiences of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura (a secondary school level of kura kaupapa Māori) as related to her by six participants. Martin (2012) discusses educational success within a kura kaupapa Māori environment while Takao, Grennell, McKegg, and Wehipeihana (2010) discuss kura success in relation to the six principles of Te Aho Matua—the guiding philosophy of kura kaupapa Māori. Keegan (1996) in an article about the benefits of immersion education indicates the need for research about Māori language use outside of school, as well as more study about the links between Māori language competency and input into Māori community activities.

My doctoral study is the first research paper to provide an understanding of how young Māori who have been schooled in a kura kaupapa Māori are equipped with the skills required to stand competently on the marae and to contribute to their communities and tribes. The participants in this study clearly demonstrate how they carry their Māori language and Māori knowledge with them as they interact in traditional Māori settings and in traversing the Western and the global worlds.

When I made my first tentative step onto the doctoral terrain, I was led by the key question: *'What are the tensions that face kura kaupapa Māori graduates as they seek to live as Māori in a world that is often at odds with the objectives of kura kaupapa Māori?'* In time, the question morphed into the notion of interrogating the ideas about 'living as Māori' that underpin the objectives of kura kaupapa Māori through interviewing a selection of graduates from the first kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland. As the field of study about kura kaupapa

Māori is in its infancy, my study adds knowledge to Māori-medium education and to the research about indigenous peoples' attempts to revitalise languages and knowledge.

In a similar manner to a number of Māori and indigenous researchers such as Mead (1996), Pihama (2001), Kovach (2005) and Meyer (2008), I have placed the language and values of my Māori culture at the centre of my research methods and methodology. **Chapter Two** describes how in choosing to utilise kaupapa Māori theory through the focus on a Māori reality and, in making clear my own insider position, I seek to tell the stories of the graduates' lives as Māori as valid and the norm. Te Aho Matua was a 'taken for granted' part of the graduates' lives at kura. As my thesis is situated in a kura kaupapa Māori setting, it was appropriate that the methodology and methods employed in my study were strongly influenced by Te Aho Matua, the foundation document for kura kaupapa Māori. A description of Te Aho Matua is provided in this chapter.

In the use of narratives, the participants' views could be seen as an extension of the traditional Māori way of imparting knowledge through oral methods. In my own practice of Māori tikanga or cultural concepts, I have a responsibility to return the research findings and information to the kura kaupapa Māori whānau from whom this knowledge sprang, as well as the wider Māori community and also the wider world of indigenous research.

The sense of duty that influences my decision to share the research with whānau, and to give back to the Māori world is a part of whanaungatanga, a concept imbued in the Māori community in which my mother spent much of her childhood. The traditional Māori practices and the Māori language were a part of her daily life and were not considered extraordinary until she entered an English language school. **Chapter Three** tells the story of my mother's educational journey, my own experiences in education, and also an account of my daughter's schooling—the impact of education upon three generations of women from the same family. My mother's Catholic boarding school education added to her Māori knowledge and she left school as a well-spoken young woman, gifted and knowledgeable in both the Māori and English languages, and the mores and values of both cultures. In stark contrast to my mother's Māori upbringing, most of my childhood experiences were dominated by an English monolingual and monocultural education. The joy of achieving academic success was offset by an uncertainty about my identity and little understanding about my being Māori. When I did find my footing in the world, it was due to the seeking of knowledge about Māori language and culture through Māori immersion wānanga. Unlike her grandmother, my

daughter was born into a world where it was not normal to ‘live as Māori’ and it was largely through a Māori-medium education that she learnt Māori traditions and culture and how to ‘live as Māori’. It is interesting that my daughter is similar to her grandmother in her pride as a Māori and the confident sense of determination she exudes as she advances into the world. I tell these stories of my own family in order to demonstrate the effects of education on three generations as they attempt to ‘live as Māori’.

The education experiences of Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira were very similar to those of my mother. Her story, which begins **Chapter Four**, is intertwined with a brief outline of the decline of the Māori language and the ensuing battles to revitalise the language. It was through Kāterina’s creation of the Māori language teaching method named Te Ataarangi that she came in to contact with Auckland’s Hoani Waititi Marae and with key figures there (Pita and Aroha Sharples) began a kura that delivered a Māori-medium education for their kōhanga reo children. Other kōhanga whānau soon followed the example set by the Hoani Waititi kura and embarked on a political campaign for the legal establishment of kura kaupapa Māori.

**Chapter Five** outlines how kura kaupapa Māori establishment could not have happened at any other time in New Zealand’s educational history. The decades of the 1970s and the 1980s—a time prominent for Māori struggles and protests about the survival of the Māori language—brought about the kōhanga reo movement in 1981, and the continuance of Māori language and cultural learning for children in the form of kura kaupapa Māori in 1985. At the end of the 1980s when kura kaupapa Māori were struggling for recognition, the Government was restructuring the existing education system. In the throes of setting up a more efficient system through the ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ framework (Appleby, 2002) groups were formed to work on different aspects of education. This proved to be advantageous for the kura whānau as a Working Party was established to focus specifically on kura kaupapa Māori. In order to protect the special nature of kura kaupapa Māori, the group developed the Te Aho Matua document which became the guiding philosophy for kura. While Te Aho Matua provides guidance for the kura whānau on kura management and teaching, it also encourages the kura whānau to make a commitment to the Māori language and culture, to care for the environment, to nurture a respect for all people and languages and to acquire literacy skills in both the Māori and English languages. In its reflection of the National Education Guidelines and goals for achievement, Te Aho Matua aims to produce graduates who are strong in their Māori identity equipped with the skills enabling participation not only in the Māori world but also in the wider world.

In **Chapter Six** the graduates explain what living as Māori means to them. Te reo Māori which carries the cultural traditions, values and nuances was considered the most important feature of ‘living as Māori’. According to the graduates, the whānau was seen to be a key factor for utilizing the Māori language and for modeling Māori ways of behaving. Returning to their tribal lands enabled the acquisition of knowledge that is specific to the graduates’ own tribes. The strong foothold in the Māori world gives the graduates a clear sense of identity and they are positive that being Māori provides an advantage in employment and in their lives. As the first graduates from the early kura kaupapa Māori, the graduates see themselves as ‘tuakana’, older (same-sex) siblings, a term that indicates their responsibility to take care of the Māori language and culture.

**Chapter Seven** explains that the graduates were fortunate to have, as their first teachers, fluent Māori language speakers who were passionate about the survival of the Māori language and committed to the kura kaupapa Māori movement as a way of ensuring educational equity for their students. The teachers were viewed affectionately by the graduates as caring and considerate people who modeled how to live as Māori. A description of the English language learning undertaken by the students in those early days is in this chapter. While the graduates’ experiences in learning English literacy skills were varied, they all valued and saw the necessity of proficiency in both the English and the Māori languages. The graduates found it easy to secure employment. A number of them found their niche in Māori language television and radio work while others returned as trained teachers to kura kaupapa Māori. As a consequence of good employment and salaries, most of them own their own homes and have achieved a decent standard of living. A number of the graduates are making moves to take their knowledge back to their tribal areas to teach te reo Māori and cultural aspects to their younger relatives.

Devised by the pioneers of kura kaupapa Māori, Te Aho Matua is recognised as the foundation document for kura. It sets down guidelines for kura whānau in all aspects of teaching and learning and is adhered to in the governance and management of the kura.

In **Chapter Eight** the philosophy of Te Aho Matua is viewed by the graduates as an intrinsic part of their lives and they view it as a guiding factor in the nurturing of their own children as well as those in the kura environment. In following the principles of Te Aho Matua the graduates practise respect for each other and for all people. The Māori cultural practices inherent in Te Aho Matua and the adherence to the Māori language help the graduates in their

relationships in the outside world. Survival in the world away from kura has been made easier by the following of Māori tikanga and in the maintenance of whanaungatanga—the strong relationships that were developed through life at kura, that now continue in adulthood through kapa haka, sports and social events. In graduating from the Māori immersion environment where it is normal to speak and to be Māori, the graduates have been confronted by a world that is not yet ready for confident and proud Māori knowledgeable in the language and culture. A number of the graduates now have their own children and, as past students of the under-resourced kura kaupapa Māori, offer suggestions on how to improve the kura environment for the betterment of their children's learning.

The pioneers of the kura kaupapa Māori fought a long, hard battle to continue the Māori immersion education that had begun in the kōhanga reo. Other objectives for the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori included the preservation of the Māori language and culture and the validation of traditional Māori knowledge and pedagogy within the school curriculum and all contexts of school life. My thesis outlines the birth of the kura kaupapa Māori and shows that the outcome of the unique Māori-run initiative was to produce bilingual, bicultural children through immersion in Māori language and education and to equip these young people with skills and knowledge to enable positive contributions to New Zealand society and the wider world.

In accessing the Māori world through the components of language, culture, customs, marae, and tribal resources and the wider Western world practitioners of both Māori and English languages and cultures, the graduates, whose experiences form this study, illustrate how they ably live as Māori in the world today.

## Chapter Two: Tikanga Rangahau—Methodology

### Karakia

Tēnei au

Tēnei au

Ko te hōkai nei taku tapuwae

Ko te hōkai nuku ko te hōkai rangi ko te hōkai a tōku tūpuna a Tāne-nui-a-Rangi

I pikitia ai ki ngā Rangi Tūhāhā ki te Tihi o Manono

I rokohina atu rā

Ko Io Matua Kore anake

I riro iho ai ngā kete o te wānanga

Ko te kete tuauri, ko te kete tuatea, ko te kete aronui

Ka tiritiria ka poupoua ki a Papatūānuku

Ka puta te ira tangata ki te whai ao

Ki te Ao marama.

Hui e! Taiki e!

‘Tēnei au’ is a karakia that began the day for the whānau at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau when I was a teacher there. It tells a part of the Māori creation story wherein Tāne-nui-a-Rangi also known as Tāne-mahuta, undertook a journey to search for knowledge for the good of all people. Karakia are described by Barlow (1992, p. 37) as “pleas, prayers and incantations” that are addressed to spiritual beings for comfort and guidance. Karakia have been helpful in clearing my mind for a strong focus on the activities, relationships, and processes involved with the research.

### He whakatakinga—Introduction

The karakia that begins this chapter signifies the manner in which I have been guided throughout my study by Māori values and cultural knowledge. In utilising Māori language and ways of behaving, I am embracing Kaupapa Māori—a term that came out of the kura kaupapa Māori movement in the 1980s, a movement that transformed schooling in its normalization of being Māori. As part of the revolutionary thinking of that era, Graham Smith, a key figure in the kura movement, introduced the term ‘Kaupapa Māori theory’ in an attempt to affirm a Māori reality within theory and academia (G. Smith, 2012). As a consequence, Kaupapa Māori theory has enabled a number of Māori researchers to apply a

Māori-centric view to their research that is transformative and beneficial for Māori communities.

As my research has focused on the experiences of graduates from those early kura kaupapa Māori it is appropriate to implement Te Aho Matua—the philosophy that guides the kura whānau—in my methodology. The six principles of Te Aho Matua have provided guidance in my undertaking of the doctoral research. Te reo Māori and tikanga (Māori protocol) have been at the forefront of all interactions and relationships maintained during the duration of the research. In implementing Te Aho Matua beneath the mantle of Kaupapa Māori theory, I am one of a growing body of Māori and indigenous researchers involved in transformative research. In order for the study to make positive change for the people, Kaupapa Māori commits me to reciprocate the support given to me by the participants and to communicate the graduates' experiences to kura kaupapa Māori whānau, to Māori communities and to indigenous peoples around the world.

## **Te Ao—The environment**

### ***Kaupapa Māori Theory***

In the placement of Māori attitudes and practices at the centre of my research, I am employing Kaupapa Māori research. I have upheld te reo Māori, and tikanga such as whānau, whakapapa, whanaungatanga, aroha and manaakitanga, throughout my research. These components were a normal part of my interactions with participants and are typical examples of kura kaupapa Māori experiences in which Māori language, culture, knowledge and values are 'taken for granted' aspects of kura life. These elements embody the philosophy and practice of being Māori and are integral parts of kaupapa Māori.

According to G. Smith (2012), the term 'Kaupapa Māori' was initiated by Tuki Nepe when seeking a name to describe the new whānau-initiated, Māori immersion kura that were developing without government funding or recognition in the early 1980s. One of the stalwarts of the kura kaupapa Māori movement, Nepe (1991) described Kaupapa Māori as a way of implementing Māori knowledge that has been developed through oral tradition. She saw Kaupapa Māori as a "process by which the Māori mind receives, internalizes, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through te reo Māori" (Nepe, 1991, p. 15). The Māori language is the vehicle that carries the sacred entity of Māori knowledge that belongs to Māori and must be protected and maintained by Māori.

Nepe (1991, p. 94) viewed the kōhanga reo movement that began in 1981 as the beginning of conscientisation for Māori—the time when Māori became critically aware of their “social, economic and political position” and went about making changes themselves to reclaim a Māori identity. The kōhanga reo movement aimed to check the declining number of Māori language native speakers by teaching pre-school children through the medium of the Māori language and immersing them in Māori cultural values. In seeking to preserve and maintain the Māori knowledge of their kōhanga reo graduates, parents and whānau created their own schooling, separate from government control and interference, under the banner of Kaupapa Māori. The kura kaupapa Māori initiative was a part of the movement that G. Smith (2003) names as the ‘1980’s revolution’ in which Māori people made a drastic change in the way they viewed their position in society and in politics. Instead of continuing with the mindset that Māori were helpless, passive recipients of government policies, Māori themselves took the stance that they could transform their own lives and effect positive change. G. Smith (2003, p. 2) explains the adjustment for Māori as “a shift away from waiting for things to be done to them, to doing things for themselves; a shift from an emphasis on reactive politics to an emphasis on being more proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation.” In placing kaupapa Māori—Māori language, values, traditions and realities—at the centre of the change, a ‘consciousness-raising’ occurred for Māori.

Kaupapa Māori is described by G. Smith (1997, p. 453) as “an organic theory of change.” The struggle to develop Māori language initiatives, he says, led to the conscientisation of Māori whānau as they resisted dominant ideologies, resulting in the transformation of schools into more appropriate sites of learning for Māori. In a sense, the naming of Kaupapa Māori as a theory has come out of whānau creating, and then reflecting upon the establishment of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. Whānau is therefore fundamental to the Kaupapa Māori approach.

Kaupapa Māori is a framework that takes for granted the notion that speaking Māori is normal, that practising Māori tikanga is normal and that Māori have their own valid forms of knowledge. An effect of colonialism has been that Māori knowledge and understandings of the world have been negated. A Kaupapa Māori stance challenges the normalisation of the prevailing beliefs and practices of the dominant group and asserts Māori ways of being as normal and legitimate.

Kaupapa Māori seeks answers to the inequality that exists within the power relations in Aotearoa, New Zealand and was the catalyst for radical changes for Māori in the 1980s. Situated in the midst of those revolutionary movements, Māori academics from the University of Auckland: Graham Smith, Linda Smith, Kuni Jenkins, Margie Hohepa, Trish Johnson and Leonie Pihama (Lee, 2008, p. 27) as well as Pākehā academics such as Alison Jones and Judith Simon, saw the need to use theory as a tool to further support Māori in their transformation. Pihama (1993, p. 52) used the term ‘Kaupapa Māori theory’ and saw its potential as a theoretical framework in her argument about the constraining nature of the programme, ‘Parents as first teachers’. G. Smith, a leading figure in the kura kaupapa Māori movement, discussed in detail (in his 1997 doctoral thesis) ‘Kaupapa Māori theory’ as a resistance initiative. In a recent article he stated that he deliberately added the word ‘theory’ to ‘Kaupapa Māori’ as a response to the negative and deficit theorising in the academy about Māori (G. Smith, 2012). He viewed such a move as a necessary response to the ideas reified as theories that had dominated education discourse and practice to the detriment of Māori thought and knowledge. In naming Kaupapa Māori as a theory, G. Smith introduced a way of conducting research that allows Māori to be Māori within the world of research and to employ a Māori world view to comprehend the world. Kaupapa Māori can also be viewed as an approach through which Mātauranga Māori—described by Durie (2012, p. 23) as an “evolving underlying body of knowledge that can guide practice and understanding”—can be transmitted. In providing scope for different methods and ways of thinking, Kaupapa Māori is transformative and challenges dominant Western models of social theory (G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 2012; Pihama, 2010).

### ***Kaupapa Māori theory and Critical theory***

Critical theory is referred to by G. Smith, one of the architects of Kaupapa Māori theory, as the model that provided the fundamental structures for Kaupapa Māori theory. Borrowed from critical theory is the notion that an analysis of structures within society can lead Māori into transformative practice. In challenging mainstream ideas about education, the kura kaupapa Māori movement would prove to be a prime example of critical theory’s key ideas of resistance and action leading to emancipation. Kaupapa Māori is seen to be transformative in its use of Māori ideas and principles to make changes for the benefit of Māori and ultimately for society as a whole (Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Lee, 2007; G. Smith, 1997). Thus Kaupapa Māori can be seen in alignment with critical theory in its ability to effect positive change for

Māori, “to transform the conditions and to resist the negative influences of dominant Pākehā culture” (G. Smith, 1997, p. 461).

While a number of Māori academics view Kaupapa Māori as a development of critical theory in a local context (Mead, 1996; Pihama, 2001; G. Smith, 1997), they argue that Kaupapa Māori is based not only on critical theory. Kaupapa Māori is founded, as stated earlier, on te reo Māori and tikanga and is unique to Aotearoa. Critical theory, Pihama (2001) reminds us, was developed in Germany and is based on European tenets.

In other words, kaupapa Māori theory can be seen to have come from what G. Smith (2012, p. 12) describes as “two intellectual influences”. The primary and most significant influence on the growth of Kaupapa Māori is recognised as the practice and normalisation of Māori knowledge, language and culture. Strongly motivated by the concepts of critical theorists, Paulo Freire and Jurgen Habermas, Smith names critical social theory as the second intellectual influence on Kaupapa Māori.

Kaupapa Māori theory is acknowledged as an evolving entity that is not fixed and does not have a set of guidelines to follow (Lee, 2007; Pihama, 2010). Instead it opens the way to a range of possibilities and ways of creating transformation. Consequently, a number of Māori researchers have developed their own ideas around Kaupapa Māori that have arisen from their own experiences and knowledge of the Māori world. Kaupapa Māori has been applied across a range of disciplines as exemplified in the health study undertaken by Barnes (2000) when working for the Whāriki Research Group in partnership with the Alcohol and Public Health Research Unit. Kuni Jenkins’ (2000) doctoral study used a theme she called ‘aitanga’ as part of Kaupapa Māori theory when researching the relationships between Māori and the first Pākehā settlers. Another example of the ways in which the diverse nature of Māori realities is portrayed is the concept of pūrākau (narrative) as employed by Lee in her 2008 doctoral study about Māori teachers’ work in secondary schools. In declaring Te Aho Matua as an intrinsic part of my methodology, I am one of a growing body of Māori researchers who engage in, and continue to develop, Kaupapa Māori theory.

### ***Te Aho Matua***

When I decided to focus on the notion of ‘living as Māori’ as learned through some students’ experiences of kura kaupapa Māori, I looked for theoretical ideas that would guide me in approaching this topic. As I studied Te Aho Matua, the guiding principles of the kura, it

became obvious to me that those principles themselves could provide me with aspects of my methodology. I will outline the document Te Aho Matua here, in order to explain how the principles lead kura whānau and guide me in my research.

The official document ‘Te Aho Matua’ (2008) outlines how Māori values and knowledge can be incorporated into kura kaupapa Māori schooling. As the foundation policy document for Māori immersion education, Te Aho Matua is the feature that distinguishes kura kaupapa Māori from total immersion units in mainstream schools and can be seen therefore as forming the unique identity of the kura kaupapa. Te Aho Matua was originally written in 1989 by Kāterina Mataira, Tuki Nepe and Cathy Dewes, with Kāterina facilitating the process.

Te Aho Matua indicates how kura kaupapa Māori whānau can work together to meet goals and aspirations for their children’s educational success. Kura are encouraged to interpret Te Aho Matua in ways that best suit their unique learning environments (Takao et al., 2010). Written in Māori, Te Aho Matua is made up of six parts:

- Te Ira Tangata—Physical and spiritual
- Te Reo—Communication
- Ngā Iwi—Identity
- Te Ao—Environment
- Āhuatanga Ako—Pedagogy
- Ngā Tino Uaratanga—Main purpose (Te Aho Matua , 2008)<sup>2</sup>

Each component of Te Aho Matua reminds kura kaupapa Māori whānau—children, teachers and principals—of their roles and responsibilities to each other. Boards of Trustees and principals are directed by Te Aho Matua in the creation of charters and policies and in the effective management of kura. I discuss this document further in Chapter Five. Rather than following the principles in a linear fashion as listed above, teachers weave Te Aho Matua through unit planning and curriculum implementation, and implement relevant principles when managing children’s behaviour. In a similar manner to the way that Te Aho Matua is used in kura, I have attempted to utilise the six principles within my research methodology.

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<sup>2</sup> The English interpretations for the six components of Te Aho Matua are by Cooper, Arago-Kemp, Wylie and Hodgen (2004, p. 2). For this thesis, I have chosen to use the words ‘Main Purpose’ for ‘Ngā Tino Uaratanga’ instead of ‘Main outcomes’ that Cooper et al. (2004) implemented.

### *Te Aho Matua within my thesis*

In thinking about Te Aho Matua and its relationship to my doctoral study, I reflected upon the meaning of the words within its name as defined in Williams (2000, p. 3). The word ‘aho’ means a string or a line, or cross threads of a mat. This idea of a thread relates to the philosophy of Te Aho Matua coursing through my tikanga rangahau—my research methodology that includes methods, the kinds of tools I use, and the ethical orientation employed in my research. ‘Aho’ also means genealogy and refers to the line of descent from a divine source. Nepe (1991, p. 42) names this supreme being as Io Matua Kore in her thesis in which she argues for the necessity of a kaupapa Māori education system. I see aho as the linking strands of whānau relationships that have developed through whanaungatanga within kura kaupapa Māori, an aspect that was extended through interviewing people as part of my research. Aho, in the sense of whanaungatanga, also relates to the aspiration of sharing knowledge for the good of the kura kaupapa Māori whānau as well as Māori communities throughout Aotearoa and indigenous peoples throughout the world—an intended outcome of this research.

Another meaning of aho is that of invoking a type of prayer, an incantation when asking for help, or support from a supreme being. When centering on this particular meaning, I am reminded of the sacred nature of knowledge and the need for me to karakia, to say the special words to invoke a clear mind, opening the way to wisdom and enlightenment as I write, read and think through my work. This particular meaning brings to mind the need to treat all people involved in the research with respect and care.

The second word, ‘matua’, can be defined as ‘parent’ (Williams, 2000, p. 195). It can also refer to the primary, main or important topic. For me, the topic I address in this research is indeed an important one. The primary motive for the research is to share the positive stories of the kura kaupapa Māori graduates as they live as Māori in the modern world, while also explaining the idea of ‘living as Māori’ in theoretical and practical terms.

When I think about the idea of Te Aho Matua in a metaphorical form, I envisage a korowai (a cloak). The fibres within the cloak relate to the six parts of Te Aho Matua: Te Ira Tangata, Te Reo, Ngā Iwi, Te Ao, Āhuatanga Ako, and Ngā Tino Uaratanga. These aspects of Te Aho Matua are woven through all parts of my tikanga rangahau. From my point of view, Kaupapa Māori in its provision of a Māori world view is the strong band at the top of the korowai that binds, holds and reinforces the Te Aho Matua principles. Kaupapa Māori is the source from

which Te Aho Matua has sprung. In its use as a garment that can warm and comfort, the wearing of the korowai symbolizes the outcomes of the research which will be disseminated to provide information and knowledge to kura kaupapa Māori whānau, Māori communities and international indigenous communities. Te Aho Matua can be applied across a range of settings as it gives sustenance and voice to a Māori world view. Thus it is appropriate to base my tikanga rangahau around Te Aho Matua.

## **Āhutatanga Ako—Pedagogy**

### ***Indigenous research***

Conducting research that is transformative for the community is a practice shared by indigenous peoples and is part of the worldwide struggle by indigenous peoples to regain and hold on to their own languages, knowledges and practices (Chilisa, 2012; Grande, 2008). Self-determination and social justice are desired outcomes of Māori and indigenous research (L. Smith, 2012).

In changing our position from being the passive objects of research to being active participants, indigenous peoples have changed the way that research is conducted. This movement signifies a challenge to the traditional idea of what is research and how research should be conducted. L. Smith (2005, p. 87) sees these features as a part of “decolonising research”, completely changing the way that research is carried out, “transforming the institution of research, the deep underlying structures and taken-for-granted ways of organising, conducting and disseminating research and knowledge”. Indigenous peoples place themselves at the centre of research and are not seen as ‘the other’. The work becomes counter-hegemonic as it challenges the imperialist and colonialist assumptions that pervade the thinking of many Western researchers and academics.

Through the implementation of research methods that are founded on certain Western notions of ontology and epistemology, many researchers have consciously and unconsciously reinforced the idea that the dominant world view is the only way to view the world (Ladson-Billings, 2000). But all people have their own understandings and their own epistemologies. When Meyer (2008) uses stories from her native Hawaii to describe the variety of understandings people have as a result of different life experiences, I am reminded of my friend who grew up by the sea and the different ways he and I see the world around us. Upon seeing the red flowers of the pōhutukawa tree in the months of summer, my friend informs me

that the kina, the sea urchins, will be plentiful. As I come from an inland mountainous area, I have not grown up with those signs of nature to guide me. I do not have the taste for kina and am more likely to simply admire the beauty of the colourful tree rather than understand that the red flowers indicate the abundance of seafood. Thus when researching others, even within my own people, I must be aware that there are differing ways to view the world and that there is no singular, correct version.

In seeking to develop a research method that involves a different world view, research by indigenous, feminist and other researchers can be seen as a way of making sense of our worlds while also expanding our knowledge theoretically. Through theory we can “plan, strategise and take greater control over our resistances” (L. Smith, 2012, p. 40). Theory and research have the ability to transform life for indigenous peoples, thus indigenous research is about freeing people from oppression and racism whilst exposing and changing the structures within society that maintain dominant and oppressive thinking. Indigenous research is also about demonstrating different forms of leadership and suggests that changes can occur within the structures and institutions of a society.

Indigenous research is a way for indigenous people to tell their stories in their own ways which serves to reinforce and legitimate the knowledge, values, histories and cultures of the indigenous communities. Kaupapa Māori is a part of the indigenous struggle to change the ways of looking at research as well as the inclusion of Māori knowledge and realities into theory. Through my incorporating Te Aho Matua into a theoretical perspective, I can be seen to be a part of the expanding world of indigenous researchers who now create indigenous methodologies that flow from indigenous epistemologies (Kovach, 2005).

### ***Methods: Narrative Inquiry, Thick description and Pūrākau***

In reporting the experiences of the participants in my study, I have used narratives and descriptive accounts in the telling of their stories. I was influenced by Goodson’s (2013) arguments in *Developing Narrative Theory* that narratives gain their strength in social research from an integration of social and political context into the narrative—what he calls the “genealogy of context” (p. 5). Even though the speakers in my study did not always realise the context of their own stories, I wove historical, social, cultural events into the life stories of the main characters. When telling our stories in this manner, the impact of socio-political factors on people’s lives is highlighted.

The stories my mother told me about gathering the fern plant and about learning from older and more experienced women how to dive for seafood, were not only about the gathering of food but also about the kinship and reciprocity practices within Māori society at that time wherein crops and food gathered from the sea were shared within the community. Everyone looked after everyone else. When she related how at school she was taught table etiquette she was unknowingly also relating the underlying government policies of the time that saw Māori as primitive. Schooling was designed in Europe to civilize the ‘uncivilised working masses’ and then in colonized countries, to assimilate the savage natives into certain western ways (Simon & Smith, 2001).

In outlining the distinctive qualities of narrative inquiry, Chase (2005) explains that, while a narrative tells a story from the narrator’s point of view, it also allows the expression of emotions, thoughts, and interpretations of the narrator’s everyday experiences. This is exemplified in the words my mother used to describe her first visit to the convent school in Napier and the feeling of being abandoned for the good of a Catholic education. The emotion she still keenly felt some 60 years later was very clearly related in the story she shared with me. My mother’s experience in which she was made to speak English and to practise Catholicism was an outcome of her own mother’s decision to seek an English-based education for her child in the hope that it would lead to a prosperous future. Although the experiences of the First Nations people were different in that their children were taken from their families and placed in harsh boarding school environments, I can see some similarity when Thomas (2005, p. 245) shares the fate of her First Nations’ people who had their “ways of knowing stripped away through colonization”.

I found the term ‘thick description’ useful in thinking about my methodological approach. According to Geertz (1973) and Ponterotto (2006), the main aspect of thick description is in its foregrounding of rich evocative data and the ability to impact on readers’ thoughts and emotions as it brings events alive through the experiences of real people. Thick description describes the way that I wrote the stories of my mother, my daughter and my own educational and life journeys. These three stories enabled a sense of actually ‘being there’ for the reader. In telling the stories from my childhood and schooling days, I have relayed the underlying political and social happenings that impacted on my life and the notion of living as Māori. An autobiographical narrative centralizes my account of the world. By relating it in a research context, I gain more of an understanding about my own life through reflecting and analyzing my experiences (Kimpson, 2005).

Although I allowed my mother and daughter to speak for themselves, the stories I collected from the key figures in the development of the kura, and the students, were subject to more analysis. I was conscious when I reported on these stories that my interpretation is shaped by my own experiences and understanding of the kura kaupapa Māori world. The question of interpretation is constantly debated within qualitative research. Geertz (1973, p. 9) provided an interesting point about interpretation when he stated that data gained from qualitative research relates to “our own constructions of other people’s constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to”. I believe Geertz is explaining that the participant shares his/her view and understanding of an experience. The researcher then attempts to interpret that view according to the researcher’s own understanding and knowledge about that event the participant has shared. As Kimpson (2005, p. 77) puts it: “The truth of any situation is to be found through the interweaving of many voices and perspectives, and is socially constructed.”

Terms such as ‘thick description’ and ‘narrative inquiry’ form the basis for discussion of research that uses interviews or life stories. ‘Pūrākau’ is the name that Lee (2005) has ascribed to Māori telling life stories in a research context. The term pūrākau relates not only to our myths, legends, historical events, and important moments in our whānau, hapū and iwi lives, but also to the stories that are communicated in these modern times. In the examination of the teaching experiences of three Māori secondary school teachers through narratives, Lee (2008) employed pūrākau as a research method. A good example of pūrākau and its difference from ‘answers’ is evident in the manner in which Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira <sup>3</sup>, responded to one of my interview questions. As she was the key writer for Te Aho Matua, I asked how it had developed. Instead of answering the question directly, Kāterina took me on a journey relating her schooling and life experiences. Later I realized that, within her narration, Kāterina was providing information that answered my question about Te Aho Matua while placing it within the context of the loss of te reo Māori, the struggle to revive it, her own role within the revitalisation struggle and the kura kaupapa Māori movement. I learnt that there was more wealth of knowledge in the narrative or the story (the pūrākau) instead of the brief response I was expecting.

Storytelling is a tradition practised by many indigenous peoples. Cidro (2012) explains how storytelling was used to pass on information and knowledge to people in the Anishinawbe societies. Cultural knowledge is also strengthened for the Saami people through story telling

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<sup>3</sup> For the remainder of the chapter Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira will be referred to as Kāterina or Kāterina Mataira.

(Balto, 2006). The nurturing and educative aspects of storytelling are exemplified in writing by Thomas (2005) who tells of the wisdom passed on through stories related by her grandparents and other elders, First Nations people in Canada. Archibald (2008), another indigenous writer from Canada writes about ‘Coyote the trickster’. The Coyote stories as told to her by Salish and Stó:lō Elders provide information, traditions and reminders of the knowledge, values, and the connections between people, culture and land. Art and design on objects, clothing and crafts also plays a significant role in the teaching and passing on of indigenous knowledge (Battiste, 2008).

As an oral culture, Māori traditions, histories, significant family, hapū and iwi events have been traditionally communicated through carvings, weaving, taniko, kōwhaiwhai patterns, haka and waiata. With the advent of the missionaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Māori eagerly took on the literacy skills of reading and writing. The focus of life stories and story-telling for Māori began to change as the struggles for land, knowledge and culture became more prominent. Lee (2008) relates how Māori produced writing in newspapers and other written forms such as meeting minutes that had to cater for the demands of land courts. The oral renditions of whakapapa were sometimes amended so that the focus was on land rather than particular people.

Within oral traditions, storytelling brings characters and people to life while relating important aspects of whakapapa. I hope that I am following Thomas’ (2005, p. 242) example of allowing storytellers to “use their own voices to tell their own stories on their own terms” when I interpret and relate the lived experiences of my mother, my daughter and that of Kāterina. Their stories are rich with examples of culture, history, traditions, and how their living as Māori has been compromised by the effects of education and politics.

## **Te Ira Tangata—Physical and Spiritual**

### ***Tikanga***

When communicating with the participants, my behaviour demonstrated a knowledge of tikanga Māori which, in turn, affected the relationships that were developed and maintained during the study. Tikanga Māori is described by Mead (2003, p. 5) as “a means of social control” as it encompasses the way that Māori people behave towards each other. Knowledge of tikanga, cultural values and traditions is important when conducting kaupapa Māori research to ensure a respectful connection and rapport with research participants. In the

paragraphs below I will explain how tikanga was incorporated into the ways I engaged with the participants.

### *Interviews*

The graduates' interviews took place at venues chosen by the six female and six male graduates; eight wanted to meet me at home and four opted for their workplaces. Nine of the 12 graduates were happy for me to use their real names in this study. The nine who have agreed for their names to be inserted in the thesis are: Mana Epiha, Reikura Kahi, Tumamao Harawira, Mahanga Pihama, Monowai Panoho, Ruki Tobin, Chance Taylor, Te Hira Paenga and Pikihuia Pomare. One graduate chose the use of a pseudonym. Two participants didn't clearly state, in the signing of the ethics form, whether or not they wanted their real names inserted into the text. I have been unable to contact them to clarify this point (one has moved to Australia and the other to Gisborne). These three graduates have been given the pseudonyms: Kiri, Pania and Tamara.

Some of the participants spoke Māori throughout their entire interviews, which raises the question of how to report their spoken words in an English language thesis. In order to maintain the integrity of te reo Māori, I decided to report their words alongside explanatory sentences in English rather than writing direct translations. As Mutu (2004) argues, when translating from Māori to English the meaning can be lost or the Māori concepts and values can be misinterpreted.

While most of the interviews usually took 1-1½ hours, an understanding of tikanga Māori and an awareness of the responsibilities of the participants meant that time was not an issue for me. An aspect I took into consideration was the presence of other family members at the interview, and the parental responsibilities of the participants that sometimes interrupted our conversations. One example is demonstrated with the interview of Reikura. I arrived at the designated location for the interview at her parents' house where I was greeted by Reikura, her children, her mother, her younger sister, the sister's partner and their new baby. As an important part of tikanga, I recognise the need to greet and acknowledge all of the family. Reikura and I eventually moved away from the living room area where her family were gathered and into the more private space of the study to concentrate on the interview. However, on a number of occasions we had to pause the interview process to enable Reikura to attend to her baby who needed attention in another room.

When I interviewed Monowai, both her mother and her five-year-old daughter were present. Monowai's mother was seated a couple of metres away from us where she read a book throughout the interview and Monowai's daughter patiently occupied herself during the focussed conversation between her mother and me. But the child who had been brought up in a Māori language environment eventually became exasperated with her mother's use of the English language and, towards the end of the interview, her voice can be heard on the audio recording, scolding her mother for not speaking Māori. During my interview with Chance we sat at the dining room table at the end of the kitchen working bench. Chance's partner was cooking a meal and would occasionally contribute to our conversation with helpful pointers for her partner. The children respectfully stayed in another room watching television although the youngest, a toddler, would often wander into the room and, at one stage was placed in his high chair and was fed by his father as the interview continued.

I am grateful that the graduates found time to sit and talk with me as I know a number of them were hard-pressed to find the time. One of the graduates is a teacher in a kura and arranged to meet me in the lunch break. Another teacher asked to be interviewed at the end of her teaching day. Once she had picked up her baby from the caregiver, she and I sat and talked in a meeting room while she fed and cared for her baby.

I didn't find the participants' attention to children's needs or the infrequent comment from a partner disruptive to the interview process. I understood and respected the need to care for others and the need for a loved one to pass comments to her partner. The relationships that the participants have with significant others can determine how all of the research interview will proceed. Kovach (2005, p. 30) describes these connections as relational, and sees them as a critical part of "a relationship-based model of research". As Māori we name those aspects as whanaungatanga, aroha and manaakitanga (essential components in the interactions with others) whether it is in the gathering of participants, the setting up of interviews or the interviews themselves as described in the paragraphs above.

Manaakitanga, defined as "nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being careful about how others are treated" is a vital component of tikanga (Mead, 2003, p. 29). It is an essential element for developing and maintaining relationships within kaupapa Māori research and in ensuring the participants are comfortable and cared for.

Knowing that Ruki was a university student, I took some bags of food as 'koha' when I interviewed him at his home in Hamilton. Manaakitanga was often reciprocated as the

participants made sure that I was at ease in their space by offering me refreshments and tea or coffee. When I left the home of Chance at the end of the interview, I was given a 'koha', a gift of food in the form of a container filled with freshly made cakes and sweets.

After the interview with Mahanga had been transcribed, I realised that I needed more information from him. It was not feasible for me to travel the four-hour journey to Auckland from Taumarunui for a conversation that could possibly be no longer than 20 minutes. I chose instead to phone Mahanga. I asked for his permission to ask questions over the phone and to record our conversation for the purpose of the research. With his agreement the conversation proceeded and I was able to fill the gaps from the previous interview.

When I asked the key figures from the kura kaupapa Māori movement where they wished the interviews to take place, they all chose their workplaces. I flew to Whakatāne to interview Professor Graham Smith where he holds the position of CEO and Vice-Chancellor at Te Wānanga o Awanuiāraangi. Pro-Vice Chancellor Māori at Waikato University, Professor Linda Smith, asked me to meet her at Waikato University, her workplace. Towards the end of the interview we were joined by her grandson who was in a very talkative mood having arrived from a day at kura and his questions and snippets of conversation were interspersed with the interview conversation. Associate Professor Elizabeth Rata asked to be interviewed in her office at the Faculty of Education in Epsom, Auckland. In order to interview Cathy Dewes, the Principal of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ruamatā, I travelled to Rotorua. Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira met me at her home and the interview was often interrupted by the clatter of breakfast noises and the rise and fall of conversation from family members in the kitchen next door to the room in which the interview took place. There were a couple of times when I was asked by participants to turn off the audio recorder as they were keen to share information with me but insisted that it was confidential and not to be recorded. I duly complied with their requests and respectfully kept those particular stories out of the written document.

### ***Analysing the data***

In analysing the written accounts of the participants' narratives, I read each transcript slowly and carefully, noting at the side of each page main points of interest or points that related clearly to the questions I had asked and also to the themes relevant to the interview questions.

I then created a table in which I wrote in one column the theme that was apparent from the interview response. In another column I pasted the comments from the transcript, and finally in another column I wrote my thoughts or ideas that arose from the response. As I completed the reading and noting at the side of each page, I could see that some themes came up frequently. Goodson (2013) uses the term ‘thematic density’ to refer to the main themes or the recurring themes that came out of the transcripts.

In looking carefully at the transcribed interviews, I looked for commonalities in how the graduates practised ‘living as Māori’. A common theme was the graduates’ recognition that the Māori language and tikanga are fundamental to their well-being. Other prominent themes related to how the Māori language opened the way to opportunities in employment and, through practising Māori values and tikanga, the graduates were able to survive tensions in the workplace when their ‘living as Māori’ clashed with dominant Western values. A discussion was then created linking the narratives of the participants and the main research themes. At other times I used the notion of ‘portrayal’ as described by Goodson (2013) in which the “general thematic analyses” are refined and then presented “in the form of a detailed individual portrait of a life narrative” (p. 41). I would paraphrase large segments of text taken from the interview transcript, or link the comments to a historical or other important event relating to a research theme.

### *Transcripts*

When I was looking for someone to transcribe the audio files of the interviews, it was quite difficult to find in one person the fluency in speaking, reading and writing in the Māori language that would enable them to transcribe the information that I had recorded in the interviews. In due course I found two competent transcribers. The first person worked with me for a brief time before moving on to other commitments. The second transcriber worked with me until all of the interviews had been completed. Both agreed to keep the interview material confidential and signed confidentiality agreements.

Maintaining rangatiratanga, a person’s chieftainship, can be seen to be a way of ensuring that participants have a meaningful say in the research and to uphold a courteous and respectful relationship. An example of this is in giving the participants the chance to make decisions about the transcripts that have put on paper the words and stories they’ve relayed to me in interviews. In reading the transcripts the participants can edit and make necessary changes making certain that the transcripts accurately record their stories. An example of sharing the

research process with the participants occurred part-way through the study when I wrote an article about some of the findings. The information for the article (Tocker, 2012) was sent to the graduates in transcript form. I wanted to be sure that the article represented the thoughts, feelings and expressions related to me by the participants. Of the eight transcripts sent out, one was returned to me with feedback that contributed to a small change in my writing of the article.

The notion of working together and negotiating the meaning of the participants' experiences is aptly demonstrated in the image of the spiral as suggested by Bishop (2005) in his discussion about representation within research. Tracing the form of the spiral, known by Māori as the koru or fern, leads back to its beginning. This metaphor can represent the returning of the research dialogue and control to its origins: the participant. Rangatiratanga is about respecting the knowledge and experiences that the participants bring to the research. It is also about the researcher being accountable to the participants who have shared stories of their lives. Māori ways of being are guided by the notions of reciprocity and collectivity which form the foundations of the research relationship. Tāne-nui-a-Rangi gathered sacred knowledge for the benefit of all people. In a similar way I take the responsibility to share the knowledge gained from this research for the wellbeing of kura kaupapa Māori whānau and ultimately for Māori people.

## **Ngā Iwi—Identity**

### ***Whakapapa***

The tikanga of whakapapa (genealogy) provides a platform for the development of the research relationships. Whakapapa is the most important aspect of defining who a person is in the Māori world. It affirms spiritual connections, and links, to the land, the sea, the mountains, the universe, and to other Māori. When uttering the following statements, “Ko Ngāti Hinemihi te hapū. Ko Kauriki te marae. Ko Taupō-nui-a Tia te moana. Ko Tongariro te maunga. Ko Ngāti Tūwharetoa te iwi”, I am illustrating my identity as a Māori by proclaiming Ngāti Hinemihi as my subtribe, Kauriki as my marae, Taupō-nui-a Tia as my identifying lake, Tongariro as the mountain, and Ngāti Tūwharetoa as my tribe. While the statements of whakapapa can provide assurance of my place in the Māori world they also embody whanaungatanga—a form of tikanga which focuses on relationships and identity (Mead, 2003).

One of the roles of whanaungatanga is to determine correct behaviour when relating to people in terms of their age, gender and their standing in the community. An example is in the use of the word ‘whaea’ used to denote respect for an older woman. The graduates used the term when addressing me, and I used it when addressing Kāterina Mataira, a woman not only older than me but also a person renowned for her Māori language and cultural knowledge. Kāterina Mataira also held the esteemed position of ‘kuia’ or elderly woman. ‘Kuia’ and the male counterpart, ‘koroua’, are advisors on matters of tikanga. Elders or ‘kaumātua’ are respected as the “consultants of wisdom, the surveyors of the past and the architects of the future” (Nepe, 1991, p. 26). It was an honour, not only to be given time to communicate with Kāterina Mataira about the history of kura kaupapa Māori but also to participate in the sharing of her personal history and its links to kura kaupapa Māori.

While whanaungatanga and whakapapa are about relationships that are produced directly from blood ties, they also include relationships where there may not be any familial links. My whanaungatanga ties to kura kaupapa Māori stem from 1989 when my daughter first attended Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau as a new entrant. The connection was strengthened when I returned to that kura as a teacher in 1997. I remained there for three years before leaving to complete a Masters of Education degree. In my final year at the kura, I was part of the move to a new site and freshly built classrooms at Ōwairaka. The present name Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Maungarongo signifies the transition from the original site at the base of the well-known Maungawhau (Mt. Eden) to the current position of the kura at the base of another renowned maunga, Ōwairaka (Mt. Albert). Due to my roles as parent and teacher I can be viewed as part of the whānau of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Maungarongo. The ties that have been created are a part of the concept of whanaungatanga, in turn, an integral part of whakapapa.

### *Whānau—family group, extended family*

The kura kaupapa Māori whānau are enveloped by Māori values and it is through working together that teachers and whānau members develop the strength and unity of the whānau unit. It was through the persistence and struggle of whānau from Hoani Waititi Marae, and the Natari and Awhireinga kōhanga reo that the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland came about. The whānau is crucial to the makeup of kura. The whānau provides the life blood and sits at the very core of kura kaupapa Māori.

Traditionally the word ‘whānau’ was applied to those who could claim descent from a common ancestor and were therefore linked by blood ties and genealogy. While the traditional concept of whānau is still practised, urbanization has resulted in a change to the definition of the term whānau as Māori have adapted to the changing world. A more contemporary model of whānau has evolved in which a number of people come together for a special purpose or with a common interest such as sport, cultural activities or education (Cunningham, Stephenson, & Tapsell, 2005; Durie, 2003). While these groups do not necessarily have a shared heritage as their point of interest, they carry and adhere to the values and obligations that are modeled by whakapapa-based groups. As a modern example of whānau, those involved in kura kaupapa Māori have grouped around the arena of their children’s Māori and educational well-being.

The sense of connection invigorated through the concepts of whānau, whakapapa and whanaungatanga facilitated my approaches to the kura kaupapa Māori whānau and enabled my access to prospective participants.

### *Participants*

In the initial stage of my research, I contacted a couple of the participants from an earlier study I undertook for a Masters degree. Both had grown up speaking Māori, had been schooled in kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and whare kura, and seemed to have the qualities required for my doctoral study. That is, they would have useful, experience-based views of the idea ‘living as Māori’. Although ten years had passed it was interesting to find that they were both keen to participate in the doctoral research. They also volunteered contact details for other prospective participants. The resultant whānau networking generated a number of graduates from three of the first kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland who were willing to be involved in my study. The majority of graduates I contacted were quite vociferous in their approval for the project which they viewed as a positive and much-needed story to be told about their lives. They viewed their participation in my doctoral research as a means to demonstrate the aspects of rangatiratanga—the leadership qualities and special values that they encountered in their schooling.

Whānau networking is identified in the research world as ‘snowball sampling’ in which “likely informants are identified and relied upon to generate contacts with other people who share the activity the researcher is interested in exploring” (Davidson & Tolich, 2003, p.35). I believe the willingness of the prospective participants to speak with me came about because

of the connections we had developed through my earlier Masters thesis, our shared participation with the world of kura kaupapa Māori, and the belief that the research would tell a positive story of kura life.

In their primary school years, four of the participants were foundation pupils at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi (established 1985), five at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau (established 1987) and two at another kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland that will be unnamed to protect the anonymity of these particular graduates. The 12th participant attended a mainstream English language primary school and then became a student at Te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi. Established in 1994, Wharekura was the first secondary school prototype of Māori immersion learning. Alongside the previous participant, 10 of the participants attended Wharekura for their secondary schooling. One of the participants moved from a kura kaupapa Māori primary environment to mainstream schools for the intermediate and secondary levels of education. When it was time to begin their secondary schooling education, three of the participants spent a brief time at mainstream high schools because wharekura had not yet been set up in their area. In 2011, the year of the interviews, the graduates range in age from 25 to 33. Seven of these adults now have their own children. Six have children who are attending kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori and one of the group of parents has chosen to send his children to an English language mainstream school (see Chapter Eight).

