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**Te kaitārei ara tāngata whenua mo te Whare Wānanga:
“Ēhara, he hara ranei?”**

**Developing indigenous infrastructure in the University:
“Another Era or another Error?”**

**by
Te Tuhi Robust**

*A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor
of Education in Māori Education*

**The University of Auckland
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Abstract/ Whakarāpoto Take

The specific aim of this study is to identify critical features of *wānanga* or the traditional *Māori* learning institution and how these might inform *Māori* education today in a University setting. It also examines the responsiveness of the tertiary institution in creating an indigenous infrastructure aimed at *Māori* educational participation. A number of ‘critical events’ relating to *Māori* educational development interventions in the 1980’s will be considered with the expectation that they will serve to inform the development of better educational outcomes for access, participation, recruitment, retention and the advancement of *Māori* in the conventional University setting. For the purpose of this study contemporary *Māori* academic sites, which include state funded *wānanga*, as well as other indigenous academic sites will be discussed, including the First Nations House of Learning at the University of British Columbia¹. There is thus an international perspective in this study.

Whare wānanga were a key institution in traditional *Māori* society and represented in all regions of Aotearoa/ New Zealand. The ability to travel and share each other’s knowledge attested or benchmarked by others was a key part of the maintenance of the tribal lore. *Tōhunga* were central to the entire process of controlling the knowledge and selecting to whom it was to be imparted. This raises a question of what a contemporary *wānanga*, as an intervention and an academic entity would look like at the University of Auckland and would it withstand international scrutiny? As a *kaupapa Māori* educational intervention, it is a theoretical test in the configurations of conscientization, resistance and transformative praxis. The inclusive approach in using existing material and people resources to maximize the impact of the intervention is to be discussed in this thesis. Specific case studies provide a means for checking the evidence for the processes and the predicted outcomes for *kaupapa Māori* theory. The recalling of events is central to both case studies. An event such as the rugby match that took place between both countries in 1927, discussed later in

¹ This site is linked by a formal Memorandum of Understanding with the University of British Columbia that provides a broad base of collaboration for staff and student exchanges; the sharing of intellectual understanding and international models of excellence for *Māori* and Indigenous peoples.

this thesis, combined with similar initiatives embarked upon by indigenous leaders from both tertiary communities to create a physical presence for First Nations and *Māori*, are identities at the core of the case studies. Cultural connection, and a style of operation that is inclusive, enact in part the values raised by Madeleine McIvor: respect, reciprocity, relevance and responsibility. The factors all converge to build this thesis into a series of conversations. The collaboration undertaken over long distances and periods of time has motivated the creation of this record of the stories of both institutions, that can be added to by others in the future.

The markers of success for the University of Auckland include the arresting of the decline of *Māori* student enrolments alongside the growth of *Māori* participating in post-graduate study and research, therefore providing opportunity to contribute to the bank of knowledge in New Zealand society. While the regeneration of the language in New Zealand has been the driving force behind the *wānanga* development at the University of Auckland building further on the foundations of *kohanga reo*, *kura kaupapa Māori*, *whare kura* and *wānanga*, the development of *Māori* as with First Nations initiatives has been in the area of education. Tertiary institutions offer a context in which *kaupapa Māori* theory brings together common threads of communication for people. Whether this is through elements of struggle within societies or just survival, the main thing is that people need each other to develop and progress.

Acknowledgements/ *Ngā Mihi*

It seems like only yesterday that I walked into a lecture room at the then Auckland College of Education campus in Whangarei and was talked into enrolling into the University of Auckland education programme in 1996. On this note I might add I told Dr Graham Smith that if he could sign me up then I would do it. I knew he wouldn't be able to do it on the spot so I thought I was pretty safe on that one. What I did not bargain on was his wife Dr Linda *Tuhiwai* Smith being around the corner. She had the authority to sign as Dean of Education, so I was committed from that point on. This action meant having to set myself for a long journey that included graduating with a bachelor of education in 1998 and then a master of education with honours and finally to completing this thesis as part of the doctor of education programme. Putting pen to paper is easier than conveying adequately the parts that others played in the numerous events that took place. In retracing the events key people provided support in a number of ways: Denise Davies and Tommy *Perana* who organized the assessment details and paperwork to transfer from Massey University to Auckland; *Oneroa* Stewart and Tania *Tawhi* who job shared with me when I commuted over three years between *Kaikohe* and Auckland; whanau who looked after my son Te Kemara while I traveled around the country and overseas to Canada and Australia a number of times during that period; Pat and *Erana* Brown who looked after the farm; Gary and Hera Linter-Cole; Jim Peters who employed me and put up with the many trips overseas I undertook for research purposes; Aunt Mary who as a young seventy year old picked me up from lectures late at night on a regular basis as parking was an absolute nightmare at the university and very expensive with or without a ticket; and the Reverend *Wiritai Toi* who critiqued my work on pedagogy relating to Paulo Friere. All were scholars in their own right and need to be acknowledged. An important part of this story I reserve for Hilda Halkyard-*Harawira*, who commuted from *Kaitaia* on a regular basis with me to Auckland and back again to *Kaikohe*. Her *whānau* would pick her up from there and drive back to *Kaitaia* arriving well after midnight to be able to start teaching the following day like myself. At no stage throughout our study did we receive scholarships targeted for *Māori*. This will always be something that remains a mystery to me, and also for other adult students returning to study. It meant that we had to continue to work fulltime to earn the money to meet our responsibilities, especially to put food on the table.

These people and many more from home who contributed to this journey I will forever be grateful to. In 1999, I relocated finally to Auckland after being offered a Research Fellowship at the Woolf Fisher Research Centre, and became Research Associate, International Research Institute for *Māori* and Indigenous Education as part of the University of Auckland. As a result of this I took up a position as the Research Associate/ Executive Assistant to the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*), University of Auckland until 2004. The university was in my view like a big whānau, some of whom would come and go depending on whatever it was that they needed at that stage of their lives. Students had the opportunity to pick and choose courses if it suited their situation. At that time the day to day organization and *management* of the university was in the hands of Dr John Hood. Throughout his stewardship the institution undertook huge changes that in turn impacted on staff, students and its community, in particular the *Māori*. This thesis is an attempt to record this innovation and acknowledge his leadership and commitment to the *kaupapa*. The position I held provided access to people and resources that the university sought to engage at all levels and stages of development and innovation. During this time I enrolled in the education doctoral programme, which provided an opportunity to record the history of the *wānanga* development for the university as an individual case study alongside the development at the University of British Columbia, Canada, as an international comparative.

Of the innovations that emerged from the developments at the University of Auckland, the MAI/ *Māori* and Indigenous Graduate Studies Centre was key to providing ongoing support and guidance on the progression of this process to a natural conclusion. The vast body of experience that numerous participants brought to meetings held on a regular basis since its establishment on 2001 is something that I will continue to support. The reciprocity in contribution to the *Māori* Public Good is something in my view that is not given due conscientization within some circles. It is something that has been taken for granted in the past.

This note also encompasses contributions made by people who are not of *Māori* descent but who have supported *Māori* such as me to progress in their academic studies. From here it is timely to acknowledge the Department of Education, *Te*

Aratiatia at the University of Auckland. *Kuni Jenkins*, *Margie Hohepa*, *Trish Johnson*, *Leonie Pihama* and of course *Graham Hingangaroa* and *Linda Tuhiwai Smith*. In returning to study the availability of office *space*, advice, *kai* and ongoing support to the present is appreciated. Within any organization of the size of the University of Auckland the essential element in making it a ‘home away from home’ is people. *Rangimarie Rawiri*, *Wiremu Doherty* and *Lee Cooper* epitomize this same element in creating and maintaining *space* for someone like me for which I will always be grateful. However, an important part of this story is to acknowledge the integrity, humility and endless patience of *Stuart McNaughton*. He provided tremendous support and advice whether I wanted it or not and made this thesis a reality for a kid from the ‘backstreets of Hollywood’ in *Kaikohe*. It seems unfair to write such a short piece about someone who has given so much to many. He has lived the same stories and given opportunity to me to tell my story. The extent of my gratitude to him, *Trudie* and the rest of their *whānau* is endless. And as the journey continues into the future I hope that someone else will be inspired to add their story to this thesis, building further banks of knowledge for others to share debate and interrogate.

Finally I acknowledge *Paul Murphy* who in 1983 told me that this was the path that I would be traveling and who is one who does understand the meaning of integrity, respect, responsibility and reciprocity in preparing a way for the generations to follow. To my wife *Rosalind* and the rest of the *whānau* who put up with the odd work habits of mine, *he mihi aroha ki a koutou*. The many *kaumatua* and *kuia* from *Te Hikutu* in *Hokianga* and *Ngāti Whakaeke*; *Ngāti Tautahi*; *Ngāti Ue* and *Te Uri Taniwha ara me Ngāti Hineira*, *Ngapuhi*. Thank you. To *Suzanne Hargreaves*, *Uncle Mac Taylor* and especially my parents *Ana* and *Charlie Robust* who have passed on since I started this journey but will always be alongside of me. This thesis in my view is part of that wonderful history they passed on to me, which has made me who I am. There is no greater gift than knowing where one is from and where I one day will also return in years to come.

**Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi
Engari he toa takitahi**

*My strength is comes from many people and not myself as an individual.
No one can survive alone*

He kōrero whakawatea

Te Whare o Ngāpuhi

*He mea hanga
Ko papa-tuanuku te papa-rahi
Ko ngā maunga ngā poupou
Ko te Rangi e titiro iho nei te tuanui:*

*Puhanga-tohora titiro ki Te Rama-roa
Te Rama-roa titiro ki Whiria
Ki te paiaka o te riri, ki te kawa o Rahiri
Whiria titiro ki Pa-nguru, ki Papata
Ki te rakau tu Papata i tu ki te Tai-ha-uru
Pa-nguru Papata titiro ki Maunga-
taniwha
Maunga-taniwha titiro ki Tokerau
Tokerau titiro ki Rakau-mangamanga
Rakau-mangamanga titiro ki Manaia
Manaia titiro ki Tuta-moe
Tuta-moe titiro ki Manga-Nui
Manga-Nui titiro ki Puhanga-tohora
Ko te whare ia tenei o Ngāpuhi*

*(Nā Eru Moka Pou, Kaikohe
tōku tupuna)*

The House of Ngāpuhi

This is how it is made:
The earth is the floor,
The mountains the supports,
The sky we see above is the roof:

From Puhanga-tohora look toward *Te Rama-roa*:
Te Rama-roa look toward *Whiria*:
The seat of our war-like prowess, the ancestral line of *Rahiri*:
Whiria look toward *Pa-nguru*, to *Papata*:
To the thickly growing trees which extend to the western sea:
From *Pa-nguru* and *Papata* look toward *Maunga-taniwha*:
From *Maunga-taniwha* look toward Tokerau:
From Tokerau look toward the Bay of Islands – Cape Brett:
From the Bay of Islands – Cape Brett look toward *Manaia*:
From *Manaia* look toward *Tuta-moe*:
From *Tuta-moe* look toward *Manga-Nui* Bluff:
From *Manga-Nui* Bluff look toward *Puhanga-tohora*.
This is the house of *Ngāpuhi*.

*(Written by Eru Moka Pou, Kaikohe
my grandfather)*

Chapter One/ *Wāhanga Tahī*

Setting the framework/ *Whakatakoto te kawa*

Introduction

Planning academic study is something that thirty years ago may have seemed to be out of the question for someone such as myself who had options available that included apprenticeships, farm labouring or being a freezing worker. Being raised in a small rural community, the daily delivery of the newspaper, the *New Zealand Herald* on the Road Services bus from Auckland at 6.30am every morning was a highlight closely followed by the low revving motor of a Bedford van, signalling the arrival around the same time of the day of the local ‘bread’ man delivering orders to the three local dairies that serviced the town of *Kaikohe* located in the Bay of Islands. While the bread was baked at the bakery in *Okaihau*, a neighbouring town, the *Herald* was from this place called Auckland. The stories gleaned from the newspaper and other stories from family and others conjured up visions of masses of people and intensive housing based around hives of movement and activity. It sounded exciting but quite overwhelming for a young person from a small rural town. At that time the going to Auckland, the largest city in New Zealand a four and a half hour bus ride away, cost five shillings. For a student it was a serious thing to take into consideration if you did not have the financial resources in hand. Therefore the thought of getting out of town to take up academic study was something of a big adventure. I was a member of a family that viewed education not only as being important, but something that had an underpinning principle of being able to make one’s way in life, which meant getting a job and earning some money. The preferred target of employment was that of entering into a profession, such as working for the government or completing an apprenticeship. This was the underlying expectation of our parents and something that each family member sought to achieve. Ultimately the type of job did not matter as long as one was bringing in money to provide a living and being in a position to contribute to the immediate and/ or extended family.

With this grounding there was an expectation that an education was the window to the world out there and that it was there for the taking. One such opportunity came by way of a letter arriving prior to Christmas day in 1975 offering me a place at North Shore Teacher's Training College located in Auckland. From first appearances it was seen by the family that education was progress and that such an offer provided a sense of achievement to be shared by all members of the immediate and extended members of the family and the township in general.

My parents' formal education did not progress beyond secondary school level. The Depression years in the 1930's saw my father forced to move away from *Whirinaki, Hokianga* to find work, in the Dargaville and *Waipoua* Forest region of the Hokianga, Northland. The outbreak of World War II in 1939 to 1945, witnessed him being recruited into the army at a very early age. Through to 1945 he saw active service in Italy and other campaigns with the 28th *Māori* Battalion. After the war on his return to New Zealand he underwent a carpentry apprenticeship at the Rehabilitation School in *Kaikohe*. This provided the appropriate training for him to work as a carpenter on a number of building projects around the northland area until he retired after some forty years. The work also entailed voluntary work in the community utilizing his skills and network with other like minded family and community members. It seemed that there were always demands on his and my mother's time. Besides spending time with the immediate family, our mother worked on a part-time basis only when all of the eight children had gone to primary and then onto secondary school which provided further monies to support the family in schooling and sports pursuits. She devoted her life to supporting our father and her children along with the community, in particular the church community. That commitment by our mother to people was acknowledged by the many who came to pay their respects at the *Te Kotahitanga marae* when she passed away at the age of forty eight years in 1975 followed by our father some twenty years later.