Whānau networking also paved the way in my approaches to the originators of the kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland: Graham Smith, Linda Smith, Elizabeth Rata, Pita Sharples Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira, and Kathy Dewes, who agreed to share their stories about the roles they played in developing and establishing kura kaupapa Māori. While there were other outstanding people involved in the early days of the kura kaupapa movement, the impact of personal circumstances such as two significant family bereavements and my return to Taumarunui to care for my ailing father during the data-gathering period of this research, limited the inclusion to the people mentioned above. As kura whānau members, and as academics and teachers, these particular participants had a clear understanding of the purpose of the research. I hope that a research partnership was created in which both the participants and I have worked together tell a rich and significant story about the kura.

As noted above, it is whanaungatanga and my place within the kura community that has made this research possible. Yet, traditional mainstream positivist theory promulgates the notion

that researchers must be unbiased and objective in seeking ‘the truth’. It is assumed that the researcher “is an outsider, able to observe without being implicated in the scene” (L. Smith, 2012, p. 138). Thus the personal voice is often seen as antithetical to sound research. This view is no longer as dominant in social science research, and in some areas of educational research it is accepted that the social identity of the writer is a central aspect of their work. As Alison Jones put it in 1997, the ‘I’ is pivotal to writing and research. When she wrote the content of her thesis into book form, Jones was open about her background, her class and ethnicity, asserting that as her social identity shaped what was possible in her research, it was important that she made that clear to her readers, thereby providing more authority to her work (Jones, 1997, p. 26). It is now accepted that the way researchers can make sense of the world is necessarily shaped by their own experiences, languages, cultures and history.

Indeed, in treading the path of research within kura kaupapa Māori, whānau knowledge about me played an essential part in gaining the trust and agreement that enabled contact with participants and the ensuing interviews. I agree with Rubin and Rubin (2012, p. 79) that “trust increases as people see that you share a common background”. If the kura whānau did not have some prior knowledge of my placing within the kura kaupapa Māori world, I would not have gained access to them or their thoughts and knowledge. The kura whānau are keenly aware of past research that has served to denigrate Māori while reinforcing the dominant and mainstream ways of thinking and behaving. Thus they are suspicious and concerned when they come across researchers who are unknown in the Māori world but want to conduct research on the kura whānau. So it has been through following tikanga (specifically whanaungatanga) and my links to the kura whānau that I have been able to gain participants and to develop research relationships.

### ***Insider***

As already suggested, I cannot claim to be a neutral agent in the research relationship. The expressions of whakapapa and whanaungatanga clearly place me in the position of the ‘insider’, as described by academic Linda Smith in her discussion about indigenous research methods (L. Smith, 2012). The insider position negates any claims of neutrality or objectivity on my part. My previous knowledge and history within kura kaupapa Māori is a part of me and I take it with me into the research. I cannot escape an element of bias. In acknowledging the part I play in the research relationship, I recognise that my own assumptions, my own

position in life and cultural and historical influences, all affect the way that I conduct the research and relate to the participants.

As a Māori researcher, I acknowledge and affirm my own realities as central to the research process. I acknowledge the insider status has been beneficial, even necessary to the research relationship. There has been a common understanding between the participants and me, the researcher, about the normality of te reo Māori, tikanga and kura kaupapa Māori reality. As a Māori, I understand the importance of the concepts ‘aroha’ and ‘manaakitanga’ in bringing the researcher and participants together in a research relationship. ‘Aroha’ can be seen as the ‘cement’ of relationships, it has a spiritual and emotional aspect that helps bond people socially (Jenkins, 2000). Manaakitanga, which is closely aligned with ‘aroha’, also determines a relationship between people. It is to do with care, protection and nurturing. I concur with Tillman’s (2002) argument for the necessity of the empathetic researcher—in her case, with the African-American community. According to Tillman it is vital that the researcher has the cultural knowledge to interpret and validate the experiences of the research participants. My personal involvement allows an insight and an understanding into the lives of the people who are imparting aspects of their lives to me for this research.

## **Te Reo—Communication**

### ***Within my research***

Te reo Māori, the Māori language, has been a crucial element in the battle for a Māori form of schooling. The graduates in this study grew up with the language. For some it was the language spoken at home, for others it was the language of communication in their kura.

Consequently, the Māori language was at the forefront of my interactions with all people who participated in my study. There were times when the Māori language was the most effective way in which to communicate and explain certain cultural aspects. As Mead (1996, p. 214) explains, te reo Māori provides “rich forms of expression which make sense in Māori because they connect with histories, and values and other images”. The language also carries certain social understandings that helped determine and acknowledge the relationship between me, the researcher and the different participants. The Māori language is the medium through which concepts of Māori knowledge can be accessed and understood (Nepe, 1991), and through which shared identities are expressed. As a fluent speaker of the language, I not only have insight into the Māori world, but the use of the Māori language resulted in an ease of

understanding between me and the participants about Māori concepts and ideas. The language shaped our thinking (Kovach, 2005).

While some interviews were conducted entirely in Māori, others consisted of a mixture of both languages, English and Māori. This aspect is in keeping with the following statement from Te Aho Matua that indicates respect for all languages: “He tapu ngā reo katoa. Nō reira, me whai koha te hunga o ngā kura kaupapa Māori ki ngā reo katoa” (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 736). Knowing that they could switch between the Māori and English languages when it suited them, the participants felt more at ease, which further enhanced our research relationship.

### *Communicating the research*

My recent experiences in Taumarunui (related in Chapter One), prompt me to think about how to communicate with my whanaunga in my home town and to other Māori communities around the country about the topic of my research: how the kura kaupapa Māori graduates are living their lives today and how they are contributing positively to society. I would like to show that the active roles of these young Māori language speaking adults in Māori communities and in New Zealand society are a result of learning in a Māori immersion environment—whether in the kura, or as the language of the home.

In attempting to reach my chosen audience, the majority of whom read and write in the English language, I have chosen to write the thesis in the English language. But the decision to write in English rather than Māori places me in a conundrum because my thesis is about the benefits of speaking Māori and living as Māori in the world today. Writing the thesis in Māori would most certainly give credence to the language but it would also make the work inaccessible to the people for whom the thesis is intended.

Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986) espouses the view that the use of the language of the oppressors validates and honours the dominant group. In contrast to Ngugi waThiong’o’s argument, I prefer to take on board Freire and Macedo’s (1987) idea that the tool of the oppressor can be implemented for the good of the people. For Māori in New Zealand, the English language is viewed as the language of the coloniser, but as L. Smith (2012) points out, it is also the language that is widely used by Māori ourselves as the colonised people. It therefore makes sense to use the language that is best known to the people in order to relay the message of this thesis, and to represent the world as the participants know it. Through the use of the ‘global’

language of English, the study is also made accessible to indigenous peoples internationally. This decision does not preclude me from writing aspects of this research in Māori for future publication or presentation.

In writing this thesis, I am also mindful of the need to write for a variety of prospective readers. As well as my whanaunga, the kura kaupapa Māori whānau and the wider world, the document must fit the University requirements in order to pass the doctoral standards. Grande (2008) explains my dilemma well when she discusses the issues facing Native researchers in the universities who want to tell the stories of their own people but are also expected to adhere to the directives of the academy. She wonders, is the indigenous researcher creating an opportunity to reclaim an intellectual space within the research world or simply being “seduced into the colonial abyss with promises of empowerment” (p. 234).

In writing a text that is dense with lofty academic terms, I may cut out the very people that I am trying to support and communicate with and be acting disrespectfully towards them. In taking their stories and re-interpreting them in an academic manner, I could effectively cut the participants from further participation: power is then on my terms and in my interest only. In reading Haig-Brown and Archibald (1996) I am reminded that research relationships are fraught with issues around equity and power. Fuelled with a desire to present an authentic representation of the narratives shared with me by the participants I am acting with understanding and respect.

Therefore, it is important to remind myself that, although I must adhere to the requirements of academia, I should also make the writing readable for those unaccustomed to academic writing and remain true to the participants and the aspects of their lives they have shared with me. Thus in my desire to share the knowledge gained from my research and to relate the stories of the participants I am “both enabled and constrained” (Chase, 2005, p. 657) by the academic world I inhabit (and from which I seek recognition through a doctoral degree) as well as the Māori world that nourishes me spiritually.

## **Ngā Tino Uaratanga—Main Purpose**

### ***My responsibilities***

There are significant responsibilities associated with being an ‘insider’. As there are a multitude of duties to relations and whānau to whom one is related through descent from a common ancestor, so too, are there responsibilities for me in setting out on this doctoral

journey with people from whānau who have come together around kura kaupapa Māori. I am very mindful of the familial–kura relationships I maintain with the graduates as well as the obligations to their families, and to the kura whānau in Auckland who nourished the spiritual, emotional and mental development of my daughter as well as my growth as a fledgling teacher. My responsibilities are first and foremost to the kura kaupapa Māori whānau. All of these responsibilities are governed by tikanga Māori which are incorporated into Te Aho Matua.

Within this ‘collective’ of relationships is an inherent understanding of the concept of reciprocity and of being accountable to others, not only to the communities referred to above, but also to my own blood kin and to Māori as a wider group. As Jahnke and Taiapa (2003, p. 47) explains, the notions of collective accountability and collective benefits “are grounded in Māori attitudes to knowledge, in the accessibility of knowledge and in the sanctioning, preserving and protection of knowledge for the well-being of the whānau and iwi as a whole”. When discussing respectful research and its relationship with her First Nations people, Jo-ann Archibald describes how the Stó:lō tradition of sharing with others impacts upon the outcomes of her research (Haig-Brown & Archibald, 1996). Archibald describes the cultural responsibility that impels her to share the knowledge gained from research with the First Nation community and to disseminate the “power of that knowledge” (p. 251) for the betterment of her people.

In a similar manner, I write this thesis to enable people who are not in the world of academia to have access to the knowledge and findings from the research. I acknowledge that writing this thesis is a way to further my own academic career. But it is also about providing research and information that alert Māori to the qualities of kura kaupapa Māori and especially to the benefits of learning te reo Māori.

In describing the responsibilities and obligations that tie me to the kura kaupapa Māori whānau and my own tribal whānau to whom I am accountable, I see similarities to the work of other indigenous researchers such as Kahakalau (2004), Battiste (2008) and Meyer (2008) who also aspire to produce work that will benefit their communities in the struggles to maintain their native perspectives. The notion of communicating the research findings to the Māori community is in accord with the words of the Hawaiian researcher, Kahakalau (2004, p. 19) who states “research by indigenous researchers must be first and foremost accountable to our indigenous communities.” As indigenous researchers we have a responsibility to share

our knowledge with other indigenous people but in a way that is accessible and readable. L. Smith, whose notable book *Decolonising Methodologies* has inspired many indigenous researches, concurs with her clarification of one of the purposes of research: “For indigenous researchers it is about demystifying knowledge and information and speaking in plain terms to the community” (L. Smith, 2012, p. 162).

Indigenous groups seem to share the notion of ‘giving back’, of reciprocity, of being part of a collective where all aspects of life are relational. For some indigenous peoples, the basis of knowledge is defined as “connection: everyone and everything in the world is connected” (Strega, 2005, p. 201). Māori also see knowledge as an aspect that is interwoven through the genealogical links that connect all living things but our main connection is that our place of origin springs from an omnipotent being. Knowledge is viewed as a sacred entity, for it was sourced by Tāne nui ā Rangi from a sacred sphere. In order to continue this collectivity and relationality, the knowledge and outcomes of this research should be shared. When I use the word ‘share’, I mean to make known the outcomes of the research—a study that has been conducted with the aim of achieving a beneficial gain for the people. This is summed up succinctly in Meyer’s (2008, p. 221) statement: “Make your work useful by your meaning and truth.”

In seeking to make my research accessible, I hope to achieve some change in the value that Māori place on learning the Māori language. The thesis is also important in demonstrating the positive realities of the graduates in this study who choose to ‘live as Māori in the world today’ while also contributing to New Zealand society and the wider world. Thus the goal is to make an impact on an educational and social level and for the research to be transformative.

The narratives related to me by the graduates have enabled an analysis of how they have chosen to live as Māori and to fulfill the dreams and aspirations that G.Smith, L.Smith, Nepe, Rata, Dewes, Mataira and others envisaged for kura kaupapa Māori.

### **He Whakakapinga—Conclusion**

The principles of Te Aho Matua have influenced my methods and Kaupapa Māori methodology. As part of the kura kaupapa Māori I have had to critically reflect on my position as a researcher. This has led me to think carefully about appropriate methods to

interpret the experiences related to me by the kura kaupapa Māori graduates, key members of the kura movement as well as some of my own family members.

In employing Te Aho Matua and Kaupapa Māori I am asserting that a Māori-centred approach is conducted. Like indigenous researchers around the world I am constantly reminded of responsibilities to all people involved in this research. The main objective of this research is to tell the positive stories of the kura kaupapa Māori whānau and to ensure the continuation of the Māori language, value, traditions and culture.

## Chapter Three: Living as Māori—The impact of schooling across three generations

### Hinemihi Kauriki

Tongariro te maunga

Pihanga te wahine

Eke mai ki Kauriki e

Hinemihi te hapū

Te Ohaaki te whare nui

Ngā tūpuna o tātou e

Ngātoroirangi te tangata

Kōhatu whakamaharatanga

Ngā waka eke tupuna

Ngāpuke te rohe

Puketapu te whenua

Ānei tātou ngā uri e.

(A waiata composed by my mother, Rihitapu wae Rauhihi, explaining the ancestral links of our hapū, Ngāti Hinemihi, a subtribe of Ngāti Tūwharetoa.)

I have always enjoyed hearing narratives from my mother about how she grew up. In this chapter I have placed excerpts of her stories that describe the learning she acquired from her Māori community in the Manawatu, and her formal schooling experiences. In my Master's thesis (Tocker, 2002) I discussed these comments in relation to Māori aspirations for education. In this study they illustrate the compromises and tensions my mother faced as she struggled to 'live as Māori' in a world that sought to instill Western mores and values.

## **He kōrero whakataki: Setting the scene**

*She had been so excited—the first time away from home, on a train, and such a long journey, from Shannon all the way to Napier—just her and her Mum.*

*Now she watched in horror, panic seizing and twisting her stomach, as her mother's figure trudged down the pathway becoming smaller and smaller, until she was gone.*

*It was then she heard the swish of the brown tunic, the light clicks of the rosary beads. The nun moved towards her and said, 'This is your home now'.*

### **(1) My Mother's Story (1930-2007)**

My mother was nine when she began her Catholic education at St. Joseph's Boarding School in Napier. A cold bewildering world filled with unreasonable rules and strange beliefs, it seemed to be the antithesis of the warm communal life she now pined for.

From birth my mother had lived amongst her people of Ngāti Whakātere in the Manawatu. She experienced overwhelming happiness as she basked in the love and attention from the many aunts, uncles, grandparents and cousins in her extended family. With only one other sibling and an age gap of six years, my mother enjoyed the attention she received as the 'baby' of the family.

Māori was the main language spoken, especially by most of the older generation while the English vernacular was more prevalent and fashionable among the younger people (my mother and her cousins). In the communal environment, learning about tikanga Māori and Māori ways of being just happened, it wasn't a conscious activity, but was simply a part of everyday life. Observing her aunts and kuia performing activities was part of my mother's learning. The practical 'doing' of the activity soon reinforced the lesson. Mum recalled treks with her mother or other women "*te haere ki te hutihuti pikopiko*", to pick fern shoots for food, to gather 'pūhā' (sow thistle) and watercress.

Gathering seafood was usually an enjoyable learning experience according to my mother. On one of these excursions, she was told that she must learn how to dive for koura (crayfish). My mother was not happy with the news for she feared the ugly, menacing koura and the dark, mysterious deep waters of the sea.

Surprised to see one of her kuia (older woman/grandmother) suddenly throw off her clothes and plunge naked into the sea, mum's fear was forgotten. Now she waited with anticipation.

Before long, her kuia sprung up out of the water clutching at arm's length a struggling koura. Although excited by the adventure, it took a good deal of encouragement from her patient mentors before Mum eventually overcame her fear and became proficient at diving and grabbing the delicious kai moana.

Family and tribal gatherings, hui, tangihanga, weddings and other important whānau events often took place at the marae. My mother and others learnt by observing and by taking part in the daily rituals, language and values that took place there. My mother lived as Māori—it was normal to be Māori.

Schooling undoubtedly had a profound effect on my mother's life and her being Māori. Until she was nine years of age she had attended the local primary school. English was the language of the school and my mother related that her language, Māori, was only allowed outside the school gate. I wonder if she experienced the feelings of frustration that Te Kui (1998, p. 86) described when talking of her early school experiences, "If only my teachers would speak to me in Māori! Of course I would have engaged and responded readily and my whole being would have come alive—unlike the way I sat vacant-eyed in class with English the only means of communication". My mother related that being forbidden to speak Māori at school did not seem terribly significant at that time because she still had the language thriving within her whānau and community.

My mother was quite a boisterous child, "*I was told I was a tomboy. They wanted to change me into something lady-like.*" Consequently, the start of her Catholic education at St Joseph's Boarding School was marked by a focussed curtailment of her adventurous behaviour. Activities like tree climbing for fruit, that had been a normal part of my mother's life, were now seen as unacceptable and unfeminine.

A 'respectful defiance' was the stance my mother took in order to cope with the feelings of abandonment and loneliness. Her anger towards her own mother strengthened a resolve to never return home during school holidays. It wasn't until she was about 14 years of age that she began to understand her mother's reasons for the wrench from her familiar environment, and it was then she began visiting her whānau again.

Boarding school education for Māori girls at that time was about teaching them to behave in a civilised and white manner, an attempt to assimilate them into the wider Pākehā society. My mother related: "*We were taught how to behave and how to present ourselves in public. We*

*learnt how to eat properly, how to hold a knife and fork, that you have a fork for desserts and sweets, a butter knife for the butter, and serviettes.”* My mother told me that she learnt the three R’s: Reading, wRiting and aRithmetic, some Biology as well as the following subjects: Hygiene; Home Economics; Embroidery; Knitting; Crotcheting; Dress making and Design; How to make Soap and Starch Clothes; and Laundry Washing. In acquiring these housekeeping skills, the young girls were being prepared for adulthood through vocational and domestic training, an outcome of the 1930s Native Schools’ curriculum (Simon & Smith, 2001).

While seeking “to provide a good general education rooted in Christian principles” (Van der Linden, 1990, p. 25), the nuns of St Joseph’s were well-liked by my mother and others. Fellow student Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira relates that the nuns were supportive of the Māori language and certain aspects of the Māori culture “*Kaha ngā none ki te manaaki ngā tūāhua e tae ai e rātou, te taha Māori o ngā kōtiro, te kapa haka*” (Mataira, 2010).

Kāterina was a student at St. Joseph’s Boarding School in the years that my mother attended the school. When I interviewed Kāterina about the origins of kura kaupapa Māori (see Chapters Four and Five) I found that some of her comments supported my mother’s views about schooling and aligned well with the content of this chapter. Thus I have included her statements where applicable.

My mother noted with affection a particular nun who was popular for her kind and understanding nature as well as her positive attitude to Māori. Fellow student Kāterina Mataira, concurs with her statement, “*Nāna i whakaako i te reo Māori, te whakatakoto i ngā ture, kāore ia i te mōhio ki te kōrero*”: the nun taught the young girls Māori language grammar even though she could not speak herself (Mataira, 2010). The girls did not speak a lot of Māori amongst themselves at boarding school, choosing instead to speak English. Some of the students developed a supportive study group and they helped each other with the English curriculum. My mother remembered an enjoyment of Shakespeare and Charles Dickens as the result of these workshops. Over time my mother came to enjoy living and studying at St Joseph’s Boarding School. She described her years there as sound preparation for her future life in the world.

My mother had been brought up ‘living as Māori’. The Māori language and knowledge she carried was put aside while at school where English literacy and knowledge were the main curriculum. Throughout her education my mother managed to keep her Māori side intact

through adaption and compromise. The English language education she received at the Catholic Boarding School was an addition to her Māori worldview: she became richer with her depth of knowledge. My mother left school with School Certificate, and an excellent proficiency in the reading and writing of both English and Māori. She was also an eloquent speaker, a skill she learnt from the school: “*we learnt how to run meetings and how to debate, also oratory skills in Māori and Pākehā. All these things have helped in my life since*”.

The learning my mother received when growing up Māori in the Manawatu coupled with the Catholic English language schooling enabled her to actively participate in the world. In 1949, she took on a position in a Te Kaha School as a Junior Assistant. Showing great potential as a teacher, my mother was encouraged to apply to the Wellington Teachers College as part of the Māori Teachers Quota.<sup>4</sup> It was at the Teachers College that she met my father. As a proud and strong Māori woman, able to walk confidently between the two worlds, Māori and Pākehā, my mother exemplified the well-known proverb of the famous Māori leader and parliamentarian, Sir Apirana Ngāta:

*E tipu e rea mō ngā rā o tōu ao.*

*Ko tō ringā ki ngā rākau o te Pākehā hei ora mō tō tinana.*

*Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taongā a ō tipuna Māori hei tikitiki mō to māhunga.*

*Ā, ko tō wairua ki te Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.*

*Grow up and branch forth for the days of your world.*

*Your hand to the tools of the Pākehā for the welfare of your body.*

*Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as adornments for your head*

*Your spirit with God, who made all things.*

(Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 48)

## **(2) My Story**

I am the eldest child of eight children, seven girls and one boy. My mother Rihitapu wae Rauhihi, hails from the tribes of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato. From my father Norman Tocker, I have inherited a Celtic and a Jewish ancestry.

My upbringing was very different from that of my mother. I was not brought up ‘living as Māori’ within my own iwi of Ngāti Raukawa as she had been. Instead I was born in

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<sup>4</sup> The Māori teachers Quota was introduced in 1939 to encourage Māori into the teaching profession (Simon & Smith, 2001, pp. 80-81).

Whakatāne, among the people of Ngāti Awa, where my father was teaching at the Te Teko Māori School.

My parents had met a year beforehand on the first morning of the Wellington Teachers' College year. My mother was a first-year student and my father was in his second and final year. It was a delight to hear my father, at 83 years of age describe with feeling the strong attraction he felt for my mother the moment he saw her on that fateful day in 1950. A friendship soon developed and grew into a marriage that lasted for 57 years until my mother's death in 2007.

Unfortunately, marriage put an end to my mother's training at the Wellington Teachers' College. At that time, women were expected to totally commit to motherhood once wed, so my mother's desire to be a teacher was put aside. As a young 19-year-old happily in love, my mother was keen to devote herself to her husband and children. It was later in life that she became unhappy and resentful of the earlier decision to end her burgeoning career as a teacher.

Married life for my mother must have seemed exciting yet daunting in the early days. Not only was she newly married but she found herself placed among Māori who were very different tribally from her own people. But any anxiety or shyness she felt was quickly dispelled as she and my father were overwhelmed with the manaakitanga, the kindness they received from the local people of Ngāti Awa in Te Teko a small town in the North Island's Bay of Plenty.

As part of a traditional Māori upbringing, my mother, in her own area, would have received help from her own mother, her aunts, kuia/elderly women and older cousins in the care of a newborn baby. While in Te Teko, as young parents, my mother and father were most fortunate to be given support and advice about caring for me, their firstborn. My mother recalled the kuia showing her how to 'romiromi' (type of massage) my limbs. Food such as fish, potatoes, kūmara and watermelon was often dropped off unexpectedly and the local people treated Mum and Dad as their own.

While teaching at the Te Kaha Māori School, my father encouraged my mother to help with cultural work, action songs and poi. The cultural activities, in the aftermath of Ngata's cultural renaissance, were seen to enhance the academic learning for children in Māori Schools (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). According to my parents, the pupils at the School

spoke Māori for much of the time and Mum enjoyed speaking her precious reo, not only with the children, but with their parents and elders. My father used some Māori language as directives during class time but English was the main focus of the learning.

For the first five years of my life our family moved around the country as Dad was posted to teaching positions in different Māori communities. From Te Teko we went to the Maungatapu Māori School in Tauranga, to Tānoa Māori school in the Kaipara, then to Te Rena across the Whakapapa rivers near Kākahi, and finally to the Tokaanu Māori District High School. It was while living at Te Rena that the isolation hit my mother. While my father revelled in the peace and quiet of the bush, my mother, a sociable and gregarious person, missed her whānau and their liveliness, and she became very lonely. There was no power or phone and no transport. Visits to town meant a long walk along bush tracks, the crossing of two swing bridges then travel by either taxi or train. Horse riding was the only other option. One day, in a state of frustration, my mother with no explanation, suddenly threw a blanket on the horse and took off. She left my brother and me with my confused and concerned father. When she returned a few days later she had become a member of the Kākahi hockey committee and the local Māori Women's Welfare League. She had enjoyed the company of other Māori and the appointments she took on gave her a sense of purpose in the Māori world and, for a time, her loneliness was appeased.

In 1956, my father's career, and our lives took a different turn as my father became the Māori Welfare Officer for the Taumarunui district. We moved to a house in Ngāpuke, 20 minutes outside of the township of Taumarunui. Here we had electricity for the first time and we lived among our own hapū, Ngāti Hinemihi (a subtribe of Ngāti Tūwharetoa). Here my mother found she had to learn about the ways of these new relations whom she had only recently met. But delving into the mores of Ngāti Tūwharetoa did not occur for my mother until we children were older. In the meantime she was a busy mother of four children, coping alone as our Dad was often away on work matters.

Attending hui, land court meetings and tangi (funerals) were important activities for my Dad in his role as Māori Welfare Officer and sometimes we children accompanied him and Mum on their journeys. A number of memories spring to mind: one of the family packed into the tiny Austin A40 truck, provided by Māori Affairs for the many work-related travels; bumpy rides along narrow, windy, gravel roads, the sudden dart to the side as logging trucks hurtled towards us and then roared past leaving us shaken and shrouded in a cloud of cough-inducing

dust; and another of us children sleeping in a tent next to the whare nui while Mum and Dad attended hui.

One gathering that is prominent in my childhood memories is the tangi or funeral for my maternal grandmother, Kuia Hinekeku Rauhihi. The tangi for me is associated with the feeling of exhilaration as we children played games into the soft dusk with new-found cousins; warm nights in the whare nui dozing to the soothing hum of voices; sleep punctuated with the piercing and eerie wail of relatives' crying and expressing loss in their unique Māori way; seeing my kui in her coffin—my first sight of a tūpāpaku (dead body)—and the shocking touch of her cold, unresponsive skin.

A tangi, like most Māori ceremonies, involves tikanga Māori, described by Mead (2003, p. 5) “as a means of social control”. Tikanga determines how Māori behave on large-scale, community level or on an individual basis. As children, my siblings and I learnt the more individual type of tikanga or traditional ways of behaving, by observation and a few lashings of the English word, ‘Don’t!’ We learnt in a similar fashion to Webber (2008, p. 11) who describes being taught: “Don’t sit on tables, don’t cut your hair or nails after dark, and don’t step over people’s legs”. Reasons were not often given for a particular activity. It was simply done that way. As the eldest in the family, I was expected to help my mother with the huge workload that came with having a large family. Washing clothes was one of those chores. Although I must have been shown at some time, it feels like I’ve always known that tea towels, tablecloths and linen associated with food must be washed separately from clothing that goes on the body. There was no lecture or long explanation just the understanding that it was ‘paruparu’ or dirty to put the two types of clothing together.

I remember the ominous feeling, the dread that something terrible had or was about to happen, whenever I heard my mother chanting and droning her karakia/incantations as she moved trance-like around the house, splashing water over our heads and around the rooms. My mother would utter the special chants she had learned from her old people and ‘did the water’ as we called it, to protect us from danger and evil ‘kēhua’ or spirits.

Sometimes I would go with my mother as she picked pūhā and watercress. Watching and eventually picking the vegetable was part of the learning process. The next stage involved washing and scrubbing the sourness out of the prickly pūhā. At a later stage in life I was taught to add the greens to a boil-up and how to cook the delicious fry-bread that went with it. However, this kind of ‘Māori kai’ was not a regular meal for us as we were more likely to

have a traditional ‘kiwi’ meal of meat and two veggies. Traditional Māori food and kaimoana or seafood was a special treat for my mother. She loved kina/sea urchins, pūpū/sea snails, tuna and pikopiko/young fern shoots marinated with mussels. We weren’t allowed near these foods—they were for her consumption only. We were pretty ignorant anyway, often moaning about the strange smells and sights of these new and different types of food. So we never developed a taste for Māori kai.

One thing we did together as a family was—sing! My mother and father always sang together and as children, we grew up singing the songs and waiata that our parents liked. Waiata from Ngāti Pōneke, from Tuini Ngāwai, Second World War songs, popular songs, and musicals from the 1940s and 50s were all part of our extensive repertoire. Family gatherings for me were made more special by our beautiful harmonious singing. Each of us would try to find a separate harmony, which would then meld into one sweet-sounding song.

Melodic singing was the part I most enjoyed at the Catholic Māori mass I sometimes attended with my mother. Held monthly at a local marae, the mass was conducted in the Māori language: lovely, soft chanting, with much joyful and melodious singing of hymns, again in Māori. These warm, happy gatherings culminating in a feast of food and whānau catch-ups were quite unlike the cold, harsh sessions we were expected to attend without fail on Sunday and Thursday mornings at the church across the road from my primary school, St. Patrick’s Convent. Here the language was Latin. We had to kneel or stand throughout the service and often I would become dizzy, even fainting as a result of fasting for 3 hours beforehand – a requirement before Holy Communion, the receiving of the ‘body of Christ’ in the form of a thin wafer that dissolved on the tongue. Apart from the occasional Māori mass, there was no learning to support my Māori side in the days I attended convent school. While we studied the main curriculum areas of Maths, Reading and Writing, Social Studies, Art, and Physical Education, the focus was on Catholicism and the avoidance of Hell.

I have only one memory of my Māori background having some significance at convent school. I had been called to the front of the class to explain in English the words in a particular part of the Māori bible. But my pride at the teacher’s attention quickly turned to cheek-burning shame as the nun loudly admonished me for my lack of Māori language knowledge, for knowing the meaning of only one word: ‘te’, meaning ‘the’. Obviously, the nun saw me as Māori and with that view, I wonder did she expect me to have an inherent

quality that enabled me to speak and read the language even though there had been no prior acknowledgement of it in class or the school?

I have no memories of being verbally or physically attacked because of my ethnicity. Any conflict that did occur was more to do with school differences. Kids from other primary schools delighted in teasing us if we met on the way home from school. Coming from the only school in town that insisted on uniforms, I was very noticeable as a convent school pupil in my black, pleated tunic covering a white shirt and sky blue tie. The distinctive clothing was instantly recognisable to the primary school travellers in the old school bus, and, as it lumbered past me walking home, they would yell and chant from the windows '*Convent dog sitting on a log, eating the guts out of a frog!*'

The taunts from the primary pupils ceased once I entered Taumarunui High School. Here I was placed in the top academic class 3A1, as a result of streaming tests in my Form Two year at primary. Academic students at secondary school studied the basic subjects of English, Mathematics, Geography, Physical Education and Science, to which I added French and Latin. Māori language and culture were not taught in my years of secondary schooling at Taumarunui High.

My class rarely interacted with the General Stream students where it seemed most Māori students were placed. I remember, when hearing a racist remark about the Māori students, reminding my classmate that I, too, am Māori. Genuinely surprised, my friend responded with the comment "*Yeah, but you're different!*" I guess my classmates recognised me as one of them. In a way it's not surprising, given that I was the only Māori in the academic class until my 5<sup>th</sup> form year, all of my friends were Pākehā and my family lived in a Pākehā neighbourhood.

In discussing Māori identity, Webber (2008) talks about appropriate behaviour that makes a person Māori. One expectation she mentions is the unwritten rule that real Māori stick with other Māori and steer away from befriending Pākehā. While I didn't feel Pākehā, it seemed that my having Pākehā friends clinched my non-Māoriness. Excelling in sport is another stereotype associated with being Māori. I enjoyed tennis, swimming and netball throughout my secondary school years, captaining the netball team during one of them. Even though I was a reasonably good sports player I still had the feeling that I wasn't quite Māori when it came to sports—not like the softball playing-girls from the General Stream. While I felt intimidated by their toughness, I envied their ability to send the ball hurtling with great speed

to each other. And the ease with which they communicated, I wished that I could be a part of the cheeky banter, the eruptions of raucous laughter. Their camaraderie, their group strength, seemed unattainable. I wanted to identify with the Māori students but like ‘Shirley’, one of the participants in Lee’s 2007 study of Chinese-Māori, placement in an academic class made me an outsider with other Māori at school. A woman in my home town unwittingly re-ignited those feelings of disconnection recently when she mocked me with the words “*My Dad said you were a good girl at school. He said you were a nerd!*”

The sense of separation from other Māori students and being Māori, the feeling Webber (2008) describes of “not belonging” or “in-between-ness” (p. 9), was a constant companion during my secondary education. Mindful of my Catholic upbringing, I liken it to the state of ‘limbo’, a transitional place for those not baptised and thus unable to go to heaven. The sense of dislocation that remained with for me for some years long after I had left the high school was further compounded by my mother’s negativity. I remember once in a fit of anger, she stormed at me “*You kids –you’re so Pākehā! You’re just like your father!*” In my mind she was saying we, her children, were not like her—not Māori!

Unfortunately, my mother had her own demons to contend with. After losing her own mother to a heart attack, she began to slip into depression. She was in her early thirties at the time, had six children: one who spent much time hospitalised with rheumatic chorea and another, an asthmatic. With her mother’s death, my mum felt she had lost her true friend, her main support and link to her Māori world. While my father always tried to be caring and supportive, my mother withdrew as she complained of feeling misunderstood, that she could not fully share her ‘taha Māori’ with him as she so naturally did with her own mother. Resentment at relinquishing her teaching career surfaced. Inevitably some of her feelings of isolation and bitterness were projected on to us, her children.

My mother was not keen to teach us the reo, even though I expressed interest while at high school. She was known as an expert in the art of performing action songs, ‘poi’ and the discipline of the ‘mere’ (a short, flat weapon of stone) which she deftly twirled and thrust in dance. She also became renowned for her talent as a songwriter and her waiata are still sung on our marae today. It has been difficult for me to understand why my mother refused to pass the language and the skills on to us, and chose instead to teach them to others in the community classes she later held. Looking back I can only assume it was to do with the sense

of alienation she felt within our family and the undiagnosed depression she carried for many years.

I must put in a word for my father here: he always felt an affinity for things Māori. Long before he met my mother, Dad had begun to learn to speak Māori at the Gilbey College in Wellington, had been a member of the Ngāti Pōneke Māori Club and was often mistaken for a Māori because of his tanned colouring. During their married life, my father always encouraged my mother to attend hui and to keep her Māoriness strong. The role of Māori Welfare Officer mentioned earlier, enabled Dad to attend many tribal hui and to meet kaumātua and kuia. The elders passed much oral history on to my father and he in turn has shared the knowledge with whānau and community. The responsibilities, the travelling and hui away from the family eventually took its toll and Dad resigned from the Māori Affairs Department. He returned to teaching in 1962 when he took up a position at the Taumarunui High School. Here he was approached by Māori students arguing the unfairness of not being able to learn their own Māori language at school, while being pushed to learn German or French and other foreign languages. So my father began agitating for the teaching of the Māori language and culture. The subject was eventually allowed into Taumarunui High School in the early 1970s, but in the beginning, only during the lunch break. As the teacher, my father spoke with admiration of the tenacious students who attended the classes while others were playing and relaxing in their lunch recess. A few years later, Māori became part of the school curriculum and a School Certificate subject. My father also supported me in my quest for the reo, providing me with the Hoani Waititi (1962, 1964) texts *Te Rangatahi 1* and *Te Rangatahi 2*, fashionable at the time, when my mother was unwilling to teach me.

Perhaps a good deal of the dilemma around my not learning Māori as I grew up, was to do with the education policies of the time whereby parents were encouraged to ensure English language proficiency. With the belief that English led the way to a successful future, my parents (like most others of that time) spoke English to me and my siblings as we grew up. My father has told me *“There was a tendency to feel that you would be better off speaking English”*. The regret my parents felt in later years about not teaching their children Māori is expressed clearly in the following statement my mother made to me in 2001, *“That was a sad time for me, because I went along with the thinking of that time. So I helped you to learn French and Latin. I fell down a bit because I never taught Māori to you children. I neglected the Māori side.”*

At the time of this admission, my mother and I had become close. Aged in her sixties, my mother had become very supportive of my desire to speak Māori. With the realisation that I was the only one of her eight children seeking Māori knowledge and that time was running out, she became very keen to pass on whakapapa and other aspects of Māori learning to me. She was delighted to be able to speak Māori, not only to me, but also to her mokopuna, my daughter Taupunakohe, who had grown up immersed in the Māori language and traditions through her pre-school learning at kōhanga reo and Māori medium primary school education at kura kaupapa Māori and rumaki reo classrooms.

While my daughter's birth in 1985 was a catalyst for me in the seeking of Māori knowledge, it was the years prior to that, when living in Melbourne, Australia, that challenges to my identity awakened the desire to learn the language. As a worker at the city's huge bus company, I was often greeted by Egyptian, Lebanese and other middle-eastern people who would address me in their own language. I guess my Jewish genes caused them to see me as one of them. Even the white Australians couldn't always tell that I was a Māori and sometimes mistook me for an Indian. Having to explain my identity as a Māori woman, caused in me a yearning to return to New Zealand, to be with my family and to learn te reo Māori.

Speaking in Māori opens the mind to many aspects of Māori knowledge and the mores of our ancestors. As Nepe (1991, p. 44) said, "Māori language is the exclusive vehicle that gives expression to kaupapa Māori knowledge." So upon my return to New Zealand in the early 80s, I endeavoured to develop my reo Māori skills through regular attendance at the week-long, total immersion wānanga (place of learning) held at Ngāti Raukawa. It was significant that the very first wānanga I attended was held at Poutu (my own marae sitting within my hapū of Ngāti Whakatere) the place where my mother had grown up. It was here that an uncle introduced me to my whakapapa, demonstrating the connection between me, the marae and people there, thus sowing the seed: the nascence of a sense of belonging.

But as a novice, eager to learn Māori, and to gather the accompanying spiritual and intellectual wealth, I was open to accepting teachings and ideas that were not always real or authentic. Hoskins (2000) explains issues of authenticity as problematic when trying to return to Māori traditional ways. The infusion of colonial ideas into Māori history and knowledge has corrupted the culture, resulting in an uncertainty about the legitimacy of the knowledge that is being sought.

In throwing myself into learning as much as I could about my Māoriness, I became a part of a group, learning about language, kawa and tikanga pertaining to one of my tribal groups. I remember being told off by one of the men in the group for wearing what he called 'Pākehā' jewellery—I should have been wearing pounamu (greenstone) or mako (shark's tooth) earrings. I was also given the impression that one must not be too well-dressed and that I should dress down. To wear bright clothing, to stand out, was being Pākehā. Not only had I encountered a stereotype about being Māori but I was also being subjected to oppressive male behaviour. The group was run by the men in our group as they had the language and knew about tikanga. In her critique of the role of Māori women in the world of Māori today, Hoskins (2000, p. 39) states that Māori men are seen as the repositories of knowledge, "the legitimated keepers, interpreters and promoters of what is considered authentic, traditional knowledge and tikanga and kaupapa Māori." But, she argues, the dominance of Māori men in Māori society is the result of colonialism and a power alliance between Pākehā and Māori men in the maintenance of a patriarchal society. While I accepted the dominant role of men as speakers on the marae ātea, I could never understand the reason for women having to ask the men for permission to speak within the wharenuī/meeting house whenever we were at wānanga. I asked my mother: Where is the place for women to speak? The karanga (which I was assured was significantly the first voice on the marae) seemed part of a formal process and not the place to discuss and argue points of interest. My mother assured me that inside the wharenuī, the meeting house, was the place for women to speak. But, afraid to voice the assurances of my mother, I stayed silent. Any opposition from the women in our tribal group about perceived inequalities was silenced by the fear of being labelled as feminists or Pākehā 'stirrers'.

Māori radical movements were happening on the fringes of my life at that time and Māori were protesting about long-standing grievances. I was an undergraduate student at the University of Auckland learning for the first time about the history of our country. Exposure to the injustices incurred by Māori through colonialism fostered anger in me and a desire to distance myself from my non-Māori heritage—an easy solution to settle the confusing and polarising constructions of 'coloniser' and 'colonised' jostling within my own psyche (Meredith, 1999). I was becoming stronger in my sense of being Māori but I was hesitant to admit that I had within me a Pākehā ancestry. There was still an uncertainty, an imbalance within my developing identity.

When growing up, the sense of dislocation was not helped by being referred to as ‘part-Māori’ (not sure which part of me was the Māori part!) and occasionally as a ‘half caste’. Mostly used in a derogatory sense, the negative term ‘half caste’ has been reclaimed and celebrated by Meredith (1999) as an acknowledgement of his two beings: Māori and Pākehā. In living as a Māori-Pākehā, he describes himself as “*in a space where two cultures edge each other*” (p. 17). In a similar way, Collins (1999) describes the bicultural nature of people of mixed Māori and Pākehā parentage through the analogy of the flowing of two rivers. She has coined the term ‘Ngā tāngata awarua’ to describe Māori-Pākehā who have the ability to slide across the two cultures rather than suffering ‘in-between’ status.

The ‘in-between-ness’, the living within my personal state of ‘limbo’, has now vanished and is replaced instead by a new and liberating habitat. When pondering the following questions posed by Bhabha (1994, p. 351) in his discussion on cultural hybridity—“what do I belong to in this present? In what terms do I identify with the ‘we’ the intersubjective realm of society?”—I realise I have constructed an identity in which my Māori and Pākehā backgrounds combine to form “a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation” (p. 211). It is here that my living as Māori, my being Māori is influenced by my middle-class Pākehā background. The Pākehā side of me is tempered by my Māori conditioning. Instead of edging each other or jumping from one to the other, I see my two cultures merging, mixing and influencing each other.

In an extension of Collins’ analogy of the two rivers representing two cultures, I view the point where two rivers come together as an expression of the meeting point of my two heritages. I see the singular flowing entity (the output from the joining of the rivers) as the construction of an identity that is a combination of my dual cultures. For me, this is symbolised in my home town of Taumarunui, where the two rivers, the Whanganui and the Ongāruē, converge at a place called Ngā Huihuinga to become one strong flowing force, Te Awa o Whanganui. The meeting place of the two rivers was renowned for the coming together of people from Taranaki as well as those from the Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Hāua tribes. These people would gather for social events and the bartering of goods and resources.<sup>5</sup> A place full of childhood memories, a place of comfort and spiritual solace, I see this meeting site, ‘Ngā huihuinga’ much like “a containment of both cultures” (p. 503) as described by Moeke-Maxwell in her 2005 article on Māori women and hybridity. Resembling the Māori-Pākehā women she discusses, I too, have the ability to

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<sup>5</sup> As told to me by Ngārau Tarawa, a Ngāti Tūwharetoa relative living in Taumarunui.

create a third space useful for me, for the good of my whānau and the community at large. Like Lee (2007, p. 16) who states, “I do not choose to be one or the other, I am both”, when referring to her Māori and Chinese heritage, I am also both cultures, Māori and Pākehā. While I can easily move between the two worlds, there are times, depending on the social milieu when one part is more dominant than the other.

I acknowledge and am proud of my Pākehā ancestry but I identify as Māori. It has taken 20 years to soothe the gnawing ache of not fully belonging, of not truly inhabiting my being, my identity. Today, I am proud to declare both my father and my mother’s backgrounds in a mihi or greeting. Within my surname ‘Tocker’ lies a myriad of Scottish, Cornish and Irish connections and my paternal grandmother’s Asher and Jackson lines explain the Jewish background. My first name ‘Kīmai’ places me firmly within the arms of Ngāti Kikopiri, another hapū from my tribe of Ngāti Raukawa. Recently I returned to live for three years in Taumarunui, my ‘wā kāinga’, the place where I grew up. Here, I had access to the marae, tikanga, reo and whakapapa of my hapū Ngāti Hinemihi, a subtribe of Ngāti Tūwharetoa. I had returned to my tūrangawaewae, the place where I stand with pride and dignity and proclaim my belonging through whakapapa or genealogical descent.

When attending hui or tangihanga, I move with relative ease on the marae and I understand and practise tikanga among the various Māori communities I mingle with. However, being the only one in my family who has learnt to speak the language, and thus is open to te ao Māori, is problematic at times. The majority of my siblings rarely participate in Māori events and, if forced to, as in the death of a loved one, they are filled with uncertainty and trepidation at the thought of making mistakes on the marae or participating in Māori protocol. Thus a sharing of responsibilities and burdens is not always possible. Whanaungatanga, to do with the expectations and responsibilities around relationships (Mead, 2003), is a struggle to achieve and maintain when there is little understanding from others. It is at those moments that I feel alone in my family and miss my mother’s support and knowledge about things Māori. I am also reminded of my mother’s sense of isolation and the negation of her Māoriness.

Although I am considered to be a fluent speaker of the Māori tongue, it is my second language (English, my first) and of course there is still a huge amount of knowledge to be accessed. Speaking the language through which more Māori knowledge can be gleaned, brings some challenges. With few people able to speak Māori in the wider community, it is

difficult to converse on a daily basis and therefore continue to grow expertise in it. Negative ideas about the use of the Māori language prevail in the local community where some Māori and Pākehā see it as unnecessary and a handicap to success in the wider world. At times it is even seen as exclusive and offensive. A Pākehā woman, well-known for her altruistic work in the Taumarunui community, related to me her discontent upon hearing a person conversing in Māori—behaviour she considered rude as English should have been spoken in her presence. Her indignation reminded me of the many complaints my daughter’s netball team received during the weekly Saturday morning games played between primary school teams. My daughter’s group represented Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau. Parents and coaches of other teams often complained to the organisers about the use of the Māori language by the kura kaupapa Māori players during games. They believed the language was being used to pass on aggressive messages about their opposing team mates and was therefore offensive. In actual fact, the girls in the kura kaupapa Māori netball team were relating simple messages like: “Kia tere!/Hurry! E peke!/Jump! Whiua te pōro!/Pass the ball!” or “Āta titiro ki tō hoariri!/Watch your defence!”

### ***(3) My daughter’s story***

In order to illustrate ‘living as Māori’ across three generations in my family, I interviewed my daughter about her childhood and schooling experiences that contributed to her sense of being Māori. Her responses provide the content for this section.

Communicating in te reo Māori was a significant part of my daughter’s life when growing up. Now a young adult, Taupunakohe cites it as her first language and a crucial agent in the perception of herself as Māori. Māori was the language during her education in the pre-school kōhanga reo, to primary-school level at kura kaupapa Māori and a rumaki reo (total immersion in Māori) unit in a mainstream school. When asked about influences on her life she begins by stating that she was born into te ao Māori, the Māori world, and whakaaro Māori, a Māori way of thinking. She responds with snippets of her early life, “*Going to the marae, to hui, to tangi, to wānanga. I was surrounded by learning and reo and tikanga.*” Taupunakohe recalls an upbringing imbued with tikanga and the values of whakapapa and wairua Māori while being inspired by her grandmother, her Kui, who nourished her taha Māori, her Māori side. She related to me, “*Mum—you, Kui and Daddy are the pillars for my ‘ao Māori’, informing me, teaching me and feeding my wairua, ngākau, hinengaro in the Māori world.*” She has fond memories of her primary school days at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori

o Maungawhau and the rumaki reo at Freemans Bay School where manaakitanga was practised constantly. She remembers passionate, caring teachers, kind, understanding kaumātua–kuia role models and the tight whānau community. Today, she maintains a special piritahi/closeness with a number of people who were close friends in her primary-school days.

Attending high school was a shock for my daughter. Unsure of the quality of Māori-medium high schools, I had enrolled her in a mainstream-English language high school, the antithesis of the kura kaupapa Māori and rumaki reo of her primary days. My daughter has since told me she disliked her time at secondary school because her Māoriness was denigrated and she “*felt very lonely, really lost*”. She talks of teachers mispronouncing her name, being told off for correcting them with the pronunciation and even being renamed. She recalls the unfairness of being chastised for speaking Māori to a friend in class while other classmates were allowed to speak in their Chinese tongue. The values and ways of behaving were at complete odds with what she had grown up with. She talked about “*jumping on each other to get to the top*”, and the values of individualism and competitiveness held aloft as beacons for success, which clashed with the values of whanaungatanga, āwhina and aroha inherent in her since birth. While she said she didn’t feel safe in that environment, “*It was knowing who I was as a Māori that made me staunch.*” Taupunakohe’s declaration that her strong identity enabled her to withstand the negativity she encountered at secondary school supports Webber’s (2012) study about racial–ethnic identity and Māori adolescents. Webber found that a positive self-concept can help young Māori to be resilient at school, and enables them to cope with adversity and racism while focussing on learning and achieving goals.

There were positive influences. Taupunakohe likened the Māori teacher at the mainstream secondary school to a kind and supportive aunty and her classroom as a comfortable haven, a place of refuge where there was “*a sense of whānau*”. Kapa haka also provided a welcome relief, a chance to be proud and show off the beauty of being Māori. Staying at marae during kapa haka practices for the annual Secondary Schools Polynesian Festival was enjoyed because it meant a return to Māori ways of behaving “*taking me back to what I knew and felt comfortable in*”.

An English teacher is remembered for the out-of-school time and tuition she gave as well as her encouragement and support: “*She put extra effort in for me she saw the potential in me.*” A Social Studies teacher was also seen as helpful, especially in allowing my daughter a voice in class when negative, non-Māori views dominated. The counsellor, who provided helpful

guidance, is recalled with fondness as a person who “*seemed to understand what it was like to be a young Māori*”. The trust and warmth exuded from those teachers and counsellor gave my daughter confidence in her abilities and the belief that she could achieve her goals, “*just the fact that she actually cared and wanted to put effort into seeing me do better, made me put more effort in too*”.

The value of positive behaviour and teaching skills modelled by these teachers concurs with the research by Bishop and Berryman in 2007. They demonstrated how students’ educational achievement can be bolstered by teachers who care about them, and who employ strategies to pursue the cultural well-being of their students for successful learning outcomes. Armed with the support of a few committed teachers and high family expectations, my daughter nurtured the desire to do well at school in order to attain a good career and future. Consequently she was successful in gaining an ‘A’ Bursary in her final 7<sup>th</sup> form year. A bilingual speaker, proficient in both Māori and English literacy skills, my daughter’s knowledge of te reo Māori propelled her into a television career as a presenter on a Māori language programme for children when she left secondary school.

When asked if schooling had prepared her for living as Māori in the world today Taupunakohe saw education as vital but in second place to the strong and positive influence of a loving family and whānau. She describes her Māori-medium primary schooling as a happy environment that enabled and reinforced her being Māori. The education she received at her secondary school taught the skills of the English language and opened her eyes to other cultures, but the dominance of Pākehā values subjected her to challenges about her very core: her being Māori. In a sense, having to confront and rebut the negativity developed her strength and the staunch pride she demonstrates today in being a young Māori woman.

My daughter’s reaction to racism and anti-Māori sentiment is similar to the behaviour and thinking exhibited by the youngest cohort in Houkamau’s 2006 study about Māori women and identity. The young women in her research were not afraid to speak out against unjust or unfair treatment of Māori. Like my daughter, it is probable that their strength came from growing up during the late 1970s to the early 1980s, an era of Māori political activism. At that time Māori were strident in their protests about land rights, foreshore and seabed issues, Māori language malaise and the continuing failure of Māori children within the state system. The involvement of Taupunakohe’s father in some of the protests of that time has impacted upon her thinking.

*Daddy definitely had a massive influence on my whakaaro Māori in his staunch activist way. When I was younger and he was carrying on about Māori land, Māori rights—I didn't really take to it. Now, at an age where I'm thinking about the future, those things actually are important to me and I do see the relevance, the struggle, the fight for our reo and the struggle to be Māori, and to uphold these things in society today."*

An outcome of the struggle by Māori for self-determination was the kōhanga reo movement and kura kaupapa Māori. Mirroring my daughter's primary-school experiences, the education and development of the women in Houkamau's youngest cohort involved an immersion in the Māori language as well as learning about Māori culture, values, and history. They grew up feeling proud to be Māori. Similarly, Taupunakohe is very fervent about being involved in all aspects Māori whether in her workplace or her social life, and she has no qualms about proclaiming: *"I love te reo Māori and the Māori world. I love being Māori!"*

Interestingly, 'being Māori' is viewed by these women and my daughter in a similar way to the thinking of the older women in Houkamau's 2006 study. Both the younger and the older cohorts described traditional ideas such as whakapapa, marae activities, "whānau loyalty and cohesiveness" as important facets to being and living as Māori (p. 192). The older women appeared similar to my mother in age and in their life experiences. Like my mother, they had been brought up speaking Māori and living Māori values within a communal life-style. Thus they viewed the ability to speak te reo Māori and having Māori parentage and blood-line as determinants of Māori ethnicity. Like a number of Māori, my mother also viewed certain physical traits as signs of a person's Māoriness: you were Māori if you had brown skin and had a flat nose. The idea of being an 'authentic' Māori is problematic for today's generation of Māori. A number of Māori writers (Lee, 2007; McIntosh, 2005; Webber, 2008) have related negative experiences when challenged about their Māori identity. Judgements about the authenticity of a person's Māori identity are often based on skin colour and physical appearance. McIntosh, a fair-skinned Māori woman explains she is sometimes challenged for "not being Māori-looking enough" (p. 39) which she interprets as not being dark enough. My daughter expresses a more open idea of what it is to be Māori than her grandmother's generation who were quite specific with their traditional descriptors. She doesn't see physical aspects or colour as a marker of Māori ethnicity. Instead she acknowledges the outcomes of intermarriage that permeate Māori society today and that many Māori look different because of their genealogical connections to other ethnic groups: *"There's connections with all these different iwi."* At times, Taupunakohe herself has been mistaken for someone from South

America and has often been referred to as Brazilian. Although amusing at times, the misunderstandings annoy her when it is clear they come about because she doesn't fit negative Māori stereotypes.

On being Māori, Taupunakohe explains her own experiences: *“For me, living as Māori is being able to speak Māori, Māori is my first language, to know tikanga, thinking in Māori, knowing the spiritual side, protocol, whakapapa.”* While applying some of the traditional markers for her own identity, Taupunakohe acknowledges being Māori is not static and cannot be clearly defined. *“It is different for everybody because everyone is at a different level, everyone has a different background. Living as Māori for me is not a reflection of other people who may live differently.”* Her comments concur with Lee (2007) who argues that Māori identity is moulded by many factors including “class, gender, sexuality, age and geography” as well as “whakapapa, iwi, hapū, whānau and whenua” (p. 35). While Māori are perceived to be a homogenous group, the many layers that contribute to identity result in quite individual descriptions for ‘being Māori’.

Stephenson (2004) describes four cultural identity profiles that were constructed from the Te Hoe Nuku Roa Framework (Durie, 1995) research on cultural indicators as measures of Māori identity. The first profile is named a ‘Secure identity’ and includes Māori who participate in aspects of the Māori world, enjoy Māori language, land, whānau, values and Māori medium education. A ‘Positive identity’ is the second profile and defines those who have “a strong sense of being Māori” (p.40), but don't have access to the resources of the Māori world. The third profile, ‘Notional identity’ refers to a group who declare themselves Māori but do not participate in the Māori world. The fourth group do not see themselves as Māori and come under the term, ‘Compromised profile’.

Clearly there are many descriptions of being Māori. Taupunakohe illustrates the diversity of Māori lives with her comments about some of her own relations: *“some of them don't know how to speak Māori, don't know their whakapapa but they are the ones who are at the marae, still upholding manaaki tangata”*. Other cousins name themselves Māori but do not know how to participate in Māori events or activities and have few opportunities to do so.

The crucial nature of identity is demonstrated in the final statement by Taupunakohe: *“Having the grounding and security about who I am has given me the confidence to step out into the world [and] gives me the strength and courage to know what I want. I'm secure in my āhua Maori because of my upbringing and because of my kura experiences.”*

## **He whakakapinga—Conclusion**

In reflecting upon the impact of education upon the lives and abilities of three generations of women in my family, I can see that in order to ‘live as Māori’, access to the Māori language and the Māori world are paramount. A strong sense of self-worth is an outcome of living as Māori and the likelihood of educational success and its spin-offs: sound employment, good health and quality of life.

Born into a traditional Māori world and very secure in her identity, living as Māori was never an issue for my mother. Schooling however, sought to eradicate her Māori essence, to assimilate her into the Pākehā world and was partly responsible for the identity crisis she suffered in the middle part of her life. It was only in the final 20 years of life that my mother regained her Māori strength, became vigorous in marae events and in the teaching of others.

As a child, I lived and practised aspects of the Māori world within my family life but in my formal education, learning and living as Māori became an aberration. A monolingual education did not support my identity as Māori or encourage me to live as Māori. It is not surprising that as a young adult I did not participate in the Māori world, and, as someone with the profile of a ‘notional’ identity, I merely called myself Māori. Lacking in confidence and a secure identity, I spent a number of years traversing many ‘wrong turns’ down the highway of life. It was not until adulthood that I actively pursued Māori language and knowledge culminating in a sense of security in myself as a Māori, and in my position in society and the wider world. My life experiences have instilled in me the belief that Māori children must have the chance to speak their own language and to know who they are. As Haig (1998) states about children growing up Māori: “When you teach them their language you give them their wairua back. It makes them strong and gives them confidence in themselves” (pp.44-45.).

My daughter has always felt secure and strong about her identity, and living as Māori is taken for granted. The experience of growing up for Taupunakohe was similar to that of her kuia. Taupunakohe states: “*I was born Māori. That’s all I’ve ever known, ever since I can remember, that’s what I’ve been living and breathing.*” Unlike her grandmother’s educational experiences, much of the school learning for Taupunakohe encouraged and nurtured her being Māori. She is a product of a Māori-medium learning environment that aims to fit its students with the skills to stand strong as Māori and ‘to live as Māori’ while contributing and participating to the wider world.

## Chapter Four: The origins of kura kaupapa Māori

### He whakatakinga—Introduction

Kōhanga reo parents in Auckland set about establishing kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland in the mid-1980s. They were motivated by a strong desire to continue the learning that had started in kōhanga reo and the access to the Māori language, the Māori world and its riches for their Māori children, and for them to acquire skills that would enable them as adults to live as Māori whilst contributing to the modern world.

The history of the development of kura kaupapa Māori has been documented by Nepe (1991), G. Smith (1997) and Rata (1991). Nepe argued that kaupapa Māori can provide a relevant educational intervention. She provided an analysis of the components of kaupapa Māori and clearly stated the importance of Māori language in imparting and vitalising Māori traditions, history and knowledge. Rata<sup>6</sup> has provided an insight into the political struggle for government acceptance by kura kaupapa Māori whānau. Smith argues that, through the push for kaupapa Māori educational initiatives, Māori created a transformative model of resistance.

This chapter relates the beginnings of kura kaupapa Māori movement through narratives as told to me by prominent figures from the kura kaupapa Māori movement: Cathy Dewes, Kāterina Mataira, Elizabeth Rata, Pita Sharples, Graham Smith and Linda Smith. The interviews with Elizabeth, Graham, Linda and Pita took place in 2008. Due to the responsibilities involved with caring for my ailing father from the year 2009, I was not able to interview Kāterina until 2010 and Cathy in 2011. I begin with the educational history as told by Kāterina Mataira as her narration encompasses significant parts of our educational history and signals the beginnings of the kura kaupapa Māori movement.

In 1984, unable to find a Māori immersion school that would cater for the needs of the graduates of their pre-school kōhanga reo, Dr Pita Sharples and his wife, Aroha, enlisted the help of Kāterina Mataira to assist in the beginnings of a Māori language school at Hoani Waititi Marae in West Auckland without government funding or assistance. Other Auckland kōhanga reo followed the model set by the Hoani Waititi whānau. Among those were the Natari and Awhireinga Kōhanga Reo whānau in central Auckland. The parents and grandparents from Natari and Awhireinga Kōhanga Reo were responsible for mobilizing the

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<sup>6</sup> Taking a very different tack more recently, Rata (2012), a Pakeha scholar, has attacked the politics and logic of kura kaupapa Māori.

Auckland kōhanga reo whānau into political action as they sought appropriate education for their Māori language speaking children. The name ‘kura kaupapa Māori’ was created by the Natari and Awhireinga whānau as part of the political movement. In the midst of campaigning at a political level for the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori, the Natari and Awhireinga whānau continued with their resolve to provide a Māori immersion education for their children. By the end of 1988, hope was in sight in the possibilities provided by the Picot Report. Let us begin this chapter with the story of the educational experiences of Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira.

### **Kaua e kōrero Māori i roto i te kura—Don’t speak Māori in school**

Born in 1932, Kāterina attended school during the 1930-1940s when education, as a tool of assimilation, served to civilize and teach young Māori the ‘manners’ and belief systems of the Pākehā (Smith & Smith, 1990, p. 137). The notion of civilizing Māori through schooling began in the early 1800s when the missionaries arrived on the shores of Aotearoa armed with the bible. Māori however, had other ideas. The bible and the new learning brought by the visitors were keenly sought by iwi in order to continue their control and dominance (Jones & Jenkins, 2011). But the aim of converting Māori to Christianity, and ultimately to the world of the Europeans, became more refined with the establishment of state-subsidized missionary schools (Simon & Smith, 2001). The ensuing education is described by Smith and Smith (1990) as a system in which the Māori world view was viewed with distaste while Pākehā beliefs and practices were actively promoted as the only way forward. Penetito (2010) puts it more bluntly. He explains the purpose of the assimilation policies as a way of speeding up the death of Māori culture and people by making Māori take on the values, attitudes and practices of Pākehā and in doing so, completely forget about being Māori.

One way to force Māori to become like Pākehā was to take away their language. Kāterina remembers growing up when the Māori language was not allowed to be spoken at school even though it was the language she spoke at home. “*I pakeke mai au i roto i te wā o taua kaupapa, kia kaua mātou e kōrero Māori i roto i te kura.*” The vetoing of Māori language in schools was a legacy of the 1867 Native Schools Act, which decreed that English was to be the language of communication and teaching within school grounds, for it was viewed as a more superior mode of communication than the Māori language, “an imperfect medium of thought” (Openshaw, Lee, & Lee, 1993, p. 40). It is clear that Māori and Pākehā government officials held very different views about the purpose of an education in English. Māori

members of parliament supported the new legislation wholeheartedly as they perceived an English language schooling system as a means of survival, a way to propel Māori towards social and economic equality with Pākehā. Non-Māori parliamentarians however, were adamant that education in the English language was the most suitable way to civilise the natives (Openshaw et al., 1993; Simon & Smith, 2001).

While Spolsky (2005) describes the 1867 Native Schools Act as the defining feature in the erosion of the Māori language and the move towards English monolingualism, Tawhiwhirangi (2009) expounds the view that some Māori people unwittingly helped in the demise of their own language. She recalls Apirana Ngāta urging his people on the East Coast to take on the English language. The elders, keen to follow the directions of their leader stopped speaking Māori altogether to their children. At that time Māori language had a firm footing in Māori homes but the concentration on the English language and the deliberate silencing of Māori, eventually proved to be detrimental to the health of the Māori language.

In contrast to the primary-school environment that suppressed her language and therefore her identity as a Māori, secondary school education at St Joseph's Māori Girls School, was described by Kāterina as a place where she did not experience negativity about her Māori world: "*Kāore au i rongō i tētahi whakaaro whakahē, whakaiti, whakaparahako i te ao Māori.*" The nuns, who were from a completely different and undoubtedly Pākehā world, were supportive of the girls' Māori ways, "*Ērā kuia Pākehā i tipu mai i ao kē, he Pākehā tūturu nei, engari i tautoko i tōku taha Māori*". But the girls themselves rarely spoke Māori. They believed that English was the language of the future. "*Kāore mātou i kōrero Māori i a mātou i te kura tuarua, ko te reo Pākehā te tino reo.*" The underlying ideology promulgating the dominance of English language, practices and beliefs had been taken on board by the girls who saw the ways of the Pākehā world as the key to future success.

In writing about the history of St Joseph's Māori Girls' College, Van der Linden (1990, p.39) expounds the quality of the girls' education: "Their training was enriched by singing, dressmaking, needlework, cooking, home-craft, home nursing and first aid." She described the learning as one that gave the students "a broad educational background to equip them for adult life".

In contrast to Van der Linden's view of the curriculum and learning, Kāterina was acutely aware of the limited nature of her education. Keen to expand her knowledge, she knew from her 4<sup>th</sup> year at the school that she wanted to study at university. But, the girls at St Joseph's

were not allowed to sit the Matriculation exam, excluding them from university study and academic careers. “*Kāore he kura whakarite i a mātou mō te haere ki te whare wānanga. Ko te tiwhikete tuarua, School Certificate, ka mutu. Ngā marau i akona ki a mātou ehara i te marau kawē i a mātou ki te whare wānanga, he marau tiaki whare kē.*” She realized that their education was not about encouraging them to be academics and leaders but was more concerned with preparing the girls to be good housewives and mothers and to be faithful to the Catholic religion: “*I pā mai ki a au te whakaaro, kōtahi tā rātou kaupapa mō ngā kōtiro, ko te ako i a rātou ki te tiaki whare, tiaki tamariki, tiaki tāne, pūmau ki te haahi.*”

The difficulty in gaining access to tertiary education for Kāterina was most likely a remnant of the Native Schools’ policy which deemed Māori as ill-equipped for academic study. Māori were seen to be better suited for employment as servants and laborers, and schooling sought to prepare them for their lives as menial workers (Barrington, 2008). Although a hindrance to her ambition to attend university, the education at St Joseph Māori Girls School not only instilled a confidence to succeed but also equipped her with skills suitable for the teaching profession. Thus, after leaving school, Kāterina trained to become a teacher.

In 1956 while teaching at Northland College in the predominantly Māori language speaking community of Kaikohe, the value of her own Māori language began to seed within her consciousness: “*Ko te hunga Māori o reira he hunga kōrero Māori, nā rātou i whakaoho mai i tōku reo, i taua wā e moe kē ana.*” Because they had grown up speaking Māori, many of my mother and Kāterina’s generation couldn’t imagine that one day the language would be in dire straits. “*Kāore anō i pā mai ki a mātou te whakaaro e raru ana te reo. Kore rawa atu! Engari i reira te whakaaro – he wā anō mō te reo Māori, he wā anō mō te reo Pākehā.*” In keeping with the thinking of the time there was the belief (a view still common today) that Māori language had its place, but English was the language of importance.

The significance of English came under scrutiny when it became clear to Kāterina that only a few of the Māori-speaking students in her School Certificate Art class passed the exam which was written in English. With the principal’s agreement, she approached the parents of the students seeking their permission to teach their children in Māori, thinking they would be more successful in their own language. But the parents, all native speakers, responded with disbelief. Teaching in Māori seemed pointless to them and they asked, “*Mō te aha? He aha te painga o tērā reo?*” Eventually the parents agreed and the students, taught in Māori, did well in the exam. Kāterina attributes their success, and the subsequent availability of employment

opportunities to the Māori language: “*Nā te reo rātou i puta ai. I whiwhi mahi tōtika nā runga i te kaha o te reo.*” Many of her students left school to become well-known artists, some studied to become teachers, while others went on to work in the Māori Affairs Department. Kāterina acknowledges the strong Māori identity held by the students as another reason for their success: “*Ko te tū pakari o ērā, tū pakari i roto i tō rātou mōhio he Māori rātou*”.

When she was encouraged to write in Māori for the publications *Te Wharekura*, *Te Ao Hou* and *Te Rangatahi*, the importance of the Māori language was further noted by Kāterina: “*I tino whakaoho i roto i a au, i kaha ai taku huri ki te reo Māori me taku kite i tōna painga.*” But she still didn’t see the language malaise or the relevance of teaching her own children to speak Māori, “*He pēpi tonu āku ake, kāore au i whakaaro mō te kōrero Māori ki a rātou. Kore rawa atu!*” Influenced by her training at Teachers’ College, she firmly believed that, if a person was bilingual, then one of the two languages would not develop well, and so the dominance of English was upheld. Paradoxically, she acknowledged how easy she found it to move from one world to the other, from Māori to Pākehā and back again.

*Engari ngāwari noaiho ki a au te haere i roto i ngā ao e rua. Mehemea i roto i te ao Māori, pai noa iho te kōrero Māori, te kawē i ngā kaupapa, ngā tikanga. I roto i te ao Pākehā, pērā anō. Kāore tētahi i whawhai ki tētahi.*

The ability to move with confidence between the two worlds probably facilitated the ease in which Kāterina was able to tackle her academic studies in the 1970s. As an adult student in her forties, she had finally achieved her goal of studying at university, completing a Bachelor of Arts degree at Waikato University before embarking on a Masters degree.

### **The Advent of Te Ataarangi**

On a visit to Fiji, Kāterina attended university in order to learn the Fijian language. As a teacher, Kāterina had seen how difficult it can be for adults to pick up a new language, and as a student herself at the Fiji National University, she told me she found learning the Fijian language through the traditional way “*via grammar, via the English language*” extremely arduous. As Kāterina explained on New Zealand’s television programme ‘Waka Huia’: “*Me te mea hoki ko te kaiako, ahakoa he tangata whenua, e ako ana mā te reo o tauivi*”, English was the medium through which the Fijian language was taught even though the teacher was a Fijian native (Television New Zealand, 2010b). While at the university in Fiji she observed a

language-learning method called the ‘Silent Way’. Kāterina was flabbergasted at how quickly the adult learners acquired proficiency in the Fijian language through the use of the method. Created by Caleb Gattengo, the Silent Way used strategies that included having native speakers as teachers. Most impressed by her observations of Gattengo’s method of imparting a new language to adult learners, Kāterina determined to focus her Masters’ thesis on the Silent Way.

At the time of Kāterina’s return to New Zealand in the late 1970s, the nation was stirring to young Māori protestors giving voice to concerns about the near-death of the Māori language, the loss of land and Māori identity. The growth of radical groups and individuals was spurred on by simmering anger about racism and the government’s assimilation policies that furthered the decline in the use of Māori language and knowledge. Regarded as the group that began the modern Māori protest movement, Ngā Tamatoa was instrumental in the inclusion of the Māori language as a subject in primary and secondary schools in the 1970s (Harris, 2004). The importance of the Māori language as “a key marker of cultural identity” gave strength to Huirangi Waikerepuru and the Wellington Māori Language Board in their claim against the Waitangi Tribunal “for failing to protect the Māori language” and for contributing to its near demise (Durie, 1998, p. 59). The claim resulted in the 1987 Māori Language Act and recognition of Māori as an official language of the country.

But it was Richard Benton’s 1978 survey of Māori language use, bringing attention to the moribund state of the language that propelled Kāterina into action. His report shocked her with its statements that there were few remaining native speakers of the language, few children could speak the language and that it would surely die out if drastic measures were not taken to ensure its survival. Kāterina clarified this view in the Waka Huia interview:

*Nā te pūrongo a Dr. Richard Benton me tana kōrero mō te waka pakaru. I muri mai i tana haere i roto i ngā iwi katoa ki te āta tiro tiro pēhea te ora o te reo. Ka puta tana pūrongo me te kī – kua tino matemate haere ana te reo. Kua ruarua haere te hunga mōhio, matatau ki te reo nei. Kua kore kore ngā tamariki e kōrero, ērā tohu katoa. (TVNZ, Waka Huia, 1 August, 2010)*

With the realization that the language was in dire straits, Kāterina used her study to help with the revitalization of the Māori language. Her thesis on the Silent Way provided the basis for the establishment of Te Ataarangi—a method for teaching the Māori language to adults. Within Te Ataarangi, students listen and repeat the Māori word or sentence that is being

learned while utilizing coloured cuisinaire rods (rākau) as learning tools and triggers to solidify the new learning. At the time that Kāterina was establishing Te Ataarangi, Ngoi Pewhairangi, while working for the New Zealand Council of Adult Education, was travelling the country teaching Māori cultural activities. Although the adults enjoyed learning tukutuku, taniko and waiata they were desperate to learn the Māori language. The voices of despair encouraged Kāterina and Ngoi to combine forces in the development of the Te Ataarangi programme using the 'rākau' method. Its greatest feature involved *“taking native speakers and giving them the skills to teach, that was the real importance of the rākau method—to use native speakers. They didn’t have to be university graduates, and they went back to the communities.”*

Kāterina’s resolve to employ native speakers of the Māori language as teachers who would then take the language back to their own communities was strengthened through her experience at the University of California. Through a Fellowship gained while at the University of Waikato, Kāterina spent some time in the Education Department of the Californian University working with Dr Lilly Wong Fillmore. The research conducted there instilled in Kāterina an understanding of bilingual education and total immersion learning. It substantiated her belief that learning a language through immersion was the most successful method. Kāterina exclaims, *“That’s what we’re doing in Te Ataarangi! Our teachers were Māori, it was the reo they used and I intuitively knew that if I allowed them to use English it would just go haywire because their strengths were in Māori.”*

It was through Te Ataarangi, that Kāterina met Aroha and Pita Sharples. *“Te Ataarangi is what introduced me to Pita. Pita was at Hoani Waititi, he knew Ngoi who was working there. It was all of us coming together at that particular time with an idea.”*

## **Establishment of kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland**

### ***Hoani Waititi Kura***

Key figures at the Hoani Waititi Marae, Aroha and Pita Sharples were concerned at the lack of suitable schools for their kōhanga reo graduates. Much has been written about the kōhanga reo movement that was developed in 1981 to alleviate the dearth of Māori language native speakers through the teaching and immersion of pre-school children in the Māori language and Māori cultural values (Hohepa, 1993; Kai’ai, 1990; Royal-Tangaere, 1997). The kōhanga reo or language nests focussed on a Māori world view and employed a Māori pedagogy in the

education of the babies and toddlers. However, once the children reached five years of age, parents had great difficulty in finding primary schools that could cater to the needs of their Māori language speaking offspring. Pita Sharples related the sadness upon seeing children from the Hoani Waititi Kōhanga Reo having to suppress their Māori language and knowledge in mainstream schools. Instrumental in the establishment of the kōhanga, Pita knew the whānau and children well, and in the following passage he expresses regret in sending one of his favourite kōhanga graduates to a school where the child's Māori being was denigrated:

*After two weeks he was answering me back in English. After four weeks he wasn't even talking to me. I detected that he didn't even like me and I just suddenly realised after talking to him what was wrong. Everything we'd taught this kid was a lie. We taught him about the real world—you pray, share your kai, hear your name mentioned heaps of times, get to talk, you have joint activities, sleep and play together, and he had mihi formalities. None of that happened at school. When he spoke Māori they all laughed at him. The kids and the teacher would say, learn to speak English! I penalised instead of advancing the kid. (Sharples, 2008)*

With the realisation that sending the kōhanga children to mainstream primary schools was detrimental to their development as Māori, parents kept their children at the kōhanga reo. As Pita relates, the defiant action resulted in warnings from the Ministry of Education, “*R...was already six and they were told, your child is not under proper care and protection, she's not at school*”. Consequently, in 1984 Pita and Aroha Sharples approached Kāterina with the idea of beginning a Māori language school. Once Kāterina had agreed to the proposal, she, Pita and Aroha Sharples set about establishing the Hoani Waititi kura, a Māori-medium language school on the grounds of the Hoani Waititi Marae.

Pita details a visit to the Ministry of Education where the idea of creating the school was received with disbelief. “*They said, you don't build a school, we build schools. I said, 'we want a school that teaches in Māori'*”. The official's dismissive response, “*there's no such school*”, further encouraged Pita in the quest to create a Māori language school. Eventually, he found a building to start the project. “*I saw this Carter Holt building. It was their showroom and a lot of windows like a school. Thirty-five grand, we got it shifted, no money, put the building here. We still had carpenters [on site from the carpenters' training programme]. They came out and rehashed the building.*” Kāterina concurs with his description of the beginning stages, “*Aroha and I were teachers. We both taught and*

*developed the curriculum. There was no school, no building, only a leaky prefab at the back of the marae. There were 10 kids” (Mataira, 2010).*

In establishing a school outside of the narrow confines of the state’s monolingual and monocultural stipulations, the Hoani Waititi whānau endured hardship for some time. The passion to continue the Māori learning for their children helped the whānau to continue even though they were housed in substandard accommodation, had a lack of resources and suffered financial stress. Sharples (1994, p. 15) adds “We stayed out of the mainstream system for five years, funding the school ourselves.”

The determination of the Hoani Waititi whānau in establishing their kura marked the beginning of what eventually became known as the kura kaupapa Māori initiative. Hoani Waititi kura, established in 1985, set the blueprint for other kōhanga reo whānau seeking schooling alternatives for their kōhanga reo graduates who were quickly losing their Māori language and knowledge in mainstream primary schools.

### ***Hoani Waititi kura the model***

For Graham and Linda Smith it was the birth of their daughter in 1982 that steered them into the kōhanga reo movement. “*Linda and I made that conscious choice that we were going to step down that pathway for our daughter, so got involved with kōhanga reo as a participating parent, as a whānau member.*” It was also Graham’s own upbringing and schooling that was deficient in Māori language and knowledge that spurred him to focus on a Māori identity for his daughter. With their child attending the Natari Kōhanga Reo in Blockhouse Bay, Auckland, Graham and Linda encountered other parents worried about the future of their Māori-speaking children who were ready to enter primary school. While teaching at the Auckland College of Education, Graham Smith came into contact with Tuki Nepe another education lecturer at the campus. Tuki was also a founding member of the Awhireinga Kōhanga Reo (based at the Auckland College of Education) that her grandchildren attended (Nepe, 1991). The common interests around the children’s education culminated in the building of an alliance between their two kōhanga reo, Awhireinga, and Natari. Graham explains,

*We were concerned about what was happening from an educational perspective, so we called together a group of parents who were interested in the same issue—that we were*

*trying to find a school that was more akin to the experience that our kids had at kōhanga reo and the linkage should be virtually the same. (G. Smith, 2008).*

An additional factor bringing the parents together was that a number of them were academics and teachers. Linda Smith explains: “*We were all educationalists, the other thing that held us all together—all involved in some way in education.*”

Another whānau member of the Awhireinga Kōhanga Reo, also a teacher at that time, was Elizabeth Rata. Elizabeth eventually became secretary for the combined kōhanga reo whānau and part of the core group consisting of Graham Smith, Linda Smith and Tuki Nepe who began the push for kura kaupapa Māori. Described by Rata (1989, p. 30) as “School communities without schools”, the Awhireinga and Natari kōhanga reo whānau struggled in their attempts to find suitable schooling options to extend the Māori learning of their kōhanga reo offspring. Linda elaborates:

*We decided that we would go on this journey to find a kura that would take our kids. We, the Natari Kōhanga, joined forces with Tuki Nepe. We visited schools in West Auckland, had meetings with them and with the Department of Education. It was all the same—no schools were prepared to do anything other than offer a little bit of Māori, be nice to us for an hour a day. Richmond Road School tried to help but within weeks it was clear that our children chose quite actively to not speak Māori because English was fun, they thought it was really cool not speaking Māori. We were terribly alarmed at it. (L. Smith, 2008)*

Elizabeth recalls the involvement of a third kōhanga reo, Kōtuku, based at Waipareira in West Auckland and run by the Paniora whānau. In a similar manner to the other kōhanga whānau, the Kōtuku group tried unsuccessfully to find schools in West Auckland to accommodate their children. Elizabeth adds, “*There was also a group from Avondale led by Alamein Emery who attended the meetings at Awhireinga in 1987 and 1988.*”

Although the kōhanga parents sought possibilities in mainstream education, it was obvious there was nothing available to maintain the Māori language and tikanga of the children. The Department of Education stubbornly rejected pleas for the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori insisting that the bilingual units already in mainstream schools were adequate. In response to a letter from the Awhireinga whānau written on 20 June 1987 requesting that “the Department of Education establish a Kaupapa Māori Language School in Auckland”, the

Minister of Education, Russell Marshall on 29 July 1987, wrote: “The Department of Education does not generally favour the concept of alternative schooling as a long term solution to disenchantment with the state education system” (Marshall, 1987). He advised that schools should be already providing for Māori children and, displaying a complete lack of understanding of the needs of the kōhanga reo graduates, he stated, “There is a strong movement within schools to incorporate Māori language and taha Māori into the content and practice of schooling. Support for Māori speaking children for Kōhanga reo is provided by Kaiārahi Reo” (Marshall, 1987).

Taha Māori however, was about teaching aspects of Māori culture and minimal language content to children with little knowledge about Māori life. Taha Māori was viewed by many Māori as tokenism, an attempt to appease Māori desires for Māori content in the curriculum. As fluent Māori language speakers, Kaiārahi Reo were employed in mainstream schools to support the learning of Māori language, Māori traditions and beliefs as part of Taha Māori. While the knowledge of the Kaiārahi Reo benefitted children with little or no reo, the dominance of the English language within the school and curriculum soon outweighed the infrequent Māori language use and the kōhanga reo graduates stopped speaking Māori. Taha Māori programmes served little purpose for the children who had come out of kōhanga reo with their Māori language intact. Instead Taha Māori provided relevant learning for non-Māori children about a culture of which they had little knowledge (Sharples, 1994; G. Smith, 1990).

The whānau of the Natari Kōhanga Reo at first attempted to work within the confines of the Education Department’s stipulations that “all schools endeavour to provide adequate programmes for Māori children within the state system” (Marshall, 1987). The bilingual class in Richmond Rd School was seen as an option because of its location as well as the understanding demonstrated by the teaching staff. “*The Principal, Jim Laughton, was well-meaning and the staff tried to accommodate us*” (G. Smith, 2008). According to Graham about ten children were sent to Richmond Rd School in 1987, but within a short time they were losing their reo Māori because English was the dominant language of the school and playground. As Graham clarified, “*It didn’t work because kids were speaking English in the playground. It was a Māori institution within a Pākehā institution.*”

Faced with the rapid decline of the children’s Māori language use and knowledge if placed within the state education system, the parents from both the Natari and Awhireinga Kōhanga

Reo believed they had no option but to start their own school. Linda described the frustrating outcome that faced their children attending mainstream schools, “*We could see that the language would go silent. So that really spurred us on and we had to make the decision about creating our own environment and that’s when we got smarter and more politically organised*” (L. Smith, 2008).

Consequently the Awhireinga and Natari whānau opted to follow the example set earlier by those at the Hoani Waititi Marae and kept their children at the kōhanga although they were now aged six and by law must attend school. In the *Auckland City Harbour News*, dated September 23, 1987, an article provides information about the defiant stand taken by the Awhireinga whānau, in particular, Mrs. Tuki Nepe and Mrs. Elizabeth Rata who “are prepared to be taken to court for keeping the children at kōhanga reo”.

By May 1987, increasingly frustrated with the Department of Education’s unwillingness to see that the kōhanga reo graduates had different needs and aspirations, the Awhireinga whānau took on a political stance (Rata, 1991). The refusal of education officials to consider a primary school extension of kōhanga reo convinced the whānau they had no option but to fight the government in order to achieve their goal. The kōhanga meetings then evolved from matters specifically related to kōhanga, to discussions about how to establish kura kaupapa Māori through combat at a political level. “*Some people were more committed to getting the kura operational and others to the political campaign and some of us were doing both*” (Rata, 2008).

In July 1987, at a key meeting held at the Auckland College of Education, the Awhireinga whānau declared that political and legal action was the only way to enable the establishment of what was then termed, a ‘Kaupapa Māori Language School’ (Awhireinga Kōhanga reo, 1987). Graham explains that a decision was made:

*to set our own model, a prototype if you like of what a kura kaupapa Māori school might be. We were arguing that the State needed to accommodate this kind of schooling. It’s at this point that the kaupapa Māori movement became associated with the target of changing the school system to develop a state response to the kōhanga reo children.* (G. Smith, 2008)

### *Naming 'kura kaupapa Māori'—a political act*

Within the telling of the history of kura kaupapa Māori, there is some contradiction amongst accounts about the creation of the name, and about who actually came up with the term. In the Hoani Waititi version, Pita Sharples, as part of the Hoani Waititi whānau, is credited with the birth of the term 'kura kaupapa Māori' as well as the beginning of the kura kaupapa Māori movement. The first kura kaupapa Māori is said to have been established at the Hoani Waititi Marae and the second in Rotorua at the Ruamata kura.

A two-page document written by Kāterina Mataira in 1991 supports the notion that Pita Sharples was the progenitor of the name kura kaupapa Māori. While it is not clear in the document who the writing is intended for, Kāterina states that the name kura kaupapa Māori was devised by Pita Sharples to explain and mark the unique nature of their school, an initiative that did not receive support from the government, “Nō whea te ingoa nei 'Kura kaupapa Māori'? Ki taku mōhio nā Pita Sharples o te Marae o Hoani Waititi i whakahua hei kupu whakamārama i te āhua me te tūhāhā o te Kura o Hoani Waititi nā rātou o te Marae o Hoani Waititi i whakatū” (Mataira, 1991). Kāterina then implies Te Kura o Ruamata in Rotorua was the second kura established and, in a similar fashion to the Hoani Waititi kura, it was also started by the parents of primary-aged children and situated on a marae. “Nō muri mai ka tīmata ko te Kura o Ruamata. Ko tērā i tū anō ki runga marae engari nā ngā mātua o ngā tamariki i whakatū” (Mataira, 1991). The third established kura kaupapa Māori, she writes, was at Waipareira, Auckland. “Kātahi ka tū ko te kura o Waipareira” (Mataira, 1991). Later in the document she states that the name 'kura kaupapa Māori' was formalized with the naming and setting up of the Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Group that focussed on kura kaupapa Māori issues under the 'Tomorrow's Schools' framework at the end of 1988. “I roto i ngā hurihanga nui mō ngā kura katoa i raro i te kaupapa 'Ngā Kura mō Āpōpō' i whakatauria he 'Rōpū Mahi mō ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori.' Kātahi anō pea ka mau te ingoa nei 'Kura Kaupapa Māori' mō ēnei kura katoa” (Mataira, 1991).

Graham Smith presents a second version about how the name Kura Kaupapa Māori came about. While acknowledging Pita Sharples and the Hoani Waititi whānau as the originators of the concept of a kura Māori, Graham argues that the name kura kaupapa Māori and the kura kaupapa Māori movement did not begin with the Hoani Waititi initiative:

*Hoani Waititi and Ruamata were there first but they aren't the kura kaupapa Māori movement at that stage. Waititi was known as the John Waititi School. We*

*[Awhireinga and Natari whānau] had sought to take our kids to that school but it was set up to deal with their own whānau from their own kōhanga reo to go into the next stage, their own school. Ruamata, same sort of thing, begun as a response to their own community. The distinction is—this is a school about their own community. It wasn't about the politics of changing the system. The kura kaupapa Māori movement was about the politics of changing the schooling system to develop a schooling type that would cater for kōhanga reo children. (G. Smith, 2008)*

Cathy Dewes, instrumental in the establishment of the Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ruamata and Principal of the kura since its inception in 1988, concurs with Graham's statement about the political nature of the whānau from Awhireinga and Natari Kōhanga Reo. She relates that the Ruamata whānau who wanted to be separate and independent from the Government's education system funded their own kura when it was in its infancy. Cathy adds the Awhireinga and Natari whānau in central Auckland took a different stance as they argued that it was the government's responsibility to fund kura kaupapa Māori from the beginning and not for kura kaupapa Māori to finance themselves. This factor was one of the major differences between the whānau in Ruamata and that in central Auckland. Seeking the Government's commitment to the funding of kura was part of the battle to establish kura kaupapa Māori by the Awhireinga and Natari Kōhanga Reo whānau:

*Rerekē tā rātou tū, kāore rātou i whakaae kia tū tō rātou kura Māori motuhake mā rātou hei utu, ko tā rātou tohe—'He kura tēnei hei utu mā te Kāwanatanga.' He mātika o te Māori kia tū ēnei momo, mā te Kāwanatanga hei utu. Engari mātou o Ruamata i pīrangi mātou ki tētahi kura Māori motuhake nā reira i whakatūria me ā mātou ake pūtea hei utu i ngā raruraru. (Dewes, 2011)*

In the version told by Graham about the origin of the name kura kaupapa Māori, it is argued that the term was initiated with the beginnings of the political battle taken on by the Awhireinga and Natari whānau. These two central Auckland kōhanga reo whānau mobilized on both legal and political levels to challenge the Department of Education for changes to the state education system so that kura kaupapa Māori education would be available for all children across the country. The use of the term 'kura kaupapa Māori' is crucial for it marks the ensuing foray into politics and the eventual legalization of kura kaupapa Māori enabling a stance within the state system. "Awhireinga School was the first kura kaupapa Māori. It was strategically driving to lay out something that might be a schooling prototype and that's the

*distinction between the others*” (G. Smith, 2008). Hoani Waititi and Ruamata kura were set up to fulfill the needs of the children from their own whānau and community. While the Awhireinga and Natari whānau also determined at the onset to establish kura for their own kōhanga graduates, the focus was soon extended to galvanise change at a national level.

Undoubtedly, Hoani Waititi in 1985 was the first to set up a Māori language primary school outside of the state system—an initiative that taught in the medium of the Māori language schools and centred on Māori content and philosophy. Hoani Waititi kura was the ‘mātāmua’/ the first born—a blue-print for kura kaupapa Māori. Graham acknowledges the elder status that the Hoani Waititi and Ruamata kura hold. *“In terms of the whakapapa, those initiatives were there first before kura kaupapa Māori.”* As the initial Māori language kura they provided inspiration in modelling how a kura could be set up. As Graham stated, *“Many of the things that we did, we looked at what they were doing and borrowed freely.”* He continues to acknowledge Hoani Waititi and Ruamata, *“They’re an important part of the whole development, I don’t want to undermine their mana.”*

Although the political battle for kura kaupapa Māori began in 1987, the use of the actual name ‘kura kaupapa Māori’ seems to have developed over time. At first, the Awhireinga whānau referred to themselves as Kaupapa Māori Language Schools (Awhireinga Kōhanga reo, 1987). Elizabeth remembers,

*At first we talked about Māori language schools—that was the term we used. Then the word ‘kura’ was used most of the time. There was a meeting, about February, 1988 [Awhireinga and Natari Kōhanga reo], instead of a Māori language kura, the word ‘kaupapa’ sprang up. That’s when ‘kura kaupapa Māori’ came—early 1988”* (Rata, 2008).

Cathy Dewes concurs with her statement that the name kura kaupapa Māori was created by the Auckland central whānau to categorise the unique initiative, and the other kura agreed to its use. *“Ko tērā ingoa i ahu mai i Tāmaki Makaurau, nā rātou i kī ‘kura kaupapa Māori’, koia hei ingoa mō tēnei momo kura. I whakaae mātou katoa ki tērā”* (Dewes, 2011).

While he cannot recall the date, Graham too remembers a key meeting when parents from the Awhireinga and Natari Kōhanga Reo gave a title to their schooling initiative. *“We named the initiative ‘kura kaupapa Māori’. It’s a name [kaupapa Māori] that actually came from Tuki.”* He cites Tuki Nepe who died in 1997, as a crucial person in the naming and the beginning

stages of the kura kaupapa Māori movement. As Graham states, “*She is the person who has the reo, the cultural nuance and the drive that is taking the initiative forward.*” The progenitor of the definition of kaupapa Māori, Nepe (1991, p. 15) described it as “the conceptualisation of Māori knowledge that is transmitted through the Māori language”. For Nepe, kaupapa Māori denotes a position in which Māori language, values, culture and ways of being are viewed as ‘normal’ and central, and therefore gives credence to a Māori world view. A kaupapa Māori stance provided the springboard for whānau pushing forward on to the political front with the notion of a Māori language and Māori-centred education for their children.

Graham is now recognised as the person responsible for developing kaupapa Māori into a theory that is widely used by a number of academics across a range of disciplines. In a recent publication that focusses on kaupapa Māori, G. Smith (2012) relates that, in fighting to establish kura kaupapa Māori, the whānau were engaging in actions that pushed for positive change for Māori—a transformative practice that he viewed as the foundation of Kaupapa Māori theory.

The first written appearance of the term ‘Kura Kaupapa Māori’ appears to be within the name ‘Te Komiti o Te Kura Kaupapa Māori’—written as a heading for the ‘Campaign of Action’ that came out of a meeting for interested groups on 2 August, 1987 (Te Komiti o Te Kura Kaupapa Māori, 1987). At this first committee meeting, the Awhireinga and Natari Kōhanga Reo decided to use legal action to make the Government establish kura kaupapa Māori. This meeting also marked the official formation of Te Komiti o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tāmaki Makaurau from the kōhanga reo groups of Awhireinga, Natari and Kōtuku (Rata, 1991, p. 83). Another name change took place at the March 1991 Annual General Meeting of Te Komiti o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tāmaki Makaurau. From that time the group became known as ‘Te Rūnanga o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tāmaki Makaurau (Rata, 1991, p. 74). The Rūnanga served to unify the Auckland-based kōhanga whānau as well as Kōtuku from West Auckland, and in doing so strengthened the political campaign to see kura kaupapa Māori established as an official schooling initiative. An examination of the Komiti minutes shows that the group appeared to be well organised in their campaign of action. It is clear that the whānau of the Awhireinga Kōhanga Reo were the instigators as Rata (2008) explains: the Awhireinga whānau “*acted as a focal point and brought together*” other kōhanga reo. L. Smith (2008) adds another dimension with her statement, “*Of all those groups our one [Awhireinga] was much more overtly political.*”

Unfortunately, the Hoani Waititi whānau were unable to involve themselves in the committee's activities until the end of 1988 because of the huge financial pressure they were enduring in funding themselves. But they still gave their support to the committee. Eventually the Hoani Waititi and Ruamata whānau, who had been existing apart from the Awhireinga, Natari and Waipareira whānau, joined forces to become a part of the political battle for kura kaupapa Māori acceptance and establishment. "*Pita and them had their particular kaupapa for Waititi. They were doing their own thing, we were doing our thing and then we sort of had to come together*" (L. Smith, 2008).

Sharples (1994, p. 15) explains how communication developed between his group and the central Auckland whānau. "Other whānau began to copy or to develop the same initiative, so we started talking to each other. The plaque on the school [Hoani Waititi] says this is the first Māori School for New Zealand which was built to carry the same philosophies that our ancestors carried. But when the others did it we realised that what we had in common was Māori knowledge and teaching techniques. So we called ourselves kura kaupapa Māori."

When I asked about the idea that the term 'kura kaupapa Māori' came about as a political move, and that its inception came sometime after the establishment of the Hoani Waititi kura, Pita Sharples agreed and reiterated their position: "*It did. We opened as a Māori school. The first kura Māori. As we were joined by other kōhanga whānau we realised what we had was a kaupapa Māori*" (Sharples, 2008).

As the movement grew, various kōhanga whānau became involved in the battle for kura kaupapa Māori establishment. While each group had their own unique experiences of the struggle to find suitable education for their kōhanga reo graduates, they would gather together as a combined force to combat the Department of Education. "*We each have our own stories. There were times when we got together, sort of strategic hui*" (L. Smith, 2008).