These life experiences provide a base for this story about how I came to academic study. This is an opportunity to share a small but important part of the struggle for some *Māori* involved in the tertiary sector, with the hope that people in the future will have an insight into the pathways of New Zealand society informed by education. A decision of this nature means that the rural town and family which in the past

provided the support infrastructure to attend local schools and experience success needs to be re-created somewhere else. My own experiences needed to be redefined within another environment that would offer the same security. In the case of this thesis that environment was within a tertiary institution, the University of Auckland. First and foremost to be considered was an environment that would appreciate the stories I would want to write and tell. Stories such as the sight of our father, every Thursday morning, placing the unopened pay packet on the bench and signing the cheques pre-written by our mother and later after her death, my sisters, to cover all of the bills for that week until he retired. The impression that stays in one's mind from the outset is that of trying to find an institution that understood or would appreciate family values and commitment to providing the synergy required for the children to progress and using a single income to make it happen. Historically *Māori* students from *Kaikohe* entered into other tertiary institutions depending on what career they wanted to pursue. Medical and physical education students went to Otago University while others wanting to study *Māori* education enrolled at the University of *Waikato* or Victoria University in Wellington. All of these institutions were too far afield for me to consider. Auckland was the city chosen and North Shore Teachers Training College the institution for study.

Having made the decision to move to Auckland the institution that I was looking for had to exemplify the same commitment and values that I had been nurtured in. This approach to the selection involved the rest of the children and their parents from the same street and surrounds, who always found their way to our house for a *kai*/ meal or just a good old fashioned yarn with our parents and other members of the families from the same street surrounds. Billy Tapp from across the street had enrolled some years before at the University of Auckland with the intention of studying architecture. His reports on the lifestyle were key to the decision made to go to Auckland. However, as suggested earlier in this thesis the decision was not as easy as one might imagine as I was the first of the grandchildren from my generation who was intending to enrol at a tertiary institution. This meant that the hapu/ sub-tribe¹ would in time come to know about your decision and the unseen responsibility of presenting a good example out there in the community was added pressure to succeed in that

1

Hapu is the sub-tribe of the main tribal group

environment. With this understanding I had to quickly come to an understanding that whether working collectively or individually a sense of responsibility was a required outcome. The opportunity to tell a story of the kind that will follow is in a sense an honour as others have not had the same opportunity to do so. Having come from a background based on values of common sense and hard work with an underpinning desire to share with others, it is important to note that this story is only a small contribution to the many stories that will be told by others who are to follow.

These experiences impacted on my wish to pursue a career in education. The choice has provided for a different lifestyle that includes travel, working with a large community of people, locally, nationally and internationally, from all facets of life. More importantly it has allowed me to influence the future of others through education. This thesis is derived from what happened to a person who was to be the next one in the family to experience tertiary education, therefore leaving home to undertake a course of study for three years and come out of it with a diploma in teaching. As that person I had no idea that I would be completing this doctoral thesis some thirty years later. Within this context education is considered as a '*tool*' similar to the way discussed by Joan Metge. In 1961 while attending a meeting in West Auckland she heard *Hoani Waititi* speaking in support of the establishment of the *Māori* Education Foundation. The suggestion by Waititi at that time was for *Māori* and *Pākehā* to consider the opportunity of working in a co-operative manner.² In graduating from North Shore Teachers Training College, I embarked on a teaching career that spans a number of years and experiences that confirm the vision of *Hoani Waititi*.

On reflection there were other parts to the story prior to the departure from the small rural town that are important to recount. There was the rush to complete the filling in of the thick wad of papers received as part of the big move away from home to 'gain' an education. Visiting the courthouse for the first time in my life to request a copy of my birth certificate I found that they had made a mistake as I was born according to the record on the 3rd of May instead of the 5th of May. Further to this, there was the note that I was '*Māori of Full Blood*' in the records. It took a lot of courage to bring

2 Metge, J. (2001) *Kōrero Tahi Talking Together*. Auckland University Press with Te Matahauariki Institute, Auckland, New Zealand

the birth date to my mother's attention as it meant that the family bible, where all of the important papers such as birth certificates, death certificates, wills and marriage certificates were kept for the family, was wrong. However, after some discussion it was agreed that the birth certificate was okay to use for this purpose, but my birth date was to be celebrated on the later date by the family, as it has to this day. I came to revisit the issue about the birth date with my mother some time later and found that my grandfather, her father, registered my birth at the courthouse. He had overseen the registration of my birth especially to ensure the insertion of '*Māori of Full Blood*'. Hence the acceptance of the clerical error by my mother. Finding a Justice of the Peace was part of this history. On the day after receipt of the papers I needed to sign an 'oath of allegiance' to be sworn and witnessed in front of a Justice of the Peace who was Wally Lomax the local electrician and the Mayor of *Kaikohe*. I was helping him to install the new television aerial on the roof so that we could get reception for a second channel on the television and asked if he would sign the forms. He commented at the time that being up on the roof of our house was close enough to god who would be our witness for the oath to be taken and that I should 'drop' into the shop some time to have him 'complete the deal' and sign the forms.

Other family members were called upon to provide references and other such statements to complete the process of enrolment. Auckland was looked upon as the '*big smoke*'. Having to solve the confusion of filling out endless forms for entry into teachers college and then a hostel or halls of residence was a big step. It meant having to enter into an environment that one had never experienced. However, the opportunity to stay with others was preferred to staying with family, who lived on the other side of Auckland and would have made it more of a challenge in getting to and from training college for the three years.

After moving from the north I progressed through the various levels of the teaching profession which included being appointed as a principal at the age of twenty eight, after spending two years working at a national level in the primary teacher's union. Following on from these experiences, there was a position in the Ministry of Education, working in a policy directed and focused government agency. This work eventually led to moving out of the Auckland region to work at national office located in Wellington. The closeness of parliament and working in close proximity to

decision makers for the country created an awareness that decisions made centrally were significant to those in the regions. It brought about the need to make the crucial decision to move back to the north to develop the farm that I had purchased and work in the north amongst my own people. Having a teaching qualification and being available for relief teaching meant that I only had to work as required to cover mortgage payments and other living expenses. This allowed time for me to actively participate in the sharing of knowledge and advice at my discretion to others who wanted to know more about career choice and educational options in the various regions around the country. This also allowed me to participate as part of the community in addressing issues as they arose in preparation for the impact that government policies and other associated situations might have on the rural communities in the Northland region of New Zealand.

By 1996 I had renewed contact with two *Māori* academics Linda *Tuhiwai* Smith and Graham *Hingangaroa* Smith, who were enrolling students at the University of Auckland. The discussion that took place included a suggestion that *Māori* educationalists such as myself should consider making a contribution to the body of knowledge of *Māori* education. This would include real life experience such as mine that would assist *Māori* progress within *Māori* and New Zealand societies in general. This was an opportunity to legitimate, theorize and share my stories that in time would serve to inform other people considering education as a career option. Further to this was the chance to tell my own story using academic study as the vehicle.

This step required taking into consideration issues such as the impact on personal and family situations, not to mention needing employment to secure funding over a period of years to sustain the proposed study. Most important was the projected timeframe for all of this to happen. At some stage relocating to Auckland would be necessary. With all of these factors in mind I sought to have qualifications previously gained through extra-mural study at Massey University credited to the University of Auckland as the latter university suited my particular situation to complete the tertiary qualifications. By the end of 1998 I completed a Bachelor in Education that led to the completion of a Masters in Education (Hons) in 2000. From 1997 to 1999 I commuted between *Kaikohe* in the Bay of Islands, Northland to Auckland some four hours each way once a week to attend evening lectures at the University of Auckland.

This required significant funding from personal resources. Applications for general and *Māori* targeted scholarships and awards proved to be unsuccessful. This proved to be a significant barrier not only to myself but to other colleagues who were participating in the same programmes of study at that time.

Another key element to undertaking academic study was the selection of a tertiary institution that offered the best options for my situation. At that time the University of Auckland was, in my view, the best option. Location was still an issue due to the time it took to travel to attend lectures. But the prospect of studying with a group of other *Māori* people who had similar experiences and were prepared to work collectively to support each other in the pursuit and sharing of knowledge was a major incentive. The proposed model of engagement based on *kaupapa Māori/ Māori* philosophy and practise presented by Graham Smith³ suggested the working together for the 'the public good' and in this case '*Māori* public good'. The University of Auckland was beginning to promote the inclusion of *Māori* elements in its overall organization and management, as a positive and proactive response to principles of the Treaty of *Waitangi*.⁴ It sought to provide a critical mass of credentialed *Māori* academics who would be able to offer skills based on historical, current and future forms of knowledge based on *Kaupapa Māori/ Māori* philosophy and practise. The organization of lectures on specific days to cater for working people such as myself presented better time management options. This meant that a person could plan to attend lectures on a Monday and the following semester or year, attend on a Tuesday. This provided a major shift from an organizational point of view as you knew that coverage of work, family responsibility could be set in place prior to enrolment each year. The presentation of lectures by lecturers who were predominately of *Māori* descent also provided good role models from across all academic disciplines for students.

3 Smith, G. (1997) The Development of *Kaupapa Māori* Theory and Praxis; (unpublished thesis), University of Auckland, Auckland.

4 Bishop, R.. (1998) Two peoples created this nation when in 1840 lieutenant-Governor Hobson and the chiefs of New Zealand signed the Treaty of Waitangi on behalf of the British Crown and the Maori descendants of New Zealand. The Treaty is seen as a charter for power sharing in the decision-making processes of this country and for Maori determination of their own destiny as the indigenous people of New Zealand (Walker, 1990).

In 1999, the relocation to Auckland was put into place. The offer of a research contract with the International Research Institute for *Māori* and Indigenous Education (IRI) and another as a Teaching Fellow of the Woolf Fisher Research Centre meant that I would be able to afford to live in Auckland. This work subsequently led to the offer to assist in the establishment of the Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*) for the University of Auckland. The intensity of the work undertaken from 1999 to 2004 while employed at the University of Auckland served to confirm the option taken by myself in seeking to contribute to the knowledge economy of New Zealand society and in particular *Māori* society. This emerged during the period of time spent with the Vice-Chancellor, Dr John Hood who provided a type of leadership, courage and vision to substantiate the integrity of *Māori* elements across the university organization. Collective experiences in my view, gained from research, networking and travel have formed a view for me of the wider world. However, the journey to the University of Auckland must not be seen as unusual for *Māori* seeking to enter into tertiary study. Joan Metge (1976); Walker (1990), suggest that such experiences are shared by other *Māori* and are therefore not peculiar to one person.

This thesis seeks to confirm the intention for *Māori* being able to name their world within the academic institution. The opportunity for *Māori* to participate in consultation processes for universities in New Zealand has meant that the University of Auckland is now challenged with the responsibility of aspiring to be among the best research-led environments in the world. The thesis uses a comparison between the University of British Columbia, First Nations House of Learning, with parallel developments at the University of Auckland to better understand the strategic planning of the University of Auckland model. Among other things this model brings indigenous peoples from other countries together with the key objective of sharing ideas, peer reviewing, and benchmarking through staff and student exchanges. The thesis further provides a comparative account of another institution that also has come to identify and provide cultural *space* for indigenous peoples in the tertiary institution.

A question that needs to be considered

The specific aim of this study is to identify critical features of *wānanga* or the traditional *Māori* learning institution and how these might inform *Māori* education

today in a university setting. It examines the responsiveness of a tertiary institution in creating an indigenous *space* to promote *Māori* education across the institution. The thesis considers ‘critical events’ relating to *Māori* educational development interventions in the 1980’s because these provide an historical context for the development of better educational outcomes in a conventional tertiary setting. These outcomes focus on the access, participation, recruitment, retention and the advancement of *Māori*.

In this first chapter one, I also lay the foundation for the thesis by providing a ‘snapshot’ of my upbringing and the path taken.

Chapter two examines the literature about *wānanga*. This literature is used to consider the many changes taking place within New Zealand society impacting on *Māori* and whether or not consideration of traditional modes for the teaching and theory used in *wānanga* had been taken into account while planning the structural reforms in health and education at that time.⁵ This prompted consideration to be given to published literature on *wānanga* by both *Māori* and non *Māori* writers earlier in New Zealand history. In the chapter I identify critical features which inform the development of contemporary equivalents.

Chapter three considers *kaupapa Māori* theory because the theory provides researchers with a framework for examining developments that affect *Māori*. Using this I explore the concepts of indigenous *space* and *tools* used by *Māori*, to tell their stories. The development of *kaupapa Māori* theory is informed by the educational reforms of the 1980’s that included the development of *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa Māori*, *whare kura* and more recently *whare wānanga*.

Chapter four examines further the research methodology undertaken to develop case studies incorporating discussions and interviews with indigenous informants who played key roles in progressing the development of indigenous *spaces* at the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia. While the University

⁵ McLean, P. (1972) *Te Whare Wānanga Māori*; Victoria University, Wellington.

of Auckland provides the primary site to be conscientized, the use of a second distinctly different indigenous model as a contrasting case study is explained.

The development of indigenous *space* at the University of Auckland, the first of the two case studies, is presented in chapter five. Integral to the re-positioning of the institutions is the reviewing of infrastructure. The University of British Columbia case study is presented in chapter six.