### ***Teaching and a Māori pedagogy***

Aside from battling the government, whānau had to find the means to teach their children. In the first Auckland kura set up outside of the state system (Hoani Waititi in 1985 and Maungawhau in 1987) whānau were able to make their own decisions about what they wanted their children to learn and how the school could be run. Instrumental in the setting up of Hoani Waititi kura, Kāterina Mataira explains the joy and excitement, and the sense of freedom experienced when developing a curriculum in the interests of the children:

*Pita depended on me to develop the kura itself, the curriculum, the teaching. Aroha [Sharples] and I were teachers, so we both taught, we both developed the curriculum. I'd had little or no practice in Primary School teaching other than in the Art Work. But I had enough nouse to know how to teach and what to teach, but I had to develop everything from scratch literally. Aroha was the one who had more experience in mainstream schools. Maybe that was an advantage. I went in with an open mind. I hadn't grown up or had the experience in mainstream schools so I was free to explore. We were committed to teaching at that time, what they called the school curriculum, the main subjects, but there was no constraints on how or when or what, just as long as you covered the main subject, so it was a ball!. (Mataira, 2010)*

Kāterina's enthusiasm was also expressed on the television programme Waka Huia in July 2010 where she reiterated that the establishment of kura kaupapa was a totally new venture with no teaching models for her and Aroha Sharples to follow. Focussing on Māori protocol, a Māori way of doing things, and ensuring children were aware of their unique and special qualities kept Kāterina and Aroha centred in their roles within the archetypal kura.

He huarahi hou, he huarahi kāore anō kia takoto tētahi paku tauira hei whai atu mā māua ko Aroha. Ko te mea nui kia mau tonu i roto i te kura te wairua Māori, ngā tikanga Māori me te mōhio ngā tamariki nei, he tino rangatira rātou. (Television New Zealand, 2010a)

In October 1987, the Awhireinga and Natari Kōhanga whānau began their Māori language school in a borrowed room on the grounds of the Auckland College of Education (Nepe, 1991; Rata, 1989). The ten pupils (five boys and five girls) of whom the majority were aged five with two aged six, were taught by Graham Smith, Tuki Nepe and Rawinia Penfold (G. Smith, 1988a). According to G. Smith (1997, p. 261), in the implementation of this school's title, Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Awhireinga, the term 'kura kaupapa Māori' was born. In quick succession other kura kaupapa Māori were set up in Auckland and around the country.

Graham Smith and Tuki Nepe were already teaching courses on the campus of the Auckland College of Education so they had little difficulty in securing a room and the support of the Dean, Dennis McGrath in 1987. A number of whānau members helped out in the classroom. Elizabeth Rata recalls "*Vern Penfold, Rawinia Penfold, Tuki did a lot.*" As one of the first teachers, Graham Smith remembers, "*This was actually a research sort of experiment we*

were wanting to model. Dennis gave us the support to get under way and created a classroom space at the college” (G. Smith, 2008).

The new kura had the advantage of being supported by fluent speakers from the Tohu Mātauranga degree programme at the College. “Next door Tuki and I were also teaching the Tohu Mātauranga degree. Teachers who were fluent speakers of Māori had come in for one year teacher training, who were also rostered in as part of the support base for these kids” (G. Smith, 2008). In the new environment, Graham was able to try different strategies and methods in the teaching. It was, he says, “An opportunity to do some experimentation with pedagogy to loosen up the ‘taken for granted’ constraints of the state system.”

The facilities of the College of Education were useful for modeling the curriculum delivery in Māori coupled with a Māori focus:

*I had access to the gymnasium, to the music suite and this was a really important element of this beginning because it allowed us to basically show the whole of the curriculum through the medium of Māori. I was able to take music, creative dance, gymnastics and phys. ed. We did everything.* (G. Smith, 2008)

The whānau chose to stay within the boundaries of the National Curriculum, as Graham explains, “When we started, we wanted to show that you could have this experience and not compromise the National Curriculum Guidelines” (G. Smith, 2008).

In minutes from a hui held by Te Komiti o te Kura Kaupapa Māori, 28 October 1987, there appears to have been discussion about “*the role of the classroom*” in which Linda Smith is noted as saying, “*We wish to design our own in Māori terms*” and Graham adds the “*need to include the skills dimension in reading, writing, playing instruments*” (Te Komiti o te Kura Kaupapa Māori, 1987). The developers of kura kaupapa Māori endorsed a modern, primary school curriculum that conformed to the requirements of the National Guidelines. While the main aim was to transmit Māori knowledge, culture and language, the new kura were also designed to prepare children for their future roles as bilingual and bicultural citizens participating in New Zealand society (Smith & Smith, 1990).

At the beginning of 1988, the Awhireinga and Natari whānau found themselves without a classroom as the time had come to vacate the room lent to them by the Auckland College of Education. Mirroring the earlier roles played by Graham Smith and Tuki Nepe in finding classroom space in their work environment, Elizabeth Rata secured a room for the itinerant

whānau at Queen Victoria School where she was employed. She relates: “The children spent several weeks in a borrowed room at Queen Victoria School’s hostel before moving to Kelston” (Rata, 1991, p. 103).

The move to the Kelston School for the Deaf prompted the creation of the name Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Waipareira in acknowledgment of the West Auckland area in which the school was located (Rata, 1989). The transition however, caused huge difficulties for the whānau. Nepe (1991) relates how the Department of Education had not advised the Principal and staff at the school about the new residents. Thus on the first day at the new school, they were viewed as intruders by the principal who “locked the door on the children and told them to go away that there was no school there that day” (Nepe, 1991, p. 117). The whānau persevered and re-opened the kura at the Kelston School but with some resistance from the Department of Education. Faced with a high rent from the Department, insurance bills for the whole block of classrooms (although only using one) no drinking water for the children and no telephone for emergency use, the energy and determination of the whānau of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Waipareira were sorely tested. At the beginning of 1989, they resolved to return to the Auckland College of Education—a more central site for the majority of whānau who travelled from the suburbs of Parnell, Mt Albert, Epsom, Mangere and Hillsborough (Nepe, 1991, p. 120). Through negotiation with the Auckland College of Education, the whānau moved back to the central city College site in Mt Eden and, in July, 1989, re-established themselves as Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau.

In its unjust behaviour towards the whānau during the struggle at Kelston, the Department of Education unwittingly helped Te Rūnanga o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori to garner sympathy from other political groups, and to gain recognition as a legitimate indigenous group seeking a Māori form of schooling (Rata, 1989). The new-found support was largely attributed to a letter-writing campaign, a strategy used by the Rūnanga to disseminate information to politicians and government officials as well as Māori and non-Māori who could influence opinion (Rata, 1991). But responses from David Lange, the Minister of Education, did not alleviate the poor conditions endured by the whānau at Kelston and he suggested the whānau await the outcome of the Picot Report soon to be released. Commissioned to evaluate an ailing Education Department, the Picot Report (Department of Education, 1988) resulted in a massive review and reshuffle of the Department in 1988, a move that unwittingly provided space for kura kaupapa Māori and enabled a successful move towards kura kaupapa Māori legislation.

## **He whakakapinga—Conclusion**

As a consequence of educational policies and practices, the Māori language was at a stage of near death by the 1970s. Māori rallied to find ways to revitalise the language. One of the strategies employed by Māori to save the language was to teach preschool children in te reo Māori in a Māori environment named Te Kōhanga Reo. But with no schooling available to continue the Māori immersion learning, the kōhanga reo graduates quickly lost their Māori language and knowledge within a short time in mainstream schools.

In seeking alternative learning environments for their primary school-aged children, the whānau from the Hoani Waititi kōhanga reo in West Auckland set a blue-print for other whānau when they began a kura on their marae in defiance of government ruling that their children must attend mainstream schools. Their stance encouraged other kōhanga reo whānau of the possibilities in beginning their own kura kaupapa Māori and gave strength to the Auckland Natari and Awhireinga whānau to begin a political offensive for the legal establishment of kura kaupapa Māori.

The political skills that the Natari and Awhireinga group amassed served them well when the Government, in announcing in 1988 massive changes to the structure of the Education Department, unwittingly provided an opening for the advancement of the kaupapa Māori aim to set up kura kaupapa Māori. The developments leading to formal recognition of kura kaupapa Māori through the 1989 Education Amendment Act, Section 155 will be discussed in Chapter Five.

## **Chapter Five: A Golden Moment for kura kaupapa Māori**

### **Introduction**

This chapter discusses the developments that led to the legal recognition of kura kaupapa Māori through the 1989 Education Act and, a decade later, the Te Aho Matua document.

Information gathered from my interviews with some of the pioneers who began the kura kaupapa Māori movement provide the content for this chapter: Graham Smith, Linda Smith, Elizabeth Rata, Pita Sharples, Kāterina Mataira and Cathy Dewes. As part of the kōhanga reo whānau seeking to continue the Māori immersion learning of their children, these people launched an offensive against the government from the middle of the 1980s to the early part of the 1990s. It was during that period that the New Zealand education system was totally overhauled as a result of the recommendations in the Picot Report (Department of Education, 1988a).

Prior to the restructuring, the government set up working groups to deal with all education matters except kura kaupapa Māori aspirations. At the insistence of the kura whānau, a working party was established at the end of 1988 to focus on the aim of legal recognition for kura kaupapa Māori. In working toward that goal, it became clear to the Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Party that the unique attributes of kura had to be clarified and expressed so that kura could stand apart from all other types of schooling. An expression of the kaupapa Māori characteristics was demonstrated through the creation of the Te Aho Matua philosophy.

Although the education reforms created room for the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori, the whānau had to re-energise in order to push for an inclusion of Te Aho Matua in the 1999 Education Amendment Act. The years of determined energy exercised by the kura kaupapa kōhanga Māori whānau came to fruition with the enshrinement in law of kura kaupapa Māori as a viable schooling option and Te Aho Matua as the guiding philosophy of kura kaupapa Māori.

### ***Education system in turmoil***

The period from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, memorable because of the dramatic restructuring of the state education system, provided perfect timing for the creation of kura kaupapa Māori. The revamp of the education system proved to be of benefit for Māori medium education. *“It was like a golden moment, this opportunity to argue for something*

*based on a different philosophy, certainly to establish te reo but much deeper than just the language” (L. Smith, 2008).*

According to Linda Smith it was also a time of upheaval:

*Education was in turmoil, the whole school system was in crisis. There were fundamentalist Christians wanting to pull their kids out of school, people running off to Australia saying the standards were dropping, the validity of School Certificate being held to question, the 1984 Education Development Conference at Ngāruawahia where Māori people were questioning whether we had any hope of our kids succeeding in school. We, the kura movement were [amongst] a number of interest groups who were agitating around schooling. (L. Smith, 2008)*

The debates about education were part of a groundswell of opposition to National Government policies. In her book about Māori protest, Harris (2004) reveals the collaboration that took place between Māori activists, Pākehā protest groups, anti-apartheid and anti-racism groups, clergy, union members and others as they challenged the government on matters such as the racism inherent in New Zealand society including land issues, the loss of the Māori language and culture, as well as the selection of rugby players based on race to play the South African Springboks. Graham describes the 1980s period as:

*A climate for accommodation. The [1981] Springbok tour basically forges new alliances between the left and the right. They’re the people on the streets holding hands and marching together and getting hit with the batons together. Ministers of religion, academics, Māori gang members and so on, forging of new alliances and new respect for each other. (G. Smith, 2008)*

While the public, in Graham’s view, were more open and accepting of difference, education was in chaos as left-wing thinkers and a group from the ‘new right’ clashed in their demands for education change. The general public had lost confidence in the education system as social inequality became more prevalent so when the Labour Government came into power in 1987, it was forced to breathe new life into the Department of Education and commissioned Picot to evaluate the Department (Jones, McCulloch, Marshall, G. Smith, & L. Smith, 1990). The Picot Report and the subsequent ‘Tomorrow’s Schools’ document (Department of Education, August 1988b) that propelled the education reforms—while narrow in their thinking for and about Māori—gave the kura kaupapa Māori proponents room to argue and

push for Māori schooling. According to Graham: “*The only real thing that Picot Reforms have done for New Zealand in my view is actually provide the space for the kaupapa Māori development*” (G. Smith, 2008).

### ***The Picot Report and kura kaupapa Māori***

A Taskforce led by businessman Brian Picot, was set up in 1987 by Labour Prime Minister, David Lange also Minister of Education, to review the administration of the Department of Education. In the Taskforce Report (Department of Education, 1988) radical change was reported as imperative so that the department could run more efficiently. Described by Penetito (2010, p. 167) as a “total dismantling of the education system with reconstruction following an economic or market model of accountability”, the change involved neoliberal market principles espoused by the Taskforce in which students and families as consumers could choose a product, in this case education, to suit their needs (Appleby, 2002).

Unfortunately, the market model with its focus on individualism did not encompass the needs of the kura kaupapa Māori whānau whose existence was based on the Māori concepts of cooperation and whānau obligations. In a summary of the Taskforce report to review education administration, the educational aspirations of Māori were glossed over through the usage of vague and generic terms. Perhaps intending to appease the needs of Māori, statements such as “Cultural sensitivity must play a greater part in the education system” showed little intention to change the education environment for Māori (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 4). The Taskforce reported that Māori want education to produce “children who are bilingual and bicultural, and who are at ease in both the Māori and Pākehā worlds,” and “the opportunity for all Māori children to be educated in the Māori language, in an environment that reflects Māori values and uses Māori forms” (p. 65). In relating what Māori parents and whānau want for their children, the taskforce appeared to acknowledge Māori desires for kura kaupapa Māori.

Yet a statement from the same section demonstrated a complete misunderstanding of Māori educational aspirations: “It is also clear that the revival of Māori language and culture is not seen as an end in itself, but as a key to lifting the educational performance of Māori children” (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 65). For many kōhanga parents and kura kaupapa Māori whānau, education in the Māori language *was* seen as ‘an end in itself’ and as the only way to raise the academic learning of their children. Underlying the statement made by the Taskforce is the suggestion that the Māori language is only useful in helping Māori children

to feel comfortable in the classroom so that they can get on with the proper learning involving Pākehā knowledge and culture (G. Smith, 1988b). It seemed to the kura kaupapa Māori whānau that the Picot Taskforce's solution in meeting the demands of Māori was simply to continue with the same ideas and policies of old. A telling statement lies in the Executive Summary pages where it is clear the Picot Taskforce believed Māori aspirations for their children to be knowledgeable in both the Māori and Pākehā worlds were already being adequately catered for within the existing education system: "We believe our structures will help achieve these aims" (Department of Education, 1988a, p.xiii). But whānau were fully aware that the available bilingual and total immersion units within mainstream schools could not cater for the total adherence to the Māori language and values as required by the kura kaupapa Māori advocates.

Saddened by the government's refusal to acknowledge their request for kura kaupapa Māori, the whānau felt as though their achievements had almost been in vain. The Taskforce placed Māori within the category of a minority group whose needs were often overlooked, and created an 'opt out' clause in which "groups whose needs are not being met adequately within the existing institutional framework will have the right to opt out of the existing school system and to create their own institutions" (Department of Education, 1988a, p. 67). Kura kaupapa Māori whānau viewed the placement of Māori within the category of a minority group as evidence that Māori were not recognised as tangata whenua, the indigenous people of the land. An additional slight was the indifference shown by the Taskforce to the importance of the Māori language—the basic premise of the argument for the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori, and a taonga under Treaty of Waitangi principles. The 'opt out' clause was riddled with difficulties. Whānau could only set up a kura as a last resort after first completing long negotiations with the Ministry of Education to argue why the mainstream schools were not seen as suitable, a process that could take years (Appleby, 2002). Consequently, the kura kaupapa Māori whānau had no option but to reject the provision. Political action was again reverted to as legal advice was sought about the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori under the Education Act, 1964. Negotiations began again with a letter to the Prime Minister, David Lange, reminding him that he had the power to set up kura. Lange responded with an indication that provisions for the establishment of kura were within the Tomorrow's Schools document but until the implementation of the new reforms within the Education Department, kura establishment would not occur (Nepe, 1991).

## ***The Working Party***

As a response to the Picot report, and under the framework of a government initiative called Tomorrow's Schools, key working groups were set up towards the end of 1988 to work on all aspects of education. But there was no allowance for kura kaupapa Māori within the working parties. Linda commented: *“There were working parties on things like Curriculum, Special Ed, and a range of topics. On each party was a single Māori person. But it soon became clear that despite [that] they were saying that a kura kaupapa could exist, it was clear in the working party process that there was no room for them”* (L. Smith, 2008).

Consequently the kura kaupapa Māori group lobbied for a working party to concentrate on kura kaupapa Māori. *“Those of us on the [general working parties] said no we're not going to participate anymore unless we can have a working party that basically addresses issues of the kura”* (L. Smith, 2008). Surprisingly, David Lange considered the objections to the provisions in Tomorrow's Schools as important and agreed to the rather late establishment of a working party to focus on the issue of kura kaupapa Māori as a viable educational option within state education.

The first meeting of the Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Party was organised by John Tapiata, the Implementation Unit Liaison Officer for Māori Education (Nepe, 1991). According to Rata (1991, p. 133), the group consisted of Dr Pita Sharples, Aroha Sharples, Tuki Nepe, Graham Smith, Elizabeth Rata, Toni Waho, Cathy Dewes, Pem Bird, Rahera Shortland, John Tapiata who co-ordinated the group and Kāterina Mataira as chairperson. These people had all been involved in kōhanga reo and were involved in the struggle to give life to kura kaupapa Māori. Some of the group were from whānau who had set up their own kura without government recognition, while others were in the process of seeking establishment. The working party had a limited time to respond to the Tomorrow's Schools Implementation Unit on the kura kaupapa Māori development. Although not a member of the Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Party, Linda Smith recalls the times her husband Graham attended meetings with the group. *“In that process, there were meetings in Auckland over the summer, 10 weeks to do it”* (L. Smith, 2008).

Within the short space of time allocated, there was extra work involved for the Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Party who were expected to consider the total field of schooling and to comment with authority on areas already being studied by other working parties.

*All the other parties had been working to this set framework that the Ministry had organised. We had then agitated that there was no input. They belatedly set us up but then we had to look at everything, the total system where these other parties were set up around things like curriculum, staffing. (G. Smith, 2008)*

According to Cathy, the first meeting of the Working Party, called by the coordinator John Tapiata, was held at Okoroire. The group looked at issues within schooling of the time and then discussed what they envisaged as a suitable kura for children brought up through kaupapa Māori.

*I te hui tuatahi i karangatia e John Tapiata i tū i Okoroire, arā, i tīmata te wānanga i reira. He aha ngā hiahia, he aha ngā hē i roto i ngā kura o te wā nei, ana kua oti kē i a mātou katoa. He tino poto te wā i whakapau ia ki tērā, kātahi mātou ka aro ake ki te whakawhiti kōrero—he aha te rongoa mō ngā hē o te wā nei, me pēhea te āhua o te kura tika. (Dewes, 2011)*

A week-long gathering in January 1989, took place at Kāterina Mataira's home in Raglan where a good deal of the Working Party report was completed. Towards the end of that month a session was convened at the University of Auckland marae so that the report could be finalised (Nepe, 1991).

A major concern to kura kaupapa Māori whānau was the complete lack of kura kaupapa Māori aspirations within the Taskforce's 1988 report, 'Administering for Excellence'. The Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Party pursued the notion that kura kaupapa should sit within a mainstream structure but in "a separate category outside Integrated and Special Character Schools" (Sharples, 1989, p. 33). Instead, the government decided that "Kura kaupapa Māori will be a form of designated character school" (Department of Education, 1988, p.1). Thus the pleas by whānau for kura to be placed in a distinct legal category within the legislation were ignored (Rata, 1989). In order to ensure kura kaupapa Māori were not categorised as simply another schooling option to mainstream schools, the Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Party recognised that clarifying the special nature of their particular type of schooling was a crucial factor in the maintenance of the integrity of kura kaupapa Māori. "*We realised what the political importance of this was, we needed to try and understand what exactly was unique*" (G. Smith, 2008).

Thus it was the desire to protect the inimitable qualities of kura kaupapa Māori that gave birth to the ‘Te Aho Matua’ document through which the Working Party was able to demonstrate the distinctive and unique attributes of kura. Kāterina contributed her thoughts about the special nature of kura kaupapa Māori:

*We felt that it was unique. Our joint experiences teaching our tamariki in kura, with the reo, with tikanga and kaupapa Māori. Endorsed, confirmed by our experience that here was something of vital importance, very different from mainstream, absolutely necessary for our tamariki.* (Mataira, 2010)

The special features of the kura had to be clarified. Established under a Māori philosophy, the unique spiritual nature that is aligned with Māori protocol and principles also needed to be explained.

*I mōhio mātou me whakamārama e mātou te rerekētanga o tēnei kura, kei te tū i runga i te kaupapa Māori, ko ēnei ngā tikanga me ngā mātāpono e tika ana. Ana ko te tino rerekētanga ko te taha wairua.* (Dewes, 2011)

### ***The special features of kura kaupapa Māori***

In a 1992 report to the Ministry of Education proposing the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori for secondary students, Pita Sharples listed the aims of kura kaupapa Māori:

- (1) “To respond to Māori people’s aspirations to save Māori language and culture to the world
- (2) To provide a kaupapa for a schooling option specifically for kōhanga reo communities
- (3) To provide a teaching and learning environment naturally suited to encourage all Māori children to strive for excellence
- (4) To validate traditional Māori knowledge and pedagogy within the school curriculum and all contexts of school life
- (5) To prepare children to provide a positive contribution to New Zealand society as Māori New Zealanders” (Sharples, 1992, p. 5).

When I asked how the kura kaupapa Māori objectives as desired by kura whānau and outlined by Sharples were created, Linda responded that the aims did not come about “*through a formal process but seemed to reflect the core values that kura were standing on, a natural*

*growth from kōhanga reo*” (L. Smith, 2008). In embracing kaupapa Māori and Māori methods of teaching and learning, kura are a continuance of the successful, Māori-centred, Māori controlled, kōhanga reo. Smith and Smith (1990, p. 147) explain that kura kaupapa Māori continue, and build upon the “philosophies and principles established in Te Kōhanga Reo and maintain the teaching and learning of the curriculum through total immersion in Māori language”.

As kura kaupapa Māori are a follow-on from kōhanga reo it is understandable that the aims exemplified the progression. Linda clarifies: “*You couldn’t have kura unless you had kōhanga*” and encompassed principles “*common across all the communities of parents who were establishing kura kaupapa Māori*”, no matter whether it was in Auckland, Rotorua or Palmerston North (L. Smith, 2008). The desire to continue whānau control as practised in kōhanga reo and to be able to make decisions about their children’s education was also instrumental in leading whānau away from the mainstream schooling structures and into the kura (Smith & Smith, 1990).

The objectives of the kura whānau are a formal representation of the founding goals and special qualities of kura that motivated the political battle undertaken by the Awhireinga and Natari whānau. A crucial factor was the protection of the Māori language. While the whānau employed the Treaty of Waitangi to stress the rightful existence of the language they also argued that the establishment of a total immersion Māori language environment at primary school level would ensure the survival of the reo (Awhireinga Kōhanga Reo, 1987). Rata (1989, p. 30) summed up the main objective of that time, “*If a catch cry were needed for kura kaupapa Māori, it would be ‘Language Survival and Revival’.*”

The desire for a totally Māori education, rather than an add-on one in mainstream, was not just about reviving the Māori language or about identity. It was also about social justice. Smith and Smith (1990) lamented the indifference of the state education system to the high failure rate of Māori children in schools, as well as the continued adherence to past policies that ensured inequality for Māori and life at the bottom of the socio-economic heap. Unemployment was a certainty for the many young Māori who left school with little or no qualifications (Sharples, 1989). The feeling of despondency about the lack of positive educational outcomes for Māori in mainstream education is echoed in Linda Smith’s statement, “*Aspirations were shaped by the frustration that our children were not going to go anywhere in mainstream. It was inevitable that we did it, otherwise our kids were going to*

*fail—that was the story of the times. No alternative but to start our own school”* (L. Smith, 2008).

Kura kaupapa Māori were viewed as a means to improve life chances for young Māori and to eradicate inequality and were heralded as a Māori solution to the Māori education crisis (Smith & Smith, 1990). Viewed as a panacea for Māori struggle and lack of success within the education system and society at large, kura kaupapa Māori were proclaimed as “*an alternative solution for the crisis faced by Māori children*” (Rata, 1989, p.30) and seen to “*contain the potential solutions to make inroads into the current crisis within state schooling*” (Smith & Smith, 1990, p. 127).

### ***The development of Te Aho Matua***

The motivation behind the development of a guiding philosophy called Te Aho Matua was political. It came about because of the need to show the government how kura were distinctive and should not be placed under the category of ‘special character’. Linda explains, “*Our agenda was to have legislation that protected kura kaupapa Māori, we didn’t want to be put under the general category of schooling and what came back was, there’s nothing special about you*”. The reason for writing Te Aho Matua was to counteract the challenge that “*there was nothing about kura that was distinctive and therefore it should be able to exist simply as an alternative school within the way Tomorrow’s Schools was expecting them to emerge*” (L. Smith, 2008).

Te Aho Matua was also developed as a means to keep the originality of kura kaupapa Māori distinct from the total immersion units within mainstream schools, as well as the mainstream schools that the government re-designated as kura kaupapa Māori.

*Te Aho Matua is actually about a defensive device against the intrusion of others who would dissipate the thing.* (G. Smith, 2008)

Graham’s statement relates to the government’s desire to re-designate state schools as kura kaupapa Māori—an abhorrent act to the Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Party who knew that the placement of a kaupapa Māori unit or school within a mainstream environment would quickly be subjugated by the dominant Pākehā language and culture. Sharples explains:

*Government taking ownership of kura watered down the criteria and caused dissension amongst the schools by designating schools to be kura when they're not what the founders decided was a kura. (Sharples, 2008)*

The pioneers of the kura kaupapa Māori movement (Graham Smith, Linda Smith, Pita Sharples, Cathy Dewes and Elizabeth Rata) readily acknowledge Kāterina Mataira as the originator of Te Aho Matua and credit Kāterina and Tuki Nepe as the main writers of Te Aho Matua. Linda stated, “*Kāterina and Tuki wrote what became Te Aho Matua and then it was discussed and worked on.*” Another person involved in the writing was Cathy Dewes who acknowledges that Te Aho Matua came from Kāterina and her links to the spiritual world. Cathy also related that the creation of the name Te Aho Matua was an acknowledgement of the many aspects of knowledge:

*Nā Kāterina, nā āna wānanga ki te wāhi ngāro pea i puta mai ai. Me te whakamāramatanga, he nui ngā aho o te whāriki o te Mātauranga. Ko tēnei te ‘Aho Matua’ o taua whāriki. He nui noa atu, ko te Pāngarau, ko te aha rā, hei aho anō ki te whāriki o tēnei whāriki mātauranga. Ānei ko ‘Te Aho Matua’. (Dewes, 2011)*

The nascent and development of Te Aho Matua was driven by the early days at the Hoani Waititi kura with the focus on the revitalization of the Māori language. “*Te Ataarangi was actually the major influence*” as well as “*the realization that the reo was dying*” (Mataira, 2008).

The actual writing of Te Aho Matua took place when the Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Party was split into groups to work on different aspects before writing the final report for the Government. Cathy recalls how she, Kāterina Mataira and Tuki Nepe were left to choose the main points from the group’s discussion and to create principles from them as a foundation for the new kura: the beginning of the writing of Te Aho Matua.

Kāterina was clear in her recollection that the University of Auckland was the venue as she adds information about the writing of Te Aho Matua:

*The men disappeared—we had been meeting, talking, I remember we were at Auckland University—for some reason or other went off to do something else and left me, Cathy Dewes, Tuki Nepe, and Rahera Shortland. Rahera rarely participated at this stage. She was there as a strong support person for the reo in Ataarangi. The writing of Te Aho Matua happened at Auckland University. (Mataira, 2008)*

Cathy provides another perspective on the meeting. When the time came to write the report for the government, the participants separated into smaller groups that focussed on different aspects of the report. Cathy, Kāterina and Tuki had the task of putting together the main points from the findings and minutes from group meetings to form principles as a foundation for the new kura. From that came the concept of Te Aho Matua.

*Ka tae ki te wā kua reri mātou ki te tuhi i te pūrongo mā te Kāwanatanga. I whakawehea mātou. Ka haere ake tēnei tokorua ki te aro ake ki tētahi wāhanga o te pūrongo, a wai ake ki tēnei wāhanga o te pūrongo, a wai ake ki tērā wāhanga o te pūrongo. Ka waihotia mai ko Kāterina, ko ahau, ko Tuki hei tangata ki te kōhi i ngā whakaaro katoa o te rōpū me te whakatakoto hei mātāpono, hei whāriki mō te kura hou, ana ko Te Aho Matua tērā (Dewes, 2011).*

Kāterina explained the process in which Te Aho Matua was created:

*I remember Tuki and Cathy sitting at one end of the table and me at the other, and they just wrote something and passed it to me. How we decided on those sections, I can't remember. I gave them the model, this is what we need, and broke it down in to those elements, Te Ira Tangata, Te Reo, Ngā Āhuatanga Ako, and then Ngā Uaratanga [as well as Ngā Iwi and Te Ao]. We finished it on that day. A unique experience, I felt that we were guided, absolutely sure that our tipuna were there working with us, the kōrero just flowed. I didn't stop to think, to contemplate. They passed me the piece of paper and I expanded on the thoughts that they gave to me. Mine was the hand that wrote it, but the thoughts were jointly ours, Tuki, Cathy, and me. (Mataira 2008)*

Cathy's recollection is similar. She related that she and Tuki would write their thoughts down and then pass the paper to Kāterina. But Kāterina barely looked at their words as she was busy writing, an act that Cathy believes was guided by ancestral spirits:

*I a mātou e tuhi ana, māua ko Tuki, ka tuhi i tētahi whakaaro ki runga i te pepa. Ka hoatu ki a Kāterina. Kāre ia i tino titiro ki a māua pepa, i te tuhi noa iho ia. I taua rā i kite au i te mahi a te wairua e whakahaere ana i tana ringa. (Dewes, 2011)*

Written in the Māori language, the Te Aho Matua document was presented to the Ministry of Education in the late 1990s. But, unable to understand the Māori version of Te Aho Matua, Dr. Maris O'Rourke, the Chief Executive for the Ministry of Education, requested an English translation which caused misunderstanding and a rejection of the document.

*That was one of the problems. It was written in Māori, and we had determined it would stay in Māori, and the [Chief Executive for the Ministry of Education] at that time, was adamant that she couldn't support, she didn't understand. She got Erima Henare, and then said it was a sexist document because Henare had used 'he'. I think it was his translation that made her feel it was a sexist document. No way would she support it.* (Mataira, 2008)

In 1997, an interpretation (Mataira, n.d.) was developed by Kāterina Mataira on behalf of Te Rūnanga Nui o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tāmaki Makaurau (governing body of kura kaupapa Māori)<sup>7</sup> and she is adamant that the English version of Te Aho Matua is not a direct translation of the Māori language document: “*I wrote an interpretation for the Minister. It should never be called a translation, it was an interpretation*” (Mataira, 2008).

Through Te Aho Matua, the Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Party had achieved the goal of demonstrating the uniqueness of kura in its adherence to a Māori philosophy with protocol and principles quite different to any existing school. But the greatest difference, Cathy points out, is in the spiritual nature of the doctrine. Although Pita Sharples and John Tapiata, on behalf of the Kura kaupapa Māori Working Party urged the government to make it law, Te Aho Matua was not formally and legally recognized until some years later in 1999.

*I tuhia i mua i te take ture. Nō muri ake ko te ture. Engari ko te pūrongo ki te Kāwanatanga me tā mātou kī, 'Me whakature tēnei'. Kawea e Pete tērā tohe ki te Kāwanatanga, ko John Tāpiata hoki. I mōhio mātou me whakamārama e mātou te rerekētanga o tēnei kura, kei te tū i runga i te kaupapa Māori, ko ēnei ngā tikanga me ngā mātāpono e tika ana. Ana ko te tino rerekētanga ko te taha wairua nē.* (Dewes, 2011)

By mid-1989 there was hope that the recommendations made by the Kura Kaupapa Māori Working Party Report would lead to legislation for kura kaupapa Māori. But when the 1989 Education Act was passed, kura kaupapa Māori whānau were dismayed to find that kura kaupapa Māori had not been included and instead had been named as a ‘Designated Character School’ in the draft legislation. With renewed vigor, Te Komiti o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tāmaki Makaurau successfully lobbied the government and, in December 1989, received the

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<sup>7</sup> According to Rata (1991, p. 74) Te Komiti o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tāmaki Makaurau was changed to Te Rūnanga o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tāmaki Makaurau at the March 1991 AGM.

joyful news that kura kaupapa Māori had been enshrined in law through the 1989 Education Amendment Act, Section 155 (Nepe, 1991; Rata, 1991).

But the kura whānau could not rest on its laurels. The government did not fully implement the intent of the legislation, would not accommodate the request for the insertion of Te Aho Matua to uphold the special nature of kura kaupapa Māori, and appeared determined to intercept the new kura initiative as evidenced in the following sentence in a letter from Dr. Maris O'Rourke to the Komiti o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori in 1990 in which she stated, "*I am sending Dick Grace to a special project next year to go around the country and help appropriate state schools become kura*" (Nepe, 1991, p. 89).

The battle-weary whānau, through the arm of Te Rūnanga o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori, continued to pressure the government over the next ten years until, finally, Te Aho Matua was included in the Education (Te Aho Matua) Amendment Act, 1999, in the repeal of 155 of the Education Act 1989.

### ***Te Aho Matua***

There is not a lot of writing that details the background behind the formation of Te Aho Matua. Two of the founding members of kura kaupapa Māori, Nepe and Rata wrote their experiences into theses. While both describe the establishment of a kura kaupapa Māori educational system, Nepe (1991) in her analysis of kaupapa Māori, clarifies the Māori knowledge content of Te Aho Matua. In Rata's (1989) history of Te Rūnanga o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tāmaki Makaurau, a brief description is made of Te Aho Matua within the details of the kura whānau's political struggle.

Cooper et al., (2004) explain aspects of Te Aho Matua within their study about the use of Māori language in kōhanga reo, kura and the links with whānau. On a much smaller scale, Powick (2001) has written about the implementation of some of the Te Aho Matua principles through the narratives of three participants. The opinions and experiences of the participants provide an insight into the usage of Te Aho Matua in a kura, but the study is limited given the very small group involved (who are all from the same kura). A larger representation was accessed by Takao et al., (2010) in their research. In seeking responses from graduates, teachers, staff, principals, parents and grandparents of five kura kaupapa Māori on how they view success in a kura, examples were provided of the practice and effectiveness of Te Aho Matua in a number of kura settings.

In recognising that kura follow the Te Aho Matua philosophy, the Education Review Office (ERO) worked with Te Rūnanga Nui o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa (the present name of Te Rūnanga o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori) to develop an evaluation process for reviewing kura kaupapa Māori. In using Te Aho Matua as the framework for assessing good practice in teaching and learning within kura, the ERO employs the six Te Aho Matua principles as evaluation indicators (Education Review Office, 2008). The ERO, in conjunction with Te Rūnanga Nui, has come up with an overarching statement to sum up the indicators that follow each principle. Thus, within Te Ira Tangata, it is expected that the student will develop “physical, spiritual and emotional well-being, an awareness of individual uniqueness and respect for self and others” (ERO, 2008, p. 3). Under the heading of Te Reo, the goal is student competency in thinking, and in reading and writing in Māori and English. Through the principle of Nga Iwi, students learn about ancestry and their whānau, hapū and iwi aspirations. Te Ao ensures learning about “contemporary and traditional views of te ao Māori, the wider world and the physical and natural worlds” (p. 4). The expectation in Āhukatanga Ako is that students learn in an environment that is intellectually stimulating. Te Tino Uaratanga focuses on the outcomes for children leaving kura kaupapa Māori at the end of their schooling. The five parts: Te Ira Tangata, Te Reo, Nga Iwi, Te Ao and Āhukatanga Ako provide guidelines that help teachers, kura whānau and the ERO as they work towards the Long Term Outcomes, the attainment of the goals that are stated within Te Tino Uaratanga, for Te Aho Matua is about “preparing children to continue learning and take on the challenges of modern society” (Cooper et al., 2004, p.2).

It is appropriate that the Te Aho Matua principles are used by the ERO to evaluate kura. As the guiding philosophy for kura kaupapa Māori, Te Aho Matua provides direction for the Board of Trustees in their management of the school, in the development of policies and charters, and can be woven through school planning and curriculum implementation. Children, teachers, principal and whānau are led by Te Aho Matua in their relationships and dealings with each other. Created especially for kura kaupapa Māori children, the Te Aho Matua doctrine influences the pedagogies used in kura and the transmission of kaupapa Māori knowledge (Nepe, 1991).

Te Aho Matua should not be seen as a rigid document. It can be easily adapted and interpreted to suit kura in their different environments. As Linda explains, Te Aho Matua was developed “*not to be a sort of compliance document per se but a facilitating one that basically tried to get to core values and yet enabled the kura to develop differently*”. Linda

viewed it as “*an approach and it’s quite open*” (L. Smith, 2008). But, according to Graham, there are groups who take the philosophy literally. “*People have misinterpreted, they’ve taken the doctrine and they’ve lost the idea of flexibility*” (G. Smith, 2008).

Cathy agrees that Te Aho Matua is ‘not set in stone’. Every year the document is reviewed by the kura kaupapa Māori whānau to see if any changes need to be implemented. “*Ehara i te mea kua ‘toka’ tēnei tuinga. Nā reira ia tau, te tikanga ia, ka whai wāhi ngā whānau katoa ki te wānanga mō Te Aho Matua ki te tīni* (Dewes, 2011).

Cathy gives an example of such a change. In 1996 the word ‘raukawa’ was deleted and the the word ‘raukura’ was instead inserted into Te Tino Uaratanga, ‘Part 6.12’ “*Kia tū pakari, tū rangatira ia hei (raukawa) raukura mō tōna iwi*” (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 739). The change occurred when the Rūnanga revised the document and realised that the word ‘raukura’ provided a more accurate meaning in the context of that particular sentence within Te Aho Matua.

*I tīningia e mātou i tētahi kupu engari i whakaatu atu ki a Kāterina me tana kī mai ‘He tika hoki. Ko te kupu ki reira ko “raukura” ehara i a “raukawa”.’ I puta mai mō roto i te ture ko te kupu “raukawa” kē ko te kōwae whakamutunga o Te Aho Matua, “kia tū rangatira te tamaiti hei raukura”. Engari ko raukawa te kupu i reira, ka tīningia e mātou i tērā’. (Dewes, 2011)*

### ***Impact on whānau of kura kaupapa Māori battle***

Whānau in the frontline of the 14-year battle to develop kura kaupapa Māori put up with huge pressures. Attendance was required at numerous meetings, whānau had to contribute to letter-writing campaigns, communicate and negotiate with a variety of people and bureaucracies such as the officials from the Education Department, School Inspectors, principals, teachers, parent groups, University staff as well as Auckland College of Education personnel (G. Smith, 1989, pp. 26-27). On top of these expectations, parents and extended whānau had to run kura, find teachers who were fluent in the Māori language, and also source revenue to pay for teachers’ salaries and rent for buildings. A huge commitment was expected of the kura families and individuals.

*It was full on. Every day it consumed our total beings. Having to fund-raise because there was no money for this experiment. All done by ourselves, a commitment by parents to give me their kids for a year and to model it. (G. Smith, 2008)*

The whānau members were always together thus creating the potential for relationships to become jaded.

*Late night meetings four nights a week, Sunday strategy meetings, [planning] meetings. We were in each other's houses and pockets. It was very intense and not by accident a lot of us don't spend a lot of time with each other. (L. Smith, 2008)*

All of those involved in the kura movement committed many hours to the cause while working in full-time jobs such as teaching or lecturing. When the Awhireinga Kura Kaupapa Māori began in 1987 on the grounds of the Auckland College of Education, Graham Smith took leave without pay from his lectureship at Auckland University and became the first teacher of the kura. His family survived on one salary earned by his wife, Linda.

*I became the first teacher by default, because Linda and I both had jobs and we could afford that one of us could take leave without pay to do it and so I did it. (G. Smith, 2008)*

Elizabeth, too, illustrates the perseverance behind the aspirations for the development of kura.

*I was doing the kura work as a full-time job but I had my full-time job as Head of English at Queen Vic. (Rata, 2008)*

Coping with personal financial restraints, buildings that were below health standards, and finding resources were a part of the stress that impacted on the families involved in the kura movement. Difficulties for whānau were increased by the lack of choices around the sites for kura.

*[In] 1988 we moved from the classroom at Epsom to the rooms we had at the School for the Deaf at Kelston. The travel out there was just so onerous, all the traffic, these young children being taken out to Kelston. Everything happened early in the morning. Mangere Bridge to Kelston, sometimes picking up others on the way, then back to Awhireinga to drop [child] off, then to my job at Queen Vic and at night I'd be doing kura work. (Rata, 2008)*

But people were prepared to put up with the hardship in their commitment to advance the kura establishment. Elizabeth relates the exhilaration as people were galvanised into action.

*We got caught up. People do when they're in a movement that's moving quickly. It's tense and exciting. It has a momentum that just sweeps you along. (Rata, 2008)*

In taking control of their children's education, and to instil a kaupapa Māori education, kura whānau were treading new ground. Linda remembers that her daughter would often remark:

*that she was our little experiment. In a way the students in those early days were. Kura kaupapa Māori was a successful experiment but the children bore the brunt of the development and what it means to develop something from scratch. The risk of not knowing what was going to happen the next day or who the teachers were. (L. Smith, 2008)*

Elizabeth expresses sadness about the effects of the undeveloped kura on some students when, in the early days there were few trained teachers fluent in the Māori language.

*Many of them didn't do well. I look back with regret and some guilt that they were used as guinea pigs. Things did improve for them once Dianne Pomare arrived much further down the track but for a number of years the teaching was pretty ad hoc. (Rata, 2008)*

The passion and commitment required of whānau involved in the push for the kura initiative impacted on the maintenance and support of their own family relationships:

*Graham and I were both really actively involved but at one point having to make a decision about how you sustain your family at the same time as you're doing all these politics. (L. Smith, 2008)*

Linda realised that the responsibilities required for the kura movement were impacting upon the needs of her own family.

*[It was] Hugely intense. We pulled back because you have to have a life and look after your own whānau. You're talking whānau in a kura but you're not at home every night. Your child is eating rubbish food because no-one is home to cook. You're having to make decisions all the time. (L. Smith, 2008)*

Although it took its toll on the kura whānau, the dream of establishing kura kaupapa Māori was made possible by their dogged persistence and a well organised political campaign. While that particular battle was won by the kura whānau, Linda sees the struggle continuing today with the need for better resources within kura and funding a major issue.

*They've been funded with a ball and chain around their ankles, pretty much set up to fail. The infrastructure was never built around them. The infrastructure for curriculum, resourcing, resources, text books, writing, teacher education. One battle at a time. We win this and then go on to the next. Huge gaps in resources. Our kura don't have swimming pools, don't have big community resources, don't have computers per child. It's been piecemeal, not really wanting to go the full hog in terms of funding.* (L. Smith, 2008)

Graham agrees that there is still conflict, but the kura world today is quite dissimilar to the early days of the kura movement—it is at a different level with different people involved:

*The movement is still going, still growing, still evolving. It is not where we started and it shouldn't be. It doesn't belong to any of those people who were in the beginning. We're part of the history but it's now owned by a lot of great teachers who are out there doing wonderful things. New parents have committed their kids to this because it's about their own aspirations.*

### **He whakakapinga—Conclusion**

The pioneers of the kura kaupapa Māori movement fought for a schooling initiative that would produce a child strong in his/her identity as Māori, be a fluent speaker of the language, be knowledgeable about kaupapa Māori and continue to practise Māori values long after they had left the kura kaupapa Māori. The aim was that a kura education would produce future Māori leaders experienced in Māori traditions as well as the technologies and knowledges of the modern world. As Linda put it: “*our aspiration was that you could get everything in a kura*”, and the expectation was “*to produce a different kind of child out of schooling*”. Chapter Six introduces some graduates who are the products of the first kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland, young adults who are confident in their identity as Māori and exemplify the hopes of the initiators of kura 27 years ago.

## Chapter Six: Hei oranga Māori. Living as Māori—what it means to the graduates

### He whakatakinga—Introduction

Kura kaupapa Māori set out to ensure that their students participated in all aspects of Māori life during their education. It was envisaged that the young graduates would leave kura to become active and contributing citizens of the world while continuing to practise Māori tradition and values, and to live as Māori.

In this chapter, I have attempted to find out what ‘living as Māori’ means to the participants who were students at the first kura kaupapa Māori established in Auckland in the mid-to-late 1980s. These graduates are now adults, working and contributing to society. Some of them are also parents with babies and children of their own. They have chosen to communicate with their children in the Māori language and to teach them to view the world through a Māori lens.

In expressing their thoughts about ‘living as Māori’, the participants shared some common points. The whānau is one element that is seen as crucial in passing on Māori language, and knowledge about tribal history and values which strengthen a child’s identity. Another element of ‘living as Māori’ and to enhance the identity of children, practised by the participants, is through frequent visits to tribal areas. This chapter considers the graduates’ explanations of ‘living as Māori’.

### *‘Hei oranga Māori’—He aha te tikanga? Living as Māori: What does it mean?*

“He kākano i ruia mai i Rangīātea. E kore ia e ngaro.” (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 735)

Placed at the beginning of the Te Aho Matua document, this saying likens the child to the precious seed sown from Rangīātea, a sacred place to Māori. The special quality of the child stems from conception when the child is endowed with a spiritual energy linking to the child’s ancestral lineage and to Io-matua, the supreme deity.

The unique nature of the Māori child and the links to ancestry were inherent within the objectives developed by the pioneers of the early kura kaupapa Māori which sought, through schooling, the preservation of the Māori language and culture and the validation of traditional Māori knowledge and pedagogy. An aim of the creators of the kura kaupapa Māori

movement was to enable students to exit kura as bilingual and bicultural people, able to contribute and influence the wider world as skilled and knowledgeable adults. The paramount goal however, was for the continuation of the Māori language and culture through the voices and practices of the young graduates who, it was envisaged, would be strong and proud of their Māori identity.

The model of cultural identity as a foundation for learners in Māori education, as set by the kura kaupapa Māori originators, was acknowledged at the ‘Hui Taumata Mātauranga’ held in 2001 in Turangi. Convened by Tumu Te Heuheu, the Paramount Chief of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, the gathering consisted of a diverse range of Māori people from educationalists and government officials to whānau members—including rangatahi or young people—who came together to discuss education for Māori. While there was consensus at the hui that schooling should prepare students to live and participate in a wider society, being equipped to participate in Māori society was deemed crucial. The conference recognised the importance of an education that allows input from areas such as Māori language, culture, marae, tikanga and whānau, and placed these fundamentals of the Māori world view and body of knowledge under the goal of “enabling Māori to live as Māori” (Durie, 2003, p. 199). There was also agreement from the participants that the goals to “actively participate as citizens of the world” and to “enjoy good health and a high standard of living” (p. 200) are equally important for Māori.

In this chapter, I am interested in the goal of “enabling Māori to live as Māori” which Durie has defined as being able to access the Māori world, and its components—the Māori language, culture, marae (communal meeting place), tikanga (customs) and resources like land, whānau and kaimoana (seafood).