An interesting element in this study is the linkage between institutions that provides a *whakapapa*/ genealogy for the study. Indigenous links are also discussed between the New Zealand and Canada case studies. This centres on the University of British Columbia who hosted the New Zealand *Māori* rugby team in 1927. The rugby team was the first international team to play against Canada at the Thunderbird Stadium located at the university. Descendants of that team presently attending the University of Auckland, include myself. I have also travelled to meet with the descendants of the Canadian team since that historic event took place. The *whakapapa* or genealogical links discussed throughout this thesis provided in my view a natural connection between the institutions. The University of Auckland development of indigenous *space* has been modelled on parts of the University of British Columbia initiative. Staff, community and students continue to visit and share information and experiences from both universities, and this relationship that has been informed by a Memorandum of Understanding between both institutions.

Chapter seven returns to issues of the educational reforms in the tertiary sector of New Zealand. This study concludes by commenting on whether or not the development at the Universities of Auckland and British Columbia can meet the needs of *Māori* and indigenous tertiary students.

**Te manu e kai ana i te miro, nōna te ngahere
Te manu e ki ana i te mātauranga, nōna te ao**

*The bird which feeds on the miro berry has access to the forest
The bird which feeds on knowledge has access to the world*

Chapter Two/ *Wāhanga Rua*

Reaching back/ *He hokinga whakamuri*

Introduction

This chapter provides a basis for analyzing institutional structures in conventional universities/ tertiary settings, to increase access, participation, recruitment and retention of indigenous students. The University of Auckland has drawn on the concept of a *whare wānanga* to develop an institutional initiative, hence in this chapter the concept of '*whare wānanga*' is identified and the significance of this sacred institution is explored. The chapter examines how it was used to provide a means for *Māori* to retain their knowledge - sacred beliefs and practices from pre-colonial times to the present. It is recognized from the outset that the '*whare wānanga*', translated as the 'learning institution' by Best (1923), was a central institution in the life and survival of *Māori* society.

The initial part of this chapter will discuss the traditional *wānanga*, and its contribution to the retention of knowledge or tribal lore. This helps to define boundaries for the concept of *whare wānanga*, which can be used to inform the development of traditional forms of teaching a *whare wānanga* within a contemporary setting.

Research on the historical concept of *whare wānanga* and other similar institutions has been discussed by other scholars. In 1971 Peter McLean reviewed written research on the concept of *whare wānanga*. There are other sources for identifying *whare wānanga*, such as oral presentations recorded by significant tribal authorities such as *Apirana Ngata*, *Aperahama Taonui*, *Mohi Turei*, *Mohi Tawhai*, *Pat Hohepa*. An analysis of each of these works brings together an understanding of the depth of learning undertaken by *Māori*, within the traditional context of being required to retain vast amounts of knowledge imparted in a '*whare wānanga*'. The analysis presented below draws heavily on the work of McLean in the first instance to provide

a base for the study of a contemporary '*whare wānanga*' at the University of Auckland.

The Origin of *Wānanga*

The following sections identify some of the key areas of educational concepts that existed in *Māori* society prior to the arrival of the *Pākehā*/ European to New Zealand in the 18th Century. Pre-Colonial *Māori* practiced the sharing of knowledge based on a 'canon' described as a 'ritualistic manual'⁶ that exists within societies. It is from this base that the ancient *Māori* brought together *Ariki*/ high ranking priests; *Tōhunga*/ priest and *tauirā*/ students to 'broker' the knowledge that had been passed down from generation to generation. The available records suggest that in its translated form this formal type of education was last shared in the *Wairarapa* region in 1865 when the acknowledged *tōhunga*, *Te Matorohanga* closed the *whare wānanga* for the expressed reason that the 'printed' word which he had foreseen, had arrived and would denigrate the 'sacred' teachings of the '*whare wānanga*'.

Both the tribal and academic sources concur that the *whare wānanga* was considered to be a 'learning institution'; although it is acknowledged that there are some variances in the stories told which are based on tribal and teacher differences. All activity that took place in the institution was of a *tapu*/ sacred nature and the protocols of this were strictly enforced and observed by the tribe, scholars and teachers at all times. This included the understanding that instruction took place at a separate place on the village perimeter and all members of the tribal group had specific roles in catering for the needs of the teachers and scholars during the period of time that the *wānanga* was in session.

The teachings of the *whare wānanga* focused initially on the creation of *Māori*. In the beginning *Io* was the Supreme Being, and *Io-te-wānanga*/ *Io*-the-learning institution was the ultimate source of all knowledge and of all beings, condition and things of the universe. This person chose *Tane* to learn the knowledge of the occult. Prior to ascending to the second of the twelve upper-worlds (heavens) to receive three baskets

6 Chapman, R. (ed) (1984: 1040.12

of knowledge, *Tane* prepared a suitable place for the expressed purpose of preserving the teachings of *wānanga*. The name of the first house in the heavens was *Rangiatea*. It was located in the twelve heavens at a place named *Rangitamaku*. On his return to earth he built the *wānanga* named *Rua-te-puke* who personified knowledge and was located in the homeland of *Māori*. This type of house was seen as a *whare kura* which can be used as a synonym for *whare wānanga*. In this context a *kura* was used to denote something that was highly prized. The house contained the *tapu*/ sacred knowledge of the three baskets of knowledge of *wānanga* or esoteric lore of *Tane* from the Supreme Being. The basket named *kete uruuru matua (kete tuauri)* held the teachings of peace, goodness and love. It is the basket of ritual – the knowledge of all-ritual acts and formulae; of all *tapu* ceremonial as connected with all things on earth and in the twelve heavens; likewise the *mana* of all things performed or desired by man.⁷ *Kete uruuru Rangi (kete tuatea)* was the basket of prayers, incantations and ritual. It is referred to as the repository of evil, the knowledge of all pernicious things; of the art of war, of black magic/ occult, of all evil arts, qualities, activities, as pertaining to man, to natural phenomena, to all kingdoms of nature.⁸ The basket named *kete uruuru tau (kete aronui)* held the knowledge of war, agriculture, woodwork, stonework and earthwork.⁹ This represents all knowledge pertaining to good and all things humane and was beneficent, desirable, peace, peaceful arts, goodwill, welfare as well as human sympathy.¹⁰

Following colonization *Māori* used these houses of learning to resist the impact of European influences. That is, another function for the *whare wānanga* developed during post contact with European to preserve and protect tribal lore. *Tōhunga* who oversaw the learning that took place within the houses were recognized experts and were the repositories of the tribal records and history. Percy Smith (1915) recorded the teachings of the *tōhunga*, *Te Matorohanga*, in discussing the concept of *Te Kauwae-raro* or things terrestrial and the first and earliest traditions when *Māori* migrated from the Fatherland *Irihia - Hawaiki* to *Tawhiti-roa*. The creation of mankind and the wars of the gods were also part of the discussion by Smith. Elsdon

7 Best, E. 1923: p18

8 Ibid

9 Best, E. 1924: p78

10 Ibid

Best (1923) wrote on the School of Learning and two different versions of *Māori* myths. He distinguished higher-class myths from what he described as ordinary folklore that address the origin of the universe and mankind and the acknowledgement of *Io* as the Supreme Being. In the Tuhoe region in the central North Island of Aotearoa/ New Zealand the *kauae raro* and the *kauae runga* were also taught amongst the *Ngāti Kahungunu* and *Ngāti Porou* regions. The *kauae raro* concerned the terrestrial subjects of history, legends, worldly things taught in the *whare maire* of *Tuhoe*. The *kauae runga* covered the celestial subjects – *Io* cult, cosmogonic and anthropogenic myths, the story of the primal parents – *Rangi* and *Papa* and their children. These matters would be taught in the *whare takiura* in the Tuhoe area. James Cowan's view was that instruction was divided into two classes – celestial and terrestrial.

“Celestial lore pertained to Io, the Supreme Being, the primal parents and their off spring, the upper world and cosmogonic myths. The terrestrial knowledge imparted was information concerning the homeland of the race, traditions, migrations, tribal history and other matters of worldly importance.”

(Cowan, J.1910: p30)

Percy Smith (1915) wrote that the first canoe built was *Uruao* and *karakia* was administered by the younger brother of *Tane Nui A Rangi*, *Tupai* while it was being built. The main objective of *karakia* used was to ensure that *Io* the supreme god gave guidance to the builders of the canoe. This was seen as *Io* drawing on his powers, and also on those from ancient times to whom he was connected through *whakapapa*/ genealogy. This teaching of *karakia* was handed from generation to generation involved in ‘*whare wānanga*’ as taught by *Te Matorohanga*, *Pohuhu* and *Nga Whare* during the 1800's.

Other types of knowledge and teachings in *wānanga* are described in the work by Anne Salmond (1980); Salmond describes one such as the experience of *Eruera Stirling*.

“He had two moles, one on his lower lip and one on the chin. The first was the sign of te kauae runga, the upper jaw which holds the prestige and the mana of everything, the tapu and the sacred power; and the second was the sign of te kauae raro, the lower jaw for the modern college, the knowledge coming from below. These were the signs that He was going to take both from the top and bottom, that he should be put through the rituals of the whare runanga.”
(Salmond, A. 1980, p88-89)

Herries Beattie¹¹ wrote how *Teone Taare Tikao* saw the practice of knowledge preserved and handed down by his ancestors before and since the creation of mankind as teachings that were held to be a ‘strict duty’ and were done carefully and with a lot of ceremony.

‘... you white people have your schools, colleges and universities and the old Māori has much the same thing. There was one big difference however – you rely on books, but the Māori teaching was all by memory, and it was done in a very strict and systematic way’
(Tikao 1850-1927)

Tikao described *Māori* schools as *whare kura*. His recollection of the creation of the first schools is consistent with those of previous examples recorded by Elsdon Best and others. Therefore the *whare wānanga* described is that of the School of Learning or the university of the *Māori*. The creation theory for mankind and organization and management of the learning institutions do differ. However, this is due to tribal differences and respective roles of each of the sources recorded the interpretations and ethnicity of the recorders of the histories of *Māori* being interviewed.

Types of *Wānanga*

Joan Metge (1983) is of the view that the formal ‘house of learning’ is something that people were aware of, but they did not know what the ‘*whare wānanga*’ really was. Metge accounts for this insight with the suggestion that the way in which present day

11 Beattie, H. (1990: 68-80)

society discusses *whare wānanga* is the same way Elsdon Best and others viewed it. The point Metge is making is that a number of different types of *whare wānanga* existed and they had a specific identity and purpose.

The first of the formal schools enrolled selected scholars or *tauiira*. These people were chosen to receive a certain type of knowledge and taught within a strict code of conduct and pedagogy that included a method of rote learning. This work took place in a purpose built building constructed temporarily in a remote location. Key to this teaching was the hierarchy that existed for both the scholars and instructors. Instruction was given and no questioning of the knowledge imparted was tolerated.

Another school of instruction was where acknowledged experts met in a very formal and exclusive assembly to share and debate the knowledge that each had so that some collective agreement could be reached as to the authenticity of the information. This assembly was mostly held at *marae*/ ancestral or tribal meeting houses, with membership comprised of tribal representatives. It was also looked upon as an opportunity for representatives to use such meetings as learning opportunities for their successors who, if attending did not participate in the actual discussion.

Whare wānanga can also refer to a meeting or *hui* where acknowledged *tōhunga* or experts present sections of their knowledge to a wider audience. In present society the selection of attendees to such meetings is not exclusive as had been in the past. Metge also suggests that the meetings discussed earlier in this section were not necessarily gender specific and that *kuia*/ elder (female) were also looked upon by some tribes as the holders or repositories of knowledge and the teachings of *wānanga*. Metge further suggests that for the most part *wānanga* were formal in their delivery of knowledge and teachings to a selected group of people. From an educational perspective in present day society *Māori* have to re-construct *wānanga* from a different direction in that education is seen as being inclusive, based on collective knowledge aimed at working for the good of the community in general. In contrast to traditional *wānanga*, the contemporary *wānanga* is open and inclusive. Learners are given opportunities to be involved and contribute as part of their up-skilling to know what is taking place so that they will be able to lead in the future.

J.H.Mitchell described the house of learning or the house of education as the university of *Māori*. (McLean, 1971). *Whare wānanga* was also referred to as the *whare maire* which was the institution that taught the arts of the occult. For example, *Tuhoe* in the *Urewera* region refer to the *whare maire* as the ‘*whare wānanga*’ whereas *Ngāti Awa* refers to the *whare puni* as their ‘*whare wānanga*’. In *Ngai Tahu* – South Island, the *whare kura* is also another name given to the ‘*whare wānanga*’. The *whare takiura* in *Tuhoe* is used to describe the institution, which taught the higher grades of knowledge. The differences in tribal peculiarities and also the protection of the knowledge from the informants meant that a lot of the information was not made available to European enquirers. Other learning institutions or ‘*whare wānanga*’ have been described that are based on a particular activity. (McLean, 1971) The *whare tatai* is described as a house that taught the knowledge pertaining to the heavens and astronomy. A *whare pora* is the house in which weaving/ *raranga* and other knowledge pertaining to agriculture and carving/ *whakairo* took place. The *whare mata* or *whare takaha* housed the storage of implements connected with fowling, making of snares and traps. The *whare tapere*, *whare karioi*, *whare rehia*, *whare matoro*, *whare rapa*, and *whare pakimairo* refer to an assembly house or a place of recreation. *Whare purakau*, *whare tapere*, *whare wānanga* refer to the house where legends and exploits of ancestors were related. The *whare kōhanga* (nest house) is where the lore of *Hineteiwaiwa* the goddess of parturition was taught. A *whare porukuruku* is a house where solitary teaching took place when the participants were father and son or grandson.

Across these different formats for *whare wānanga* in pre-European times there are some commonalities. In order to control or preserve the tribal lore young men who were from high ranking families were selected to participate in the learning of this lore. Sons of great chiefs were also selected to enter into the school. This enhanced the *mana*, power and privilege of the chief and tribe. Other sons of higher intelligence were also allowed entry to the school.¹²

Within the various institutions the learning that took place included tribal history – and ‘myth and ritual’ was taught by *tōhunga*. An *Ariki* oversaw them as the senior

12 Best E: 1923: p10

teacher. The knowledge that was taught can be framed within high class ritual and other lore; historical and other matters of less importance and the art of black magic.

There were other '*whare wānanga*' that addressed the maintenance of the economy of the *whanau* unit. One of these was the '*whare pora*' that taught the practical skills of weaving.¹³ Other regions named them '*whare porapora*' and the '*whare takataka*'. Mead states:

"..... girls were discouraged from taking up the art of weaving, but it was merely a tactic to get the talented and determined girls to really practise and generally prove themselves to the rest of the women who were weavers."
(Mead, 1968: 54)

In attaining the set level of mastery in this art form a ritual had to be undertaken by the women. When the ritual was complete the woman came under the protection of *Rua* and *Hinerauamoa* who were the deities associated with the '*whare pora*'. *Tōhunga* then recited *karakia* in order to make her hands and mind sharp, memory retentive. Speed was the key as no one could leave the '*whare pora*' until the scholar had completed her piece of work. The weaver had to observe strict laws of *tapu*; not being allowed to approach cooked food. The assessment of the scholar came at the end of observing the strict rules that were imposed. If the scholar obeyed all of the rules then she would be able to reproduce perfectly a piece of work that she had only seen once. Other rules included the times when weaving could be done, and how these materials were prepared and collected. The covering of work which was not to be seen by any other person was also a requirement. If some rules were not observed then all knowledge of the art would disappear. The approach of strangers required certain actions and ritual that would protect her work and retention of knowledge from being lost.

Mead also identified a number of forms of assessment and achievement that were prevalent in *Māori* society during the period of the late 1800's, in particular in the art of weaving or *raranga*.

13 Mead, S.M. 1968: 54

Māori have always sought to embrace the acquisition of knowledge as a means of maintaining *mana* and enhancing their quality of life. *Māori* society valued knowledge and maintained various institutions for its preservation and its dissemination at different levels. The teaching of essential everyday tasks was a day-to-day activity and the individual learnt through observation and practical experience. Learning takes place in any life situation such as tending gardens, gathering seafood, and performing tasks essential to the welfare of the people.¹⁴

The ancient concept of '*whare wānanga*' related more to a locus for learning, rather than a physical institution or location where instruction took place. When the individual undertook instruction at '*whare wānanga*' often their classroom was the world they lived in. *Wānanga* education focused on developing mental discipline and adeptness in several different fields of study.¹⁵ The observations of Elsdon Best (1923) confirm that a holistic view of learning was an accepted part of *Māori* society and that the collective group was an integral part of the education or learning process. The *tōhunga*/ priests took it upon themselves to introduce with strict formality to the scholars the teachings of their predecessors. This knowledge was given with the understanding that all parts of the process were extremely *tapu*. This in turn would maintain the code of restricted access to that knowledge with the expectation that the group would benefit in the long term.

Through the institution of *wānanga*, *Māori* educated their historians, keepers of *whakapapa*, *tōhunga* with their specialist knowledge, teachers, manual labourers, conservators, and leaders. *Māori* education was a graduated process of learning. Individuals with the appropriate skills would instruct those chosen for specific roles. Scholars would not progress until they had mastered each level of the learning process. The proper maintenance and transmission of knowledge to succeeding generations was vital to the survival of *iwi* and *hapu*.¹⁶ In this sense the holding of knowledge was looked upon as that of maintaining control and power over others who did not possess that information or learning. *Māori* have always been aware that

14 The *Wānanga* Capital Establishment Report: The Waitangi Tribunal Report (1999), p4.

15 Ibid

16 Ibid

knowledge constitutes power. However, there are certain types of knowledge were *tapu*. 'Whare wānanga' and other institutions closely guarded access to *tapu* knowledge.

Contemporary analysts of education such as Michael Apple (1993) point out that one has to look at knowledge with the view of considering what counts as knowledge, who has power and how power influences the daily lives of people to the extent that it determines what is seen as being real and important to institutions.¹⁷

“Knowledge is power, and the circulation of knowledge is part of the social distribution of power. The discursive power to construct a commonsense reality that can be inserted into cultural and political life is central to the social relationship of power.”

(Apple, M. (1993: p45)

This brings together the presumption of what constitutes official knowledge and how this is given status. These concepts were as evident in traditional forums of *wānanga* as in contemporary forms of *wānanga*.

Forms of Assessment

On entering the *whare wānanga* traditional forms of assessment took place at the end of the lectures/ teaching of the respective *tōhunga* for each of the scholars. Variations in the types of assessment practiced depended on the particular senior *tōhunga*. The scholar who was to be examined on the superior lore of the *aronui* took the seat on one of the three stones or acknowledged prestigious locations within the house. Those being examined in the secondary matter occupied the stone seats at the rear of the house. An expert would then obtain a small sacred stone from the rear of the house and place one in the mouth of each scholar. It was recognized that the stones has acquired the *mana* or force (inherent powers) by means of contact with the talismanic stone of the house.

17 Apple, M. (1993: p45)

Scholars were required to repeat such matters in the course in which they had been tutored. Those who showed proficiency, and orally recited acquired knowledge with accuracy, had the final ceremony performed over them by one of the experts. The expert plucked a hair of each pupil, obtained a little dust from their bare feet, a modicum of their saliva, and buried all in the earth near the rear part of the house. The object of this procedure was to protect them from ‘black magic’ and enable the scholar to retain acquired knowledge, and to prevent it being stolen from them by pretenders.

Elsdon Best recorded the acknowledgement of proficiency for a scholar who had been credited in the superior lore or *kete aronui*. They were given a stone, called *whatu karangi*, which may be viewed as a ‘certificate of proficiency’. The scholar retained this for life. The stone placed in the mouth of the scholar was known as a *whatu whangai*. A *whatu whakahoro* was a stone that was placed in the scholar’s mouth during the performance of a certain rite.¹⁸

John Mitchell (1948) noted that for scholars to graduate they were required to perform a series of tests. He recorded seven tests that could be applied. They included the hurling of a stone at a shrine. If the stone broke the scholar was considered unfit to graduate and had to return for another session at the *whare wānanga*. The task of breaking a stone into fragments by reciting chants was another level of achievement as was the killing of a flying bird uttering a potent prayer. A scholar rendering themselves invisible through incantations and controlling a tempest at sea or a storm on land was also part of the examination undertaken by scholars. The scholar needed to possess the ability to command *taniwha* and demons to do his will and to have such fleetness of foot that he flew rather than walked from place to place. *Ngāti Kahungunu* is reputed to have had this ability. This feat was rarely attained.¹⁹

Best and Anderson²⁰ stated that the supreme test was the slaying of a person by a scholar. On graduation from the *whare wānanga* the scholar became known as a *tōhunga makutu*. The opening and closing of ‘*whare wānanga*’ was linked with the

18 Best, E. (1923)

19 Mitchell, J.H. 1948: p17

20 McLean, P. 1972, p8

seasons of the year. *Te Ra-Wheoro* opened in the month of April known in *Ngai Tahu* as *Kahui-rua-mahi* and closed in September. Firth and Best agreed that this coincided with the *Takitimu* regions of Hawkes Bay and *Wairarapa*. *Ngāti Kahungunu* referred to the months as *Tikakamuturangi* and *Taperewai*. The opening night in the *whare wānanga* saw scholars assembling at the *wai wahaika* or sacred stretch of water. The pupil's hair was cut using a special instrument while a *kawa ara/* charm was chanted by another *tōhunga* with the aim of strengthening the mental and spiritual powers of the scholar. This was carried out in the evening. Then scholars were taken into the *whare wānanga* and taught all night without food being eaten. Written observations differ on what exactly happens at this point in each tribal area. The ritual that was implemented again differed from regions such as the preparation of scholars prior to the beginning of tuition.

The role of women differs in some areas in the teaching process. In one area they were an integral part of the teaching process while in other areas women are not allowed anywhere near the *whare wānanga*. At the conclusion of the lesson the *tapu* or sacred nature of the learning that had taken place was lifted from the scholars by a *tōhunga* so that food and sleep could be eaten. The *tapu* was put in place again when tuition commenced the following night.

Written sources such as Mitchell, Best and Andersen²¹ agree that breaches of inattention, drowsiness during teaching time was a serious breach of *tapu* and those scholars were immediately expelled from the *whare wānanga*. The divulging of the learned knowledge to others not involved in the teachings of the *whare wānanga* was also treated in the same manner by the respective *tōhunga*. The highest grade or priest was given the name '*tōhunga ahurewa*' (Best, E. 1924) and that person was extremely *tapu*. This person was considered a '*whatu*' or someone who was so sacred that they were not able to partake of food without assistance from another person. *Te Matorohanga* was a person of this stature.

Best (1923) argues that the origins of *Māori* epistemology based on *Māori* myths were integral to the body of knowledge taught in *whare wānanga*. Clarity was

21 McLean, P. 1972, p13

required in understanding the two different levels of myths noted above. In the case of the universe its origin resulted from the work of *Io* the Supreme Being. The primal parents – *Rangi and Papa*/ Sky and Earth – belonged to an evolutionary process which was explained in the form of a cosmogonic genealogy. The superior version of the myth was taught by the higher institution. It was viewed as being a conservative institution and the higher-class cult of *Io* was confined to the superior order of priestly experts and to superior families.

It was a requirement that all desirable knowledge pertaining to subjects and other traditional lore was to be given to succeeding generations.

“..... *free of any alteration, omission, interpolation, or deterioration.*”²²

Any changes from the form of teaching, such as the student questioning the ancient teachings of *tōhunga* or *elders* were met with disapproval. Each was seen to be an affront to *Tane*, the originator and patron of all high-class knowledge. Elsdon Best (1923) describes the power of memory possessed by *Māori* as the basis for the success of the traditional school of learning. He argues that the memorizing powers of the *Māori* were needed as they had no knowledge of any form of written script and therefore were cut off from all knowledge of ‘superior’ civilizations. They depended entirely on memory, oral tradition and verbal teaching to preserve and transfer the lore onto succeeding generations. For example in the winter of 1896, Best observed in the region of *Ruatahuna* the recital of words to some 406 songs, with information of an explanatory nature relating to them, by a *tōhunga*. These songs were given from memory. Another time *Tamarau Waiari* appeared before the Land Commission at *Ruatoki* in order to explain the claim his *hapu* had to certain lands. He traced the descent of his people from an ancestor of thirty-four generations earlier. The result of this delivery was a table of innumerable branch lines, with a multitude of affinitive ramifications. This recital was given to the commission over a period of three days. The information given included occupation and extra-tribal marriages, which supported a genealogical table containing more than fourteen hundred names of persons.

In the building of the *whare wānanga* the first person to cross the threshold was the principal expert for that house. The ritual observed by the expert on entering the house began with the deposit of a number of small stones at the base of the rear-most ridge post supporting the ridgepole. This spot was known as the *Ahurewa*. This was one of the forms of *tuahu* where sacred ceremonies took place. The *tōhunga ahurewa* in allowing scholars to enter the house for instruction placed in each pupil's mouth one of the small stones. These were retained in the mouth during the recitals of the teachers. This form of instruction differed from district to district. Entry to the house by prospective scholars required them to memorize material from a single ritual as a test. *Kōrero purakau* or legends were recited for them to memorize accordingly. The scholars would then be required to repeat them in front of the experts. Those who demonstrated the most retentive memories were selected to enter the school. These scholars became the substitute for written documents and printed books.

In the 1980's, Anne Salmond wrote on the final rituals of instruction undertaken by the *kaumatua* - Eruera Stirling. When living with his grandparents after his grandmother *Hiria* had suggested to *Pera* his grandfather that he was ready to be taken to the *wai tapu* (sacred water):

".....Pera said, 'Tomorrow morning when the star Poututerangi comes above the mountain we will take you onto the waters of Te Wai-o-puru-whakamataku.' There is a sacred pool near the Wairuru marae where the water springs out of the ground, and it is still there today."

(Salmond, A. 1980: p92-93)

Māori Pedagogy

Ariki or *Tōhunga* of senior ranking oversaw the *whare wānanga*. One such *tōhunga* was *Te Matorohanga* who resided in the *Wairarapa*. Elsdon Best recorded rituals that were observed in the taking of instruction by scholars. He noted:

"... a series of eleven un-worked stones of considerable size was procured, and these were partially embedded in the earthen floor of the house to be used as seats. Eight of them situated near the base of the rearmost post of the

ridge-pole, four on either side of it. The other three were set up farther forward in the house near the fire-pit. Scholars occupied the eight seats, while the three stones near the fire-pit were for the accommodation of the three teaching experts.”

(Best, E. 1923)

Scholars on entering the session were asked which baskets of knowledge they wanted to acquire, which determined for the *tōhunga* which class of matter the scholar wanted to learn. The first matter taught was included in the term *kauwae runga*, which involved the contents of the *aronui* and *tuauri* baskets; and the former was the first one opened. On completion of that part of the instruction then the matters relating to *kauwae raro* was taught.

Tōhunga such as *Te Matorohanga* maintained a level of status within his immediate *whanau*, *hapu* and *iwi*. However, to maintain this profile *Te Matorohanga* travelled from one *whare wānanga* to the next presenting his knowledge at a number of forums to be open for scrutiny. A form of ‘bench-marking’ of his knowledge occurred when he was put to the test by others of his same stature, therefore adding to his ‘*mana*’, prestige and reputation as an expert in the teachings of the *whare wānanga*. The ability of the individual to travel and be seen within the regions would further enhance their profile. The personal *tapu* of *tōhunga* was looked upon as being partly hereditary and partly acquired as the result of their instruction in the sacred houses of education in the lore of the race – *whare kura*, *whare wānanga* or *whare maire*. As the participants in the *whare wānanga* were selected they then formed an audience that could be substantially influenced to keep the teaching within their immediate circle of colleagues.