Apart from the following references, there is little documentation about how kura kaupapa Māori graduates manage to live their lives as Māori in the world today. Martin (2012) seeks to articulate the notion of ‘educational success’ from a Māori viewpoint and includes kura kaupapa Māori understandings. Poutu (2007), in her Master’s thesis, recorded the recollections and opinions of six participants about aspects of their whānau life, as well as their experiences in kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori, wharekura and early life after wharekura.

It is understandable that there is some commonality in the experiences described by Martin (2012) and Poutu (2007) with those related to me by the participants in my study.

Components such as te reo Māori, whānau, whanaungatanga, ngā pouako (teachers) are a staple part of kura life and will be found in most studies on the topic of Māori-medium education. The difference lies in the focus and aims of our research and writing. Rather than seeking examples of success as Martin has done, or providing a brief description of the journey of some kura graduates as in Poutu's thesis, my focus is about finding out how 12 participants define and describe 'living as Māori'.

The maintenance of whanaungatanga (relationships) ensures that, as a past member of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Maungarongo, I have connections in the kura kaupapa Māori world. But it was the communication with two participants from my earlier Masters study (Tocker, 2002) that facilitated whānau networking and resulted in the participation of the 12 kura kaupapa Māori graduates in this study.

The graduates had been schooled in three of the first established kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland between the years of 1984 and 1998. When these young people graduated from kura all but one went on to the secondary level of schooling at Hoani Waititi Wharekura—the first kaupapa Māori secondary school established in 1993—and so continued the Māori language and cultural learning from kura kaupapa Māori. I have created a small table to give a sense of the representation of graduates in this study.

<b>Name of Graduate</b>	<b>Māori as language of child hood</b>	<b>Kura</b>	<b>Graduated: kura kaupapa Māori</b>	<b>Graduated: Hoani Waititi Wharekura</b>	<b>Employment</b>	<b>Māori spoken at home with children</b>
1. Mana Epiha	Yes	Maungawhau	1993	1998	Television	No children
2. Reikura Kahi	Yes	Hoani Waititi	1992	1996	Television	Yes
3. Tumamao Harawira	Not available	English medium	English language medium school	1998	Radio and Television	No children
4. Mahanga Pihama	Yes	Hoani Waititi	1994	1998	Television	Yes
5. Monowai Panoho	No	Maungawhau	1992	1998	Television	Yes
6. Ruki Tobin	Yes	Maungawhau	1994	1998	Master's Degree study	No children
7. Chance Taylor	No	Hoani Waititi	1993	1998	Teaching: adult education	English
8. Te Hira Paenga	Yes	Hoani Waititi	1994	2000	Teaching kura kaupapa	Yes
9. Pikihuia Pomare	Yes	Maungawhau	1995	English language medium high school 2001	Doctorate in Clinical Psychology	Yes
10. Kiri (pseudonym)	No	Not named	1998	2003	Television	Yes
11. Pania (pseudonym)	Yes	Not named	1998	2003	Teaching kura kaupapa	No children
12. Tāmara (pseudonym)	Yes	Not named	1993	1999	Teaching kura kaupapa	Yes

The graduates in my study were asked “What does ‘living as Māori’ mean to you?” Some seemed puzzled by the question as they saw it as a given, a way of life they took for granted and, as comments from three graduates show, simply a consequence of birth or being born into the Māori world.

*Being Māori is just being normal, just being alive. It’s not something that happened recently, it’s something that was installed in me from when I was born. I don’t feel like I live it in [any particular] way, I just feel that I am. (Mana)*

*Living as Māori is something that you don’t see as being separate to anything else. It’s invisible, a way of life that just comes naturally. It’s doing the things my tīpuna did but in a more modern context. Living in line with tikanga, speaking Māori, being active in the Māori world. (Pikihuia)*

*Growing up, that’s the only thing I knew, to live as Māori. (Reikura)*

In finding a meaning to the phrase, ‘living as Māori’, Mahanga ponders, “What is this thing—the Māori world?” He equates ‘living as Māori’ to living in a world primarily created by the whānau”.

*He aha tēnei mea te ao Māori? He ao, tuatahi ka hangaia e te whānau ake. (Mahanga)*

Instilled in Mahanga is the belief that knowledge about the Māori world is passed on through the wondrous nature of learning that takes place within the whānau. Durie (2006, p. 7) concurs with his statement that whānau play a major role in transmitting “culture, knowledge, values and skills”. The passing on of cultural experiences and concepts from generation to generation supports identity growth, learning and maximises potential.

*Ko te tino akoranga i whakatōtō mai i roto i au, ko te noho whānau me te tino hōhonutanga, te tino mīharotanga o te noho ā-whānau nei, te āta tiaki i tērā i tō tātou ao Māori. (Mahanga)*

Mahanga continues with his explanation of the Māori world, “It begins with parents—they must guide children in the Māori world. What is the most fundamental thing in the Māori world? In my opinion it is to prioritise our beautiful Māori language.”

*Ko te orokohanga mai ko ngā mātua. Mā rāua e poi poi i ā rāua tamariki ki te ao Māori. He aha te tino pūtake o tēnei mea te ao Māori? Mōku ake he ao e whakanui ana i te ātaahua o tō tātou reo. (Mahanga)*

### ***Te reo Māori—the Māori language***

He taonga te reo Māori i roto i te Tiriti o Waitangi, he reo tūturu hoki i roto i te ture mō te reo. Engari kāhore he painga o te Tiriti, o te ture rānei, mehemea kāhore te reo i roto i te whatumanawa, i roto i te ngākau, i roto hoki i te māngai o te iwi Māori. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 736)

According to the Te Aho Matua statement above, enshrining the Māori language in law is pointless if the language is not used on a daily basis.

Viewed as the vehicle that transmits Māori knowledge, traditions and culture, the Māori language is claimed by the graduates to be the most important factor in ‘living as Māori’. The sentiment is expressed in the two comments below.

*Ko te reo Māori tētahi o ngā tino pūtake o te iwi Māori, o te ao Māori. (Mahanga)*

*Mōku ake te tupu i roto i te ao, tuatahi ko te reo. (Ruki)*

Ruki personalises the necessity of the language in his life when he talks of it carrying the very essence of his life force and his being Māori. The language is his identity.

*Ko te reo te mauri o tōku mana Māori. (Ruki)*

Mahanga likens the pivotal role of the Māori language in Māori society to the main supporting post that stands in the middle of the whare nui (meeting house). Without the *pou tokomanawa* the meeting house would collapse and without the language, Māori culture will die. Therefore he posits, it is essential that Māori be the primary language of children who attend kura kaupapa Māori and it should continue throughout their schooling.

*Ko te reo Māori tērā hei pou tokomanawa, hei tuatahitanga mō ngā ākonga ka tīmata i te kura kaupapa, ka haere tonu, ka mutu i te wharekura. (Mahanga)*

In her expression of ‘living as Māori’, Kiri acknowledges the role of pre-school education as well as family communication in the Māori language and the use of Māori protocol and customs.

*Sending your tamariki to kōhanga reo and speaking Māori in your whare and practising tikanga. (Kiri)*

A Māori language upbringing and education influenced Reikura's way of life and her 'living as Māori'. She is fortunate to have lived amongst family members who were fluent Māori language speakers. Living as Māori for Reikura involves speaking the Māori language and practising Māori ways of behaving through attending important functions held on the marae:

*[Family members] always speaking Māori—fluent Māori speaking father, grandmother, cousins, aunts and uncles—quite a few of them. Speaking Māori mai i a au e pēpi ana tae noa mai ki tēnei rā. Being at a kōhanga reo and a kura kaupapa. Going to tangihanga and hui and everything that a marae offers—kaumātua, ngā kuia, listening to mōteatea, pātere and being surrounded by ngā poupou, mahi whakairo, tukutuku. (Reikura)*

Mana, too, was surrounded by the Māori language as he was growing up. By the time he went to kura kaupapa Māori at the age of seven, he was well immersed in the language. Mana believes he was fortunate to hear the language spoken at home and in the homes of relatives from various tribal areas.

*I rangona e ōku taringa i ahau e tamariki ana, kātahi ka waea haere i taku urunga atu ki te Kura Kaupapa i Waipareira, '87. He waimārie noki i te mea i te kāinga katoa te reo, aku kāinga maha, Te Tī, Ngāti Rehia, Matauri, Ngāti Kura. Nōku te maringa nui i makere noa iho ngā kupu i ngā wahawaha o aku tini whanaunga i te kāinga. (Mana)*

Tāmara grew up with her grandmother where the Māori language was spoken except when angry, she would then speak in English:

*Āe, te nuinga o te wā. Mehemea pukuriri ana ia, kāo. (Tāmara)*

In displaying the attributes of a Māori language speaker, Chance is a positive role model for his siblings and cousins who have not grown up with fluent speakers of the language within the family.

*I was the first to whaikōrero quite early in my life. Being the only speaker in the family I had that responsibility to get up and speak on our behalf. From the time I started learning the reo, me and my nan were the only fluent speakers in our family. From there couple of my nan's daughters, my aunty and my mum, started learning the reo.*

*Another aunty did, another uncle did, and then a couple of other cousins did. So there started a ripple effect. (Chance)*

Māori was the only language spoken during Pikihiuia's upbringing. Her parents were very determined in upholding the kaupapa of speaking Māori amongst the family:

*Kōrero Māori mātou i ngā wā katoa. Ahakoa he taitamariki, rangatahi mātou, ko te tikanga o te kāinga- me kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa. He tino ū ki te reo i ngā wā katoa. (Pikihiuia)*

### ***Whānau—family group***

Mā te rongō a te tamaiti ki te awahi, ki te arataki, ki te tautoko, ki ngā tohutohu a te whānau me tōna aroha hoki, e mau ai tōna piripono ki te whānau. He mea hopu te nuinga o ēnei tūāhua. Nō reira, e tika ana kia piri tonu te whānau ki ngā tamariki i roto i te kura, i roto i ā rātou mahi hoki. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 735)

Children's socialisation begins within the whānau according to Te Aho Matua and it is especially important for children to grow and develop within the care of a loving and supportive family environment. Monowai acknowledges the priority of learning within the whānau as she explains that her child was introduced to Te Aho Matua at home before she even began attending kura:

*Kātahi anō ia ka timata i te kura. Kei roto rā ngā pūkenga o Te Aho Matua, engari tuatahi i whai i te kāinga. (Monowai)*

The maintenance of family ties is viewed as another aspect of living as Māori.

*Making sure that we keep in touch with each other, one could live in South Auckland and half of us in West Auckland but we make sure that we keep in contact, whether it be about a kaupapa or an event, or just seeing how the other whānau in West Auckland is doing. Making sure that we understand that and teach our babies, moko, nephews and nieces what it is to be Māori. (Pania)*

The whānau was instrumental in modelling to Reikura how to live as Māori. Although residing in a suburb of Auckland city, Reikura grew up with her extended family living in close proximity to each other, as neighbours in one street. She uses the word 'papa kāinga' to describe the environment in which her close relatives lived in houses that edged her own

family home. Here, ‘papa kāinga’ is used to denote a type of village settlement but without the strong tie to the tribal land that is implied in the traditional use of the word ‘papa kāinga’.

*On the other side was my aunty and all my cousins, it was like a papa kāinga, like you’d have in a rural—back home—hau kāinga. We were really fortunate to live in a papa kāinga way. We spent a lot of time with our grandmother who lives next door.*

*All my cousins help out after school at my grandmother’s Puna Reo. The same as me and K—, we used to help out at my Nana’s Puna Reo as well. How Mum and Dad brought us up, that’s how we’re bringing up our children, same āhuetanga – going to the marae, coming here, seeing uncles and aunties, kōrero Māori i ngā wā kātoa. All my cousins know how to speak Māori, here in this area. (Reikura)*

Tribal knowledge is another component of the Māori world. As the first teachers in a child’s life, Mahanga argues, parents should ensure children learn about their tribes and sub-tribes:

*Nā, atu i tērā he aha tēnei mea te ao Māori? Tēnei mea e mōhio pū ana ki tō ake iwi, me tō hapū, ko ngā mātua ērā, ngā kaiako tuatahi mō ā rātou tamariki.*

The whānau was a vital component of Pikihuia’s description of living as Māori. In striving to improve her own well-being she seeks ways to improve the life of her immediate family as well as the extended whānau. Her health in a spiritual and an emotional sense is closely linked to the vitality of her family.

*Always wanting a better life, improve my own and my whānau’s wellbeing. Not seeing myself as an individual but in the context of my whānau, wanting not just the best for me but the best for them. In the way that I live, I’m always thinking how can this benefit my whānau, my own tamariki but also my parents, my sisters, my brother and their tamariki as well? It’s a more holistic way of looking at living all those aspects that Mason Durie talks about taha wairua, taha whānau, taha hinengaro. (Pikihuia)*

Seven of the 12 graduates are parents. In six families, the children are growing up speaking Māori. Monowai states that Māori is the first language of her children and it is through the language that Māori customs and the concepts of Te Aho Matua are embodied.

*Ko te reo Māori te reo tuatahi o āku tamariki. Mai i te whāngai i te reo ki a rātou kua whakatinanatia te tikanga o te ao Māori, ngā āhuetanga o Te Aho Matua. (Monowai)*

The language of communication for Reikura, her husband and their three children is also Māori.

*Ko te reo Māori anake e kōrerohia ana i tō mātou kāinga. Matatau ana taku hoa tāne ki te kōrero Māori. Oho ake mātou katoa i te ata ko te kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa.*  
(Reikura)

Mahanga and his partner speak Māori to their children, no matter whether they are at home or in the community. It is through the medium of the Māori language the children learn about Māori ways of thinking and behaving, and especially about the strength and importance of whānau. It is up to Mahanga and his partner to ensure that their children understand that Māori language and Māori ways of being are to be upheld in the home and in all places.

*Ko te reo Māori anake te reo i roto i to mātou whare huri āwhio i te motu ki hea rānei. Nā tērā ka tino mōhio rāua i te hōhonutanga o tēnei mea te ao Māori me te noho whānau. Ko ahau, ka mutu ko māua ko taku ipo ngā kaiako tuatahi mō ā māua tamariki. Ki reira, ki te mōhio rāua, ā ko te reo Māori te reo kawē i roto i te whare, ko te ao Māori te ao kawē i roto i tō mātou whare, ki ngā wāhi katoa.* (Mahanga)

Five of the graduates have children attending kura kaupapa Māori for their primary school education.

*I've got my kids there at the moment. I know how happy they are when they are there.*  
(Pikihuia)

For most it is a logical progression in the Māori immersion education that began at kōhanga reo:

*Mehemea i kuraina ia ki te kōhanga reo, kāore e kore kura kaupapa nā te mea ko tērā te tīmatanga o ngā tīmatanga. Ko te whāngai atu i te reo me ōna tikanga mai i te kōhanga reo.* (Tāmara)

Tāmara believes that in sending their children to kura kaupapa Māori, the graduates are continuing the lessons learnt from their elders and in doing so they are also ensuring the culture is not lost.

*Te nuinga o mātou kua whakahokia mai ō mātou tamariki ki te kura kaupapa i te mea ko ērā ngā whakaakoranga i whakakongia e wa mātou nei koroua, kuia ki a mātou. Ki te kore mātou e kaha nei ki te whakaako i ngā tikanga ka memeha haere. (Tāmara)*

As speakers of the Māori language, Mahanga's children learn that like their father, they too carry the responsibility of being caretakers of the language, their whānau, the kura and the Māori world.

*He kaitiaki ahau mō te reo. Nā tēnā he kōrero Māori te reo kawea o te whare nei, he kaitiaki mō tō tātou reo. Koia rā tērā akoranga. Ka tukuna atu he akoranga ka kawea e āku tamariki. He kaitiaki rāua mō tō tātou reo, he kai tiaki rāua mō tō mātou whānau mō tō rāua kura, mō tō rāua ao Māori. (Mahanga)*

In teaching the value of the Māori language and the Māori world to children, they will carry those aspects into their adult lives as natural behaviour.

*Ki te whakatōtō tērā kākano, tēra whakaaro i roto i a rāua e tamariki ana, ka mutu i te kura, ka pakeke haere rāua, kua mōhio rāua i ērā akoranga i whakatōtō i roto i a rāua i a rāua e tamariki ana. (Mahanga)*

In speaking Māori to their children at home and in the community, the graduates are employing the approach emphasised in Fishman's (2001) research on reversing language shift in which he stresses the importance of family in intergenerational learning and the transmission of language. Reikura's example of living in a papa kāinga model within the city exemplifies how the language and Māori cultural values can be modelled and passed from one generation to another through normal family communication between parents and children, and grandparents and grandchildren. The informal language learning that takes place within the graduates' families ensures the use of metaphors, imagery, and colloquial expressions pertinent to the Māori language. Thus the children grow up with everyday use of the language and the knowledge that the Māori language is a normal part of life.

Conversely, Chance's children are growing up with English as the main language in the home. Chance appears to be repeating his own childhood experiences wherein English was the language of communication within his family. Interestingly, Chance sees the Māori language as crucial to 'living as Māori' and chides himself for not encouraging more use with his own children.

*The reo is definitely a major factor [in living as Māori]. I probably don't enforce the reo as much as I should at home. Ngā tikanga, me and my partner strive that through our family, like taking our shoes off in the whare, making sure we don't wear pōtae at the table when we're having a kai; and always making sure that we take care of our manuhiri. (Chance)*

Although speaking Māori at home and in the community is also normal practice for Tāmara's children, Tāmara crosses to the English language when reprimanding her children, mirroring her own experiences when growing up with her grandmother.

*Ko au tētahi e kaha nei te hurirapa Ingarahi ko tērā te āhuetanga i kite au, mai i taku kuia. Mehemea kei te kohete me huri atu ki te reo Pākehā Ingarahi i te nuinga o te wā, āe ko te reo Māori tonu- ki te kāinga, ki ngā wāhi katoa. (Tāmara)*

Encouragement from family to speak Māori and the constant reminders of the struggle for the well-being of the language has ensured that Pania knows her heritage and has strong self belief.

*It's not difficult being Māori, that's because my mothers are so strong in their beliefs of being Māori and making sure we know where we're from and we know who we are. We all know that there are struggles. All we hear at home is 'Kei te mimiti te reo nō reira me whakangungu koe i tō reo'. (Pania)*

According to a survey on the health of the Māori language published by Te Puni Kōkiri (2008), there has been a slight increase in the usage of the language with 27% of Māori adults able to “speak Māori well or very well or fairly well”—a rise from 20% in 2001. On political and statistical grounds Bauer (2008) challenges the validity of the claim by Te Puni Kōkiri that there has been an increase in the number of speakers conversing in the Māori language and suggests the percentage of speakers may be lower than that stated by the Te Puni Kōkiri survey. It is clear the Māori language is still at risk. It remains a minority language and not a normal part of community life. The notion that the health of the Māori language is not stable is validated by Rongo when he declares the survival of the language is a battle that is fought every day.

*Kei te whawhai tonu mātou mō tērā ia rā, ia rā. (Ruki)*

As the recipients of lessons from teachers and elders steeped in knowledge about the Māori language and customs, Monowai states it is vital for the well-being of the language that she and other graduates reinforce the usage of the Māori language.

*In our country we're a minority and it's our right as Māori to make sure that our language is gonna live on, and it's also our duty to make sure that it does, especially for us who have had the opportunity to grow up in those environments. (Monowai)*

### ***Wā kāinga—tribal home base***

Kia mōhio ngā tamariki ki ngā rohe, ki ngā waka, ki ngā kōrero neherā. Ki ngā pūrākau, ki ngā pakiwaitara, ki ngā tikanga, ki ngā waiata, ki ngā āhuatanga katoa o tōna iwi. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 736)

This statement from Te Aho Matua relates how important it is for children to learn the stories, the songs, and history about tribal areas, the tribal canoe and the land of their ancestors. In this way, they will acquire the knowledge and values associated with their own whānau, hapū (subtribes) and iwi (tribes). As a consequence, children will feel comfortable as Māori and their identities will develop without hindrance.

For the graduates who have grown up in the city, travelling back to their tribal lands enables them to learn about their own tribal areas and to keep in touch with their own hapū and iwi. Ruki explains the reasons for his journeys back to his wā kāinga.

*Acknowledging the tikanga that our tipuna left behind us to use, to develop, my heritage, whakapapa, connection to my people back to the very beginning. My connection to my whenua connects me to my people. (Ruki)*

Mana has lived in Auckland for 25 years yet still refers to his wā kāinga as home. When he said to me in interview, “*I go home, I live off the land, I fish out of my moana, that's normal to me and that's living as Māori*”, I knew he was referring to his tribal areas in Te Tī and Matauri where his Ngāti Kura and Ngāti Rehia people reside. Living as Māori for Mana is also about nurturing an affinity with the land and sea in his tribal areas and having access to those places.

Benton (1997) poses an interesting possibility for the future of Māori speakers. He suggests that in the future, the majority of Māori language speakers will live in urban rather than rural

areas and they will be employed in skilled and professional employment rather than being semi or unskilled workers. But this will be problematic if the group with the language are not a part of the rural and tribal home community, or as Benton (p. 30) states, “alienated from the ethnic community”.

In her article about being Māori in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Smith (2006) discusses how marginalisation can erode the whānau, hapū and iwi relationships that are vital components of whanaungatanga. Feelings of being marginalised or left out of whānau, hapū and iwi matters can be real to Māori who live in towns and cities distanced from their tribal homeland. In order to maintain their hapū and iwi links, and to keep alive the connecting threads of whanaungatanga, urban Māori often travel back to their wā kāinga for gatherings such as tangi (funerals), weddings, land meetings and other events that are important to the people.

The graduates provide examples of urban Māori living away from their tribal home. They are aware of the need to return to their wā kāinga for marae gatherings, and to visit whānau. Pania relates her connection to her tribal base.

*My whānau is very connected to our heritage and we always go home at the right time. We were brought up in Auckland, even though we were from Paeroa. (Pania)*

Similarly, Monowai returns to her wā kāinga to attend family events and other gatherings such as tangi. Although she loves going home, she is not always able to do so as she is constrained by the demands of her work in the city.

*I ngā wā ka hoki au ki te kāinga ko ngā wā whakawhanaunga, ngā tangihanga me ērā atu momo mahi. Engari he tino maha ōku mahi ki Tāmaki nā reira kare au e tino wātea ki te hoki atu ki te kāinga i ngā wā katoa. He tino pai te hoki ki te kāinga. (Monowai)*

The long distances involved in the journeys from Auckland city to tribal bases can cause difficulty for some graduates. Te Hira explains that his trips to his wā kāinga are quite infrequent.

*Kare i te pērā rawa te kaha. I'm at a time now where my mother's whānau in particular are looking at initiatives to get us back more often. Dad's side that's easy, they've got a lot of pull, kapa haka, sport so that's always there. My sister does that, but who wants to travel to Gisborne every fortnight, I couldn't commit. (Te Hira)*

Like the other graduates, Pikihuia has spent most of her life in Auckland. The early part of her childhood was spent in the Hokianga before the family moved to Auckland when she was six years of age. Returning to the Hokianga—her tribal home base—is considered vital for sustenance in a spiritual sense, fortifying Pikihuia for life in the city where she must focus on work, study and the well-being of her family. To Pikihuia, going back to her wā kāinga is a source for “*another level of nourishment*”.

*Mēnā ka hoki ki taku ake whenua he oranga wairua anō tērā hei whakapiki i a mātou e aro ana ki ngā mahi, e whai ana i ō mātou tohu mātauranga me te oranga whānau i te tāone. (Pikihuia)*

Returning to one’s wā kāinga as an adult can spring from the desire to learn about the customs, the mita or dialectical variations that can only be found within tribes and subtribes. Tumamao returned to his tribal area in Ngāpuhi to learn the language and dialect of his own people when his secondary education at wharekura ended.

*He kaha puta te hiahia ki roto i ahau ki te hoki ki te kāinga kia ako haere ahau i taku reo Māori, i taku mita nō te kāinga. Nō reira i taku mutunga i te kura i wehe atu ahau i Tāmaki Makaurau, i tae atu au ki roto i Ngāpuhi nui tonu. (Tumamao)*

Mahanga wants to return to his wā kāinga in Waikato at some stage so that his daughter can learn the protocol around Kīngitanga and the words and dialect of his people.

*Ko taku tino hiahia ka mutu taku tamāhine i te puna reo, ka hūnuku mātou ki Kirikiriroa, ki Waikato rānei, ki reira kura ai kia mōhio ai taku tamāhine ki tana taha Waikato, kia tipu ai ia i roto i te ao o te Kīngitanga, i raro i ngā rekereke, i raro o ngā whenua o Waikato. (Mahanga)*

In attending family and hapū gatherings in Tūhoe and Waikato, the children of Mahanga learn more about where their parents are from, thus strengthening blood ties, ancestry and identity to their wā kāinga. In the statement below, Mahanga explains that he and his partner perservere in attending most gatherings in their tribal areas so that their children will know where they originate from, even though the family live in Auckland. As parents, he and his partner are responsible for transmitting that knowledge to their children so they don’t exist in ignorance.

*He kaha mātou ki te hoki atu ki te nuinga o ngā hui, kia mōhio ai rāua – ahakoa kei Tāmaki ahau e noho ana—nō konei kē ahau. He pērā hoki i ngā hokinga atu ki ngā wānanga o Te Ahurei, aku toto Māori, he toto i ahu mai i konei. Ko tōna iho nō konei, nō Te Waimana, nō Waikato, nō Pirongia, me ērā atu o ngā wāhi. Ko ngā mātua anō, mā māua ērā o ngā mōhiotanga, ērā o ngā mātauranga e whakatōtō i roto i ā māua tamariki kia kore ai rāua e noho i roto i te pōhēhē. (Mahanga)*

Another aspect of returning home is to give children the chance to learn the tikanga, the protocol around the connection to the environment. Monowai has learnt the tikanga involved with diving for seafood and now her daughter is learning those skills as well.

*Te ruku kai moana—mōhio katoa au ki ērā tikanga me ngā mātauranga kua hoatu ngā uncles ki ahau i te wā i te ako au ki te ruku kai. Me tēnei hoki, taku kōtiro, tino aro ia ki te ruku kai moana, tino aro ia ki te kai i te kai moana. (Monowai)*

Tāmara and her partner also return to the wā kāinga for the sake of their children. They were originally part of ‘Ngā Tūmanako’, the kapa haka group founded by the graduates of Te Wharekura and Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi. Now as members of a kapa haka group in their own tribal area—they regularly travel home enabling them and their children to maintain links with their own whānau, hapū and iwi.

*I kuhu māua ki roto i tētahi kapa haka nō konei, a Ngā Tumanako. Engari, nā runga anō i te kaha inoi o ā māua nei tamariki kia hoki atu ki te wā kāinga, mahi kapa haka ki reira, kua neke māua ki Te Hokowhitu. (Tāmara)*

Although living in the city of Auckland, the graduates are very much tied to their wā kāinga. They can be described as ‘taurahere’, a term used by Waerete Norman in explaining her own position whilst living as a Māori in the city. Well known for her work with kaupapa Māori, Wairete refers to herself as a “*taurahere, a person still linked to our beloved homelands, the lands of our kāinga, whilst at the same time maintaining an urban Māori existence*”. (Norman, 1998, p. 111).

In a similar fashion, the graduates manage to incorporate their traditional Māori ways of being into a modern context as clarified by Mana in the statement below.

*I make a living in Auckland City but I still hold with me my values, my dialect, my mauri. I am a Māori living within the city. My work at TVNZ is Māori intensive and everything that I do is in order to represent Māori and the world of Māori. (Mana)*

### ***Te tuakiri—Identity***

E tika ana kia tū whakahihi te tamaiti i roto i tōna ake iwi, Engari kia whai koha anō ki ngā iwi katoa. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 736)

Identity helps individuals make sense about themselves and their place within the wider world (McIntosh, 2005). While a number of researchers have provided a variety of descriptions of Māori identity, most agree that whakapapa (genealogy) is the fundamental characteristic (Durie, 1994; Houkamau & Sibley, 2010; McIntosh, 2005).

Durie (1994) and Williams (2000) lean towards the classical view of a Māori identity. In similar classifications of identity groups, they acknowledge whakapapa (genealogy), te reo Māori and tikanga (customs) as essential components for the groups they have categorised as the ones that most strongly identify as Māori. Both authors see biculturalism and identification as Māori as key factors in the classification of their second groups. A third group of Maori that Williams describes as ‘unconnected’ and Durie refers to as ‘marginalised’ are Māori with little or no understanding about their Māori culture and heritage who cannot relate effectively to either Māori or Pākehā.

More contemporary models of Māori identity have been devised by McIntosh (2005) and Stevenson (2004). The four cultural identity profiles described by Stephenson were created from Durie’s (1995) Te Hoe Nuku Roa measures of Māori identity. As explained in Chapter Three, Māori who speak Māori, have knowledge about the Māori culture, values and the Māori world are placed under the profile of a ‘Secure identity’. Māori who have a strong sense about being Māori yet are not able to access Māori culture and aspects of the Māori world are seen to have a ‘Positive identity’. A third group, placed under a ‘Notional identity’ are those who call themselves Māori but do not have anything to do with the Māori world. People who do not recognise themselves as Maori are placed under the fourth profile named as the ‘Compromised identity’.

McIntosh (2005) names ‘Traditional Māori identities’, ‘Fluid Identities’ and ‘Forced identities’ as categories of Māori identity. The Traditional Māori identity contains ‘fixed’ elements such as whakapapa, cultural adeptness and a knowing about ‘being Māori’, as well

as an awareness of the responsibilities and expectations of what it is to ‘be Māori’ and to ‘act’ as Māori. According to McIntosh, Fluid identities are likely to be found amongst young Māori who create an identity containing a fusion of ideas and practices that come out of their social environment. Forced identities—described by McIntosh (p. 48) as “identities formed under conditions of deprivation”—are based on how others see the individual or group. Many from the Forced identities category live on the margins of society and do not have a strong footing in either the Māori or Pākehā world. McIntosh acknowledges the influences of gender, class, sexual orientation, occupation and age upon identity. These influential components are themselves modified by socio-political factors. As a consequence, identities are never static but are always moving and changing within an individual and over a lifetime.

While the expressions of identity as shared by the participants in this study indicate links to the category of Traditional identities, they also mark a Māori identity that can be seen as being quite particular to the graduates of the kura kaupapa Māori. Those who attended Hoani Waititi kura kaupapa Māori and Wharekura identify very strongly with the Hoani Waititi marae. Although the graduates don’t have blood ties to the urban marae, they regard it as their home, their tūrangāwaewae or place of standing, yet still hold firmly to their own particular tribal links. In a sense these graduates are creating an extension of McIntosh’s (2005) Traditional identity because they include in their whakapapa their links to Hoani Waititi kura, marae and whānau. The whakapapa to Hoani kura and whānau is a marker of identity when amongst other kura kaupapa Māori whānau and within the Māori community of Auckland. But when the graduates return to their tribal areas it is their blood ties, their tribal affiliations that are important and recognisable.

The kura graduates don’t appear to have concerns about their identity. There is not the need to ask, ‘Who am I?’ ‘Where do I belong?’ as Webber (2012) recounts in her stories about some youth in mainstream secondary schools. The kura graduates have been brought up in an educational environment that instills a clear understanding of their tribal backgrounds and links to the Māori world. Māori leader and academic, John Rangihau stated, “Young folk can live with a greater amount of assurance if they know who they are. Then they can move into the Pākehā world full of self confidence because they have no difficulty about the question of identity” (Rangihau, 1981, p. 168). As a result of an education in which they were immersed in a Māori-language environment, where Māori values and knowledge were paramount, the graduates believe they can achieve anything they aspire to.

*I'm content in this world that we live in today, the wide world. I'm very confident that I can go anywhere in the world and succeed. (Mana)*

*That's what kura kaupapa gave me—you can do anything—Te Aho Matua ka puta ki te ao, ko te ao kei mua i a koe, and that's definitely something that I took into my job. We all are really fortunate in the fact we were at kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa. (Reikura)*

Pikihuia gained her pride in being Māori from family and kura:

*I got brought up feeling that I was unique and special as Māori. That's really important for children growing up because you get your sense of identity and confidence—that's come out of my going to kura. Having that strength of identity has been the thing that's been most valuable to me as a person. (Pikihuia)*

The graduates in this study are advantaged in each having a strong identity and in being knowledgeable and proud of their Māori heritage.

*I mix and mingle with different races everyday in sport, work, social life—it doesn't affect me at all. I'm very proud to be Māori, so I'm very Māori among my peers and they know that. (Mana)*

But Tumamao points out it can be difficult to have pride in being Māori because the Western culture pervades all parts of New Zealand life and it is the ideal to which most people aspire. He believes there are negative societal attitudes about Māori that impact on Māori children. Schooled at a mainstream primary school, he knew children who were ashamed to admit they were Māori. When he began his secondary education at Te Whare kura o Hoani Waititi he was surprised to see that the students there were all strong in their knowledge of being Māori and soon realised it was because of the positive nature of being in a kura environment celebrating the Māori world.

*I roto i ngā kura auraki he matakū, he whakamā nō te Māori ki te ūmēre, te pahupahu atu, āe he Māori ahau. I a au i tae atu ki te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi he tino rerekē tērā. Te katoa o ngā tauira mōhio pai ana ki tō rātou taha Māori. Mā reira i tupu ake te kaha me ērā tūāhuatanga katoa i runga anō i tā rātou mōhiotanga, nō hea rātou, ko wai rātou. Ko te mea mīharo ki ahau ko te noho i tētahi ao Māori. Koia nā te tino painga o aua kura. (Tumamao)*

Tumamao views the kura as an environment that prepares students to stand tall and to be proud of their Māori heritage.

*I runga anō i te mōhiotanga i whakatō te kākano kia tū whakahīhī koe, kia kaua e matakū, kia kaua e whakamā, kaua e kaupare atu i to Māoritanga. (Tumamao)*

Kiri's definition of living as Māori concurs with Tumamao's idea of being Māori.

*Knowing that you are Māori and not being ashamed of it. (Kiri)*

According to Mahanga, the kura is unparalleled in its ability to show off the beauty of the Māori world. Guided by a Māori philosophy, kura teaches respect for the Māori world. It is important to demonstrate the positive aspects of the kura, the whānau and Māori people to children and others. A number of graduates are in agreement with Mahanga's statement that living as Māori is a positive factor that can be realised in Auckland city.

*Ko te tino akoranga o te kura ko te whakaatu mai i te ātaahua o tō tātou ao. Ahakoa kei te noho mātou i roto i te tāone matua o Tāmaki ka taea te ū tonu ki te ao Māori. Koia rā ngā whakaritenga katoa o te kura i raro i te marumaru o te ao Māori. He whakaritenga i kawea, i tiaki, i ū tonu ki tō tātou ao Māori. He tino mahi tēnā ki te whakaatu atu ki āu tamariki ki a wai rānei, i te ātaahua o tō kura, te ātaahua o tō whānau, te ātaahua o te iwi Māori. (Mahanga)*

*It's a 'pro' now rather than a 'con' to be Māori. It's cool to be Māori. I've always had that whakaaro that I'll always be cool 'cause I'm Māori. It's really good to see people wanting to learn the language. Old people are going back to learn the language. It's just natural to talk to my kids in Māori so when we're out and about people are surprised and in awe. (Monowai)*

*You can still be Māori and be living an awesome life i roto i te ao hurihuri. It's an advantage. (Pikihuia)*

***He rangatira ngā paetahi?—Are the graduates an elite group?***

Ahakoā iti, he iti māpihi pounamu. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 735)

The proverb quoted above refers to the incredible beauty and value of greenstone even though it may only be a tiny piece. In a similar way, the graduates of the first kura kaupapa Māori

can be acknowledged as unique. Although they were few in number, the early graduates flourished due to the commitment and care delivered by the teachers and whānau who were a part of the burgeoning movement to establish kura kaupapa Māori throughout the country.

In a discussion about the effects of government planning on the Māori language, Spolsky (2003, p. 18) wonders about the use of the Māori language and the input of today's Māori speaking adults, the products of the early kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori. He asks, "And of this elite, how many speak to their children in Māori all the time?" The answers to his question to some extent have already been expressed by the graduates in the section entitled 'Whānau'. Here, it is the term 'elite' that is of interest. I asked the graduates in interview whether or not they thought the word was applicable to them.

Mana did not disagree with the term 'elite' but preferred instead to use the word 'tuakana' (older sibling same sex) to describe his group—the first graduates to exit the initial kura kaupapa Māori. As tuakana they are role models for other kura students and kura whānau.

*We were the first, and everything that comes with that word tuakana is within us. We are the example for the younger ones. We were shown, carefully guided first. A little group of us, we were well concentrated on and had that advantage over the rest of the hundreds that came after us. Now we're good at what we do. (Mana)*

The status of tuakana carries responsibilities. Mahanga considers the graduates of kura kaupapa as caretakers of the Māori language and kura kaupapa Māori, including its guiding philosophy (Te Aho Matua) which he likens to a cloak that enfolds the kura whānau with love, warmth and support.

*He kaitiaki mātou katoa, ngā ākongā o mua. He kaitiaki mātou mō tō tātou reo mō tō tātou momo. Ko te momo kei te kōrerohia nei e au, ko te kura kaupapa Māori me tō tātou korowai aroha, ā, ko Te Aho Matua tēnā. He korowai aroha, he korowai hei whakamahana, hei tiaki, hei tauwhiro i ngā tāngata katoa e hono ana ki te kura kaupapa Māori. (Mahanga)*

A number of the graduates feel they are obligated to give back in some way to the kura and whānau that taught and nurtured them. It may be through the employment they choose or through tutoring kapa haka groups.

*Now it's our duty to start putting back in to the kaupapa, in to the movement. We all know that. The majority of us have gone either in to teaching or in to media. Those are the main avenues that we knew to reinforce who we are as Māori, our reo, and to put it back in to the kids. There's heaps of us doing it behind camera, in front of the camera, behind the scenes—writing. And kapa haka, ngā mahi-ā-Rehia, tutoring rōpū and teaching. (Monowai)*

*If we're true to our kaupapa, to our kura, you do your time, you do your learning because this place has given you all these gifts and skills. Instead of turning your back and going to the whole wide world, you should pay back, time where you give back x amount of hours or years to the kaupapa. We have to give back to the puna that fed us and made us. (Te Hira)*

Perhaps for some, being seen as elite or special can be a burden. Some the Māori community have high expectations of the graduates from the first kura who are believed to have acquired a huge depth of knowledge about the Māori world.

*I'm a humble person and elite to me is people that are just great, the best people in that category. People view us like that and they put us on this pedestal. I don't like that. It feels like a lot of expectations on our shoulders. (Monowai)*

*There's one side of me that's scared because I feel we're just plastered on TV, we are media, so there's that image. Another image is, he mōhio nō mātou ki ngā taonga tawhito o te ao Māori. We can't say that you go into kura kaupapa Māori you will come out tohunga or kei tētahi taumata you are an elitist. I would say that we've been prepped i roto i tētahi momo ao whakahirahira, and if you want to call it elitist that's fine. I would never ever say that though. I would just say it's really special and unique, one component of a whole lot of things. Tērā stereotype ka taka ki runga i a mātou. (Te Hira)*

The distinctive and special nature of the graduates can be attributed to the era in which they grew up. As children of the 1980s they would have been influenced by the political activism that dominated the period from 1960-1970 which included the fight to ensure the survival of the Māori language. These graduates were the babies of the first kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori schooling system that enabled, for the first time, traditional Māori learning in

the Māori language. The hard work of her forebears that enabled the establishment of kura kaupapa Māori, is acknowledged by Monowai.

*We're the products of the movement. That kupu elite is a recognition of every other person who has given us that opportunity to learn and to have the knowledge that we do at the end of the day and it's not an individual thing. (Monowai)*

In transmitting Māori language and culture it was hoped the kura would provide a more positive educational experience for the graduates than the deficit model that their parents had grown up in. Pikihuia acknowledges the kura kaupapa Māori experiences have instilled in the graduates a strength of character that their parents did not have.

*We're not afraid, we don't have the same barriers as our parents experienced growing up—where it was bad to be Māori, all these negative stereotypes about Māori, kei raro e putu ana. We've got determination and tenacity. (Pikihuia)*

*We're lucky to have been afforded the opportunities that not a lot of other kids did – tipu ake i roto i te reo Māori. Having your reo and being a confident Māori is something that all Māori should aspire to. Ka ū tonu ki ngā tikanga Māori i roto i ō mātou oranga. We know our whakapapa, ngā mahi o ngā tipuna, and having that knowledge about where we are now and where we've come from empowers us. (Pikihuia)*

Tāmara disagrees with the term 'elite' to describe the students from the early kura. She sees them simply as the first group who went through kura specifically to learn the Māori language and customs.

*We're not a special group. We're not a particular group. We were there for a reason—te ako i tō tātou nei reo me ōna tikanga ahakoa ki hea, mehemea ki te tāone ki hea rānei. Ko mātou te tīmatanga. Ko te tūmanako ehara ko mātou te whakamutunga. (Tāmara)*

In seeking to continue to develop their Māori language learning some of the students from Hoani Waititi Wharekura enlisted the help of the Māori Language Commission-Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo to set up week long immersion wānanga (places of leaning) called Kura Reo.

*My tuakana and my tuahine—Kororia, Ātarangi, Reikura—sent a letter to Tīmoti Karetu, head of Te Taura Whiri. We needed reo classes. We did School C when we*

*were 10 and Te Reo Rangatira seventh form when we were thirteen. That's not us being cocky or arrogant, it's just because we had started earlier. Tīmoti got Te Taura Whiri of that time, the crème de la crème and they came to our kura. We got to sit with these people and to learn with them. (Ruki)*

The Kura Reo was subsequently established to increase the Māori language skills of those with an intermediate to advanced level of te reo Māori. Learning from highly competent teachers during the Kura Reo is viewed by the graduates as an honour and the reason for the knowledge and excellence they have attained in the Māori language. They were fortunate. Today's youth do not enjoy the same benefits:

*Ko te hōnore nui ko mātou te mea tuatahi, ko mātou ngā mea waimārie i noho ki ngā rekereke, ngā tāngata pēnei i a Te Heikōko, pēnei i a Tīmoti, pēnei i a Te Wharehuia, pēnei i a Te Haumihiata, pēnei i a Amiria Simpson. Kare i ēnei rangi, ērā momo i whakapau wera ki te akoako i a mātou te reanga tuatahi. We were the first. Those exponents are not here now. We hear stories of them, like Whaea Amiria—her reo Pākehā and reo Māori. Anita Moke, Whaea Wiha—those people who put their heart and soul in to us. They instilled in us passion for the reo and the will to succeed and to be better than what you were the day before. What makes us fortunate is we have the opportunity to work with those people, that calibre of people. (Ruki)*

As the students' Māori language knowledge increased further, well-known Māori orator and academic, Professor Tīmoti Karetu saw the need for another level of learning. In 2004 he set up Te Panekiretanga o te Reo Māori to cater for those who had attained a high level of competency in the Māori language (Television New Zealand, 2006). During Te Panekiretanga sessions, the skills of very knowledgeable teachers are utilised to increase the Māori language understandings required for oratory and tikanga and to create excellent speakers of the language. The graduates who attended wharekura have a deep knowledge of the Māori language that has come about through Panekiretanga classes.

*I was very fortunate to be invited to do Te Panekiretanga, that was good for my reo. (Ruki)*

The teachers in Te Panekiretanga handpicked particular students according to the level of knowledge and understanding of te reo Māori. Those selected were then invited to attend the wānanga (a place of learning) for the deeper learning and special instruction. Ruki relates that

the graduates, as a result of the learning in Te Panekiretanga, make frequent use of traditional kīwaha (sayings) and whakataukī (proverbs) when speaking and they have also been instrumental in creating new kīwaha and whakataukī—thus adding to the richness of the language. Ruki sees the additions to the language as a catalyst for the preservation of Māori language and culture.

*Ko ngā kīwaha o ā tātou tipuna kei te whakamahi, engari kei te hanga mai ētahi kīwaha hou. E kite ana tātou i ngā whakataukī hou e uru mai ana, ‘Ko te reo kia tika kia rere kia Māori’. ‘Pūkana mai o whatu, titiro atu ki te rangi.’ He whakataukī hou nō tēnei ao tērā. It has not only preserved Māori language and culture, it has developed it too. (Ruki)*

Te Panekiretanga also strived for competency in the learning of traditional knowledge pertaining to marae protocol with the expectation that the learners would eventually be leaders in oratory, karanga, waiata and tikanga in their places of employment and on the marae. Reikura relates some learning outcomes from Te Panekiretanga:

*I do think we were the elite group. We just made do with resources but we didn’t need them because we had other resources like just walking over to the marae and being able to stand up for your kaumātua and do the waiata tautoko. Now me and Kororia do the karangā for Hoani Waititi, when the kuia aren’t there. When the nannies aren’t available, it’s us. It’s that cycle of what it’s like to be brought up on a marae. It’s how we feel even though it’s not our marae in terms of our whakapapa, but it is our marae in terms of where we grew up. (Reikura)*

*When you look back at all the people that we had, like Mate Kāwai, Ngāhina Turae and Mīria Simpson. We’re so lucky. You kind of think of us as an elite group because we had all those teachers like Whaea Kāterina, Papa Pita and Whaea Aroha, Whaea Evelyn and Whaea Tuihana. We were so fortunate. There were very few resources. We were creating our own resources. (Reikura)*

*We were the guinea pigs of that time to strive forward for Te Ao Māori. Being the first kura, we had that advantage of bringing in the best teachers that we could get at that time. (Chance)*

Tumamao gives credit to the early teachers from kōhanga reo and kura as the reason for the special qualities of the graduates. It is because of the motivation from those mentors that the graduates can be seen to be an elite or unique group.

*Kei te tika ērā kōrero. Engari ehara i te mea ko ngā tauira i rangatira ai rātou, ko ngā kaiako kē te take i pēnei ai mātou o taua kura. I roto i ngā tau o taua kura rā ko Kāterina Mataira, ko Pita Sharples ērā momo tāngata. Nā ngā kaiako i akiaki, nā ngā kaiako tuatahi i roto i te kōhanga reo o Hoani Waititi. (Tumamao)*

The kura graduates are indeed an elite group according to Ruki. They are advantaged by having the Māori language in an age where it can lead to employment.

*The early kura graduates are elite because we live in a time now where the reo is cool, where the reo can get you a job. We live in a time where if you wanna learn the reo you can hop on the internet, you can learn it off there. (Ruki)*

## **He whakakapinga—Conclusion**

The preservation of the Māori language and culture was a prime catalyst for the activism that began the kura movement. The outcome of this action is realised in the comments by the graduates in this study as they expressed their views on the concept of ‘living as Māori’.

The Māori language was seen by the graduates as a pivotal factor in its role as the transporter of knowledge, customs and traditions. The whānau was also crucial and seen as a place where examples of how to live as Māori could be demonstrated. Of the graduates who have children, speaking Māori and modelling aspects of the Māori world is seen as an expected duty for parents. It was also considered important to return to the wā kāinga or tribal home base, to visit tribal marae, land, and to re-kindle relationships with the people of the marae so that the graduates’ children who had been brought up in the city could learn about their own tribal backgrounds and the specific traditions of their own iwi or tribe.

In establishing a learning environment where the Māori language and culture were regular and constant features of daily life, the early kura whānau were confident that the students’ education would not be impeded by identity confusion. Knowing their place in the Māori world and the society at large has given the graduates a strong sense of self and identity as Māori that has proven to be a valuable asset. With confidence, pride, and strength of character the graduates have no qualms about seizing the opportune moments that arise in

their lives. Resourced with knowledge from the kura kaupapa Māori education that has normalised the speaking of Māori and the practising of Māori customs and values, the graduates forge ahead in a world that does not fully understand or accept te ao Māori. Yet they are positive in their living as Māori in New Zealand society and the world at large.