Again the times when teaching took place differed across regions. Anderson suggests that instruction was given from sunset to midnight of every night and that from midnight to sunrise the teachers and scholars slept. Best²³ agrees with this point but also stated that instruction in *Tuhoe* occurred during the hours of darkness. All writers agree that the seclusion of the scholars and their respective *tōhunga* was

23 Best, E.: 1924, p71

maintained for a period of four to five months. No member of the community was allowed to go near the participants during that period. Scholars were not allowed near any place where food was cooked or prepared. Throughout the regions there are recordings of different methods that were used to pass on the knowledge of one to another – father to son. Best²⁴ reported the son of a very knowledgeable man allowed his father's knowledge to pass to him by biting the father's big toe or ear, after the repetition of a charm.

The terms *ahorangi*, *ariki* and *tōhunga* denoted the chief expert of a Superior School of Learning.

“... the position of a tōhunga was one to which any man or woman might aspire. A tōhunga means nothing more or less than a skilled person. A man might elevate his name and become a famous tōhunga but his son must prove his claim by actual success before he could succeed to his father's mana. An Ariki usually becomes a tōhunga but a tōhunga could never become an Ariki. In the language of the scripture the Ariki must have a father and a mother while the tōhunga may be without descent.”

(McLean, P. 1972, p16)

Compensation of *tōhunga* was never in the form of re-numeration for their services. Their compensation came in the form of status, authority and privilege, which they were given by the people.

Scholars and training

Mitchell (1948) wrote:

“... as the underlying principle of the school was to preserve for all time the ancient lore, the history of genealogies of the race, and all incantations

24 Ibid, p15

necessary to important charms and ceremonies, it is essential that only the most brilliant young men should be accepted as entrants.”²⁵

Prior to a scholar being selected to enter into the *whare wānanga* and being instructed in *tapu* knowledge they were taken to the *wai whakaika*. This is a sacred pool or stream where ceremonies were performed. It was in this setting that the appropriate *tōhunga* spoke the *kawa ora* or ritual termed *tiki*. This took place in the evening and was seen to be extremely *tapu* as a precautionary measure.

The period of time that a scholar was expected to undertake this course of tuition was between 3-5 years. A first year scholar was acknowledged as a *pia* or beginner. An advanced scholar was a *tauiira* and the more advanced person a *tauiira pū kōrero*. The scholar who has possessed knowledge in the occult lore was known as a *putea raurohe*. Makareti²⁶ suggests that the age of entry for scholars was between sixteen or seventeen years. Other writers suggest around thirteen years of age.

Eruera Stirling in discussing his selection to enter into the *whare wānanga* stated:

“As soon as I was old enough and able to look after myself, when I was about two or three years old and finished with my mother, the old lady Hiria Te Rangiahaeata came to and he said, ‘We’re taking him as our mokopuna, Mihi, we want to take him away from you. We can see all of the signs on him he will be the one to hold the mana and the traditions of his ancestors in the ‘Kirieke School of Learning.’”

(Salmond, A. 1980, p88-89)

Tribal Whare Wānanga

Whare wānanga were located in various tribal regions throughout Aotearoa. The first *whare mairi* named ‘*Toi-whetuki*’ constructed by *Whiro* was located at *Te Pakaroa* and devoted to the learning of the arts of the occult. John Houston²⁷ records that the

25 Mitchell, J.: 1948, p49

26 Makareti, M.: 1938, p154

27 McLean, P.: 1972: p5

first site was at *Whi-i-te-ura* in *Paparoa, Hawaiki*. The following is a list of *whare wānanga*:

<i>Tōhunga</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Name of Institution</i>
<i>Whiro</i>	<i>Irihia (Hawaiki-Nui)</i>	<i>Te Hono-i-wairua</i>
<i>Timu-whakairihia</i>	<i>Te Pakaroa</i>	<i>Tai-whetuki (whare maire)</i>
	<i>Irihia</i>	<i>Wharau-Rangi</i>
	<i>Tawhiti-roa</i>	<i>Taketake o te whenua</i>
<i>Wehi-Nui-o-maomao & Whare-patari</i>	<i>Hawaiki</i>	<i>Te Kohurau</i>
<i>Kahutia-te-Rangi</i>	<i>Hawaiki</i>	<i>Te Rangi-aio</i>
<i>Ruawharo & Te Rongo-patahi</i>		<i>Te Kohurau (curriculum)</i>
<i>Kaewa</i>	<i>Maunga-wharau</i>	<i>Rangi-te-auria</i>
		<i>Paewhenua (whare maire)</i>
<i>Tu-te-mahurangi</i>	<i>Heretaunga</i>	<i>Whariki-awatea</i>
<i>Hingangaroa</i>	<i>Uawa</i>	<i>Te Ra-Wheoro</i>
<i>Ira</i>		<i>Te Wharau (whare maire)</i>
<i>Marokaingakore & Te Moko-tahou</i>	<i>East Cape</i>	<i>Tapere-Nui-a-Whatonga</i>
	<i>Wairarapa</i>	<i>Te Poho o Hine-pae</i>
	<i>East Coast</i>	<i>Te Tuaahu</i>
	<i>East Coast</i>	<i>Whare Korero</i>
	<i>Urewera</i>	<i>Mairerangi</i>
	<i>Maungapohatu</i>	<i>Kapuhonia</i>
		<i>Uru</i>
		<i>Ngangara</i>
	<i>Ruatoki</i>	<i>Te Kawa-a-Maui</i>
	<i>Te Teko</i>	<i>Pipipounamu</i>
	<i>WhakaTane</i>	<i>Tupapakurau</i>
	<i>Waikawa</i>	<i>Ngahau-mai-Tawhiti</i>
	<i>Whangara</i>	<i>Te Aho-Matariki</i>
	<i>East Coast</i>	<i>Puhikai-iti</i>
<i>Te Matorohanga</i>	<i>Wairarapa</i>	
	<i>Taranaki</i>	<i>Nga Rauru</i>
	<i>South Island</i>	<i>Te Anawhakairo</i>

[Source: McLean, P. (1971), Best, E. (1923)]

Other ‘whare wānanga’

<i>Aperahama Taonui & Te Atuwera</i>	<i>Hokianga</i>	<i>Omanaia (Nakahi)</i>
<i>Pera Te Kaongahau</i>	<i>Dargaville</i>	<i>Oturei (Nakahi)</i>
<i>Koroko & Tuauau</i>	<i>Te Whanau-a-Apanui</i>	<i>Kirieke</i>
	<i>Banks Peninsula</i>	

[Source: Personal Communication]

All researchers are of the view that *whare wānanga* was both a name and a system; no special house had the name, and the knowledge pertaining to it was sometimes taught in the open air or in any house set apart for the purpose.²⁸ The writers about past *Māori* society suggest that the building plan of the house was not done to suit a particular type of activity. The role of the *tōhunga* in *whare wānanga* was varied and depended on the particular task in the teaching process that was set for them to do by the *Ariki*. The *Te Matorohanga* School continues the debate that discussed the first *whare wānanga* in existence. It is suggested that certain gods were involved and that the stories given relating to the creation theory of man had two versions. One version is aimed at the bulk of the population and the others for the educated ones in the higher area of knowledge. The *whatukura* were male gods – five in number, including one called *Rehua*. The *Marei kura* was their respective wives. These were attributes of the traditional *wānanga* and need to be seen within the context now of how a contemporary *wānanga* could be modeled that an institution could draw upon for future development?

Contemporary *wānanga*: a *Māori* intervention

Ann Salmond (1983) states that the contemporary *whare wānanga* in *Māori* contexts, is a house of learning and is rather different from the traditional times. Recent schools in *Māori* control sponsored by the *Ngāti Porou* and the *Tuhoe* people have been held at weekends during public holidays so that the young people can leave their jobs in the city to return home to sit at the feet of their elders for a time. They gather at *marae* and the elders stand in turn to lecture their younger kinfolk while tape recorders or scribes record the proceedings. These gatherings are open to both men and women. The *Tuhoe* schools have been closed to outsiders, since they prefer to keep their traditions within the tribe, but other ‘*whare wānanga*’ are open to university scholars, lecturers, and other people from many other tribes as well as local people. At these *whare wānanga* (also called ‘seminars’), genealogy, local legend, and *marae* etiquette are discussed and explained to the younger generation.

28 Ibid p79

“The ‘whare wānanga’, the tohi and just sitting around listening are all ways that the marae ritual have traditionally been passed on but today they are not always adequate. Although at rural hui young people are at the marae, they are busy working or playing and don’t take much notice of the old people’s ceremonial activities. It is not until they are older that they make a conscientious decision to follow the teaching of their elders.”

(Salmond, A. 1983, p124)

However, what we are concerned with here is an urban mainstream university context. What are properties of a *wānanga* within this context? A formal definition is contained in the Education Act 1989, Section 162 (4)(b)(iv). It states:

“A wānanga is characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances, and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence, and assists the application of knowledge regarding ahuatanga Māori (Māori tradition) according to tikanga Māori (Māori custom).”

In view of the Education Act 1989, the transition of the traditional model to the contemporary context of *whare wānanga* is a central question. The historical account shows the purpose of the institution focused more on a process than a place. As such it might be unable to be transformed to a contemporary mainstream context. For example the epistemology, pedagogy, the selection, the exclusivity, appear to be at odds. However, the historical analysis shows the preservation of processes such as assessment and benchmarking found in a contemporary setting. More than that it was a distinct *Māori* entity. The issue that emerges therefore is what might be considered the core and essential qualities of the traditional *whare wānanga* that could be transferred or be incorporated into a mainstream institution. The answer to this draws on Graham Smith’s (1997) proposal that *Kaupapa Māori* theory can be used to define the parameters of contemporary *Māori* educational development initiatives of the 1980’s such as *Te Kohanga Reo*, *Kura Kaupapa Māori*, *Kura Tuarua* and *Whare Kura*. Smith (1997) discusses a model of *Māori* conceptualization which can be defined in the development of the contemporary *wānanga*. It creates a way to link traditional and contemporary forms of *wānanga* within New Zealand society. This model is considered in detail in the next chapter.

Within the University of Auckland the development of *wānanga* challenges the institution to examine what is happening for and to *Māori* in the use of existing and planned resources within its structure. The case study which follows in chapter five records the development of the academic site *Te Wānanga O Waipapa*/ University of Auckland which attempts to create a contemporary *wānanga*. This development is aimed at building a critical mass of academically credentialed *Māori* people who will be the ‘knowledge brokers’ of the future. It is this vision that drives the initiative. From that base the persons who possess that credential will be expected to give back to others and continue the building of that base of *Māori* people. The term ‘*Māori* Public Good’ contributing toward the ‘Public Good’ in general would only enhance New Zealand society in the long term. The University of Auckland is like other contemporary *whare wānanga*, sharing common features. McCarthy wrote:

‘Firstly, they (‘whare wānanga’) have usually been established in response to the traditionally poor participation rates of Māori within the higher educational arena.²⁹ Secondly they are institutions whose ideological base is either distinctly Māori or more specifically iwi focused. As a result, a strong Māori or iwi specific ethos is reflected, for instance in the management, style, pedagogy, curriculum and evaluation processes. Lastly and more importantly, ‘whare wānanga’ generally sit within a wider iwi or pan-tribal plan as an integral mechanism through which the attainment of rangatiratanga will be realized.’

(McCarthy, M.1994: p1-2)

The critical question asked in the case study is how does development reflect changes, incorporating the core and essential qualities of the *wānanga*.

A Summary

A study of the available literature on *whare wānanga* at present shows that there are descriptions of traditional *wānanga* and contemporary *wānanga*. Elsdon Best

29 Davies, L., Nicholl, K. (1993) *Te Māori i roto i nga Mahi Whakaakoranga: Māori in Education*, Data Management and Analysis Section, Ministry of Education, Wellington. pp 60-64

recorded his findings based on his contact with the people of the *Urewera*, *Tuhoe* tribe. Peter Buck and S.Percy Smith recorded their work based on *Te Matorohanga* an expert from *Ngāti Kahungunu* whom they suggest organized the last ‘*whare wānanga*’ ever opened on the East Coast. Herries Beattie recorded information based on his research on Teone *Taare Tikao* a *kaumatua* who resided in *Rapaki*, Banks Peninsula, South Island. David Simmons translated the work of *Aperahama Taonui* about *Ngāpuhi* history for John White. Elsdon Best in turn copied this work (Best MS.) which led to the Simmons work now known as the ‘*Taonui Manuscript*’ (*Taonui MS.*). Born in 1815, *Taonui* lived in the settlement of *Omanaia* in the South Hokianga region until 1836 when he joined the *Nakahi* cult led by the *tōhunga*, *Te Atuwera*. He moved to live in *Oturei*, Dargaville until he died in 1882.

It is clear that *whare wānanga* were a key institution in *Māori* society and represented in all regions of *Aotearoa*/ New Zealand. The ability to travel and share each others knowledge attested or benchmarked by others was a key part of the maintenance of the tribal lore. *Tōhunga* were central to the entire process of controlling *Māori* knowledge and selecting to whom it was to be imparted. The next chapter considers the question of what a contemporary institution would have to be like to be a *wānanga* (as an intervention). Second, what would it have to do to be recognized as an *academic* entity at the University of Auckland? The final point to consider would suggest an answer to questions about the implementation of a ‘new’ educational initiative such as the *whare wānanga*: Does this have an academic base? Will it withstand international scrutiny?