## Chapter Seven. Preparation to live as Māori and to participate in the wider world

### Introduction

The pioneers of the kura kaupapa Māori initiative were also the first teachers in the early kura kaupapa Māori. Described by the graduates as caring and passionate about the well-being and success of their students, the teachers were like aunts and uncles, part of the whānau of kura kaupapa Māori. Teaching about Māori knowledge and concepts took place not only in the classroom but also through activities on the marae, in the bush, in the sea and through gardening.

In keeping with the Te Aho Matua principle of attaining bilingualism, tutelage in English language literacy skills began when the kura students were 8 or 9 years of age. Within this chapter, the graduates share their experiences and thoughts about learning how to read and write in the English language. While the graduates had varied experiences when learning English at kura they all expressed an appreciation of being bilingual and recognised the benefits of being skilled in the literacies of both Māori and the English language. For the majority of the graduates it has been the Māori language knowledge that has secured them employment in television, teaching and, for those who have chosen the academic world, their Māori and bicultural knowledge has provided valuable understandings and insight for study and associated work. As a consequence of sound employment choices, these graduates are enjoying financial security and a decent standard of living—a goal of the parents and whānau who struggled to establish kura kaupapa Māori in the mid-1980s.

### *Ngā pouako tuatahi—The first teachers*

Ko ngā āhuetanga ako katoa he mea mahi i roto i te koanga ngākau, me te whakaihihi hinengaro. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 738)

Fuelled with a desire to provide a positive and enabling learning environment for their children, the teachers in the first Auckland-based kura kaupapa Māori were also the innovators, the battlers who had fought for the establishment of these initiatives so that their own children could enjoy a continuation of the Māori immersion education that had begun at kōhanga reo.

As related in Chapter Three, Pita Sharples, Aroha Sharples and Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira were the first teachers at the Hoani Waititi Kura. In the statement below Reikura adds Tuihana Bosch as another of the early teachers who were passionate and committed to the children, and the development of the new kura.

*We had teachers like Pāpā Pita, Whaea Aroha, Whaea Tuihana and Whaea Kāterina. There are very few people that had the teachers that we did. (Reikura)*

Tāmara reminisces about the days prior to the establishment of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau. Here she talks about the time when the graduates from the Natari and Awhireinga Kōhanga reo would gather in a classroom loaned by the Auckland College of Education (ACE), to be taught by Graham Smith—one of the founders of the kura movement.

*Ko Pāpā Graham ta mātou kaiako tuatahi. Karekau he kura i aua wā. I whakaakongia e ia a mātou i roto i tētahi rūma pāpaku, rūma makariri ki ACE. (Tāmara)*

It was clear in interviews that the graduates were influenced by their teachers who acted as role models. The graduates were also fortunate to have teachers who were native speakers of the Māori language, well-versed in Māori tikanga and Māori knowledge.

*There were so many people at that time that gave us great examples of how to be good people. We didn't just do education at school, we practised how to live a good life, a life that was fruitful. The people I met when I was a child, ngā tāngata i tutaki i au i te kura i tipu ana—Te Heikōkō Mataira, Nanny Tuini, ērā tāngata ngākau nui ki te reo, kia whai miro mātou ngā manu rere o tēnei ao. (Ruki)*

In describing Nanny Tuini as a key figure at the kōhanga reo and the marae of Hoani Waititi, Ruki remembers the strong links between the kōhanga reo, the marae and the kura:

*Ko Nanny Tuini Hakaraia tētahi o ngā kuia tuatahi o Hoani Waititi Marae. He tino kuia o te kōhanga reo, o te marae o Ngā Tūmanako, Hoani Waititi whānui. (Ruki)*

## *He akoranga ki waho o te akomanga—Learning outside of the classroom*

He mea tino nui te wāhi ako hei whakaohoho i te wairua o te tamaiti ki āna mahi whakaako. Nō reira, kia kikī tonu te kura i ngā mea whakaihiihi i a ia, i ngā mea pupuri hoki i te hā o te ao Māori. Me whakawhānui hoki tōna wāhi ako ki ngā marae, ki ngā ngāhere, ki waenga pārae, ki te taha moana, ki ngā wharepukapuka, whare taonga me ērā atu whare whāngai i te puna o te mōhio. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 738)

Te Aho Matua affirms the importance of a stimulating learning environment that reflects the Māori world and asserts that education should not be restricted to the classroom. Learning should include all places of knowledge such as the marae, the bush, the land, the sea, libraries and museums.

The marae is a central site of learning to be Māori. A vital part of Māori culture, the marae is the centralising point for hapū (subtribes) where ceremonies and cultural practices are carried out. Hapū members can trace their lineage to an eponymous ancestor—after whom the whare nui (meeting house) is usually named (Mead, 2003). Thus there is a strong sense of belonging attached to the marae.

The large numbers of Māori living in West Auckland far away from their tribal marae led to the establishment of the Hoani Waititi Marae. The people who affiliate to Hoani Waititi marae are multi-tribal a departure from the rural marae that are operated by groups based on kinship (Walker, 1981). Hoani Waititi Marae was an integral part of school life for the pupils at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi. It was through her experiences at Hoani Waititi Marae, situated in the city of Auckland, that Reikura practised traditional Māori values—concepts that are usually picked up through interactions in marae activities within her own hapū based outside of the city.

*My marae were Wāhi Pā in Huntly, Ōtiria up north and Awatere and Hinerupe down the coast. I can't actually say I grew up there and that's something I've missed out on. What I have gained is growing up on Hoani Waititi Marae, being surrounded by those kaumātua and knowing the kōrero for that marae and knowing how to operate a marae. We still had to go in the kitchen at every hui whether we were at primary school or wharekura. We had to help out at every tangihanga and hui because that was our marae, that's what they do in a hau kāinga, even though we live in Auckland city.*  
(Reikura)

Whānau who have connections to a marae are expected to carry out certain obligations. The students at Hoani Waititi kura were encouraged to take part and sometimes lead events such as the welcoming of visitors. In the participation, the students learnt about the responsibilities associated with the marae and gained confidence in the process.

*At Hoani Waititi we didn't just [spend time in] class, we were a part of the marae, we did haka pōhiri, we met dignitaries. Different skills—public speaking was definitely a skill that was expected of all the males. So I feel very strong in public speaking. (Ruki)*

*We had everything at our fingertips. The marae had kapa haka, mau rākau schools, health schools, hauora schools. (Te Hira )*

Reikura describes Hoani Waititi Marae as 'pan tribal', catering for all tribes and this aspect is demonstrated through the carvings on the walls of the Tūmanako meeting house. When Reikura travelled to gatherings in her own tribal areas outside of the city, she was able to gather knowledge about her own hapū and iwi.

*Hoani Waititi, he marae tēnā mō ngā hau e whā—it was for everybody, embraced all iwi. All the poupou in Tūmanako, the whare at Hoani Waititi, are from ngā iwi katoa. We [learned about] Waikato-Tainui at home and on the weekends going to poukai. We grew up knowing the Kīngitanga, karakia and mōteatea. But when we went to kura that was pan-tribal. (Reikura)*

While Hoani Waititi marae provided an example of learning that took place outside of the classroom, kura teachers such as Kāterina Mataira, Tuihana Bosch and Evelyn Tobin were keen to provide the students with other experiences that would develop an understanding about the natural world around them:

*I tino kaha a Whaea Kāterina, a Whaea Tuihana, Whaea Evelyn anō hoki ki te hari i a mātou ki ērā tūmomo wāhi, kia kua e noho i roto i te akomanga anake Engari ka puta atu ki te ao. (Reikura)*

One educational adventure involved the kura children camping in tents at Whāingaroa (Raglan) and another journey took the pupils to the Waitākere Ranges to fish for tuna (eels). More commonly experienced as a part of rural life, these activities were a special component of kura kaupapa Māori education that enabled students to learn about aspects of traditional Māori life within the bush and rivers of Waitākere on the outskirts of Auckland city.

*I haere anō mātou hei kura ki Whāingaroa. I reira anō mātou ka noho i roto tēneti. Koia rā tētahi mea nui i a mātou i te kura kaupapa, kua ko te wharekura, i puta mātou ki ngā wāhi kē, ki ngā noho marae. Tētahi wā ka haere mātou ki tētahi wāhanga o Waitākere, i reira hī tuna. Ērā tūmomo mahi, e whakaaro ana te tangata kei ngā haukāinga kē. Engari i a mātou i te kura ko ngā pai i waenga o Waitākere o Titirangi. He maha ngā momo awaawa kei reira. Nā reira ka taea ēnā mahi i te tāone. (Reikura)*

Reikura talked about a time when the kura students stayed in Raglan at the house of their teacher, Kāterina Mataira. There the students were taught how to fish and to gather oysters. An interesting new learning was introduced with the viewing of the hydroponic garden that was on the property.

*Haere katoa atu mātou ki Whāingaroa ki Raglan, i reira anō hoki tana kāinga. I reira mātou hī ika, haere ki te tiki tio mai i te taha tai. I taua wā i a ia tētahi mārā, ehara i te mea i whakatōngia i roto i a Papatūānuku. I ērā wā i a ia ngā mōhiotanga mō ērā tūmomo hangarau te 'hydroponics'. I kite mātou i tana mārā pērā te rerekē. (Reikura)*

Kāterina Mataira created a stimulating learning environment in which an enjoyment of creating stories was passed on to the students along with the skills of story-telling:

*Ko te mea o Whaea Kāterina ehara i te mea i ako mai i ngā pukapuka. Ko ngā pūkenga i roto i a ia i whakatōngia ki roto i a mātou anō hoki. Ko tērā te aroha mō ngā pakiwaitara kei a koe, kei roto i a koe. Kua ko ngā pakiwaitara e mōhio whānuitia ana i roto i ngā pūrākau, kua ko ērā noa iho. Ko ngā pakiwaitara ka taea anō e koe te hanga i roto i tō hinengaro. (Reikura)*

Reikura expressed amazement at Whaea Kāterina's story-telling ability. A renowned writer, Whaea Kāterina was adept at inventing new stories each night for her attentive listeners and then extending the tale the following night. It was this activity during the stay at Whāingaroa that encouraged the students to be creative in developing their own narratives and story writing. Consequently, at the ages of six and seven, the children eagerly worked at constructing their own 'pūrākau'.

*Ko te mea mīharo ki a mātou, ia pō, ia pō, ka kōrero ia mō tētahi pakiwaitara. Nāna anō i hanga i taua pō tonu, ā, ko te pō i muri mai e hono ana ki taua pūrākau tuatahi. Ehara i te mea koia rā tētahi o ngā pukapuka i titongia e ia i mua, engari he mea hou. I reira, ki ahau nei, i tino rata nei mātou ki tērā ao o te pūrākau i roto i a mātou mahi*

*katoa, hoki ana mātou ki te kura. Tino kaha ia ki te whakaū i a mātou ki te hanga pakiwaitara. Ono, whitu tau—ō mātou pakeke, oti i a mātou e hia nei pukapuka te tito, ka tuhi rānei. (Reikura)*

It is probable that Kāterina was encouraging the use of ‘pūrākau’ to further shape the cultural identities of her students. Defined as ‘myths’ or ‘any incredible story’ by Williams (2000), the term ‘pūrākau’ is often used in reference to fabricated stories and legends. Lee (2009), as mentioned earlier, used ‘pūrākau’ as a method within her doctoral research and is critical of the definitions that place pūrākau in the realms of fiction and fables from the past. In the article, ‘Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau’ as a method’, she explains pūrākau in a more substantial way—as a type of narrative that transmits tradition, cultural mores and the values and belief system of Māori society.

Today Reikura has a fondness for writing pūrākau and for reading which she attributes to the teaching of Whaea Kāterina.

*Mai i taua wā ki tēnei, ko te tino aroha mō te pūrākau me te pānui. Tētahi mea nā Whaea Kāterina anō i whakatōngia i roto i a mātou. (Reikura)*

### ***He ngākau māhaki tō ngā pouako—caring teachers***

Kia noho tūwhera tōna ngākau ki te hari, ki te koa, ki te aroha, arā, kia ngākau nui, kia ngākau māhaki. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 739)

Through the guidance of Te Aho Matua, kura kaupapa Māori teachers and whānau work towards developing their students’ capacities for aroha—love and understanding—and to be joyful yet humble in all of their dealings in life.

The caring nature of the teachers in the small kura is remembered with fondness by the graduates.

*I really felt that they cared for us and they wanted the best for us. They were always looking out for us because it was such a small kura, more like a whānau than typical mainstream schools. We were really fortunate to have all those people. (Pikihuia)*

*An advantage being one of the first kura kids was because there weren’t many of us and so our teachers could concentrate on us. (Mana)*

*The greatest strength from kura, what makes it unique, was the relationship that I had with my teachers. It was very aunty and nephew, mother and son. (Ruki)*

*Teachers were like aunties and uncles. It was that really tight whānau bond that we had at Waititi. The teachers would growl you like you're their own kids. They would get angry, disappointed like you were their baby. You'd really feel that and you know they're only doing it because they care. They wouldn't just say, oh go to principal, I'm over it, let someone else deal with it. (Kiri)*

*If whānau had problems, the teachers would take the kids, look after them. Whānau kaupapa and wairua was strong within kura kaupapa Māori, same in whare kura. I remember our teachers taking us under their wing, looking after us, getting us to the places we needed to be, getting us jobs. (Mana)*

Considerate and caring teachers were also a part of Te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi, the extension of kura kaupapa Māori to secondary school level. Wharekura in its infancy was also small with only four or five teachers in the school. Tumamao views this as a positive aspect because it meant the students were well acquainted with the teachers. He felt they all treated him well.

*Ko te mea pai o Te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi ehara i te mea he tokomaha ngā kaiako, e whā e rima pea noa iho ngā kaiako mō te katoa o te kura. Mā reira ka mōhio pai koe ki ngā kaiako katoa. Nō reira ko te katoa o ngā kaiako kei te wharekura o Hoani Waititi e tino pai ki a au. (Tumamao)*

*In high-school when we went into subjects we had never seen before like statistics and calculus. We had awesome teachers then as well—Whaea Georgina who had Masters in Science, Papa Hare Rua and Papa Michael. We had one of the best principals—Papa Vic Mokaraka. (Reikura)*

The graduates also spoke highly of those who taught them English literacy. In the statement below, Ruki talks about Jill Bradley who was the English language teacher at both Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau.

*Whaea Jill was very willing to put in extra time and that was the difference. She understood what our parents were trying to do at Kura Kaupapa. Instead of saying 'That's wrong! This is how it is!' she worked with it. Repetition was a skill that was*

*used, continually going through it, much like waiata, mōteatea. It definitely helped my ability to understand English. (Ruki)*

At wharekura, the English language teacher, Mavis Clapp made learning the learning of English easier through the provision of an environment that made the students feel comfortable and therefore more at ease to learn.

*She loved the English language like how we loved the Māori language. She respected the Māori language and was willing to try it, and because of that we were willing to put that little bit extra when it came to Pākehā classes. Māori language gives me an opportunity to describe my world. I found that English was like a mysterious world that I was slowly trying to learn, and she definitely made it a journey where I could explore and be safe. I remember the systems we had in class promoted people to make mistakes and have the courage to go and fix them. (Ruki)*

Chance too, talked positively about Whaea Mavis but he recognised that English was seen by the students as a secondary subject and Māori viewed as the prime method of learning and communicating.

*Whaea Mavis was awesome. Having te reo Pākehā at a High School in that type of setting, our minds were already built, even in kura kaupapa, the reo was like the main topic and English was secondary type of mahi. It wasn't enforced or used dominantly as [in] a mainstream school. (Chance)*

The graduates were advantaged in belonging to small schools where students and teachers all knew each other as part of the kura whānau. In modelling how to live as Māori, the teachers demonstrated values that resulted in caring teacher–student relationships. Consequently, the graduates in this study felt that their teachers were sincerely concerned about their well-being and focussed on the success of their students.

Teachers have a tremendous impact on the learning and aspirations of their students. John Hattie's 2003 research on the qualities of an excellent teacher shows that teachers are hugely influential in how well students achieve in school. Although my study does not focus on student achievement, the role of the kura teachers cannot be understated in the academic and personal growth of the students. As Hattie states, "It is what teachers know, do and care about which is very powerful in [the] learning equation" (Hattie, 2003, p. 2).

The vital role of teachers is affirmed in the Te Kotahitanga Research Project which has shown that Māori students in mainstream secondary schools are more inclined to focus on their school work, to attend class and to enjoy learning, if their teachers develop relationships with them built on care, respect, trust and positivity (Bishop & Berryman, 2010). The Māori Year 9 and 10 students interviewed in the Te Kotahitanga Project, talked about cultural understanding as an attribute of an effective teacher.

In kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura, teachers were not hindered by a lack of cultural understanding because Māori culture and the living of Māori values was an implicit part of daily whānau life. The nurturing relationships between kura students and teachers, helped in the formation of positive identities as expressed by the graduates in interview, and demonstrated in the paths they have chosen for employment.

Te Hira's comment below echoes the sentiments of other graduates when he credits the teachers, the marae and the kura for his Māori language knowledge and learning that has contributed to the person he is today.

*Tōku reo, ōku whakaakoranga, my teachings, my beliefs, my values, I always say the source, my puna is this place here, my teachers, everything I credit back to our marae to our kura. (Te Hira)*

### ***Te reo Pākehā—English language literacy***

Kia toa ia ki te whakarongo, ki te kōrero, ki te pānui, ki te tuhi i roto i te reo Māori i roto i te reo o Tauīwi hoki. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 739)

Within the philosophy of Te Aho Matua lies the principle of bilingualism. It is expected that while at kura, pupils will learn how to think, listen, speak, read and write in both Māori and English. As the main language in New Zealand society, English predominates on radio, television and in most social interactions, so speaking in the English vernacular posed no great difficulty to the graduates. It was in the areas of reading and writing that they needed tutoring. Eight of the graduates had formal English lessons at kura kaupapa Māori while three others had no tuition in the subject until high-school age. One was educated in a mainstream English language primary school before entering wharekura.

In New Zealand society, Māori is viewed as a low-status minority language; English is the language of the government, institutions, media and schools. As a result, English can easily

undermine the position of strength that the Māori language holds within kura kaupapa Māori. With the protection of the Māori language firmly in mind, the early kura whānau set up classrooms specifically for the teaching of English and placed them away from the main teaching areas. The teacher of English was assigned that subject only and didn't teach in any other curriculum area. The deliberate separation was to ensure the students' Māori language was kept intact while they acquired the skills to read and write in English. These aspects are outlined in Te Aho Matua, section 2.5:

Anō te wā e tika ana mō te whakauru i te reo Tauwiwi ki roto i ngā mahi a ngā tamariki. Waiho tēnei mā ia whānau e whakatau. Ko te mea nui kē, kia noho wehe ngā reo e rua. He wāhi kē mō te whakaako, he tangata kē hei whāngai i te reo o Tauwiwi ki ngā tamariki. Anō, ko te mea nui, kia noho rumaki te reo, kia kua e kōrero māwhitiwhiti mai tētahi reo ki tētahi reo. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 736)

The clear demarcation was based on overseas research of that time on bilingual and immersion programmes such as Cummins and Swain's (1986) study that supported the development of a second language once the first language had been established. This notion is reiterated in Reikura's comments as she shares her experiences of learning English at the kura. Reikura grew up speaking the Māori language at home and in her pre-school education through the kōhanga reo.

*We started learning English formally [when] we were 8 or 9 years old. The English class was totally separate from the kura and Whaea Jill was our first English teacher. A fantastic teacher she made everything fun. She's the reason also, since Whaea Kāterina, why a lot of the older girls, my age –we all love reading books [in English].*  
(Reikura)

Jill Bradley taught English literacy skills to the students at Te Kura o Hoani Waititi over a two-year period and at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau for one year. Children were accepted into the English transition class only once it was clear that they had acquired the literacy skills of reading, writing, thinking and speaking in Māori. This was usually from age 8 and upwards (Bradley, 1991).

According to Bradley (1991) all of the children arrived at her classroom speaking English fluently but with differing levels of reading and writing in English. The students were highly motivated and quickly developed the skills in English language literacy. In monitoring the

students' learning, she found English reading levels for all groups were above the national norm. Bradley (p. 29) noted: "Staff reported an enhancement in children's attitude to work in general, and specifically an increased output in written work" and "some parents commented that with the addition of learning the English language their children's attitudes to te reo Māori had shown a marked improvement".

As stated in Chapter Five, all of the participants were schooled in three of the first kura kaupapa Māori that had been established in Auckland, and most attended the first wharekura also in Auckland. The participants' experiences in terms of their tutelage in the reading and writing of English differed from kura to kura. The first group tutored by Jill Bradley at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi studied English over five school terms at a rate of 1.5 days a week. A second group, also at the Hoani kura was taught English over three school terms for one day a week. A third group at Hoani had English language tutelage for one morning a week over two school terms. Bradley's fourth group was based at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau and this group spent one hour a week over a period of three school terms with her (Bradley, 1991, pp. 40-41).

In the passages below, Chance and Ruki recall the time spent learning English at the kura of Hoani Waititi. Upon attending Wharekura, Ruki equates the time spent on English to the time spent on the curriculum area of Mathematics.

*We used to have one day [of English] at Hoani. (Chance)*

*I te Tūrei i te ata i whakahaere tētahi wāhanga o te karahe, i te Taite i te ahiahi me te Paraire i te ata. E whā pea ngā karāhe i roto i te reo Pākehā i a mātou i te kura kaupapa. I tō mātou putanga atu ki te wharekura he orite, kua wāwāhi ngā hāora kia rite ngā hāora mō te mahi reo Pākehā ki ērā o ngā mahi o te Pāngarau. (Ruki)*

Monowai thought the English lessons may have been held one day a week during her time at Wharekura. She didn't find the subject easy but persevered with support from her teacher, Mavis Clapp.

*He akoranga i te taha o tētahi o ngā kaiako. Tērā pea ko tētahi rā o te wiki ka mahi i tērā reo. Kare au i te tino matatau ki te reo nō reira āhua taumaha te tīmata ki te ako i te reo Pākehā. I wasn't ready for High School in terms of my English literacy levels. It was a bit of a struggle but Whaea Mavis, she put in the time and the effort. She was great. (Monowai)*

A couple of the graduates describe difficulties in settling to English language lessons at kura for they were more accustomed to the use of Māori when learning the school curriculum subjects.

*Kāore au i tino ū ki te hōhonutanga, ki ngā whakahaerenga o ngā mahi i roto i te akomanga reo Pākehā. Mōku ake he uaua. Ko tō mātou kura he kura kaupapa Māori. Ko te pou hākinakina ētahi o ngā akomanga, pāngarau, pūtaiao, tikanga ā iwi, ērā momo katoa me whakahaere i roto i te reo Māori. (Mahanga)*

*I didn't take to English as I did to our reo Māori kaupapa. (Te Hira)*

While very articulate in the speaking and writing of the Māori language, Mahanga today finds it difficult to explain his thoughts clearly in the English language.

*Māmā noa iho ki au te tuhi reta ki te reo Māori. Ētahi o ngā kupu Pākehā nei kāore he aha ki a au ki te whakatakoto rerenga kōrero. Ko te mate ko ngā kupu e tika ana hei whakaatu i ngā tikanga a ō whakaaro i roto i te kōpaki o tēnā rerenga kōrero, ki reira raru ai. (Mahanga)*

Te Hira went on to study at university where he found the new learning environment and its English language content daunting. Although he lacked confidence in his English language capabilities, Te Hira devoted himself to the new learning and successfully completed his studies in the English language.

*At Auckland Uni and at St John's listening to my peers—they're so eloquent and articulate in the reo Pākehā. I wouldn't say I felt dumb I just didn't feel as confident as my colleagues. And our readings—all that mahi was a whole new world. I was able to knock off my graduate diploma and theology all in English and I felt proud. Even though my reo English was tapepe as, I had a real firm belief in myself. (Te Hira)*

But not all graduates were taught the literacy skills of reading and writing in English while at the primary school level of kura kaupapa Māori. It appears that the kura that Kiri attended had no English language lessons at all. Consequently, Kiri could converse in English but her inability to read and write the language until high school age caused her to experience feelings of inadequacy about her English literacy skills.

*I didn't start learning how to write English until I got to whare kura which was quite embarrassing. I could speak English but I couldn't really read it and I couldn't spell. I*

*remember my sister sending me a paper—I must have been 11 or 12—of the alphabet, because she realised I didn't know it. I ended up being quite good at English while I was at whare kura. I don't think I really learnt how to spell. I don't think it has affected me although I was worried at the time, thinking I'm going to look dumb. (Kiri)*

It is probable that the whānau of the kura that Kiri attended did not see the necessity for the acquisition of English literacy skills. It was believed by some of the early kura whānau that reading and writing in English would happen automatically and, in a similar manner to osmosis, the children would absorb and easily pick up conversational English. For others, the learning of the English language was seen as a time-waster, for the revitalisation of the Māori language was the main goal of the kura kaupapa Māori movement.

The first kura kaupapa Māori were trail-blazers in all aspects of Māori-medium education. The experimental nature of those early days within the unique educational initiatives can be seen in the inconsistency in the time spent on English language learning as demonstrated in the graduates' narratives. The lack of uniformity in the provision of English literacy in kura kaupapa Māori is argued by Rata & Tāmami (2013) as problematic. Tāmami (2011) argues for the introduction of a 'Trans-acquisitional Approach' as a new approach for English language instruction in kura. The Trans-acquisitional Approach is based on the premise that the stronger language of students should be used to translate and communicate concepts that cannot be expressed in the target language. According to Tāmami, English is the stronger language of kura kaupapa Māori students in kura today and should therefore be used for translation purposes when seeking meaning for vocabulary and sentence structures in Māori—the target language. As Tamami is still in the midst of her research the workability of the Trans-acquisitional Approach is not yet known nor is it clear how the Māori language can remain intact within a kura that allows the use of English to communicate the teaching of Māori.

While there is certainly some ambivalence about the most appropriate time to begin teaching and learning the English language in a Māori-medium setting, and the appropriate pedagogical practices, a number of studies demonstrate that there are kura kaupapa Māori who do run English language programmes and achieve positive bilingual outcomes. Glynn, Berryman, Loader, and Cavanagh (2005) set up an English reading and writing programme in a Māori immersion school to better prepare the students for entry into mainstream English-medium secondary school. The implementation of a home-school intervention, in which

parents were employed as tutors, enabled very significant and positive outcomes for the students in English literacy skills with no detriment to their learning in Māori.

There is not a lot written about what students themselves think about the introduction and learning of English in a Māori-medium setting. Narratives from the participants in my doctoral study who were students in kura kaupapa Māori some 25 years ago provide some insight. More recently, Hill (2011) and Hill and May (2013) have documented interviews with students from three separate kura kaupapa Māori in which perceptions about the teaching of the English language, and the Māori language, are described. (For the purpose of this chapter I am mainly interested in the outcome of their research on the English component.) The students in the three kura experienced very different teaching and learning experiences in their English classes. Their comments revealed the importance of a meaningful teacher–student relationship and the necessity for engaging stimulating learning experiences. In the reading assessment, the students in Schools 1 and 2 scored well with a “mean reading age one year below their mean chronological age” in their reading results in English (Hill & May, 2013, p. 14). School 3 students were found to be “two years below their mean chronological age” (2013, p. 14). The writing tests produced similar results. The reasonable successful Schools 1 and 2 experienced in the teaching of English within a Māori-medium setting demonstrated the value the kura placed on English. A crucial factor was teacher knowledge about the concepts of bilingualism enabling a relevant teaching practice that stimulated students’ English language learning.

The graduates I interviewed were not part of a focussed study of the teaching of English like those in the Hill and May research. The comments shared by the participants in my interviews give an insight into the manner in which English was taught when the kura were first established. The reflections of the participants in my study suggest that the diverse nature of those early English literacy lessons resulted in a number of different learning outcomes. While some of the graduates expressed confidence in reading and writing in English, others felt unsure about their English language capabilities, and a couple talked about the difficulties they encountered in the learning of English.

### ***Kia rua ngā reo—Bilingualism***

Mō ngā tamariki, kia rua ngā reo. Ko te reo o ngā mātua tūpuna tuatahi, ko te reo o tauwiwī tuarua. Kia orite te pakari o ia reo, kia tū tangata ai ngā tamariki i roto i te ao Māori, i roto hoki i te ao o Tauwiwi. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 736)

It is expected that children will exit kura with equal competency in both languages of the country, Māori and English, so that they will stand tall as bilingual citizens in the world today. In the following statements the graduates comment on the positive nature of being bilingual.

*I appreciated the outlook into two different worlds and two different cultures gave me an advantage over the rest that only knew one language and one world. (Mana)*

Ruki's views on the benefits of bilingualism are repeated by Pikihiua:

*Ko ngā tamariki o ēnei rangi taea te hikoi i roto i te ao Māori, ao Pākehā. (Ruki)*  
*Today I can walk in both worlds with ease. I can make the transition quite easily, from being in a Māori setting to a Pākehā setting. We have to be bilingual, bicultural. I feel like I got the best of both worlds. (Pikihiua)*

In the comments below Mana expresses the positive outcomes of having the ability to read and write in English and in Māori.

*Learning Māori young made me appreciate language so I appreciated English as well. Writing, another love of mine whether it be waiata or screenplay, even your normal story. I think I became good at that because I had two worlds. You start to understand different grammar and different metaphors and you can inter-link Māori to English and English to Māori. (Mana)*

Ruki believes the kura education instilled in him the desire to learn.

*Yes, it [kura education] equipped me with the necessary skills. I'm using the English language now. I feel confident in my ability to use the English language. The greatest strength it gave me was putting in place systems of learning—having the courage to be able to make mistakes, fix them and then move on. My learning of the English language didn't stop when I left school, it continued. I learn Māori every day, I learn English every day. The lesson—the strongest from school—was that you learn every day. (Ruki)*

***He tū maia nā ngā mahi a te kura—Kura practices instilled confidence***

<p>Kia mau, kia noho whakaarara, noho koi te hinengaro o te tamaiti ki ngā mātau katoa hei arahi i a ia i roto i te ao hou. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 739)</p>
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This Te Aho Matua statement expresses the kura aspiration that students will develop a sharp mentality and an enquiring mind making them receptive to all knowledge that they come across in their lives.

During the kura education, the participants learnt facets of Māori ways of behaving that helped them in later life as adults. The kura kaupapa Māori practice of standing to deliver a mihi (greetings) or whaikōrero (speech), and to perform waiata (song) and haka (type of dance) helped the young people to gain confidence in their abilities to address large groups of people.

*Kura gave me my confidence. I was able to stand in front of people and express my thoughts. It was a young age, five-six years old. I would go to wānanga around the country with my father. I'm confident in front of crowds now. I've been in front of thousands and I don't mind. (Mana)*

*At kōhanga I remember getting up and having to say my name in front of everyone and starting karakia off. Kura kaupapa, same thing. Karakia—all the kids have a turn to get up or you may be asked to do a mihi. Those are the things that have helped me in my career. I was quite confident in being able to stand in front of people. (Kiri)*

Kura kaupapa Māori activities encouraged Mana's creativity and to think outside of the square.

*I owe that to kura. When we stood up and we did Manu Kōrero [public speaking competition] or whaikōrero [formal speech] we had to be creative. Kura art classes, drama classes, kapa haka, you had to be innovative all the time. (Mana)*

The Māori immersion, whānau-oriented education that the graduates received in kura kaupapa Māori under the guidance of Te Aho Matua instilled in them an innate confidence.

*I've always been really confident in my abilities. When we left school we all knew that we were going to go into TV or teaching. We weren't hindered at all by the fact English wasn't our first language. That's one thing that attracted me to, first of all, 'Pūkana', the Māori language children's programme and then going into Māori Television. (Reikura)*

*That's what Kura Kaupapa gave me—you can do anything—Te Aho Matua, ka puta ki te ao, ko te ao kei mua i a koe. That's definitely something that I took into my job. We all are really fortunate in the fact we were at kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa. (Reikura)*

The confidence carried by the graduates is demonstrated in Ruki's statements in which he states it is possible to enter any kind of work as a result of kura teachings and preparation.

*Ka taea te uru atu i roto i ngā mahi katoa o tēnei ao. You can be a Reo Advisor on a television show, do translations, or be a researcher. Ka taea e koe te haere ki ngā whare pukapuka, ka taea e koe i roto i ngā whare pupuri taonga, ka taea e koe te mahi mō ngā Rūnanga- iwi consultant. (Ruki)*

### ***Te pouaka whakaata me te reo irirangi: Television and radio***

Kia tū pakari, tū rangatira ia hei raukura mō tōna iwi. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 739)

These Te Aho Matua words encompass the whānau hopes that the kura students will develop into adults who will strive to attain the pinnacle of success and, in doing so, embody the desires and aspirations of their people. While expecting academic achievement, kura whānau want their students to be well-versed in the Māori language and knowledge. As well, there is an expectation that children will be primed with the skills and knowledge that will enable them to adapt and live at ease in a variety of situations domestically and globally. It is crucial that Māori students are well-prepared to advance into the world and the international domain as active and contributing citizens.

Armed with the Māori language and a sense of being able to achieve whatever they aspire to, the twelve graduates had no difficulty in finding employment. Six are employed in the fields of television and radio where the Māori language is utilised.

While at wharekura, the graduates were closely monitored by Māori, especially those involved in the media where there was a shortage of fluent Māori language speakers.

*There were a lot of eyes on us. It wasn't hard to get into auditions and the media. Different production companies loved the fact that they had a whole lot of young Māori children that were very confident and spoke Māori on a daily basis. (Mana)*

Mana was one of the graduates sought out for media work while still at Wharekura. He was fortunate to secure a presenter's role at TVNZ in a Māori language programme for youth when he was aged 14.

*I started at TVNZ as a presenter for a Marae programme, 'Ka Hao te Rangatahi'. I was one of the main presenters. (Mana)*

At the end of her Wharekura schooling, Kiri began a course at the South Seas Television School. Here she relates how the Māori language helped her to gain the skills for a television career.

*I scored a scholarship because I could speak Māori so it's helped me, knowing how to speak Māori has got me through to this point. (Kiri)*

When Reikura was a student at Auckland University she was asked to audition for a new children's Māori language programme called 'Tūmeke', later known as 'Pūkana'. At that time Reikura was also reading the Māori news for the Māori radio programme, 'Ruia Mai'.

*I te whare wānanga au i tērā wā. I haere mai a Hone Edwards ki ahau ki te kī, e whakatūria ana e rātou tētahi hōtaka hou—ko Pūkana te ingoa—haere mai, to audition. It was 'Tūmeke' then. At that time and all through high-school a few of the seniors worked at 'Ruia Mai', part of Mai FM at that time. We all had part-time jobs there, doing news. (Reikura)*

The confident kura kaupapa Māori students found radio work easy, as Reikura relates,

*We had to do interviews, be tested. What we were doing was translating the news that was given to us and then voicing it over. At that age you'd think that's a bit of a hard ask but we were really confident—over-confident sometimes. That's what we were doing on the weekends, while I was at school and at University. A lot of us were doing radio actually while we were at high-school and then went into TV. (Reikura)*

Mana and Tumamao were two of the kura students who gained experience in working for radio stations while still at wharekura. Mana later took time out from wharekura and Auckland city to return to his home town where he attended the local high school. While at the high school, he worked at the local Māori language radio station, Ngāti Hine FM.

At the completion of his wharekura education, Tumamao became an announcer at his iwi (tribal) radio station where Māori was the language of communication.

*I reira i whai wāhi ahau ki tētahi o ngā reo irirangi Māori o te kāinga. I tīmata ahau ki roto i ngā mahi pāpāho i te reo Māori i runga i ngā reo irirangi Māori o Te Taitokerau.*  
(Tumamao)

According to Benton and Benton (2001) iwi radio stations play an important part in the regeneration of the Māori language but they have had an uphill battle combating the stronger influences of mainstream English language radio stations and television. The opening of the Māori Television Service (MTS) in 2003 has provided a space within the world of television for Māori to represent a Māori reality. A programme that screens on MTS is ‘Pūkana’, a contemporary Māori-medium television programme for children. ‘Pukana’ has helped four of the graduates gain the necessary experience and expertise for television work. After working behind the scenes on a number of television productions Kiri became a presenter on Pūkana. She views her education in Māori as the conduit to her achievements.

*I owe my success to kōhanga, kura kaupapa and whare kura. Knowing te reo Māori got me to where I am today. I’m really lucky. Being able to speak Māori, compose Māori waiata, acknowledging that I am a Māori woman, helped me get my job as a presenter.*  
(Kiri)

Tumamao has also been a presenter on Pūkana. Through Pūkana, he found his way to employment in other television programmes such as ‘411’ on Māori Television and the Māori language news programme, ‘Te Karere’, on Television New Zealand. Today Tumamao works at a prominent Auckland Māori radio station where it is easy for him to maintain his Māori ways of being in the workplace.

*I roto i taku ao, te pāpāho Māori, he ngāwari te ū ki ngā tikanga Māori, ki ngā whakaaro Māori ki ngā kōrero Māori i runga anō i te mōhiotanga ko taku mahinga he whakapaoho i te reo Māori.* (Tumamao)

The radio station is based on a marae in Manurewa where Māori tikanga or ways of behaving are upheld—a common practice on the marae in South Auckland according to Tumamao.

*Tae atu koe ki ētahi o ngā marae i konei i te tonga o Tāmaki pērā i tā Manurewa marae, he whai mana rawa atu te tikanga Māori i roto i ēnei o ngā marae. Nō reira nōku tonu te maringanui.* (Tumamao)

Tumamao researches, writes and reads the Māori news for Radio Waatea, news that is transmitted across a number of Māori radio stations. He also continues to work in roles within Māori television and Television New Zealand.

*He kaipānui i ngā karere mō ngā reo irirangi Māori katoa o te motu. Nā Waatea te mana ki te whakapāoho i ngā karere o ia hāora i te taumata o ia hāora. Ko au tēnā te kaituhi, te kairangahau me te kaikōrero i aua tūmomo karere. He kaikawe reo ahau mā runga pouaka whakaata anō hoki i runga i a Whakaata Māori, i runga i te hōngere Te Reo me TVNZ. (Tumamao)*

Mahanga is another graduate whose television career began at Pūkana. He states emphatically it was because he was able to speak Māori that he secured the role as programme editor as there were no other Māori language speaking editors available.

*Kotahi anake te take i riro ai i a au tērā mahi, ko taku reo, koia rā noa iho. He whakaaturanga reo Māori mō ngā tamariki. Karekau he kaiwāwāhi kōrero Māori. Nā whai anō i riro i au tērā tūrangā, ko taku reo Māori anake, ko te reo Māori te take. (Mahanga)*

Mana knew that he would have no difficulty in finding employment in the field of television because of his experience in the television and radio industry during his time at secondary school.

*I had done it so I knew I was able to do it and be good at it. I was pretty confident I was able to work at a top television agency like TVNZ. (Mana)*

Experiences in the music world, minor roles in movies and a comedy show have paved the way to the prominent position in television that Mana holds today.

*I'm a director. I research Māori history. I interview our older people and our knowledgeable young people about the histories of their land and events, anything with an archival nature. That's my job and I love it. (Mana)*

At the time of this research, two other graduates, Monowai and Mahanga, are also television directors. While Monowai has just completed her first documentary, Mahanga has his own company. Mahanga has put forward a proposal to Māori Television to broadcast six documentary programmes on a subject close to his heart, the Kīngitangā (The Māori King movement).

*Kua whakaritea e au tētahi kamupene. I raro i tērā kamupene kua whakaritea e au tētahi tono ki a Whakaata Māori. E ono katoa ngā hōtaka e whakanui ana, e aro ana ki te Kīngitanga. Koia rā tētahi o aku tino hiahia, ki te whakarite i tētahi pakipūmeka e aro ana ki te Kīngitanga. (Mahanga)*

Mahanga explains that he is a director and most of his work involves documentaries. In that role he has travelled overseas to film the lives of six wharekura students who experienced schooling in South Africa, Chile and Beijing.

*He ringatohu tonu. Te nuinga o āku mahi he whakarite pakipūmeka –documentaries. I tērā mutunga tau i haere au ki Āwherika ki te Tonga, tokoono ngā ākonga o ngā wharekura Aho Matua o Aotearoa—i haere rātou ki ngā kura o reira, hei whakarite i tētahi pakipūmeka te mahi. Ko toru ērā momo kua hikina e au, tētahi ki te Tonga o Āwherika, tētahi ki Chile, tētahi ki Haina ki Beijing. (Mahanga)*

Reikura’s television career has progressed from her beginning role as a young presenter on the programme Pūkana to the position she now holds as a Television Commissioner:

*I was approached and went through the ranks—directing, production managing, associate producer and then co-produced with Mātai. I heard about the commissioning position at Māori Television and I went for that myself. I didn’t think I would get the job I just thought it would be a good opportunity for me to try something new and at the time I was near 29 and I think TV3 had the youngest Commissioner at 32. Commissioners in general, like TVNZ, they’re in their 50s, really experienced. At the time I did the interview I’d been in television for about 8 years in various positions. (Reikura)*

Reikura explains that her role is to choose programmes to be shown on Māori television. Her workplace encourages working and living as Māori.

*Ko ngā mahi e whakarite ko ēhea o ngā whakaaturanga ka whakaatuhia ki runga o Māori Television. E rua māua i roto i ērā mahi. Nō reira i roto anō i ērā mahi he noho whānau anō te mahi, he noho Māori. (Reikura)*

Previously, Reikura and her brother worked together on a documentary which researched the similarities between the ancestral stories of Pacific Island peoples and Māori tales about Māui, Whaititiri and Hawaiki.

*Ko au me taku tungāne i whakawhiti ki ngā moutere katoa te kimihaere i ngā momo kōrero o ērā o ngā iwi o Hāmoa, Rarotonga, o Tahiti, ngā kōrero mō Māui, mō Whatitiri, mō Hawaiiki –ērā tūmomo mahi. Mahi noho Māori anō hoki tēnā. (Reikura)*

Through the medium of television, these graduates are presenting stories that keep traditional knowledge and values alive while also promoting and maintaining Māori language and culture. As fluent Māori language speakers, the graduates are contributing to the normalisation of the Māori language. Those working in television present a positive and normal Māori reality and, in doing so, demonstrate a version of what it is to live as Māori. As media support is part of the process in reversing language shift, it is likely that the graduates' work within radio and television, could contribute to changes in language shift (Spolsky, 2005). The affirmative roles depicted by the graduates working in the media is complemented by a survey conducted by Te Puni Kokiri in 2011, which showed that interaction with the media of Iwi Radio and Māori Television motivated and encouraged more Māori language use.

***Te whakaako tamariki me te ako ki te whare wānanga: Teaching and the academic world***

Kia mau ki tona whatumanawa ngā hohonutangā o te ako o te mōhio. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 739)

In heeding the words above that encourage the pursuit of knowledge and learning, six of the graduates have chosen the world of education and academia as career options. After successfully completing their degrees in teaching, three have returned to kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland as teachers. One of the three continued with study and gained a Postgraduate Diploma in Interpreting and Theology as well as a Master's Degree in Arts.

Tāmara is in her eighth year as a teacher in Hoani Waititi kura kaupapa Māori. She attended the Hoani Waititi Wharekura and has now returned to the kura as a teacher.

*Ko tēnei taku tau tuawaru. Kua whakaakongia au ki Hoani Waititi. Ko taku tūnga he kaiako. I kuraina au ki konei ki Te Wharekura. Kua hoki mai te nuinga o mātou i kuraina ngātahi ki konei, hei whakaako, hei kaiako hoki. (Tamara)*

Chance also a teacher, trained through Takiura, a teacher-training course set up specifically to train teachers for kura kaupapa Māori under the guidance of the Te Aho Matua philosophy.

*The degree is a Bachelor in Teaching Kura Kaupapa Māori, Te Wānanga o Takiura mō ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa under the guidance of Tāwhirimatea Williams and Kaa Williams. Being associated with a person—strong and powerfully minded, and to work under a philosophy that was uniquely ours, Te Aho Matua [was] a privilege.*  
(Chance)

Chance was determined to be a role model for his family by becoming a teacher.

*When I was going to teacher training college, in my family there was no one who had a formal qualification, so that was an incentive for me—trying to be a role model for my younger cousins, younger family members. My family had none of those skills. They never really completed High School. Hopefully I've shown them that it is possible.*  
(Chance)

In teaching Māori language to students at Unitec in Auckland, Chance finds that his usage of the language is limited to classrooms and in some meetings. Of 16 colleagues, only four (including Chance) are fluent Māori language speakers. The situation described by Chance could indicate a decline in usage. According to Bauer (2008), when there are only a few people in a community who speak Māori, the chances of fluent speakers using the language decreases considerably.

*I ngā wā ka ako, i ētahi wā o ngā hui ka kōrero Māori. Ki tōku mōhio tokowhā noa iho mātou o ngā kaimahi o tō mātou nei tari e mōhio ana ki te kōrero i te reo. E toru mai i te tekau mā ono o ngā kaimahi, e tino matatau ki te reo. Te nuinga o te wā ko koe anō e kōrero ana i o māramatanga o te reo, ko ēra ngā wā whakaako, ka kōrerohia ki ngā tauira.* (Chance)

Ruki is presently completing a Masters Degree in Māori at Waikato University. As a result of an upbringing and education solely in the Māori language, he found the papers that he studied in that subject while working towards a Bachelor of Arts in Māori at Waikato University, were very easy.

*The reo they were teaching at university, especially those first two years, was the reo that we grew up on. My friends going to Auckland University were the same. They didn't have to attend any classes and they would still get a hundred percent in the test.*  
(Ruki)

A desire to participate in the performing arts saw Ruki suspend his BA study. He returned to his Auckland home in order to perform in kapa haka and began working with youth at risk.

*I hoki au ki te kāinga, kapa haka, nuku atu mō ngā tau e rima. I tīmata au i te mahi - ki tētahi marae ka whai tūranga ki tētahi kaupapa tiaki tamariki, ngā tamariki nanakia nei. There was an advertisement for a youth worker, an awesome opportunity because I liked working with people. I went to this marae out West Auckland, they had an alternative education programme. On my first day I had about five hats, I was the youth worker, Māori teacher, van driver, kaumātua on the marae, and taiaha teacher.*  
(Ruki)

The skills and knowledge gleaned from the kura environment were used by Ruki to teach cultural values to the troubled youth to help them develop a better understanding of themselves and to strengthen their identity.

*Those four years were awesome. I was working with children who had less than what I had. Taking morals and philosophies from kura, I applied it there. I became project coordinator for the alternative education. I got these five students, very naughty, all blacklisted students—Māori but wanted to be ‘gangsters’. I found, being with them, their lack was culture. We had Polynesian students, Indian students, and I would teach them reo. I also taught them a respect for other cultures, and within four or five weeks of teaching them reo, taking them to the marae and teaching them Māori values, they appreciated our Māori values, but they appreciated more who they were.* (Ruki)

Eventually, Ruki returned to Waikato University and completed his Bachelor Degree. At this time he is working to complete a Master of Arts in which he is focussing on the traditions and protocols of his own iwi.

*I completed my honours degree in Te Reo and Tikanga and I’m doing my Masters in Tikanga Process. I roto i te reo Māori ko ngā tikanga ahurei o Ngāti Manu e pā ana ki te pōhiri ki ngā tangihanga. Ko ngā wāhanga e titiro nei au ko te karanga, ko te pae tapu, te wā whaikōrero me te hongī, i tua atu i te pōhiri.* (Ruki)

One of the lessons instilled since kōhanga reo and kura days, is to practise patience when helping new learners in their quest to pick up the Māori language.