**Ki te kore te putake e makukungia,
E kore te rakau e tupu**

If the roots of the tree are not watered, the tree will never grow

Chapter Three/ Wāhanga Toru

A model of *Kaupapa Māori* educational intervention/ *Hei tauira kaupapa Maori, te whakaara matauranga*

Introduction

This chapter presents a theoretical framework for considering how the *wānanga* model might be used in a contemporary institution. *Kaupapa Māori* theory and practice is used as a framework for an intervention designed to bring about increased *Māori* participation in a tertiary institution. This chapter considers how a *kaupapa Māori* intervention strategy could create an indigenous *space* at the University of Auckland. Graham Smith (1997) described *kaupapa Māori* theory and praxis as being the response by *Māori* to the State/ *Pākehā* dominated interests within a cycle of conscientization, resistance and transformative action.

The concept of conscientization can be illustrated in events leading up to widespread efforts aimed at the retention of *Māori* language in New Zealand. The conscientization was the realization by *Māori* based on Benton's 1971 survey that *Māori* language was in danger of becoming extinct. In the case of the University of Auckland discussed later in this chapter there was also a growing awareness that its infrastructure did not meet the perceived needs for prospective *Māori* students considering tertiary study options. This concern centered on the institutions, being able to cater for the needs of all *Māori* students including applicants from total immersion schools such as *kura kaupapa Māori* and *whare kura*.

In the case of the development of *kohanga reo/ Māori* language nests and *kura kaupapa Māori* the concept of educational resistance focuses on how significant members of the *Māori* community did not accept inequalities in the achievement of *Māori* students that has been typical in the mainstream school system. It was also a resistance to the effects on language. Resistance can also be applied to the process of *Māori* not seeking to enrol in mainstream tertiary institutions that were not catering for their needs in tertiary study.

For *Māori* schooling, the transformation initiative developed in part as a result of the surveys and research undertaken by the New Zealand Council for Education Research – *Māori* Unit, led by Dr Richard Benton. In the 1970's he found that urgent action was required if *Māori* language was to survive.³⁰ Benton and others also presented submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal in 1989 that considered a claim on the acknowledgement of *te reo Māori* as an official language of New Zealand, signaling the research undertaken and that the revival of *te reo Māori* had begun through the establishment of *kohanga reo/ Māori* language nests. It was noted that in 1913, 90% of *Māori* school children could speak *Māori* and by 1953, some forty years later the percentage had dropped to 26%. In 1975, it was less than 5%.

Benton³¹ told the Waitangi Tribunal that:

"... There are many reasons why the language has declined so rapidly over the last two or three decades but the major causes stem from the fact that language is first and foremost a social phenomenon. Languages do not flourish in a social vacuum and they are learned and established most effectively through use in a wide variety of contexts. Social changes in recent New Zealand history have greatly reduced the contexts in which Māori speaking people can use their language; urbanisation, improved communications, industrialisation, consolidation of rural schools and internal migration have all taken their toll. For children especially, the massive influence of English at school, and in the neighbourhood through radio, television and the movies has had the same effect where the Māori language is concerned as pollutants have on the health of oysters in an oyster bed; when the environment becomes polluted beyond a critical point neither the oysters nor their linguistic counterpart can survive..."

The specific aim of *kōhanga reo* was to bring about the revitalization of *te reo Māori*. The first *kōhanga reo* was opened in 1982 (near Wellington, New Zealand) and by 1994 there were in excess of 750 centres catering for over 14,000 children with ages ranging from birth to 5 years. Initially the schools were funded by parents. In 1990,

30 Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on Te reo Māori Claim (Wai 11). 2nd ed. Wellington, NZ. The Tribunal (1989)

31 Ibid

however the administration of the movement was transferred to the Ministry of Education because of the way in which government funding was released to organizations from treasury sources on the regular budget cycle. This meant that all *kohanga reo* were subject to a regulatory and compliance environment within the early childhood sector of the Ministry of Education. Nevertheless the uniqueness and ‘coherence’ of the philosophy of the *kōhanga reo* movement remains the same. It continues to deliver education programmes in *te reo Māori*.

The recursive cycle.

In the case of the University of Auckland discussed in this thesis the theoretical elements presented in the *kaupapa Māori* model can also be used to explain the process of intervention including analyzing the effectiveness of the intervention. As with the *kōhanga reo* movement, the transformation which took place to meet the needs of *te reo Māori* graduates at the University of Auckland occurred in a wider context, which saw the university repositioning its infrastructure to present itself as one of the pre-eminent research-led universities in the world. This repositioning saw it presenting itself to prospective applicants as a leading tertiary institution with credentials or qualifications that are recognized around the world. But the transformation process for *Māori* occurred within this construct and can be likened to the traditional *wānanga*. The presence of leaders, chiefs, *tōhunga* or high priests can be aligned with the contemporary institution as the Vice-Chancellor or Chief Executive.

The same concepts and repositioning are discussed further in the case study provided on the University of British Columbia. Significant events and related activities confirm experiences that parallel those at the University of Auckland. Further analysis of this model as applied to the case studies, suggests the necessity to consider other external forces which affect the student dynamic as the next step to compete for student enrolments in an increasing climate of competitiveness in the tertiary sector. Key to the *kaupapa Māori* model is that any person can participate but in this case the initial impetus within the University of Auckland is to build an infrastructure responsive to *Māori* students. The model examined by Smith (1997) predicts set

backs that may occur in any developments of this nature but it is inevitable and part of the conscientization, resistance and transformation processes. The *kaupapa Māori* intervention involves a strategy applied from a *Māori* perspective. But the model responds to structural impediments; any model must be flexible enough to take all of the ‘ups’ and ‘downs’ of struggle similar to the description of an ‘incremental victory’ referred to by Habermas.³² This suggests that any change that takes place will impact on people, the organization and other factors in different ways, producing a history of ebbs and flows. This is an integral part of a process of change.

The characteristics of participation in the process depend on the specific settings that include the people involved in the reshaping of institutions. An important element of the model is that for effective transformation to occur a collective vision and philosophy of the institution, people and community is developed and maintained. Smith refers to this concept as being a dynamic part of the development of *kaupapa Māori*. It is a process that is continually evolving as each party contributes depending what they have to offer.

It might be assumed that this type of configuration for *kaupapa Māori* is a linear type of exercise in decision-making. *Figure 1* suggests that the process of change in western research methodology happens in a particular series of events one after another. This is seen to be appropriate to some institutions. However, it implies that the process is inflexible in its present form and that one stage cannot happen until another stage takes place or reaches completion. This is not what Habermas predicts and certainly not what the *kohanga reo* and *kura kaupapa Māori* processes indicate.

Figure 1

conscientization → resistance → transformative action

[Source: Smith (1997)]

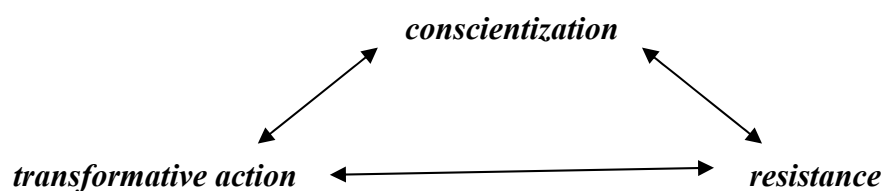
A different perspective to western research processes is presented in the circular model of Smith (1997) as shown in *Figure 2*. This model assumes movement by

³² Smith, G. H. (1997) The Development of ‘Kaupapa Māori’. (Unpublished Thesis), University of Auckland, Auckland

dynamic shifts including recursive change and cycles depending on the individual(s) and their respective situations in implementing change or forms of re-position. A key element in this type of model is the flexibility of movement by all parties to enter into the circle at their discretion or at any point in time.

There are closely related theoretical frameworks. The concept of critical theory³³ sees people working towards crisis intervention to support *Māori* to gain more control over their lives. Freeing themselves from various layers and formations of oppression, exploitation and containment is a result of self critical examination. Another element is that within critical theory the linear model is often *voiced* as being the only way in which to address intervention of this nature. However, within the components of *kaupapa Māori* there is the element of flexibility to change, the need to move depending on what variables are required to make things happen. Smith considers that this flexibility is related to the need for critical interventions to be for the good of the collective group. The term 'empowerment' in this instance is understood within the framework of dominant and subordinate power relations. To 'empower' someone is to immediately structure the 'power giver' into a dominant position. As will be seen the University of Auckland intervention model endeavors to diversify this power through the creation of positions within senior management for *Māori* with the specific aim of encouraging individual faculties to model the same approach within their respective areas of responsibility. Critical to this approach is the infrastructural change within the organization of university committees. The University of Auckland created a *runanga* or advisory group consisting also of senior *Māori* staff from across the university. The University of British Columbia put in place a similar group as well as an elders' group.

Figure 2



[Source: Smith (1997)]

The flexibility of the model in *Figure 2* allows organizations and people to be able to appraise their situation(s) and then enter at a point that suits them. For example the decision of some *Māori* parents to take their children out of the state schooling system and educating them in *kōhanga reo/ Māori* language nests, occurred prior to 1987 when such initiatives first received state funding. Parents of these children then moved back into the state system and continue to participate in different levels and forms of immersion education. New Zealand legislation has also been developed to cater for the different types of *Māori* medium education programmes now offered to all children in state schools and in particular those of *Māori* descent.

The Smith model provides some understanding in examining why *Māori* parents took this action and how they came to move back into the state system once legislation had been approved therefore ensuring that their children were being given access to educational options not previously enjoyed. The model also presents a perspective that education is lifelong and confirms ancient teachings of *Māori* society in which parents and *whānau/* family are responsible for the child from birth to the grave. However, in critiquing this model it is suggested that it should be seen as a base only, from which researchers can build discussion on future developments or models that will be able to cater for more diversity instead of just *Māori* people. Within this thesis the model could be used to enable other indigenous researchers to critique their respective situations in seeking to create indigenous space or infrastructure within tertiary institutions.

The University of Auckland case study examined in this thesis is an educational intervention that can be understood using *kaupapa Māori* theory. Notwithstanding the internal reconstruction at the University of Auckland, the development of this educational intervention emerged as a response to the failure of state schools to solve the underachievement of *Māori* students. The goal of *kaupapa Māori* theory is to explain and predict positive educational outcomes for *Māori*. It is premised on a definition of a *Māori* perspective on thought and on action which feels culturally appropriate and that seriously takes into account *Māori* aspiration. For example,

Graham Smith suggests *Māori* forms of education initiated in the 1980's by *Māori* are a means of understanding the potential of *kaupapa Māori* approaches in intervening in *Māori* educational crises. (Smith, G. 1997)³⁴

The notion of theory as deployed in this chapter provides a basis for discussing how traditional forms of *wānanga* for *Māori* can be used to validate and inform contemporary schooling and educational practices within a tertiary institution. The development at the University of Auckland in identifying barriers that had to be overcome in moving to implement a model for intervention across the university illustrates the theoretical significance. Historical events at the university since its establishment in 1883 also need to be considered a part of the process. The resulting intervention in its structure was a model of organization and management unique to the University of Auckland. A key focus for the development was the aim to build a critical mass of *Māori* credentialed academic and general staff across the university.

The *kaupapa Māori* perspective will be discussed further in this thesis. Smith's argument provides a framework for exploring how indigenous *space* can be created within an educational initiative. It can be argued that the patterns of change have added significant pressure to develop more effective schooling opportunities for *Māori*. The use of elements such as information technology within the process of transformative action and within an indigenous pedagogy is essential in supporting these new developments. The case studies can be seen as educational initiatives that took the form of 'transformative praxis'. These initiatives have placed considerable pressure on government and other agencies to provide resource support that is appropriate to cater for educational crises.

Notions of worthwhile knowledge

Kaupapa Māori theory does not suggest an approach that is wholly opposed to accepted western theory forms of research theory as educational interventions.

34 Smith, G. H. (1997) The Development of '*Kaupapa Māori*'. (Unpublished Thesis), University of Auckland, Auckland

Western research theory can be seen as being socially constructed, therefore likely to be serving ‘cultural’ and or ‘social’ interests,³⁵ as is the case for *kaupapa Māori*.

Therefore critical questions need to be considered; such as what counts as knowledge; how is knowledge produced; do different interest groups value different knowledge and if so, are these fairly employed in promulgating knowledge; who has access to existing knowledge and how is this access controlled; whose interests does knowledge serve; how does prevailing knowledge legitimize existing methodologies; and what ideological appeals (hegemonies) justify and legitimate knowledge?

In the case of *kaupapa Māori* it is argued that traditional *Māori* epistemology can still be significant in shaping and influencing *Māori* people's thinking and knowledge. However in the pursuit of knowledge at tertiary institutions it can be expected that prospective *Māori* students would amongst other factors consider the learning environment. With a key consideration concerning *whānau*/ family connections then the institution providing a supportive learning environment encompassing particularly appropriate *Māori* elements would obviously be more attractive in as a ‘home away from home.’ This argument can be considered alongside Bourdieu’s³⁶ argument of cultural reproduction. The argument is that cultural elements of an institution create a disconnection within a ‘home culture’. This is further enhanced with the argument that there are forms of culture in the home that are different from what is in the tertiary institution and the mismatch impacts on what or why a person acts and feels as they do. The consequence is that if they can create greater epistemological matches, then traditionally peripheral participants will be enabled to become central participants.