*Ko tērā tētahi o ngā tino akoranga nui ahakoa kua mau pūmau mai i te kōhanga reo. Ki te tūtaki au i ētahi tāngata e hiahia ana ki te ako i te reo, ko taku mahi he āwhina. Kia kaua au e takahi i tōna mana. If I meet the person who wants to learn the reo, it is my duty to help them because I went through that process. I count myself very fortunate. At the same time, never use the reo to embarrass them. (Ruki)*

*What I took from kura was that we had to help those who want to learn the reo. Never use the reo as a weapon. People can forget when a new reo-speaker begins to talk and then go 'Kei te hē koe!', just chop them[discourage them]. If they're using basic speech patterns and developing them, then you start hitting them with big words and big sentence structures you can actually confuse them, ka riro ki te hapa. Mō te taha ki te reo koirā tētahi o ngā whanonga nui kua pūmau mai i te kura. (Ruki)*

In a similar way to Ruki's teaching the language to others, Pikihuia returned to her mainstream secondary school to guide and support the students there who were studying Bursary Māori (now Year 13). It was a difficult time for her as she was, at this stage, a single mum with a new baby, and a first year student at Auckland University.

*I had him in my first year which was pretty full on, completed my undergraduate degree with my baby. I worked the whole time. When he was really little I went back to EGGs to help out, because their kaiako kāre matatau ki te reo, got me to help them with their bursary. (Pikihuia)*

Pikihuia has worked as a cultural advisor for Special Education, has spent time with an autism organisation, and has been a student mentor at the University of Auckland. She is now studying for a doctorate in clinical psychology. Her thesis is examining the way that Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service in Counties Manukau District Health Board engage with Māori whānau. She explains there are few Māori people in her field of work.

*Torutoru noa iho ngā Māori kei roto i tērā mahi i te mea he roa rawa atu mō te whakamutu i tērā mahi. It's a long process and a difficult one. A lot of people apply for it but only 10 places each year. There's one or two Māori that will get into each intake. (Pikihuia)*

A highly motivated woman, Pikihuia confides,

*I've never really struggled to get mahi. I've always worked but it does take its toll, trying to do everything at the same time. (Pikihuia)*

Pikihuia describes how the kura education has contributed to her uniqueness.

*The opportunities, I've been given in life from going to kura and being able to speak Māori has given me an edge in a way, something different from what other people can bring to the job. I've been fortunate in that respect. (Pikihuia)*

### ***Whāia te taumata tika mō te hauora—Achieve a decent standard of living***

Kia ita tōna mauri. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 739)

The Te Aho Matua statement notes the benefit of holding fast to the unique essence, and inner being, that is inherent in each person. Mauri can be maintained through physical and spiritual well-being, components that can be better managed through the gaining of sound employment and financial security leading to a decent standard of living. Enjoying good health, and a high standard of living, are aspirations that most Māori have for their children. It was agreed by the diverse group of whānau members and educationalists who attended the Hui Mātauranga in Tūrangi, 2001, that schooling success ties in with employment, levels of income, health standards and quality of life, and the ability to participate as citizens of the world (Durie, 2003). The ideas from the hui, which mirror the goals of the kura kaupapa Māori movement back in the early 1980s, have been adopted by the Ministry of Education and placed in the 'Ka Hikitia' policy (Ministry of Education, 2009). 'Ka Hikitia' (p. 18) states in the strategic intent, a recognition of the "widespread aspirations of Māori to live and succeed as Māori, in Aotearoa New Zealand society and in the wider world".

Although I began this section linking the Te Aho Matua document to 'mauri', the sentiment could be extended to include the aim of the early movers and shakers of the kura kaupapa Māori movement who wanted to create an educational system that would put an end to the social injustice that seemed to be a part of life for Māori. Graham and Linda Smith, Tuki Nepe, Pita and Aroha Sharples, Kāterina Te Heikōkō Mataira, and the many other battlers for kura establishment were mindful of the high failure rate of Māori in mainstream schooling, and the resultant lack of qualifications, unemployment and societal inequality. In seeking to counteract the deficit practices of the mainstream system, the developers of the kura movement created a system that produces young people who are confident in their abilities to study at tertiary level and to gain quality employment. The first graduates are therefore

increasing the productivity of the New Zealand workforce, and are contributing to the national and global economy (Carpenter, 2007).

In the statement below, Pikihuia includes the physical, spiritual and emotional aspects as hauora or well-being, and she includes whānau in the description. The income from good jobs has helped Pikihuia and her partner to buy a home for their family, and to live well.

*I'm always trying to think how to improve our hauora and our standard of living for our whānau. Hauora not just in terms of oranga tinana, but oranga wairua, oranga hinengaro. We're really fortunate. It's to do with my tāne, his mahi and my mahi, it enables us to always have kai on the table and not really have to worry about a roof over our head, and kākahu [clothes], all those necessities. (Pikihuia)*

Reikura talks about the components from kura that have help advance quality in life. She begins with, 'ngā mōhiotangā' (understanding and knowledge).

*First of all, ngā mōhiotangā—you need that to go into a good position in life, not only in job but in life. Confidence is one important thing that does help you when you get into the big world and knowing that you've got support. (Reikura)*

Reikura and her partner's salaries complement and add to their ability to buy their own home.

*I met my partner at University and after a few years we actually bought our house before we got married. We've owned our own home for quite a while. He's a Producer Director. (Reikura)*

Kiri, who will soon give birth to her first child, lives with her partner in a house owned by her mother. The couple help with the costs in maintaining and upgrading the house.

*I've worked for six years. People think oh you're on TV you're going to be rich. I have a nice car and I have a few nice things. You would expect that I wouldn't be living with my mum. It's not the flashiest house but this for me is home. Mum has given me everything that I needed to get into my career so being at home to help her out is what I've been working for. (Kiri)*

Mana is content with his lot in life.

*I'm middle class. I have shares in a house with my mother and I also flat so I pay mortgage and rent. I've got a nice economical car, gets me around. I'm enjoying life, doing what I want to do. (Mana)*

Tumamao credits the kura education, Māori language and Māori world knowledge for the work that he has had over the years and being in a position to earn a reasonable salary and to live the life he chooses.

*He pai te pūtea. Ka taea tonu e ahau te haere i āku hāereere, te hoko i ngā mea e hiahiatia ana, te kai i ngā kai pai, te hoko i ngā kākahu pai, te utu i āku nama. Ko ērā kaupapa katoa ka taea e ahau i runga anō i taku mōhio ki te reo Māori, i runga anō i taku tupu i roto i ngā kura kaupapa. (Tumamao)*

The kura graduates in my study, live and work in the metropolis of Auckland. Interestingly, Benton (1997) predicted some years ago that today's generation of Māori speakers will live in the cities, unlike the rural-dwelling Māori speakers of the past. He also claimed that this new era of communicators would work in skilled, professional employment rather than the unskilled and semi-skilled roles that Māori speakers held previously. He warned that the language could be alienated from its tribal bases if most speakers are in cities and away from "the ethnic community" (p. 30). In addition, the sense of disconnection could become greater if the new speakers are from different socio-economic backgrounds than the bulk of Māoridom.

My research has focussed on a cohort who attended kura in the city. But there are many others who are graduating now from a number of rural kura kaupapa Māori who will likely move to the cities in order to gain tertiary education and to seek employment. The impact of the world-wide recession and the consequential problems aligned to high unemployment rates has already resulted in many Māori moving to the cities or emigrating to Australia in search of a better life for themselves and their families. As Māori attempt to adapt and fit in to their new environments, the Māori language and culture is also undergoing changes. But that is an area of study that my research does not focus on as I am more interested, at this time, in the lives of the graduates from the first kura kaupapa Māori.

### **He whakakapinga—Conclusion**

As the people who fought for a Māori-medium education for their children, the first teachers of these distinctive early kura were highly motivated to provide an education that validated

Māori language, traditions and culture. A number of these teachers were native speakers of the language and had grown up in the Māori world. Their influence on the lives of the graduates is revealed through learning experiences that have taken place on the marae—the hub of Māori culture—and through activities such as fishing, gardening and story-telling that increased knowledge about Māori ways of being. The students viewed the teachers as part of the extended family group, seeing them in a similar way to an aunt or an uncle who treated them with care and understanding and showed genuine concern for their future and well-being.

While the graduates' experiences in learning the literacy skills of English language literacy varied, the majority now enjoy the benefits of being able to read and write in both Māori and English. Two of the graduates have taken on university study which has required knowledge of the English language. For half of the graduates in this study, the Māori language has led to employment in radio and television, while others have advanced into teaching careers.

Growing up in a Māori language and cultural environment has instilled a self-assurance in the graduates that has propelled them into well-paid employment and the subsequent benefits of a reasonable standard of living including for some, home ownership. The graduates' demonstrations of self-confidence, self-determination and the ability to advance their individual talents to high levels of achievement encapsulate the aims of Te Aho Matua. The outcomes of the objectives set by the parents and whānau who first began the journey to the kura kaupapa Māori education are manifested in graduates who are equipped with the skills to contribute positively to New Zealand's economy and society, and to the wider world.

## Chapter Eight: Living as Māori in an unready society

### He whakatakinga. Introduction

Devised by the pioneers of kura kaupapa Māori, Te Aho Matua is recognised as the foundation document for kura. It sets down guidelines for kura whānau in all aspects of teaching and learning and is adhered to in the governance and management of the kura. Aptly described by Takao, Grennell, McGegg, & Wehipeihana, (2010, p. 9) as “a blueprint for the expression of Māori values in education”, Te Aho Matua clearly sets kura kaupapa Māori apart from mainstream schools in its implementation of Māori concepts and beliefs through its six principles and its strong adherence to the Māori language.

The participants in this study experienced Te Aho Matua through a kura kaupapa Māori or wharekura education. In their narratives they have related that Te Aho Matua was not taught directly, like a focussed subject in class time, but instead it was picked up through modelling by whānau and became an intrinsic part of their behaviour and lives.

The graduates provide an insight into how Te Aho Matua has provided guidance and support in their lives. Upon graduating from kura, it has been the maintenance of the Te Aho Matua principles, Māori language and values that have given them the strength and mechanisms to cope in a world that is at odds with the Māori worldview that indulged and nourished them during their schooling. In upholding values such as manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and aroha, the graduates give life to traditional Māori cultural practices and Māori tikanga and, in the modern contexts of kapa haka groups, sports clubs, and social venues, have a sense of being wherein it is normal to be Māori.

A challenge for some families is in knowing the right time for their children to learn to speak English in the family setting. Some of the graduates have described their experiences when their Māori-speaking children are introduced to the English language. Others have shared their thoughts on how to strengthen wharekura to improve the learning experiences of their children in English.

The graduates are now teachers, academics or significant figures in the television and radio spheres. With their knowledge of te reo Māori and tikanga they are aware of their responsibilities towards whānau, hapū and iwi and the expectations of possible leadership

roles in the future for their people. Thus they exemplify the vision of those who gave birth to kura kaupapa Māori and Te Aho Matua.

***Ngā whakaaro mō Te Aho Matua. Views on Te Aho Matua***

Te piko o te māhuri, tērā te tipu o te rākau. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 736)

In this saying, the reference to the sapling needing nourishment to grow into a strong tree can be likened to the development of the kura kaupapa Māori child who, with love and guidance, will mature into a confident and knowledgeable adult. Te Aho Matua is the philosophy that guides whānau in the teaching and learning of Māori knowledge and Māori ways of behaving so that children will develop into adults who will stand tall as Māori in this modern world.

In the passage below, Mahanga relates how the unique nature of a child is adhered to in the first section of the Te Aho Matua philosophy, entitled 'Te Ira Tangata'. Under the guidance of Te Aho Matua, the child's whānau as well as the kura have vital roles to play in nurturing, and in the passing on of Māori knowledge and language to the precious young beings.

*Tēnei mea te tamaiti i roto i ngā āhuatanga o te Aho Matua, ko te ira tangata te wāhanga tuatahi o te Aho Matua. Nā wai, ka whānau mai tērā o ngā pēpē, tērā o ngā taonga, ngā kura, ngā kahurangi ki te ao mārama. Koia rā te ao i hangaia e ōna mātua, e tōna pāpā, e tōna māmā. He ao ka poipoia, he ao korowaitia e Te Aho Matua ka mutu e te ao Māori. (Mahanga)*

One of the basic principles of Te Aho Matua, according to Mahanga, is the whānau endorsement of the principal, teachers and board members in the management of kura. The whānau, whose role is often unseen, play a large part in the life of the kura. Every whānau member is aware of the ties each child has to the kura and thus children should be cherished with care, guidance and affection.

*Koia rā tētahi o ngā tino pūtaka o Te Aho Matua, ko te whānau hei tautoko i ngā whakahaeretanga katoa o te kura. Ko ngā kaiako, te tūmuaki, te poari, ko rātou e whakahaere ana i te kura. 'Ko te amorangi kei mua ko te hāpai ō kei muri. Ā, ko te whānau tērā, e hāpai ana e akiaki ana kia mōhio ai rātou i ngā whakanekeneketanga o te kura. Koia rā te ao Māori. Kei te mōhio ngā tāngata katoa, he hononga to rātou ki tērā tamaiti kotahi. Rātou katoa he kaiako ki a ia, he kaihāpai ki a ia, hei tauwhiro i a ia, hei maimai i a ia, hei tautoko i a ia. (Mahanga)*

Tāmara describes Hoani Waititi marae and kura as places that cater for all iwi (tribes). Te Aho Matua acknowledges this aspect of non-iwi specificity:

*Ko tērā te mātāpono tuatahi o te kura nei, ko Te Aho Matua. Nā runga anō i te mea kāore koe e ahei ana te kī - nō Ngāti Porou tēnei kura, ā nō Ngāpuhi tēnei kura, nō ngā hau e wha kē. He maha ngā tikanga, ngā kawa ki runga i tēnei marae. (Tāmara)*

Tāmara continues with her view that Te Aho Matua provides a link to her ancestors to whom she ascribes the Māori language and ways of behaving that furnish knowledge and give direction:

*Ko te tikanga o Te Aho Matua te taurahere ki wā tātou nei mātua tīpuna. Nā reira ko ngā tikanga, ko tō tātou nei reo kē te huarahi, te mātauranga hei whai. (Tāmara)*

The majority of the graduates from the first kura kaupapa Māori were brought up following Te Aho Matua and it is now an intrinsic part of their lives.

*We were taught Te Aho Matua indirectly. We lived it, preached it, ate it. We heard all these things, in our songs, in our haka, they were our values. (Te Hira)*

Te Aho Matua is therefore a dominant feature in the kura teachings and Mana deems it the motivating force that results in students having high regard and consideration for each other.

*Te Aho Matua, it's big in our lives, especially the first students 'cause it was the main curriculum. It's strong within us, aroha tētahi ki tētahi, manaaki tētahi ki tētahi, all of these values have been instilled within us. (Mana)*

Tumamao acknowledges Te Aho Matua as the founding document for kura kaupapa Māori. He believes that, in adhering to the tenets of Te Aho Matua, courteous and respectful relationships can be developed that can ease dealings with all people.

*Ko Te Aho Matua te tūapapa o te kura kaupapa Māori me ana akoranga katoa. Ki te mau pūmau koe ki ngā mātāpono o Te Aho Matua kāore e kore, ka pai tō haere i roto i te ao. I roto i tērā kaupapa ko te āhua o tō tū, tō āroha ki ngā tāngata katoa. (Tumamao)*

Ruki quotes a sentence from Te Aho Matua in which the special qualities of men and women are honoured. In doing so he cites an aspect that can be implemented into his way of life:

*He tapu tō te wahine, he tapu anō tō te tāne. Ērā momo katoa, ērā momo pai—Those are definitely life values for me. (Ruki)*

Reikura employs Te Aho Matua as a guide in teaching her children about gender differences, respect and understanding between older and younger siblings, and to follow their dreams.

*Te Aho Matua—basic Māori tikanga. You can't go past everything that Te Aho Matua has within it, he mana anō tō te tāne, he mana anō tō te wahine, tuakana, teina; puta i te ao, whāia ngā mea e hiahia ana e tō ngākau, e tō hinengaro hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga. I instil that within my tamariki. (Reikura)*

Aspects of Te Aho Matua noted by Chance are to do with respect for all languages and all people irrespective of who they are or where they come from:

*It's a wonderful philosophy—Te Ao Māori. It talks about principles, should be practised as a way of life. I remember he tapu anō te tangata, ahakoa nō hea, nō wai. He tapu anō te reo. Te Aho Matua supports other iwi, other reo. (Chance)*

Christianity had been the guiding philosophy at the kura kaupapa Māori that Kiri attended during her primary school years. When she became a secondary school student at Te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi she encountered Te Aho Matua and found the different views caused some conflict in her thinking:

*[Kura] was all about Christianity, [not] Te Aho Matua. I'd been brought up to do karakia to God and then going to Waititi there was Te Aho Matua and all the Māori gods—a totally new learning experience for me. I loved it because it was something totally different. It was confusing because I was stuck in between. (Kiri)*

Kiri expresses her confusion with the two philosophies in the following statement:

*I do kapa haka and sing about the Atuas. I do karakia to some-one. I'm just not sure who I'm doing it to.*

As a teacher at Te Wharekura o Hoani Waititi, Te Hira incorporates his theology studies into teaching practice as he directs his students in an examination of the influence of Christianity on Te Aho Matua and tikanga Māori.

*I take a Te Aho Matua class once a week with the third formers. I call it 'Iho Atua'. I look at Te Aho Matua, tikanga Māori and karaitiana. He maha ngā karakia i konei, he whakaraupapa Karaitiana. Engari kua tango mai te ingoa o te Atua Karaitiana kātahi ka huri hei Atua Māori. I say 'Taihoa, e ai ki tā Karaitiana. He aha e ai ki tā Māori? Ngā tikanga Māori?' We have good debates and discussions. (Te Hira)*

The graduates incorporate components of Te Aho Matua into their work. In her research work Pikihuia utilises the values and aspects of Te Aho Matua she learnt at kura.

*The values, all of the things in Te Aho Matua—I still look for as a way of guiding what I do now. Even in my research with Māori, I always look back to that as a guideline. (Pikihuia)*

Mana finds Te Aho Matua beneficial in his television work. Cultural knowledge ensures he implements appropriate protocols and behaviour when researching, meeting or interviewing people. He related to me a time when he worked on a story about Māori weaponry where the interview could take place only on the marae ātea (courtyard outside the meeting house)—the domain of Tūmataunga, the supernatural being who governed aspects of war. According to Māori custom, the interview could not be conducted inside the wharenui (meeting house) because the house is governed by the guardian of peace, Rongomatāne.

*The ethics put in to research, I am able to accomplish because of the values of Te Aho Matua. Public relations is a big thing, also te reo me ōna tikanga, understanding of tikanga and the people you are talking to, tapu and noa and all those things come in to play when I talk to various talent around the country. It gives me an advantage when I am trying to cover stories around the country. (Mana)*

Beneath the mantle of Te Aho Matua, the graduates of kura kaupapa are responsible for the care of the Māori language and kura. Mahanga likens Te Aho Matua to a cloak that warms and envelops the whānau with love.

*He kaitiaki mātou katoa, ngā ākongā o mua. He kaitiaki mātou mō tō tātou reo mō tō tātou momo. Ko te momo kei te kōrerohia nei e au ko te kura kaupapa Māori. Tō tātou reo, tō tātou momo, ngā kura kaupapa Māori katoa, me tō tātou korowai aroha. Ā ko Te Aho Matua tēnā. He korowai aroha, he korowai hei whakamahana, hei tiaki, hei tauwhiro i ngā tāngata katoa e hono ana ki te kura kaupapa Māori. (Mahanga)*

*Ngā whakaaro mō ngā tikanga. Views on cultural practices*

He mea nui tērā te manaaki tangata. Kia kite ngā tamariki i te āhua o te manaaki, i tōna kāinga, i te kura, i te marae. Ā tōna wā kia tū rātou ki te āwhina i ngā mahi manaaki.  
(Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 738)

The Māori language transmits cultural mores and tikanga Māori. Defined by Williams (2000, p. 416) as “customs or habits”, tikanga in a more general sense is putting into practice the ideas that an individual or a group profess around behaviour and beliefs (Mead, 2003). Tikanga is a crucial part of how the graduates live as Māori. Sited at the heart of tikanga is the concept of ‘manaakitanga’—the practice of providing hospitality and care for people (Mead, 2003). The words within the Te Aho Matua statement that begins this section, explain the importance of manaakitanga practice within kura kaupapa Māori, family homes and at the marae where children learn the value of manaakitanga and, when the time is right, can utilize it appropriately.

According to Tumamao—appreciation of others is a noteworthy part of tikanga Māori and it is embodied through the elements of manaakitanga and aroha (love, understanding).

*Ko tētahi kaupapa pai i roto i ngā tikanga Māori ko te aroha ki te tangata. Nō reira ahakoa rerekē te hanga o te tangata me te whakahua i ngā kupu, mā tō tikanga Māori, te manaakitanga, te aroha tētahi ki tētahi, ko aua ture, ko aua kawa ka kawea koe, ka tohutohua koe, ka aha te aha, i a koe e tūtaki ana i ngā tāngata hōu nei. (Tumamao)*

Caring for people no matter what their background and the reciprocal requirements of the relationship between the older and younger generations are described by Chance as tikanga.

*Ko te manaaki tangata, ko wai, nō hea, ko ngā mahi o te tuakana me te teina. Learning to respect your elders and also learning to give time to the younger ones as well. (Chance)*

Studying at Waikato University meant that Ruki was living amongst Māori from tribes other than his own. In practising tikanga Māori he acknowledges and pays homage to the tangata whenua or people of the tribal area of Waikato where he is viewed as a visitor.

*Ka taea te whakanuia taku taha Māori i konei. Engari kia mahara au nō wai te mana whenua. Ki te tika, taku whakanui i te mana whenua, ki ngā uri whakaheke nō rātou tēnei whenua ka taea au te noho Māori. (Ruki)*

In honouring the local tribe and recognizing their authority to that tribal area, Ruki is displaying other aspects of tikanga Māori: humility and respect.

*Nō reira me tika tō āhua, me hūmārie tō āhua, me whakarongo ki ngā momo o tērā iwi, kia kaua koe e kī atu—Kei te hē tērā. (Ruki)*

Ruki describes tikanga as learning that has been passed through generations from Māori deities. Tikanga relates his connection to nature and gives him an understanding of his place as a Māori in the wider world:

*Ko ngā tikanga—ko ngā kōrero nō ngā Atua Māori me ngā akoranga mai i a rātou, kāhui whakapapa. Ko tōku hononga ki te taiao, ko taku tūranga i roto i tēnei ao whānui. (Ruki)*

In providing a brief outline of Māori cosmology in which he links himself to Tāne Mahuta, the caretaker of the forest, Ruki models the Māori way of thinking in which the close, spiritual relationship between people and nature determines the care that must be applied to the environment.

*How I see the world is totally different to people who don't speak the reo. I look at a tree: 'What's that?' They go, 'It's a tree'. 'He uri tērā o Tāne Mahuta, te tīmatanga o tō tātou ao, te wehenga o Rangī rāua ko Papa. Ko tātou te tangata te mea whakamutunga i hanga. He tuakana tērā ki ahau. Morals and lessons in those stories—te tiaki o tō tātou taiao.' (Ruki)*

According to Fishman (2001) it is through language expression that a culture's knowledge, specific ways of thinking and particular ways of behaving are all made possible. Within the passage above, the words 'He uri tērā o Tāne Mahuta' contain authentic social meanings for the Māori listener. The words immediately conjure up images of the whakapapa, the genealogy that descends from the Supreme Being, including the line of descent to the Atua—the custodians of nature and the environment, and, from there to humankind (Barlow, 1992). Within the hierarchy of kinship, Tāne Mahuta and his offspring—such as trees, belong to a tuakana or more senior line than that of people. In the position of teina or coming from a

junior line, humankind is expected to respect and take care of all the tuakana who make up the natural world. Underlying the significant tuakana–teina relationship are reciprocal commitments that bind the two parties together (Nepe, 1991).

The idea of ‘tuakana–teina’ is a vital component in the maintenance of Māori society. Thus when Ruki became aware of the large number of ex-pupils from Hoani Waititi enrolled at Waikato University as new students, he made himself known to them, offering contact details if they should ever need support. Ruki also invited the university novices for meals on a Sunday and offered help with study. The myriad of responsibilities around the relationship of ‘tuakana–teina’, older and younger siblings, are intrinsically understood by Ruki and the cultural knowledge is demonstrated in his actions.

*Ko tētahi atu o ngā kaupapa nui kua mau pūmau au, ko te āhuatanga ‘tuakana–teina’. Mai i tōku taetanga tuatahi ki roto o te Whare Wānanga o Waikato e hia kē nei ngā tamariki mai i Hoani Waititi kua haere mai. Ko āku tohutohu ki a rātou ‘Anei tōku whare, anei tōku nama waea. Ki te raru koe i tō kāinga haere mai. Ia Rātapu haere mai ki te kai ki tōku whare, māku koe e awahi me ō mahi.’ (Ruki)*

When Ruki was a pupil at Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau, he learnt the concept of tuakana–teina as part of the Te Aho Matua teachings and he still practises it today. Below, he describes how he practises manaakitanga as part of the tuakana–teina role when he encounters ex-Hoani Waititi students at University.

*I ngā wā e ako ana au i Maungawhau mō te taha ki Te Aho Matua, tuakana–teina. Kei te pērā tonu i ēnei rangi. Even though I had never formally met them, and even though they hadn’t formally met me, I knew they were from school and it was my responsibility to help them. Since my first years here there have been students coming from Hoani Waititi, it’s my duty as a tuakana to look after them. (Ruki)*

Reikura provides another perspective of the concept of manaakitanga.

*You gravitate to Māori people and at University they’ve got a really good Māori group. The awesome thing about the Māori group at University of Auckland is that during exams they open the marae up for everybody. (Reikura)*

The values of aroha, tuakana–teina instil in the graduates the desire to return to their schools, kura and wharekura to help out in some way. Pikihuia’s skills in te reo Māori were

acknowledged when she was asked by the teacher of the Māori language class to return to her mainstream English language secondary school to prepare students for the Māori language exams, “*because their kaiako kāre e matatau ki te reo, got me to help them with their bursary.*”

Reikura also supported her teina by helping and guiding them through the secondary school’s Bursary exam. She harbours a desire to see more wharekura students studying at university.

*Going back to the kura when I was at University, I used to help the seniors with study, going into bursary. (Reikura)*

### ***Whanaungatanga. Relationships.***

Ko te mea nui kia mōhio ngā tamariki ki o rātou ake iwi, hapū, whānau hoki. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 736)

The Te Aho Matua words that begin this section relate the importance of familial and tribal relationships in the life of the kura kaupapa Māori child. According to Māori academic Hirini Mead (2003), whanaungatanga, a value of tikanga, is comprised of kinship alliances—relationships that are informed by whakapapa (genealogy).

Vital in the lives of the graduates, the whakapapa that binds them arises from their shared experiences at kura kaupapa Māori and Hoani Waititi Wharekura (secondary school) rather than blood ties or a common ancestor. The strong connection unites the graduates and heightens the sense of whanaungatanga. The bond and identification to kura kaupapa Māori and to the Hoani Waititi marae can be likened to the experiences of the young Māori South Auckland people in Borell’s (2005) study of identity. She found the South Aucklanders held a strong affiliation to the area of South Auckland, and their identity and pride was based around living in that area rather than to their ancestral lands and family ties. Similarly, the graduates who are a part of the Hoani Waititi whānau proudly identify as ex-students of kura kaupapa Māori and the wharekura, and most importantly, see each other as family. Pania explains this aspect of whanaungatanga:

*I classed them as my cousins ’cause I was brought up with them. Even when I went to Wharekura I was still with them and that’s the same as my siblings. It was such a whānau-based kura that we’re pretty much whānau for the rest of our lives. Even today*

*we go to each other's houses, have weekly visits. Their young brothers and sisters come over to see my brothers and sisters, we still have tight connections. (Pania)*

The graduates' statements below provide some examples of the strong and nurturing relationships that are a part of whanaungatanga.

*I've been seeing juniors of mine that have been at school, I still catch up with them. We acknowledge each other as brothers and sisters rather than school mates. (Chance)*

*They're my other whānau in Auckland because my whānau is down in Tauranga. Kapa haka whānau, my kura whānau are my second whānau. I see them weekly. (Kiri)*

*When we were at kura it was a very tight whānau and we were all from the same area, West Auckland. They say it takes a village to raise a child and I think that's what Hoani Waititi was. You were not going to kura with teachers, but you were going to kura with your Whaea and Matua. It didn't seem like you were going away from your whānau, but you were going to your whānau. That's a great thing with my son and daughter. They're at my Nanny's kōhanga and they're spending so much time with my grandmother, that's awesome. (Reikura)*

*All of the people I knew, I met when I was at kōhanga reo, or when I was at Maungawhau, or when I went to Wharekura. That had been my world, that group of people had been my family for the first fourteen years of my life, those people were my everything—whānau. Even my brother and sister, when I left for University that was the first time we had ever been apart for two weeks. Ka rongo i te mokemoke, te aroha, me taku mōhio, ko taku whānau tērā. (Ruki)*

In ending his description above, of the companionship he had developed through his kaupapa Māori education, Ruki shares the sadness, and the love he felt when he left them all to attend university in another town. It was then he realised the depth of his feelings for his whānau—his next of kin as well as those from the kura.

Tumamao's closest friends are those he made during his years at wharekura. They are very loyal, maintaining their friendships since their school days.

*Ko aku tino hoa i roto i tēnei ao i ahu mai rātou katoa i te wharekura o Hoani Waititi i ērā tau i a mātou e kuraina ana. Nō reira kei te noho pūmau mātou katoa ki a mātou anō. (Tumamao)*

The closeness between graduates has been reinforced through the formation of an adult kapa haka group called Ngā Tūmanako. While creating a platform for performance and competition, the main role of Ngā Tūmanako is to keep the graduates together.

*Āe he tino tata mātou, he tino whānau kotahi mātou. Nā tērā i whakaritea te kapa o Ngā Tūmanako, he kapa pakeke. Te nuīnga o mātou he ākongā o mua. Nā tērā hononga –ko te kapahaka tētahi o ngā tino aronga o te kura. (Mahanga)*

*Kapa haka is still a big part of my life. I'm performing with Ngā Tūmanako a group made up of all the ex students, partners, whānau of Hoani Waititi. (Kiri)*

Reikura is more specific about the nascent of Ngā Tūmanako when she explains that the originators were ex-students of wharekura. The coming together through kapa haka enables the graduates to see each other regularly no matter what work they're involved in. Reikura acknowledges that most of her friends were with her in kōhanga reo and they progressed together to wharekura.

*Ko mātou katoa o te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi, ahakoa ngā tūmomo mahi e mahihia ana e mātou, ināianei e kitekite tonu ana mātou i a mātou. Nā mātou anō i whakatū tētahi rōpū kapahaka—Ngā Tūmanako te ingoa. Nā runga i tēnā ka tino kite mātou i a mātou. Koia rā te mea pai o te tipu mai i te kōhanga reo ki te wharekura, kei te kite tonu mātou i a mātou. Te nuīnga o aku hoa nō te kōhanga reo. (Reikura)*

The games (touch and netball) provide platforms to meet and fraternise but kapa haka delivers the main forum for gathering. Graduates pass on their Māori knowledge through writing and teaching kapa haka so it is not unusual that Reikura is one of a quartet who compose waiata and performance items while her brother teaches the group (Ngā Tūmanako).

*Te pā whutupaoro me te neti pāoro, Engari ko te kapahaka tētahi o ngā tino wāhi e kite tonu nei mātou i a mātou anō. Ko taku tungāne ko ia te kaiako. Ko ahau tētahi o ngā kaitito. Ko ahau, ko Mana, ko Kawariki, ko Korōria, ko mātou tokowhā ngā kaitito o te rōpū. Kāore au i te whakangāhau i ēnei wā. Kua pakeke rawa mō tērā mahi. Engari ko tāku e kohete mēnā e hē ana te mahi. (Reikura)*

Although not a member of Ngā Tūmanako, Ruki reports that his affection for the close and lasting friendships developed through kura will never diminish. Ruki has been a member of another group called Waka Huia group since 2001. He explains that it is through kapa haka

that he is able to express his masculinity, his emotions for the world of haka, and in doing so is able to honour his ancestors and to represent his whānau in performance.

*Kāre au e tū ana mō Ngā Tūmanako. E kore rawa e memeha, e kore rawa e mimiti taku aroha ki ōku tuakana, ki aku teina, ki ōku tuahine kei roto i Ngā Tūmanako. Kei roto au i te rōpū kapa haka o Te Waka Huia. I uru atu au i te tau 2001, neke atu i te iwa tau au e haka ana ki reira. Ki reira e taea e au te whakatinana ōku kare o roto mō te ao haka. Ka taea e au te whakaputa i taku taha tāne i roto i ngā mahi haka, te whakanui i aku tupuna, te tū i runga i te atamira hei tauira, hei pūmanawa mo ōku whanaunga i te kāinga, kia kite mai rātou i ahau me te whakaaro kei reira rātou. (Ruki)*

Whanaungatanga and the bonds within the relationships that have developed through kura are further strengthened through socialising at the pub, going to the movies or through sport or other social events

*Mō te taha ki te whakangāhau i a mātou e tipihaere ana ki ngā pāpara kāuta, ki ngā whare pikitia, ā kei reira tonu tērā hononga i tauheretia ai i a mātou i te kura. (Tumamao)*

*Netball, well I haven't played since being hapū. We're a very tight bunch. We socialise together, birthdays, go overseas together. (Kiri)*

In maintaining the Māori language in the practice of whanaungatanga through activities such as socialising and kapa haka, the graduates are helping to normalise the use of te reo Māori and tikanga in social settings outside of the kura environment and traditional Māori domains. According to Fishman (2001) clubs, sports teams, study groups and hobby groups are essential in enabling the transmission of the threatened language in a “revitalised home-family-neighbourhood-community function” (p. 15) so that it is not viewed as a vernacular of school only.

Socialising together has culminated in marriages between some of the graduates and the beginning of families.

*We see each other all the time, all our babies, their babies are our babies. We just had a baby shower yesterday. We were all freaking out on how many kids we've got. But we love the fact that they all know each other, they're gonna be growing up together like we did. (Monowai)*

*We look after each others' kids. Tino whānau. Those were the values that I was talking about instilled within us from when we were a young age. People that I see nowadays, I have known for 24 years. (Mana)*

Reikura has loved kapa haka since kōhanga days when she and others were taught laments, action songs and the poi by Aroha Sharples. She relates that the children of the graduates are now learning through watching their parents practise and perform and her son thoroughly enjoys the learning.

*Ko Whaea Aroha tētahi mai i a mātou e pēpē ana, i whakaako i ngā mōteatea, i ngā waiata ā-ringā, i ngā mahi poi mai i a mātou i te kōhanga reo. I tēnei wā koia rā tonu tētahi mahi e tino rata ana ki a mātou. Kua pakeke nei mātou ko ā mātou tamariki katoa kei ngā noho kapahaka i te marae. Ko rātou kei te taha e waiata ana. Ko taku tama e rawe ki a ia te kapahaka. (Reikura)*

Tāmara relates that, before the birth of her children and the responsibilities of a teacher took over her life, she enjoyed an active social life with the other graduates from wharekura. While they are still very close she admits her focus is now on her family and her job.

*He whānau motuhake ta mātou i mua i te whānautanga pēpi, te mahi i ngā mahi kaiako, kairipoata. He kaha mātou te huitahi, te ngahautahi, ia rā, ia rā whakatā, te noho ki tētahi atu whare, te kaitahi. Nā reira, i te tino piri mātou. Engari nā runga anō i ngā āhuatanga o te wā, kua pakeke ake, kua whānau mai i au ake tamariki, kua whai hoa ahau. (Tāmara)*

Mana sums up the emotions and thoughts of the graduates with his words, “*E kore e motukia, e mea ana te kōrero*”. Here Mana states that the kura graduates will enjoy everlasting friendships and relationships as part of the enduring nature of whanaungatanga.

***Te puta ki te ao whānui. Stepping out into the wider world.***

Ko te ngākau te mata me te kuaha o te wairua. Ko te whiu o te kupu, ko te wero, ko te riri, ko te aroha, ko te humārie, he mea kuhu ki te ngākau titi tonu ki te wairua. Koia nei te tīmatanga o te kōrero, kia ngākau māhaki. (Te Aho Matua 2008, p. 735)

In my interpretation of the Te Aho Matua paragraph above, the heart is deemed the window through which harsh words, challenges, anger, as well as the more gentle emotions, attached to love and peaceful activities will travel directly to the soul of a person. In taking on board the Te Aho Matua advice ‘be kind in your dealings with others’, the graduates have learnt to treat each other with care and respect, and to act positively in difficult situations.

Growing up in kura can lead students to believe that the world is a benign place, where Māori knowledge is accepted and recognised as a display of indigeneity within New Zealand. Within the confines of kura and a like-minded community, the students are shielded from a society that occasionally displays little understanding of Māori language and culture—a place where the values that are vital to the wellbeing of Māori are often belittled or ignored. It is upon graduation from kura that the students can sometimes be confronted by a reality that contradicts their existence as Māori. Tumamao corroborates this notion with his statement that it is not until students exit kura that they become aware of the animosity and hostile attitudes that some people of other ethnicities exhibit towards Māori people.

*He kaha nō iwi kē ki te kaikiri i te Māori. I a koe i ngā kura kaupapa Māori kāore koe i kite i ērā tūāhuatanga me ērā momo whakaaro e pā ana ki tō iwi Māori. Ki te puta koe i te ao whānui nei ka rongō koe i ētahi o ngā kōrero kino e pā ana ki tō tātou iwi.*  
(Tumamao)

In the narratives from the graduates, it became clear that New Zealand society, with its predominance of western values and ideologies, is not yet ready to accommodate the products of a kura kaupapa Māori environment. Students from wharekura are moving into tertiary-level education and into employment where there are no systems in place to receive and support these Māori graduates.

Studying at a Television School and being amongst non-Māori students in her first year away from the kura kaupapa Māori environment was difficult for Kiri. She relates that the year “*was probably one of the hardest*”. Not only was she the youngest Māori among older Māori who did not speak the language but she was also confronted with totally different ways of behaving to those experienced at kura.

*I was amongst different iwi, different cultures. There were a lot of Pākehā there and they were just totally different to how I had been brought up so it was a big shock for me.* (Kiri)

One of the differences was in the manner in which the students related to the teachers. Through kōhanga reo and kura, Kiri had learnt to respect kaiako (teachers) and the elders as authority figures. Consequently, she found the behaviour of other students on the course quite bewildering and disrespectful.

*A lot of the other students, I suppose they were more outspoken. I didn't know if that was just me feeling it was disrespectful or if it was just me not knowing that I could do that. That's where I saw the biggest clash, and the teachers being more like friends as opposed to being a teacher figure that you just respect. (Kiri)*

In his first role as a Māori language teacher in a mainstream school, Te Hira endured a year of difficulty in an environment where Māori language and knowledge was not considered to be of educational importance. He reinvigorated himself by taking up studies at Waikato University where he could nourish his being Māori.

*My first year of teaching was my worst year. I had no support. It was horrible. I was only looked upon as a guy who'd teach the school haka. It was just bottom of the priority list for them. It was more kapa haka on the spot, rather than ngā kaupapa Māori, kaupapa whakaako reo me te pai me te mana o te reo. To keep me sane I was going down to Waikato to do my postgraduate diploma in interpreting and theology. Once a week I was going down there to get my Māori dose. (Te Hira)*

There are very few Māori studying and working in the field of clinical psychology. Pikihuia finds the Pākehā students in the programme have little experience or knowledge about Māori. They are startled and perhaps challenged through meeting her.

*I think they get quite surprised, my level of confidence in who I am and Māori things because they haven't been exposed to that. I don't know if intimidated is the right word. (Pikihuia)*

During her studies, Pikihuia faces conflict when Māori knowledge and what she terms 'my Māori side' clashes with the mainstream thinking that pervades her field.

*My mahi is in the old Pākehā Western theory. They've got a long way to go in terms of learning things Māori. That interface at times can be very difficult for me because their way of thinking, the way that they've learnt their skills, it's coming from a very Western*

*model. At times I feel a tension between taku taha Māori, āku tikanga Māori and what they're telling us. (Pikihuia)*

Pikihuia explains that her work colleagues place a higher value on Western knowledge than Māori knowledge which is seen to have little merit.

*“Clinical knowledge, university theories, practices and evidence based research is privileged. Tikanga Māori and everything I know about my Māoritanga hasn't been published in peer reviewed journals so it's not recognised. It's seen as something separate and not as important in the Western world.”*

Pikihuia is able to use knowledge from both worlds Māori and Pākehā to relate to the young Māori people she works with in the field of mental health and psychology.

*“The tension is – you've got to be able to be competent in that world [Western] but whakaaro Māori [think in Māori ways]. They [non-Māori colleagues] were explaining a concept to young people. I came up with the concept of 'mauri tau' – in Māori it's this and how we explain it in a Māori way – a parallel kaupapa. I can speak the language of two worlds and I can see those two worlds.”*

In order to survive her minority status in the clinical psychology programme and to withstand the negative thinking from students and lecturers about Māori knowledge, Pikihuia needs the support and company of other Māori:

*If you don't have other Māori around you tend to doubt yourself. In those upper levels of academia, they think that their knowledge is the only valid knowledge.*

Although it is not easy to find Māori who work in the same field, she still attempts to link with other Māori for support.

*It's really about searching out Māori. A few Māori women have come through that programme. If I need to vent or kōrero to them for inspiration they're really awesome. (Pikihuia)*

In the 11 years since he left school, Mahanga has spent the greatest part of his employment in the world of Māori television. His colleagues work in the English language rather than Māori and communication methods such as emails require the skills of the English language.

Mahanga is resigned to the fact that the world we live in is dominated by the English language:

*Heoi anō rā, te whakatinanatanga o te ao e noho nei tātou he ao Pākehā. E kore e taea te pēhea. Aku mahi i roto i ngā tau kua taha ake, i roto i ngā tekau mā tahi tau i taku wehenga atu i te kura, te nuīnga o ngā mahi i roto i te ao o te pouaka whakaata -te nuīnga o ngā whakaaturanga he whakaaturanga Māori. Te nuīnga o ngā kaimahi he tangata kōrero Pākehā. Ngā taputapu kia haere ki te kōrero ki ngā tāngata i te whakarite i ētahi mahi whakarīpene, ko te reo Pākehā te reo kawē. He tino mahi te tuhi ngā īmēra, ngā reta ērā momo. (Mahanga)*

Reikura found her interview for a position as a Commissioner for the Māori Television Service perplexing because the protocol was different to that used in her previous television interviews and the language of communication was English rather than Māori.

*I didn't know if I was answering the questions well enough. I was still confident in my abilities and what I had learnt over the 8 years before I went to the interview. But it was very formal. Human Resources person there, the Head of Department and then the CEO. It's such an important position, almost managerial. The HR asks how you communicate with colleagues or other people; how are you in a disagreement; how would you react in certain situations. I was really new to that—those kinds of questions I wasn't used to. It was so Pākehā to me, not that whānau. For Pūkana it was just in Māori. I was interviewed by Hone Edwards, and the audition was really straight forward. (Reikura)*

Other graduates have been more fortunate as they have found themselves in environments that promote Māori culture and language. As a student at Waikato University, Ruki is surrounded by Māori speakers and the language is the popular vernacular during most social interactions, whether at the pub or in home environments. He and his friends find it easy to slip backwards and forwards between the two languages, English and Māori.

*Waikato is tailor-made for Māori students. You have a large population of Māori students at varied levels of fluency so there's heaps of opportunity to use the reo ki ngā pāparakāuta, ki ngā kāinga, ka taea te kōrero Māori. When I'm with people from my reanga, our world, it's like there's a big circle around us, it's just us and we kōrero i roto i te reo Māori, māwhitiwhiti mai te reo Māori, reo Pākehā. (Ruki)*

When asked if he experienced any tensions when living as Māori in a world permeated by western values and the English language, Mana responded:

*Not really because I was groomed to be Māori. Tension is non-existent, my work at TVNZ is Māori intensive and everything that I do is in order to represent Māori and the world of Māori. I mix and mingle with different races everyday in sport, work, social life; it doesn't affect me at all. I'm very proud to be Māori, so I'm very Māori among my peers and they know that. I like to exercise my English language skills with them. I'm glad to show that I can speak English well as Māori. I also find that I can understand different cultures around me. I understand that they have tikanga and all of that stuff so it's easy for me to live in this world. (Mana)*

### ***Te reo Ingārahi me ngā tamariki. Graduates' children and English***

Anō te wā e tika ana mō te whakauru i te reo o Tauīwi ki roto i ngā mahi a ngā tamariki. Waiho tēnei mā ia whānau e whakatau. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 736)

The Te Aho Matua principle above advises kura whānau to make their own decisions about the appropriate time to introduce the English language into their children's lives. Reikura acknowledges that choosing the right moment causes a dilemma for her and her husband. Her children's paternal grandparents and relatives are Pākehā and speak only English but Reikura's family live in the Māori world. While her son has become more used to hearing the English idiom spoken, he doesn't fully comprehend the content and cannot respond fluently in the language.

*Ko te whānau o taku hoa tāne he Pākehā nō Ōtautahi. Kāore āku tamariki e matatau ana he aha wā rātou kōrero. Koia rā te mea uaua—hei āwhea mai māua ko taku hoa tāne e kōrero Pākehā ki ā māua tamariki. He aha te wā pai? Taku tama, kāore i te kōrero Pākehā, kua waia ki te whakarongo. Kei te noho tonu i roto i te ao Māori. (Reikura)*

Reikura provides an amusing recount about conflict arising from the use of the English language in her Māori speaking family. At times, Reikura and her husband communicate in English when they don't want their children to know what they're talking about. When they do this, their four year old son—who doesn't speak English—scolds his parents for not speaking Māori.

*Ko te mea uaua ko te kōrero Pākehā. Taku tama, whā tau tana pakeke, kāore ia mōhio ki te kōrero Pākehā. Kohete mai i a māua ko taku hoa tāne mō te kōrero Pākehā. Kāore ia e matatau ana he aha ā māua kōrero. Koia rā hoki te take e kōrero ai māua i te reo Pākehā, kia kaua ia e mōhio he aha ā māua kōrero. (Reikura)*

The comments by Chance relate the practice in some kura of reprimanding children for speaking English in an attempt to maintain the strength the Māori language within the kura environment. He likens the censure to the negativity suffered by his parents and grandparents' generations who were punished for speaking Māori. Chance suggests that when kura students are told, 'Don't speak English!' they are developing the notion that English is not an advantage, or of benefit, to their lives.

*We need to work side to side, not making kura kaupapa bilingual but acknowledging te reo Pākehā. A lot of us are tormented by the negative upbringing of our parents and their parents, and their experiences of te reo Māori. The negative aspect was that they had that opposed-ness feeling to learning Pākehā, especially in a kura kaupapa setting. So when we were at kura kaupapa we had those things like 'Kaua e kōrero Pākehā.' The wheel's sorta going the same way again but this time in a different language. So instead of our parents and their parents having that torture of 'Don't speak Māori or you're gonna get it.' Now it has been forced in to us 'Kaua koe e kōrero Pākehā.' It's not the words, but how it's being spoken. It adds that negativity where you think that Pākehā is bad, that you have that stigma of 'Ok don't speak English because you're not gonna get anything good out of it. It's just gonna get you in trouble.' (Chance)*

Chance detailed his own difficulties in learning the grammar of the English language. Thus, desiring success in the English language for his own children, he and his partner have decided to send their children to an English-medium mainstream school.