Māori incorporate cultural perspectives through core initiatives and practices. The *marae* (i.e. a common meeting place for family and extended members/ tribe) is both an institution of life and of practices. It is also a significant learning institution. *Māori* epistemology that is encapsulated on the *marae* has a role within *Māori* society that influences *Māori* individually and as a social group. This suggests that

35 *ibid*

36 Bourdieu, Pierre. 1992. Thinking about limits. *Theory, Culture and Society* 9(1), 37-49. [Special issue also published as *Cultural theory and cultural change*, edited by Mike Featherstone. London: Sage Publications, 1992]

traditional parts of *Māori* society specific to an issue such as methodologies of appraisal and expertise discussed earlier³⁷ can be used to inform western theory to embrace values, knowledge, culture that many *Māori* accept as a natural part of their way of life or society. One example of this is the implementation of *Māori* pedagogy and curriculum through, *te kohanga reo*, *whare kura*, and more recently *wānanga*. The elements of this pedagogy have been described by critics such as *Pere, Nepe*, and Smith as *kaupapa Māori*.³⁸

Michael Apple (2001) argues that with the act of repositioning, institutions such as described in the case studies of the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia, encounter the significance of power and the control of knowledge, and in these cases the notion of the curriculum as brokered at the institutions. This suggests that the institution controls what counts as ‘official knowledge’. This chapter further discusses the importance of this knowledge being taught through a prescribed process of learning. However, integral to the process is the need to ascertain the types of knowledge to be taught and the legitimization of that same knowledge. As with the traditional institution the type of knowledge was taken as being the ‘official’ information that the student was taught and therefore seen as the truth. This approach is affirmed within the contemporary tertiary institution where the subject matter taught is seen as the legitimate form of knowledge for students. Apple (2001) argues that in some cases the legitimization of knowledge by non-indigenous peoples and some *Māori* traditional forms of appraisal do not ‘fit’ within a contemporary context where the outcomes of research are in the main driven by the economy³⁹. However, in traditional *Māori* society the control of the knowledge was kept by the *tōhunga* and seen as intellectual property. It was legitimated through the selection of *Māori* by birth or status, as part of selection for enrolling in the *whare wānanga*. The knowledge was linked to the ongoing survival of the group or individual. *Māori* traveled from region to region presenting their knowledge. This allowed for forms of critique and participating in benchmarking with other like-minded people on the same area of interest. The similarities between the acquisition

37 Best, Elsdon. (1986) *The Māori school of learning : its objects, methods, and ceremonial* / by Wellington, N.Z. : Government Printer, 1986

38 Smith, G. (2002) presentation to Māori and Indigenous Graduate Studies Centre (MAI), University of Auckland, New Zealand.

39 Ibid

of legitimate knowledge in the traditional and contemporary environments are close. What is important from an indigenous perspective is the need to harness and create indigenous *space* for *Māori* students as well and for *Māori* researchers to proceed to tell and write their stories within a supportive tertiary learning environment.

The case study discussed in chapter five contains reference to *Māori* education having been a history of failure. Numerous reports give *voice* to this negative view such as the traditional *Wānanga*: Treaty Claim 718.⁴⁰ This claim sought to have the three state funded *wānanga*⁴¹ allocated equivalent funding resources to those of other non-*Māori* tertiary institutions. Previous institutional responses to this failure had not used critical elements of the model discussed here and had not ameliorated the history. This was despite the more general argument that in combination with employment and income support policies, education and training could provide a way of assisting those without the relevant skills and experience to take advantage of continued job growth.⁴² It is this approach to the mobilizing of the workforce that government policies sought to address the need for increased access, recruitment, retention, participation and success for *Māori* people. This paradigm brings the need for credentials in entering any part of the workforce, but that is dependent on the function of the institution.

The increased focus on resource allocation to cater for identified student learning needs in schools – equity funding for schools, tertiary institutions and parental income testing for student allowances signals a shift of the type of management now required in education administration. Targeting has the potential for space within which new tools (i.e. new ways or new media for understanding and acting) can be developed. But the *kaupapa Māori* theory predicts that in creating the space this would fall naturally to other developments evident in any society with the building of a critical mass of skilled people in different fields of knowledge. The tertiary institution would play a critical part in these developments.

40 Waitangi Tribunal Report: Wai 718 The *Wānanga* Capital Establishment Report (22 April 1999)

41 Te *Wānanga* o Raukawa; Te *Wānanga* o Aotearoa; Te Whare *Wānanga* o Awanuiarangi

42 Lange, D. (1988) *Tomorrow's Schools: The Reform of Education Administration in New Zealand*. Government Printer, Wellington

The University of Auckland, as a tertiary institution has responded to a current crisis by developing an infrastructure that has traditional elements and is innovative and positive in seeking to meet the challenges for students, staff and community. As a *kaupapa Māori* educational intervention, it is a theoretical test that the institution will participate in the conscientization, resistance and transformative praxis in different configurations. The inclusive approach in using existing material and human resources to maximize the impact of the intervention will be discussed in this thesis. The case studies provide a means for checking the evidence for the processes and the predicted outcomes for *kaupapa Māori* theory.

**Ko ngā whakairo whakahirahira
me whiwhi taonga whakatauranga
me whiwhi parirau hoki**

Great ideas need appropriate resource support as well as wings to become a reality

Chapter Four/ *Wāhanga Wha*

Method/ *Huarahi*

Introduction

The specific research question for this study concerns the process of developing an educational intervention which draws on features of traditional *wānanga*. Can the model based on traditional *wānanga* provide a framework for tertiary institutions to be responsive in creating indigenous infrastructure to support *Māori* participation contributing to *Māori* development today, in a tertiary setting? And can its development be explained using *kaupapa Māori* theory concepts.

A distinction between methodology and method is often drawn in discussion on research methodology⁴³. A research method is a technique for gathering evidence. Analysis of methodology is important because methodological concepts frame the questions being asked, determine the set of instruments or *tools* and methods to be employed and shape the analyses of evidence. Within an Indigenous framework, methodological debates are concerned with the broader politics and strategic goals for indigenous knowledge. It is at this level researchers need to clarify and justify their intentions. Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of research methods and indigenous practices. The mix reflects the training of indigenous researchers which continues to be within the parameters of the academy and their commitment to have common sense understandings which govern how indigenous communities and researchers define priorities and outcomes for research.

The research question provides an opportunity to consider a model of intervention within the University of Auckland as a tertiary institution aimed at meeting the needs of *Māori*, which draws on critical features of *kaupapa Māori* as an educational intervention. A collaborative case study based approach was used to gain the information needed to answer the research question. The approach enabled an account

43 Linda Smith, (1996).

to be developed from people who provided knowledge about both institutional phenomena and about the elements of *wānanga*.

Comparative case study research

A comparison of case studies is the most suitable for the research question and its location within the *kaupapa Māori* framework outlined earlier in this thesis. Crucial to this approach is that each of the informants on *wānanga* were acknowledged keepers of histories handed down from their elders and nurtured by the individuals to support them and their families to pursue their development with the underlying expectation that they would contribute back to the community. The University of Auckland intervention model is conceived within *kaupapa Māori* theory development outlined in the previous chapter. In retrospect the model can be seen as an attempt to re-represent a traditional concept within a contemporary situation. The approach taken in preparing this thesis was to find a way to integrate the development of indigenous structures and space without detracting from the overall integrity of the work of many *Māori* and other indigenous peoples.

A comparative component adds to the model used at the University of Auckland. Similar developments at the University of British Columbia, Canada provide opportunity to consider two models of ‘best’ practice. The prime concern is to examine the University of Auckland model using *kaupapa Māori* theory. However, this thesis is aimed at providing a foundation from which further analysis of indigenous models can take place in the future. The similarities in development between both institutions have therefore been considered, as there were common goals and events. The common goal was to create a framework that promoted access, participation and success for indigenous peoples. Moreover they are similar institutions. Both have positioned themselves as excellent universities with international profiles. Both these situations appeared more suited to case study methodology through observation, reconstruction and analysis incorporating views of ‘actors’ or active participants and their experiences that form the basis of their respective stories of development within the tertiary institution.

Both institutions have a traditional meeting house located on the main campus of their respective universities. Events leading to conscientization in the case of the University of British Columbia came in the form of a review of Native Indian programmes. The University of Auckland also has its traditional meeting house - *Tane Nui A Rangi*, as the focus of all *Māori* development. It resulted from a conscientization process. Reports for both institutions prior to and after the construction of the traditional meetings houses have led to ongoing development of the cultural elements that such traditional structures bring to each organization.

The usefulness of analyzing the situations of both universities as contrastive case studies is supported by Robert Yin's⁴⁴ arguments for case studies. As long as the parameters for comparison are clearly defined and applied to each case undertaken to maintain consistency to the model then the evidence for conclusions is able to be used. Hamel (1993) supports this argument stating that this approach ensures the transformation of ideas and concepts from a local to a global context, allowing for systematic replication. Yin (1989a) points out that case studies require a methodology that has rigour and contains three core elements of study; describing, understanding and explaining. Yin (1994) identified at least six sources of evidence in case studies. These include documents; archival records; interviews; direct observation; participant-observation; and physical artefacts.⁴⁵ In the case studies developed here each of these sources of the information was critical.

This approach to the research in collating the data links with *kaupapa Māori* theory. In this case the focus is on people being able to provide their collective and institutional knowledge.

Shared knowledge in the case studies.

In seeking to gain the trust of key people it was important to enroll them in the process of the thesis from the beginning to the end. The transparency of the format was a key element of the way in which information has been processed in this thesis.

44 Yin R. (1984, 1989a, 1989b, 1993, 1994)

45 Ibid

The question of whether the creation of indigenous *space* within a tertiary institution can promote better outcomes for *Māori* in having access, participation, and success in education at the tertiary level is the primary question. Because of this the position of a *Māori* researcher within the framework of *kaupapa Māori* research is an important consideration in the methodology.

The methods adopted were based on Archibald and McIvor,⁴⁶ who argue for the significance of hearing indigenous stories. Sharing of stories underpins the basis of this thesis in describing, understanding and explaining indigenous knowledge from a *kaupapa Māori* theory perspective. Hilda Halkyard-Harawira echoes this point, stating:

"What Māori need to do is to 'seek and find ways to tell their stories in their own way'"
(Hilda Halkyard-Harawira 1999)⁴⁷.

Halkyard-Harawira's statement is more than a reference to the way in which *Māori* or indigenous peoples approach research. *Māori* seek to tell their own stories without the fear of being marginalized, dissected, and criticised in forums outside of their cultural contexts but at the same time can be subject to rigorous analysis.

Methodology as a tool

It is important to state that this thesis continues to be informed by the processes based on a *kaupapa Māori* model and how it relates to the methodology used to bring about the discussion of transformation in the case studies. In using *kaupapa Māori* theory as a *tool*, Linda Smith (1999) argues that the idea of appropriating and exploring 'tools' is not foreign for *Māori* society (Belich 1986)⁴⁸. In *Māori* society it is expected that elders or peers will continue to seek knowledge in creating the freedom to make appropriate choices for the group. Given certain collective responsibilities,

46 Archibald & McIvor – Personal communication (2003)

47 Halkyard-Harawira, H. Personal Communication (1999)

48 Belich, J. (1986) *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Auckland University Press

opportunity is allowed for an individual to make their own choices in their own time in seeking to gain knowledge. In a global context this means that the collective experience can align itself to new technologies. In *kaupapa Māori* theory this means using methods appropriate to whatever needs to be ascertained within the model itself. Technologies employed while opening some avenues of undertaking and action arising as the world may constrain one's understanding and activity in other areas. For example literacy can be used as a *tool* for colonization. (Jenkins, 1991)⁴⁹ However, Cummins argues that:

"literacy can be explicitly focused on issues of power as seen in the work of Friere who highlights the potential of written language as a 'tool' that encourages people to analyze the division of power and resources in their society and work toward transforming discriminatory structures"
(Cummins, J.1995)⁵⁰

Yet, the impact for *Māori* in not having access to *tools* such as literacy or education or effective methodology, has been wide reaching. The definition of a '*tool*' offered by Vygotsky⁵¹ is elaborated in his exploring of the concept of human labour and '*tool*' use as the means by which man changes nature and, in so doing, transforms himself. (Vygotsky, p7, 1978) This introduces a rationale for the utilization and development of a variety of methodologies such as *kaupapa Māori*.

For example storytelling is a *tool* for methodology that has been an integral part of *kaupapa Māori* theory in general and in the overall organization of this thesis. Linda Smith (1999) narrates her own research acknowledging the significance of indigenous perspectives on research and attempts to account why such perspectives have been developed. They offer:

49 Jenkins, K. (1991) *Te Ihi, Te Mana, Te Wehi o te Ao Māori: Literacy, Power and Colonisation*. M.A. Thesis (unpublished). University of Auckland

50 Cummins, J. (1995) *Brave New Schools*. St Martin's Press, New York

51 Vygotsky, L.S. (1978) *Mind in Society*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, London

"a counter-story to Western ideas about the benefits of the pursuit of knowledge ... particularly strong in situating the development of counter practices of research within both knowledge and global movements."

(Lather, P. 2000)⁵²

A second component in the *tools* for the methodological process is collaboration. *Kanohi kitea* or the seen face is how Linda Smith conveys the meaning that being seen by the people confirms your membership to the people. For example when you attend special events within the community your credibility in research and the community is developed and maintained. Within First Nations and Native American communities, as in the *Māori* community, strict protocols exist governing this accreditation, which include the need to be respectful and reciprocity in kind; behaviours that are to be maintained at all times. The behaviours lead to becoming accepted within the community but only at the invitation of the community. In Hawai'i kanaka Maoli, native researchers indicate that a number of the extended family also needs to be consulted prior to the giving of information to the researcher. The First Nations people of Australia discuss within this context different levels of entry to be negotiated when researchers seek information. (Smith, L. p15: 1999)

The idea of collaboration is needed to gain confidence and information that is regarded in this instance as the 'intellectual property' of the interviewee. They own it and they are offering to share it with the researcher. Linda Smith (1999) represents an indigenous perspective on the history of research that reaches back to the times where Indigenous people and their experiences were being continually dissected by European/ Western researchers. The struggle for survival as indigenous people was consolidated and significant barriers imposed by the various *institutions* and parties associated with imperialism. Research has been integral to the formation and maintenance of barriers.

Linda Smith (1997) illustrates the use of methodology as an approach to address the control and colonization of space from where stories can be told or shared:

53 Patti Lather is a Professor of Educational Policy and Leadership, Ohio State University and author of 'Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/ in the Postmodern'

“Western classifications of space include such notions as architectural space, physical space, psychological space, theoretical space and so forth. Foucault’s metaphor of the cultural space archive is an architectural image. The archive not only contains artifacts of culture, but also is itself an artifact and construct of culture. For the relationship between people and the landscape, of culture as an object of study, have meant that, not only has the indigenous world been represented in particular ways back to the west, but the indigenous world-view, the land and the people, have been radically transformed in the spatial view of the west, in other words indigenous space has been colonized.”