*[If you want] fishing skills you go with a tohunga who knows how to do fishing. [If you want to be] good at battling so you go to the tohunga mō te pakanga. I took that principle and thought to myself, 'Well I'm not really the tohunga of Pākehā, so I'm gonna send our tamariki to a mainstream and gain those strengths of te reo Pākehā when me and my partner can enforce a bit of the reo in the kāinga, at home.' I know that we would find it a struggle to teach te reo Pākehā, but easier to teach te reo at home. As long as we keep the tikanga alive within them the reo can be picked up. (Chance)*

While Māori is the language of communication at home and with most family members, the children of Mahanga are accustomed to the use of English during play with cousins and friends who don't speak Māori. His daughter handles the dilemma by differentiating those who speak Māori or English.

*“Kua waia haere rāua ki tērā. I mua rā he uaua pea mā taku tamāhine ki te kōrero Pākehā ki ōna karangatahi, ki ōna whanaunga. Koia rā ka haere ia ināiane ki te mōhiotia e ia ko wai te hunga e kōrero Māori ko wai te hunga kōrero Pākehā.”*  
(Mahanga)

### ***Te whakapakari i te kura kaupapa Māori. Strengthening kura kaupapa Māori***

Kia kaua te tamaiti e herea ki te ao kōhatu. Kia wātea hoki ia ki te kapo mai i ngā painga, i ngā māramatanga katoa o te ao whānui. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 737)

While tutelage in kura kaupapa Māori should instil knowledge about traditional Māori life, preparation for the world at large is also an expectation. However, this aspiration was difficult to achieve when kura were in their infancy because of the adversity suffered as kura whānau struggled to exist without government recognition. The dearth of financial support, the lack of teaching materials and trained teachers who could speak Māori, impacted upon the ability of kura to fully deliver the Te Aho Matua goal that begins this section especially at wharekura, the secondary level of schooling.

Prior to government funding in 1989, there were few resources available for the burgeoning kura to teach in Māori. Ruki recalls teachers erasing or covering the English words within books they had purchased, replacing them with Māori vocabulary and then using them as teaching resources.

*Early 80s-90s ka mahara au ki ōku kaiako e hoko pukapuka ana i roto i te reo Pākehā. Ka noho mai ki mua i a mātou, ka ūkui ngā kupu Pākehā, ka raua atu he kupu Māori, ka kī mai, ‘Anei tō mātou rauemi.’* (Ruki)

Even though there were few books and teaching resources in the early days of kura kaupapa Māori—as related in Chapter Seven—the graduates felt advantaged through the learning in kura. As native language speakers the teachers themselves were the ‘resources’ and their knowledge about Māori traditions, culture and values facilitated the teaching links that were made to the environment and marae.

At the start of this thesis, in Chapter One, I related experiences when, as a teacher in a kura kaupapa Māori, some parents related to me their uncertainties about their children's future in an English language speaking world. While happy with the kura kaupapa Māori teaching and learning, the parents' doubts caused them to consider transferring their children to mainstream English language schools. The graduates, who are parents, are happy that their children are learning in kura kaupapa Māori for their primary and intermediate levels of schooling. Their qualms centre instead on the effectiveness of wharekura because of a lack of resources.

Pikihuia is pleased with her son's kura kaupapa Māori education but now the time has come to choose a secondary school for the next level of his learning. In choosing a secondary school for her son, Pikihuia's decision will likely be influenced by how well the school is resourced as a consequence of her own secondary schooling experiences.

*I probably will be looking at the different options. One will be looking at the kura who are offering Wharekura options. I don't know much about those kura. I know people who have gone there have done well in the areas they've chosen to go into. One of the advantages for me going to Epsom was that there's every subject that you want to do it's there and it's taught well and they've got the resources, they've got everything.*  
(Pikihuia)

The tension is clarified in Ruki's comparison between a mainstream secondary school, well resourced with equipment and computers while the wharekura, when he attended, had little else but paint and brushes for art. His memory of the classrooms—unwanted by other secondary schools, but used by the kura, reflect how kura whānau did their best to survive with little money.

*Mahara au ki ngā rā i haere mātou ki ngā kura. Ko ā mātou karāhe kāre e hiahia ana i ngā kura tuarua mai i ētahi atu. Mahara au ki ngā rā ka uru atu mātou ki reira. Mō te mahi toi he peita, he parāhe, koirā noa iho. Engari ki te haere koe ki ngā kura pēnei i a Kelston, ērā momo, e hika, he rerekē nei ngā mīhini kei a rātou, ngā rorohiko.* (Ruki)

In its infancy, the wharekura was under-resourced and the students did not have a wide range of curriculum subjects from which to choose options.

*I wish I'd done more computer stuff. We had kapa haka but we didn't have music. We didn't have history, not decent history anyway.* (Kiri)

In the passage below, Monowai divulges her experiences at wharekura and adds some suggestions to better prepare students for life in the world outside of kura.

*When I left High School I didn't know what credit was, I didn't know about finance and managing myself. You need to be taught that within a schooling environment. There were many of us that left school not knowing what credit was, economics or anything like that. We done classical studies which was Greek Mythology. I don't know where that's gonna help me as an adult unless I want to be a teacher. I thought that was a waste of time. I think if the kura had more resources, more options available to them and to think about what they want to give to the kids to get them ready for when they leave school. Maths is good, English is good, Māori is awesome. Subjects giving a better understanding on what's coming up—like a bridging class or for a past student to come in and tell them, 'This is what happened to me when I left', and make teenagers more aware that when you leave school of what the real world is. (Monowai)*

Te Hira bemoans the fact that, in comparison to mainstream high schools, wharekura are today, still under-resourced with limited choices in study options and he relates the possible impact of that disparity on kura students.

*We're down on te reo Māori teachers, on English teachers. Our maths teacher, Phys Ed teacher, science teacher, cannot speak te reo. They're teaching their kaupapa English. We are under-resourced with quality teachers so while we want to shoot for the stars in reality, on the ground it's just so hard to find quality teachers. We are not developing people. We are not equipped to teach those kaupapa and we're not coming out with a succession plan for our tamariki to take that.*

*Year 13 option you to go any mainstream you've got five, six, seven, eight options. Here you are guaranteed to have three or four strong option lines that will get them through and that's sad. That will be te reo, Māori performing arts, Phys Ed and drama. It's exactly the same as when I was at kura. (Te Hira)*

The concerns of the graduates about wharekura are indicative of the doubts that other whānau demonstrate as their children, schooled in Māori-medium classrooms, reach the teaching levels of Years 8 and 9. Bright et al., (2013) cite as common reasons for the flight to English-medium secondary schools: the availability of a broad range of subjects within English-medium schools; a lack of teachers at wharekura skilled in specialist areas; and unease about how English is placed within the Māori-medium curriculum. Thus, as indicated by the

responses from participants in the Hotere-Barnes, Hutchings, Taupo & Bright (2012) research, in order to strengthen the capabilities of wharekura, a wider range of subject choice must be made available, careers programmes improved, and te reo Māori included in all curriculum areas.

### *Whāngai i te mātauranga—share knowledge*

Kia tū pakari, tū rangatira ia hei raukura mō tōna iwi. (Te Aho Matua, 2008, p. 739)

A desired outcome of the Te Aho Matua philosophy is that students will become high achievers who will make their whānau, hapū and iwi proud through employment and work in the community that provides benefits for Māori people. The graduates know that there is a cultural expectation for them to return and share their Māori knowledge with their Māori communities. When Reikura first left wharekura to begin studies at Auckland University, she made regular visits back to Hoani Waititi in order to pass on study skills that could facilitate the senior students' transition to tertiary study (Tocker, 2002). Some of the graduates in this study have returned to Hoani Waititi to lead the kapa haka group, while another has spent a number of years teaching a kapa haka group at Auckland Girls' Grammar School.

Pania has been motivated to study for a degree in teaching so that she can help to increase resources in kura kaupapa Māori.

*I saw that there was a lack of resources, but for myself I try not to think about how less we had but think about how much we could do to change that in a positive aspect. I just know that we're still growing in this process and there's still a lot to do, we just can't forget that. If there's people like myself, then our kura and our kōhanga and wharekura are gonna be alright. (Pania)*

The growth of kura kaupapa Māori since the inception in 1985, has increased the need for teachers fluent in both Māori and English. In an article about the benefits of an immersion education, Keegan (1996) pointed out the desperate state that some immersion programmes were in because of a lack of fluent bilingual teachers. The graduates in this study who have gained their teaching degrees and are teaching in kura are, to some extent satisfying the urgent need for teachers in Māori medium.

In an attempt to strengthen the kura, two graduates (one is not a participant in this study) who have children at the kura Kura Kaupapa Māori o Hoani Waititi have been elected onto the Board of Trustees.

*J.... who was a year under me, she's on the Board of Trustees and Mahanga's on the Board as well. They are both trying their best to turn it around. (Reikura)*

In his role as Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Mahanga is reciprocating the care and affection that he received from the whānau as well as the gifts of Māori language and knowledge.

*I whakaarohia e au i runga i ngā taonga kua tākohā mai taku kura ki ahau anō. E tika ana kia whakahoki i ērā o ngā taonga. Nā rātou i poipoi i ahau. (Mahanga)*

The participants in my study have established themselves in their chosen fields of work and they hold high aspirations for the future. Pikihuia wants to work with Māori once she graduates with her doctorate and realises that in order to keep herself safe she will need to keep company with supportive Māori who are aware of the difficult nature of her work.

*When I graduate I'll be a clinical psychologist, working in a place that's safe for me as Māori. Working with my people but working around other people who've got the same sort of philosophies. Because of the nature of clinical psychology and some of the things that we have to deal with on a daily basis, me noho ki te taha o ngā momo tohunga i roto i tērā momo mahi hei tiaki i a mātou hoki. (Pikihuia)*

Mana is keen to return home to his tribal area to teach the Māori language, traditions and values that are pertinent to his tribal relatives. Since his father has passed away, Mana feels it is his responsibility, to his knowledge of the language and culture, that it is his duty to pass it on to others. He wants to give life to the dreams of his elders, namely to revitalise the Māori language and culture, especially that of his own people: Ngāti Kura and Ngāti Rehia. Thus he is resolute in his belief that he must return home to teach the young people the treasures and gifts that have been passed down to him from his ancestors.

*Me kaha taku hokihoki ki te kāinga. Hei whakaora anō i ngā moemoeā i whakaarohia e ōku mātua, arā, ki te whakaora i te reo, i ngā tikanga, i te mauri o tōku kāinga o Ngāti Kura, o Ngāti Rehia. Anō hoki kua pahemo tōku pāpā ki te ao wairua, kua riro māku ērā kaupapa e kōkiri ināianei nā. Nō reira he kaha noki ki te hokihoki atu ki te kāinga*

*ki te whakaako i ngā tamariki ki te reo me te kapa haka, arā, ngā taonga i tukua mai e ngā mātua, ngā tupuna i ngā wā o mua. (Mana)*

Ruki talks about his plans for the days ahead:

*It's my goal to not only teach the reo but to be in a position where I can contribute towards its survival, its rejuvenation and its development; looking at curriculums and organizing strategic reo plans for hapū—those are the things that excite me. (Ruki)*

Ruki sees it as his duty to support and guide new learners in their quest to pick up the Māori language. He specifies that this is one of the lessons that he has gleaned from the time his education began at kōhanga reo.

*Ko tērā tētahi o ngā tino akoranga nui ahakoa kua mau pūmau mai i te kōhanga reo. Ki te tūtaki au i ētahi tāngata e hiahia ana ki te ako i te reo, ko taku mahi he āwhina. Kia kaua au e takahi i tona mana. (Ruki)*

As chairman of the Board of Trustees at a kura kaupapa Māori, Mahanga strives to ensure the adherence to Te Aho Matua principles and objectives, and that the Māori language is treasured and maintained. Mindful of the goals of kura and Te Aho Matua, he recognises the need for the whānau concept—the unit of teachers, parents, board members, to remain as a unified force so that the kura can move forward and be successful.

*He titiro ki te āhua o tō mātou kura. Kei te ū tonu mātou ki ngā akoranga, ki ngā whāinga matua o Te Aho Matua, kei te ū tonu ki tō mātou reo? Me mātua mōhio te poari ki te mahi tahi me te whānau, te mahi tahi me ngā kaiako. Ki te noho wehewehe e kore taea te waka ki te mānu, e kore taea tō mātou kura ki te eke. (Mahanga)*

‘Living as Māori’ carries responsibilities of reciprocity, and this is understood by the graduates. They are aware of the ‘taonga’ they must look after—the treasure trove of deep knowledge about Māori language, culture and traditions that has been ingrained through the kura kaupapa Māori schooling, and that at some stage and in some form must be returned to the community. It is this awareness and understanding that prompts the graduates: to return to kura to practise as teachers or as the chairperson of the Board of Trustees; to return to their own tribal areas to share their knowledge; to teach others the Māori language and culture; and to present aspects of the Māori world through the media.

In her article about giftedness and Māori children in English medium schools, Webber (2011, pp. 231-232) describes the representation of qualities such as aroha (love and sensitivity); manaakitanga (generous, caring towards others); āwhinatanga (helping others); māiatanga (courage); and wairuatanga (spirituality) as signs of Māori giftedness. According to Webber, the prestigious concept ‘mana tangata’ is bestowed upon a person when the qualities are practised appropriately and in ways that benefit the whānau, the community, the hapū or iwi.

Webber employs the words, “Ngā tāngata pūmanawa” to describe “conceptions of giftedness” (p. 228). I like the use of the word ‘pūmanawa’ which describes the innate qualities that are inherent in everyone’s make-up—the talents and skills that have been passed down from ancestors, and pūmanawa is clearly demonstrated by the graduates. In speaking Māori and practising the cultural components, the graduates can be seen to fit Webber’s definition of giftedness. But it is apparent from the graduates’ comments that speaking Māori, being active in the Māori world and giving life to traditions and culture, are simply facets of a part of the daily life and the normal activities that characterise ‘living as Māori’ for the graduates.

Communicating in te reo Māori, living Māori values, whānau, whakapapa and whanaungatanga as well as access to tribal knowledge and resources are common themes running through the narratives of my mother, my daughter and the graduates. Because of these crucial elements the participants have a clear sense of who they are. The Māori knowledge attained through adherence to Te Aho Matua and tikanga Māori have strengthened the identities of the graduates and have given them strategies to cope in a world that is at odds with Māori ways of being. The graduates exhibit qualities of humility, respect and understanding for others, and readily support each other. They are aware of their responsibilities as carriers of te reo Māori and Māori knowledge and in their embodiment of the hopes and aspirations of their whānau, hapū and iwi.

While it can be seen to be limited because it is not definitive about *all* graduates of kura kaupapa Māori, this study is important for its focus on a small group of 12 graduates who experienced education in the first-established kura kaupapa Māori in Auckland. Here the stories of the origins of the kura kaupapa Māori movement and the stories of how the graduates have experienced ‘living as Māori’ are told.

The graduates have begun the journey into the wider world. They are producing a new generation of Māori language speakers. The challenge for the graduates is to continue speaking te reo Māori to their children and in their workplaces. But as the graduates are a

small group of people committed to the maintenance of the Māori language and culture, whether they can actually help in reversing language loss, remains to be seen.

In seeking to achieve an environment where Māori would be the language of communication at all times, where the resources of the Māori world could be accessed, and where teaching would enable participation in the Pākehā world, Auckland-based kōhanga reo parents and whānau in the mid-1980s created kura kaupapa Māori. It was through their efforts that the goal of ‘living as Māori’ was made possible for these graduates. Linda Smith (2008 interview) related that the objectives set by the early kura kaupapa Māori whānau have been met through the graduates from the first kura:

*The dreams, [the] aspirations have been realised. The children who stayed in kura are a different quality child. The older ones share a unique experience. It's not necessarily that they just stick to Māori things and that they only speak the Māori language, they're quite adventurous. Their time together in the movement reinforced a different set of values.*

At the start of this thesis I wrote about some parents—in my home town and in a kura kaupapa Māori where I was teaching—who believed that it was only through the acquisition of the English language that their children could attain employment and success in life. Māori language and Māori knowledge were seen as important for their children's cultural learning but the parents feared that their Māori speaking children would not be properly prepared for survival in an English language world. When the kura kaupapa Māori parents first broached the subject with me I was frustrated by the lack of research to support my belief that a kura education would certainly ensure participation in the world. In my determination to provide evidence of the kura kaupapa Māori graduates I knew were doing well in the world outside the kura, I began a masters study that led to the present doctoral thesis about how graduates from kura kaupapa Māori manage to live as Māori language speaking people in the world today.

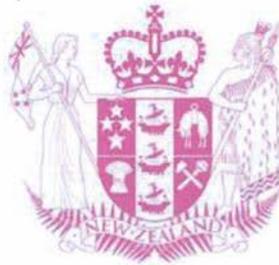
Now that the doctorate has been completed I can provide information about the graduates' experiences should any parents, anxious about their Māori speaking children's future in monolingual New Zealand, approach me for advice. The graduates have illustrated that being schooled in the Māori language in kura kaupapa Māori gave them a ‘head-start’ in life. A number of the graduates have related it was because of te reo Māori that they found employment in radio, television and teaching. It has been through a kura kaupapa Māori

education that these graduates are strong, self assured young people with clear ideas about what they want to do with their lives and futures.

The graduates—the representations of the hopes and dreams of the pioneers of the kura kaupapa Māori—are providing economic benefits to the country as they make positive contributions to Māori communities and to New Zealand society in their professional capabilities. ‘Living as Māori’ is just normal to these young people who are proud to be Māori.

SUPPLEMENT TO

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## OFFICIAL VERSION OF TE AHO MATUA O NGĀ KURA KAUPAPA MĀORI AND AN EXPLANATION IN ENGLISH

PURSUANT TO  
SECTION 155A OF THE EDUCATION ACT 1989

Te Aho Matua. (2008) *Official version of Te Aho Matua o ngā kura kaupapa Māori and an explanation in English*. Supplement to *New Zealand Gazette*, 32. Wellington, NZ: Department of Internal Affairs.

## Te Aho Matua o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori

### 1. TE IRA TANGATA

Ahakoā iti  
 He iti mapihi pounamu  
 He kakano i ruia mai i Rangiātea  
 E kore ia e ngaro

Kia marama rawa te hunga whakaako ki te ahua o te tangata, katahi ano ka taea te hanga kaupapa whakaako mo te hunga tamariki.

- 1.1 No ngā Rangi Tuhaha te wairua o te tangata. I tona whakairatanga ka hono te wairua me te tinana o te tangata. I tera wa tonu ka tau tona mauri, tona tapu, tona wehi, tona iho matua, tona mana, tona ihi, tona whatumanawa, tona hinengaro, tona auhatanga, tona ngakau, tona pumanawa. Na ka tupu ngatahi te wairua me te tinana i roto i te kopu o te whaea, whānau noa.
- 1.2 Tino motuhake enei ahuatanga katoa. Ko tenei hoki te kakano i ruia mai i Rangiātea. E kore ia e ngaro. Engari, ko ta ngā matua, ko ta te whānau, ko ta te kura hoki, he mea awahi, he mea whangai, he mea whakaako i te tamaiti kia tupu ora ai tona katoa i roto, i te tika me te maungarongo.
- 1.3 Kia pakeke te tangata, kei a ia ano ana tikanga, mana ano e whakatau ko tewhea te huarahi e hiahia ana ia ki te whai, otira e tika ana mona. Heoi ano, ahakoā iti ahakoā rahi kei a ia tenei. Engari, mehemea i tipu ora tona katoa, e kore ia e paheke ki te he.
- 1.4 Ko te ngakau te mata me te kuaha o te wairua. Otira, ko te whiu o te kupu, ko te wero, ko te riri, ko te aroha, ko te humarire, me enei ahuatanga katoa he mea kuhu ki te ngakau titi tonu ki te wairua. Koia nei te timatanga o te korero 'kia ngakau mahaki'. Ma tenei hoki ka tika te korero 'He oranga ngakau he pikinga waiora'.
- 1.5 He tapu te tangata ahakoā ko wai. Kohungahunga mai, tamariki mai, taipakeke mai, kaumatua mai, he tapu katoa. Kia kua te hunga o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori e tukino, e whakaiti, e whaka-parahako i te tangata, e mahi puhaehae ranei ki etahi atu. Kia ngakau mahaki ratou ki a ratou, ki te iwi whanui, ki a Tauīwi hoki.
- 1.6 He tapu to te wahine he tapu ano to te tane. Kia kua tetahi e whakaiti i tetahi. Engari kia whakanui tetahi i tetahi i runga i te mohio ma te mahi ngatahi a te wahine me te tane e tupu ora ai ngā tamariki me te iwi hoki.
- Kotiro, he mokopuna koe na Hinetitama  
 Waiwai ana ngā karu te tirohanga atu.
- 1.7 He tapu te tinana o te tangata. No reira he mahi nui tera, ko te whakaako i te tamaiti ki ngā ahuatanga whakapakari i tona tinana, kia tupu ai tona hauora. Kia mohio te hunga tamariki ki ngā kai pai, ki ngā kai kino. Kia mohio hoki ki te painga o te korikori tinana, o te mirimiri tinana, o ngā rongoa a Tane Whakapiripiri. Kia kua ia e tukino i tona tinana i te tinana hoki o tetahi atu.

## 2. TE REO

Toku reo, toku ohooho  
 Toku reo, toku mapihi maurea  
 Toku reo, toku whakakai marihi

- 2.1 He tapu ngā reo katoa. No reira, me whai koha te hunga o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori ki ngā reo katoa.
- 2.2 Mo ngā tamariki, kia rua ngā reo. Ko te reo o ngā matua tupuna tuatahi, ko te reo o tauwi tuarua. Kia orite te pakari o ia reo, kia tu tangata ai ngā tamariki i roto i te ao Māori, i roto hoki i te ao o Tauwi.
- 2.3 He taonga te reo Māori i roto i te Tiriti o Waitangi, he reo tuturu hoki i roto i te Ture mo te Reo. Engari kahore he painga o te Tiriti, o te Ture ranei, mehemea kahore te reo i roto i te whatumanawa, i roto i te ngakau, i roto hoki i te mangai o te iwi Māori.
- 2.4 I runga i tenei whakaaro, kia tere pakari ai te reo o ngā tamariki, me whakahaere ngā mahi katoa o te kura i roto i te reo Māori. Tae atu ki te hunga kuhu mai ki roto i te kura, me korero Māori katoa, i ngā wa katoa.
- 2.5 Ano te wa e tika ana mo te whakauru i te reo o Tauwi ki roto i ngā mahi a ngā tamariki. Waiho tenei ~~ma ngā pouako~~ (ma ia whānau)<sup>1</sup> e whakatau. Ko te mea nui ke kia noho wehe ngā reo e rua. He wahi ke mo te whakaako, he tangata ke hei whangai i te reo o Tauwi ki ngā tamariki. Ano, ko te mea nui, kia noho rumaki te reo, kia kaua e korero mawhitihiti mai i tetahi reo ki tetahi reo.
- 2.6 E tika ana, ma te hunga tino mohio ki te reo Māori, ki te ao Māori hoki, e arahi ngā tamariki i roto i a ratou mahi. Engari kia tika ano te ngakau me te wairua o tenei hunga, me whakapono hoki ki te kaupapa whanui o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori. Heoi ano, me whai aroha tonu te hunga o te kura ki a ratou kaore ano kia tino pakari te reo. Mehemea he tangata tautoko i te kaupapa, awhinatia. Mehemea e tino ngakau nui ana ki te reo, a tona wa ka mau.

## 3. NGĀ IWI

Te piko o te mahuri  
 Tera te tupu o te rakau

- 3.1 Mo te nuinga o ngā tamariki, tokomaha ngā iwi. Tera pea mo etahi, kotahi te iwi. Ko te mea nui kia mohio ngā tamariki ki o ratou ake iwi, hapu, whānau hoki. Tua atu o tera kia mohio hoki ki te katoa o ngā iwi tae noa ki a Tauwi.
- 3.2 No reira, he mahi nui tera te whai haere i ngā whakapapa hei here i ngā tamariki ki o ratou ake whānau, hapu, iwi, matua tupuna hoki. Tua atu o tenei ko te mohio ki ngā tuhonohono ki etahi atu o ngā iwi.
- 3.3 E tika ana kia tu whakahihi te tamaiti i roto i tona ake iwi, engari kia whai koha ano ki ngā iwi katoa.
- 3.4 Kia mohio ngā tamariki ki ngā rohe, ki ngā waka, ki ngā korero nehera, ki ngā purakau, ki ngā pakiwaitara, ki ngā tikanga, ki ngā waiata, ki ngā ahuatanga katoa o tona ake iwi. Kia mohio ano ki ngā ahuatanga katoa e pa ana ki era atu o ngā iwi tae noa ki etahi o ngā iwi o tawahi.

<sup>1</sup> 1994 Hui-a-tau  
 Te Rūnanga Nui o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori o Aotearoa  
 Delete: ma ngā pouako  
 Insert: (ma ia whānau)

- 3.5 Me whai haere ano hoki ngā tamariki i ngā ahuatanga whanui e pa ana ki o ratou iwi tae noa ki enci ra.
- 3.6 Ma te rongo a te tamaiti ki te awahi, ki te arataki, ki te tautoko, ki ngā tohutohu a te Whānau me tona aroha hoki, e mau ai tona piripono ki te Whānau. He mea hopu te nuinga o enei tuahua. No reira, e tika ana kia piri tonu te Whānau ki ngā tamariki i roto o te kura, i roto i a ratou mahi hoki.
- 3.7 Kia rongo te tamaiti ki te rekareka o te Whānau mo ana mahi pai, ki te papouri hoki o te Whānau mo ana mahi he. Ko tenei te timatanga o te pupuri i te tamaiti ki te huarahi tika, me tona tu pakari i roto i tona iwi.
- 3.8 Kia kite ngā tamariki ko te Whānau tonu e whakahaere ana i te kura, ko te Whānau hoki e mahi ngatahi ana me ngā pouako, ka tupu ia me te mohio ko te wairua me te mana Māori motuhake e kakahu ana i a ia me tona kura.
- 3.9 Ehara i te mea mo ngā tamariki anake te kura. He mātauranga ano kei te kura mo ngā taipakeke, mo te katoa o te Whānau hoki mehemea ka hiahia whakatu wananga ratou mo ratou.
- 3.10 Mo te whakaako pouako hou, ko te kura ano te wahi tika hei timatanga ma ratou, kia riro ano ma te Whānau ratou e arataki i roto i te mahi whakatupu, whakaako tamariki.

#### 4. TE AO

Ka pu te ruha  
Ka hao te rangatahi

- 4.1 Ko tona ake kainga te ao tuatahi me te kura timatanga o te tamaiti. Tua atu o tenei ko te ao Māori. Ma te Kura Kaupapa Māori ia e arahi i roto i enei nekeneke tae noa ki tona kura whaka-mutungā, ara, ki te ao whanui me ona ahuatanga katoa.
- 4.2 Kia kua te tamaiti e herea ki te ao kohatu. Kia watea hoki ia ki te kapo mai i ngā painga, i ngā maramatanga katoa o te ao whanui.
- 4.3 Haunga tera, ko te timatanga tika mona, ko te whai haere tonu i ngā korero tuku iho a ngā matua tupuna e pa ana ki te timatanga o te taiao.
- 4.4 Kia whai koha ngā tamariki ki a Papatuanuku raua ko Ranginui me a raua tamariki e tiaki nei i te ha o ngā moana, o te whenua, o te rangi me o ratau ahuatanga katoa.
- 4.5 Kia tupu te miharo o ngā tamariki ki ngā mea ora, ki ngā mea tupu katoa. Kia kua e tukinotia.
- 4.6 Kia tupu ngā tamariki hei kaitiaki i ngā painga huhua o te whenua, o te moana, o ngā ngahere. Kia mau hoki ki ngā ture tuku iho a ngā matua tupuna, e pa ana ki te moana, ki te whenua, ki ngā ngahere.
- 4.7 Kia whaia ano e ngā tamariki ngā ture o te ao, otira ngā putaiao e pa ana ki te moana, ki te whenua, ki te rangi, ki ngā mahi tataitai hoki.

**5. AHUATANGA AKO**

Tamariki wawahi taha  
Aratakina ki te matapuna  
O te mohio, o te ora, o te maungarongo

Whaia te iti kahurangi  
Te tuohu koe  
Me he maunga teitei

- 5.1 Ko ngā ahuatanga ako katoa he mea mahi i roto i te koanga ngakau, me te whakaihiihi hinengaro.
- 5.2 Ko te tino painga o te karakia he mea whakatau i te wairua, whakawatea i te whatumanawa me te hinengaro, whakarata i te ngakau, whakataka i ngā raru, kia ngawari ai te whakauru atu ki te mahi kua whakaritea hei mahi.
- 5.3 He mea whakaihiihi i te tamaiti te noho o te pakeke ki tona taha hei toko mona i roto i ana mahi. Heoi ano, ko te awahi ko te tautoko i a ia. Engari kia kaua e riro ma te pakeke e mahi te mahi a te tamaiti.
- 5.4 He mea nui te noho wahangu me te whakarongo mo ngā tamariki. Ma te mau o tenei tuahua e rongō ai ngā tamariki ki te hohonutanga o te korero.
- 5.5 He mea tapiri atu ki te whakarongo, ko te titiro, ko te raweke, ko te makamaka patai, ko te whitiwhiti korero, ko te ata whakaaro, hei whakauru i te matau me te aroa.
- 5.6 Ko ngā kaumatua ngā kaipupuri o ngā tikanga Māori, ko ratou hoki ngā pukorero. He mea nui tera kia piri mai ratou ki te kura, ki ngā tamariki hoki hei kaiako, hei kaiarahi.
- 5.7 He mea nui tera te manaaki tangata. Kia kite ngā tamariki i te ahua o te manaaki, i tona kainga, i te kura, i te marae. A tona wa kia tu ratou ki te awahina i ngā mahi manaaki.
- 5.8 Ko roto i tona ake hunuku te timatanga o te whānaungatanga o te tamaiti, ara, ki ona tungane/tuahine, tuakana/teina. Ano, kei roto i tona hunuku tona rongō ki ngā tikanga tika e pa ana ki ngā pakeke me ngā kohungahunga. Me haere ano hoki enei tuahua i roto i te kura. Kia mohio ai ngā tamariki taipakeke ki te tiaki i ngā kohungahunga, kia whakarongo hoki ngā kohungahunga ki ngā tamariki taipakeke.
- 5.9 Na tenei tuahua e tika ai te korero, kia kaua e taikaha ngā mahi wehe i ngā kotiro me ngā tamatane, i ngā taipakeke me ngā kohungahunga hoki. Ano te wa e tika ana mo te mahi wehe i runga i te pakeke o ngā tamariki. Ano te wa e tika ana kia mahi whānau ratou. Otira, kia riro ma ngā tamariki pakeke e arataki ngā tamariki kohungahunga.
- 5.10 He mea tino nui te wahi ako hei whakaohoho i te wairua o te tamaiti ki ana mahi whakaako. No reira, kia kikii tonu te kura i ngā mea whakaihiihi i a ia, i ngā mea pupuri hoki i te ha o te ao Māori. Me whakawhanui hoki tona wahi ako ki ngā marae, ki ngā ngahere, ki waenga parae, ki te taha moana, ki ngā wharepukapuka, whare taonga me era atu whare whangai i te puna o te mohio.

**6. TE TINO UARATANGA**

- 6.1 Kia mau, kia noho whakaaraara, noho koi te hinengaro o te tamaiti ki ngā matau katoa hei arahi i a ia i roto i te ao hou.
- 6.2 Kia toa ia ki te whakarongo, ki te whakaaro, ki te korero, ki te panui, ki te tuhi i roto i te reo Māori i roto i te reo o Tauīwi hoki.
- 6.3 Kia tupu ngā ahuatanga tuku iho o tona pumanawa ki ngā tihi teitei o te taumata.
- 6.4 Kia noho ohooho tona auahatanga i roto i ngā mahi waihanga o tona ao.
- 6.5 Kia noho tuwhera tona ngakau ki te hari, ki te koa, ki te aroha, ara, kia ngakau nui, kia ngakau mahaki.
- 6.6 Kia mau ki tona whatumanawa ngā hohonutanga o te ako o te mohio.
- 6.7 Kia rangona tona ihi, tona wehi, tona tapu.
- 6.8 Kia tupu tona mana me tona rangatiratanga.
- 6.9 Kia ita tona mauri.
- 6.10 Kia puawai tona waiora me tona hauora i roto i te hono tangaengae o tona wairua me tona tinana.
- 6.11 Kia mau tuhonohono te here o tona ihomatua ki ona matua tupuna, piki ake i ngā Rangi Tuhaha ki te marae atea o Io-Matua.
- 6.12 Kia tu pakari, tu rangatira ia hei ~~raukawa~~ (raukura)<sup>2</sup> mo tona iwi.

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<sup>2</sup> 1996 Mahuru  
Te Rūnanga Whaiti  
Delete: raukawa  
Insert: (raukura)

## An Explanation in English of Te Aho Matua o ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori

### INTRODUCTION

Presented in the Māori language, Te Aho Matua has been written by the pioneers of Kura Kaupapa Māori as a foundation document for their kura.

As such, the document lays down the principles by which Kura Kaupapa Māori identify themselves as a unified group committed to a unique schooling system which they regard as being vital to the education of their children.

Te Aho Matua, therefore, provides a philosophical base for the teaching and learning of children and provides policy guidelines for parents, teachers and boards of trustees in their respective roles and responsibilities.

Te Aho Matua is intended for inclusion in the charters of Kura Kaupapa Māori as the means by which their special nature can be clearly identified from mainstream kura.

Te Aho Matua also provides a basis from which curriculum planning and design can evolve, allowing for diversity while maintaining an integral unity.

Te Aho Matua has been written in a typically elliptical Māori style which implies meaning and requires interpretation rather than translation.

Te Aho Matua is presented in six parts, each part having a special focus on what, from a Māori point of view, is crucial in the education of children for the future.

### PART 1

#### TE IRA TANGATA

This part of the document focuses on the nature of humankind, and more particularly on the nature of the child. The Māori perception of the child is encapsulated in two well-known whakatauaiki, or proverbs.

The first, which says, Ahakoa iti, He iti mapihi pounamu, refers to the singular beauty and immense value of even the tiniest piece of fine greenstone.

There are two related interpretations of the second proverb, which says, He kakano i ruia mai i Rangiatea, E kore ia e ngaro. The first interpretation refers to the child as the seed which was dispersed from Rangiatea, the island in the Society Group from which the ancestors of the Māori migrated. The second interpretation refers to the child as the seed which was dispersed from the marae, also named Rangiatea, of the supreme deity, Io-matua.

The last line in this proverb affirms that the seed will never be lost. This statement implies a strong physical orientation for life, like that of the ancestors who faced the unknown on the high seas in search of a new home. It also implies the certainty of spiritual life since humankind emanated from the marae of Io.

When both proverbs are applied to the child, the nurture and education of that child takes on a significance which is fundamental to Kura Kaupapa Māori philosophy.

The statement which follows the proverbs suggests that the teaching fraternity ought to have full knowledge of the make-up of humankind before an effective system of teaching and learning for children can be devised.

What follows is a statement which presents a Māori perspective as to the origin and nature of the human spirit. It was felt that herein lay one of the answers for recovery from the malaise induced by loss of land, power and sovereignty which has been, and still is for many, the experience of Māori people.

The statement says that the spirits of human beings derive from the Rangi Tuhaha, the twelve dimensions of enlightenment in which spirit entities dwell until physical life is desired and to which spirit entities return after physical death. The inference is that at the moment of conception the physical and spiritual potential of the human being becomes an individual entity endowed with the spirit qualities of mauri, tapu, wehi, mana and ihi; the spirit receptor-transmitters of whatumanawa, hinengaro, auaha, ngakau and pumanawa; and the iho matua, which is the umbilical cord of spirit energy which links that single entity through his ancestral lines to the primal energy source which is Io.

The spirit qualities referred to here can best be described as emanations of energy, the strength or weakness of which is determined by the condition of the receptor-transmitters where feelings, emotions, intelligence, consciousness, conscience and all other non-physical characteristics of human personality dwell.

Most often referred to as taha wairua, these aspects of the human spirit are considered as important as physical attributes, not to be dismissed as the domain and responsibility of church or religion, but regarded as an integral part of human personality and, therefore, are responsive to and affected by teaching and learning.

In summary, then, Te Ira Tangata focuses on the physical and spiritual endowment of children and the importance of nurturing both in their education. Kura Kaupapa Māori therefore:

- challenge parents, teachers and trustees to work together in establishing a harmonious, child-centred learning environment in which care, consideration and co-operation are acknowledged as necessary elements for the successful operation of the kura for the greatest benefit of its children.
- propose that the role of the kura is all-round development of its children rather than career orientation.
- assert that the nurturing of body and soul in a caring environment is the greatest guarantee that children will pursue positive roles in life.
- affirm that affectionate nurturing breeds happy hearts and lighthearted spirits and thereby, warm and caring people.
- honour all people regardless of age, creed, colour, gender or persuasion and will not therefore, belittle, resent, hurt or show prejudice towards anyone else.
- honour gender differences and attributes in full understanding that it is in the combined and co-operative efforts of men and women that the well-being of children and community is assured.
- respect the physical body and encourage children to pursue habits which guarantee personal health and well-being.
- respect the physical and spiritual uniqueness of the individual and are therefore mindful of not perpetrating physical or psychological harm against oneself or others.
- affirm that the needs of the spirit are well served through the creative arts of music and song, dance and drama, drawing and painting, prose and poetry and all the activities which give full sway to colour and imagining.

**PART 2****TE REO**

Having established the nature of the child this part of the document focuses on language policy and how Kura Kaupapa Māori can best advance the language learning of their children.

As a natural and logical progression for graduates of Kohanga Reo, a primary focus of Kura Kaupapa Māori is the continuing development of the Māori language of their children. At the same time there exists a particular concern among some parents that the English language skills of their children should also be addressed. The primary language issue for Kura Kaupapa Māori became one of determining how the optimum result could be achieved in the development of both languages.

Indeed, the issue called for considerable research, including a review of the literature which described the experiences of other language communities, especially those whose language, like that of the Māori, was experiencing serious decline. The language policies and teaching practices of other nation states, where bilingualism was a valued attribute for citizenship and the learning of a second language in educational institutions was encouraged, provided a rich panorama of experience from which the first Kura Kaupapa Māori could base its language policy.

The principle of total immersion featured in much of the literature, and the published research experiments of Lambert and his associates in the French and English Quebec experience legitimised total immersion as being particularly effective in advancing the French language competence of English-speaking children.

So did the research studies of Dr Lily Wong-Fillmore, Professor of Education, University of California, Berkeley, USA, in which a range of second language learning methodologies, being used to teach elementary schoolchildren English were compared. Of these, total immersion proved to be significantly more effective.

The Ataarangi and Kohanga Reo initiatives which had preceded Kura Kaupapa Māori by five years had already established the effectiveness of total immersion. This then became firm policy for Kura Kaupapa Māori.

In summary, then, Te Reo focuses on bilingual competence and sets principles by which this competence will be achieved. Kura Kaupapa Māori therefore:

- respect all languages.
- expect full competency in Māori and English for the children of their kura.
- insist that legislation for the Māori language is worthless without a total commitment to everyday usage of Māori.
- affirm that total immersion most rapidly develops language competence and assert that the language of kura be, for the most part, exclusively Māori.
- accept that there is an appropriate time for the introduction of English at which time there shall be a separate English language teacher and a separate language learning facility.
- agree that the appropriate time for the introduction of English is a matter for the kura whānau to decide as a general rule, when children are reading and writing competently in Māori, and children indicate an interest in English.
- assert that along with total immersion, bilingual competence is rapidly advanced through discreetly separating the two languages and therefore reject the mixing or code-switching of the two languages.

- insist that competence in Māori language and culture, along with a commitment to the Aho Matua be the hallmark of Kura Kaupapa Māori teachers and parents but that there be accommodation for those who are still in the learning phase.
- believe that, where there is a commitment to the language, mastery will follow.

### PART 3

#### NGĀ IWI

Having established the nature of children with respect to their physical, mental, emotional and spiritual needs, and determining the most effective approach to language learning, this part of the document focuses on the social agencies which influence the development of children, in short, all those people with whom they interact as they make sense of their world and find their rightful place within it.

In traditional society whānau was the socialising agency of children, and the fragmentation of this fundamental social structure in the urban drift of Māori away from their tribal centres is one of the variables which has contributed to the “lost generations” of Māoridom.

It seemed immensely desirable that the whānau which, in this context, are all those people associated with the kura and its children, should be established as a fully functioning socialising agency, where each member of the whānau contributes to the education of all of the children. This communal responsibility for all children has to be one of the most positive moves of accommodating single-parent and dysfunctional families whose children are most at risk, while at the same time providing a haven where such families and their children can recover both stability and dignity in their lives.

All people derive from a unique culture which shapes their perception of self as belonging to, participating in and contributing to the continuum of life. The uniqueness of Māori social structures must therefore be reflected in the entirety of the kura, allowing the children to consolidate their place among their own people as the safe ground from which they can begin, with expanding consciousness, to explore the life ways of other people.

Given that these two important factors contribute to the special nature of Kura Kaupapa Māori and are particularly relevant to the curriculum, to the functioning of boards of trustees and to the interaction of the kura with its whānau, it follows that teacher training should also be a major consideration for kura.

It cannot be assumed that the graduates of mainstream teacher training will meet the requirements of kura. In fact, kura may need to target potential teachers from within the kura whānau and to seek a suitable training package which allows such people to qualify as teachers for their kura.

As a further consideration, experience has shown that school size is a significant factor. A small school allows greater whānau participation with all the children. This same participation tends to dissipate as kura get larger. Kura may need, therefore, to set the parameters as to what their ideal population should be in order to fulfil the promise of success for all their children.

In summary, then, Ngā Iwi focuses on the principles which are important in the socialisation of children. Kura Kaupapa Māori therefore:

- emphasise the importance of genealogy in establishing links within whānau, hapa and iwi including iwi Pākehā.
- emphasise the importance to children of knowing their own ancestral links and of exploring their links with other iwi.

- emphasise that children be secure in their knowledge about their own people but learn about and acknowledge other people and their societies.
- emphasise that children study the historical, cultural, political, social, religious and economic events and issues which are an integral part of their Māori heritage.
- emphasise that whānau ties are fundamental in the socialisation of children and are established and reinforced in a caring, supportive environment where aroha is evident.
- assert that such learning is caught rather than taught and is the primary reason for the kura whānau to be close to and involved in the activities of the children.
- emphasise that the association and interaction of the whānau with the children, where whānau approval or disapproval is felt by the children, is also where their sense of appropriate and acceptable behaviour begins.
- value the participation of whānau as administrators, ancillary staff and teacher support as a means of reinforcing the cohesion of whānau and kura.
- affirm that the kura belongs to the whānau and is available for the learning activities of all the whānau members.
- assert that teacher training is a legitimate function of the kura and that aspiring teachers have extended experience in the kura before and during formal training.
- submit that the size of the kura is a factor in facilitating or mitigating against the participation of whānau.

#### **PART 4**

##### **TE AO**

Having established the nature of children, their language learning and the people who influence their socialisation, this part of the document focuses on the world which surrounds children and about which there are fundamental truths which affect their lives.

Young children are naturally fascinated by every aspect of the natural world which enter their expanding field of experience. The task for the kura whānau is maintaining this fascination and optimising those experiences which contribute to their understanding and appreciation of the natural environment and the interconnectedness of everything within it.

Further to this, children need also to understand that the activities of people, including themselves, can have a detrimental effect on the environment and its resources.

In summary, then, Te Ao encompasses those aspects of the world itself which impact on the learning of children. Kura Kaupapa Māori therefore:

- recognise that the learning of children encompasses what enters their field of experience at home, in the Māori world and in the world at large.
- legitimise Māori knowledge of nature and the universe as an important and integral part of learning.
- encourage children to marvel at and value all life forms, and the balance of nature which gives each of those life forms its right of existence.
- develop in children an understanding that they are caretakers of the environment and are true to the laws of conservation passed down by their Māori forebears, as well as those practices which are environmentally friendly.
- inspire children to explore the natural and cosmic laws of the universe through the sciences and whatever means enhances understanding.

**PART 5****AHUATANGA AKO**

Taken altogether, the perception of children being central in an ever expanding world of experience which is accessed through the people with whom they associate and language, the implications for the curriculum become evident. This model provides for every aspect of learning which the whānau feel is important for their children, as well as the requirements of the national curriculum.

A further and final consideration is how best to achieve this in practice.

Ahuatanga Ako lists the principles of teaching practice which are considered of vital importance in the education of children. Kura Kaupapa Māori therefore:

- assert that teaching and learning be a happy and stimulating experience for children.
- practise karakia as a means of settling the spirit, clearing the mind and releasing tension so that concentration on the task at hand is facilitated.
- value the presence of supportive adults as important participants in the teaching/learning process.
- emphasise the particular value of concentrated listening as a skill to be thoroughly learned by children.
- encourage the use of body, mind and all the senses in learning; listening; thinking and quiet concentration; visualisation and observation; touching; feeling and handling; questioning and discussing; analysing and synthesising; testing hypotheses; and creative exploration.
- adopt teaching practices and principles which accommodate different styles of learning and motivate optimal learning.
- honour kaumatua as the repositories of Māori knowledge and invite their participation as advisers and fellow teachers.
- expose children to the protocols of hospitality in the home, at school and on the marae, and require their participation at cultural functions in roles appropriate to their ages and levels of maturation.
- accept that healthy relationships between brothers and sisters, younger and older siblings, children, parents and elders are the joint responsibility of the kura whānau.
- encourage older children to care for the young ones and to occasionally assist in their learning activities and younger children to accept the guidance of their older peers.
- emphasise the importance of creating a learning environment which is interesting, stimulating and reflects the Māori world.
- expand the learning environment to include marae, the wide-open spaces of bush, sea and sky, libraries and museums, and all other places which contribute to learning.
- welcome innovative ways of stimulating the learning of children but encourage self-motivation.
- provide for the special interests that individual children may have in the development of self-directed learning.
- encourage shared and co-operative ways of learning.

**PART 6****TE TINO UARATANGA**

Having encapsulated in the foregoing statements the major areas to be considered in the education of children in Kura Kaupapa Māori, a final consideration focuses on what the outcome might be for children who graduate from Kura Kaupapa Māori.

Kura Kaupapa Māori will have in place appropriate measures for assessing and evaluating the achievement of their children at all levels of the national curriculum, as well as whatever else the kura decides are valuable areas of knowledge for their children.

This part of the document focuses, however, on the whole person in terms of a fully functioning human being whose personal attributes are recognised, nurtured and brought to fruition.

In summary, then, Te Tino Uaratanga defines the characteristics which Kura Kaupapa Māori aim to develop in their children, that they:

- develop free, open and inquiring minds alert to every area of knowledge which they choose to pursue in their lives.
- become competent thinkers, listeners, speakers, readers and writers in both Māori and English.
- advance their individual talents to the highest levels of achievement.
- delight in using their creative talents in all feats of endeavour.
- are receptive to and have a great capacity for aroha, for joy and for laughter.
- are true and faithful to their own sense of personal integrity while being caring, considerate and co-operative with others.
- assimilate the fruits of learning into the deeper recesses of consciousness where knowing refreshes the spirit.
- manifest self-esteem, self-confidence, self-discipline and well-developed qualities of leadership.
- value their independence and self-determination in setting personal goals and achieving them.
- radiate the joy of living.
- manifest physical and spiritual well-being through the harmonious alignment of body, mind and spirit.
- are secure in the knowledge of their ancestral links to the divine source of all humanity.
- are high achievers who exemplify the hopes and aspirations of their people.

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