(ibid, p158)

Imperialism now seemingly re-invented as globalization has impacted on Indigenous research for centuries. The understanding of the impact of globalization is however an important aspect of Indigenous cultural politics and forms the base for indigenous language critiques and the development of research methodologies. Smith (1999) discusses this aspect within two strands of knowledge. The first strand is the notion of authenticity of a time before colonization in which we were intact as Indigenous peoples and therefore had complete control of our lives; the second strand confirms that *Māori* have an analysis of how we were colonized, of what is meant in terms of our immediate past and what it means for present and future. The strands intersect and form the solutions of the time before colonization and the time after. Decolonization encapsulates both sets of ideas. The indigenous research challenge to accept European forms of good quality research has been presented by Smith, G. (1997)⁵³. He argues that:

“Māori philosophy and practices were the initial ‘approach by Māori of ‘freeing’ themselves from multiple oppression(s) and exploitation. In particular ‘Kaupapa Māori’/ Māori philosophy and practices as an intervention strategy, in the western theoretical sense, critiques and re-constitutes the resistance notions of conscientization, resistance and transformative praxis in different configurations. In particular this work

52 Smith, G. (1997) The Development of *Māori* philosophy and practices: Theory and Praxis, Unpublished Thesis (PhD), University of Auckland

rejects the notion that each of these concepts stands 'individually, nor are they interpreted in this analysis as being a lineal progression from conscientization, to resistance, to praxis.'"

(Smith, G. p66)

Linda Smith (1999) has taken this argument further by highlighting the work of researchers within an indigenous context. Creating *space* for indigenous research means it has its own dynamic as have4 any other accepted research methodologies. In addition to the components of narrative and collaboration, there is the concept of *whānau*, which contains both values (cultural aspirations) and social processes (cultural practices) which are fundamental to a '*Kaupapa Māori*' approach. Central to the concept of *whānau*/ family is the role of the leader. This idea can be applied to the question of who assumes the role of leadership in the research undertaken by a group of indigenous researchers. Russell Bishop (1996)⁵⁴ argues that the '*true leader*' is one who takes a lower role in the decision-making process while participating in the research, therefore not taking a lead role in the process. This suggests that in trying to ascertain who the leader is, it is important to consider the person who has taken on a lower or different role in the decision-making process within *Māori* society. In research described here, contribution is made by all participants in the research process as a natural part of the intervention.

A collaborative or collective sharing of knowledge, is created, gathered and processed by the group for the direct benefit of the group. This is an example of a type of control that is exerted within the *whānau*/ family group, therefore the use of power and control in this type of research undertaken is shared by the group. Bishop's view is consistent with the discussion of Graham Smith and Linda Smith and builds on the base presented by them. A major influence on the transference of this control is evident in the role of the state, particularly through the delivery of the school curriculum for reinforcing what is seen as an imperialist or colonial approach to research aimed at the assimilation of *Māori* knowledge to European or *Pākehā* 'culture'. There are a number of examples of this role. Stories of the 'discovery' of

54 Bishop, R. (1996) Collaborative Research Stories/ *Whakawhanaungatanga*, The Dunmore Press Ltd, Palmerston North

New Zealand by Abel Tasman, the migration theory - the fleet of seven canoes and the ongoing travels and colonization by Cook and others have been an integral part of the school curriculum. The first *Pākehā* schools in New Zealand society were the church and missionary schools where *Māori* perspectives were not allowed, given minimal space or actively suppressed. As a *Māori* researcher it is expected that information is to be treated with the utmost of respect and that ongoing consultation and dialogue would continue for as long as agreed by all parties. This position emerges in terms of influence by the way in which information about *Māori* was gained and how ownership of it was attributed to the source. Work of Elsdon Best, Percy Smith, Sir George Grey and others is useful to consider within this context as it was used in the main to further their knowledge base of *Māori* at the time the information was provided. This interviewer responsibility is part of a wider issue concerned with the issue of who actually owns the information. It needs to be acknowledged.

Validity of indigenous research

Linda Smith (1997) argues that the assumption of western researchers that they had the 'right' stories, challenges them from an indigenous perspective to validate Indigenous views and input. This validation needs to utilize an indigenous context so that an understanding of the social world is presented from an indigenous perspective. Furthermore, the development of practices linked to the past still influence the struggle for the conscientization of Indigenous peoples' claim to their intellectual property, existence and being able to determine their own destiny in their fight for survival as a people. This requires the protection of the above factors and the language and other forms of knowledge they have as of right. The forms of knowledge belong to them due to *whakapapa*/ genealogy handed down by their ancestors. It is the struggle for conscientization that is the key to this type of research. The fight for survival as conscientization occurs within circles of a *Pākehā*/ European dominated society will only be successful if it is within the criteria *Māori* have set in place and protected over the many years. But there is still the need to validate research in the wider context of a community of researchers. How would it be achieved?

This is an important tension to resolve. On the one hand comparisons between *kaupapa Māori/ Māori* philosophy and practices, research aspirations and international models need to be treated cautiously (Bishop, 1996). The practice for researchers is to make sense of results in research undertaken by referring to criteria outside of the experiences and context of the researchers. This tension has been recognized by Linda Smith (1997). Her approach is to create space for indigenous researchers by taking indigenous researchers into international forums; allowing first hand experience in the presentation of papers and ideas to other indigenous researchers. This is of benefit to the indigenous researcher and confirms a notion of collaboration from an indigenous perspective. But the process has roots in the indigenous context and is referenced back to that context.

The framework presented by Smith (1997) implies that the results of research are of little use to people if they themselves are the subjects of research and have not been involved in it from the beginning. The way in which research is made available and therefore its ongoing use is also an issue. If the results are couched in such a way that participants cannot understand them then the control of results is again with that of the person undertaking the research. In debating the issue of being able to control research, Margaret *Mutu* (1998) signaled several issues that need to be taken into account by the indigenous researcher in New Zealand. The ‘defense’ by *Māori* of their respective rights, is seen to be guaranteed under the Treaty of *Waitangi* (i.e. the relationship stated in the treaty document signed in 1840). This leads to an ongoing need for good quality information and researchers trained in both *Māori* and *Pākehā tikanga/* cultural practices with the understanding that they avoid the abuse of power and failings of researchers who had in the past the hidden agenda which accompanied the acquisition of knowledge.

Margaret *Mutu* (1998) argues further that in developing research in *Māori* education which is culturally appropriate the indigenous researcher needs to consider that some research isn’t for all parties. There is a need to consider the devolution of the power base or control in the research exercise, along with the necessary adaptation of the researcher to fit *Māori* cultural preferences, practices and aspirations. In addition, the researcher must also recognize the local context in which one is placed.

Margaret *Mutu* uses the example about the incorrect advice presented by a *pākehā* researcher (during the *Waitangi* Claims presented to the Tribunal by *Muriwhenua* (1987)) who did not fully appreciate the impact that comments made by him would have on the *Māori* community. The result of this culturally insensitive action has led to the fragmentation of the hapu/ extended family involved in the claim to the Tribunal (Treaty of *Waitangi* Claim, 1987)⁵⁵.

Validity of research undertaken by the indigenous researcher is probably the most difficult challenge that one has to encounter. Things taken for granted such as oral or inherited rights to *whakapapa*/ genealogy, and in other cases *tapu*/ sacred elements for *whānau*/ family, take on another shape or form. In this context the researcher will have to seek the appropriate guidance in accessing these elements. It might involve a different agenda that would take time and particular scrutiny, and would not be evident to others due to the respective culture or *whakapapa*/ genealogy of the people involved. In the case of the present study the formative use of historical records and interviews from the Canadian institutions supports the experience at the University of Auckland, offering both a local and a global presence in this thesis.

Summary

This chapter justifies the use of case studies to describe the process within each of the universities involved in creating indigenous *space*. The recalling of events is central to both case studies. An event such as the rugby match that took place between both countries in 1927, discussed later in this thesis, combined with similar initiatives embarked upon by indigenous leaders from both tertiary communities to create a physical presence for First Nations and *Māori*, are identities at the core of the case studies.

Cultural connection and a style of operation that is inclusive, enacting in part the values raised by Madeleine McIvor: respect, reciprocity, relevance and responsibility. The factors all converge to build this thesis into a series of conversations. The

⁵⁵ Stokes, E. (1997) A Review of the evidence in the *Muriwhenua* lands claims. Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington

collaboration undertaken over long distances and periods of time has made possible the creation of a record of these stories for both institutions, that can be added to in the future.

E kore e taea te oranga mo te tangata i te aroha me te pipi anake

We can no longer live on love and pipi

Chapter Five/ Wāhanga Rima

Case Study: The University of Auckland/ *Tirohanga Tuatahi – Te Whare Wānanga o Tamakimakaurau*

Introduction

It is argued in this chapter that the responsiveness of the institution in considering and using indigenous goals must be paramount in meeting the needs of prospective indigenous clients and staff. In the case of *Māori* in education change is discussed within the context of resistance, having to work outside the usual structures of the existing state system to put in place mechanisms to implement changes.

Conscientization led to their choosing to critique the system and develop *Te Kohanga Reo/ Māori* language nests, *Whare Kura/* Secondary Schools and the development of *wānanga/* traditional learning institutions as transformative acts. This section records the University of Auckland's response to the indigenous goals of *Māori* within its organization and management structures. This is discussed with an understanding that while the responsibility of conscientization, resistance and transformation in the University of Auckland remains with *Māori*, the institutional members collectively are involved with enacting the changes that need to take place within the university itself.

The mission statement of the University of Auckland reads:

*“The University of Auckland is a research-led international university recognized for excellence in teaching, learning, research, creative work, and administration, for the significance of its contributions to the advancement of knowledge and its commitment to serve its local, national and international communities.”*⁵⁶

The university's commitment is recognized in the special responsibility it has in meeting the obligations to its local community including *Māori*. It has taken strategic

⁵⁶ Strategic Plan 2002-2004 and Operational Priorities 2002. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand (2002)

steps to build a solid and strong core of *Māori* staff and provide programmes to attract *Māori* students, therefore contributing to *Māori* intellectual and cultural advancement.⁵⁷ This is further enhanced with the university goal:

*“....to observe and fulfil the responsibilities of The University of Auckland under the Treaty of Waitangi.”*⁵⁸

Re-positioning the institution

This case study records significant events in the conscientization process as part of the transformation which led to the development of the intervention and draws on aspects of traditional *wānanga* within *Māori* society. In the creation of space the university moved toward appointing staff who were of *Māori* descent. It is not suggested here that preferential treatment was given to appointees. The best person occurs through the due process of appointment for the institution, and in this case the University of Auckland. For example the record notes that in 1947 the first *Māori* person appointed to the University of Auckland was Maharaia Winiata, in the Department of Continuing Education. The appointment of Bruce Biggs to the Department of Anthropology in 1951, was the beginning of *Māori* language being taught at the university and in 1991, the Department of *Māori* Studies was established. Biggs' appointment which led to the development of the acknowledgement of *Māori* language as an academic subject was met with considerable resistance.⁵⁹ As a result Biggs and others needed to show that written publications on *Māori* language and other support resources and materials and courses of study were in place prior to *Māori* being recognized as an academic subject.

In 1993 as part of the university review process the Department of *Māori* Studies was reviewed. Professor Ranginui Walker was invited to undertake a review of *Māori* in the university in 1997. One of the recommendations of the report was to establish a position in senior management which was the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*). This

57 Ibid: p5

58 Ibid: p5

59 Walker, Ranginui. (1997) Report: Review of *Māori* in the University of Auckland.. University of Auckland, New Zealand.

position was created in 1998, with the appointment of Professor Walker. Another recommendation was to establish a *wānanga*. In 2000, the office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*) was established. The office then undertook to establish Te *Wānanga O Waipapa* in the same year. The task was undertaken by Professor Graham Smith who replaced Professor Walker as Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*) position on his retirement from the university. The development of this office is seen as the culmination of a process of transformation as discussed within the context of *kaupapa Māori* theory.

Given the notion of *Māori* telling their own stories and the perspective of this thesis, the analysis here of the intervention model at the University of Auckland can be seen in part as a type of conversation that informed the planning of Professor Smith. The indigenous connections traced through genealogy and other such encounters provided the foundation for the model that developed. Professor Smith, the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*) led the re-positioning of the university to enable it to establish a critical mass of *Māori* academics from across all disciplines. This approach was to culminate in the development of the Centre of Research Excellence – Nga Pae O Te Maramatanga announced in March 2002. The *wānanga* model implemented at the University of Auckland has since been used in other tertiary institutions in New Zealand and elsewhere. Most recently it has been used at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada. It should be noted that this intervention can be considered from the point of view of the *kaupapa Māori* model of conscientization, resistance and transformative action. It was a culmination of university reviews, ideas, as well as conversations held with other tertiary institutions that had sought to provide differing forms of indigenous *space*. Concepts of the traditional *wānanga* formed an important part of the planning for the model helping to define the transformation that needed to take place.

Interviews with Graham and Linda *Tuhiwai* Smith provided information of the movement of the University of Auckland toward implementing the *wānanga* infrastructure model across the institution. The identification of existing resources and *space* within the institution provided staff from all sectors of the university with an insight into a *wānanga* concept that was achievable if carefully co-ordinated for the University of Auckland. The appointment of key senior management within the

university was part of the initiative. The establishment of the runanga as an advisory body to the University Council and Vice-Chancellor was a recommendation in the Walker Report – Review of *Māori* in the University of Auckland (1997). This report along with the Review of the Department of *Māori* Studies (1993) provided information on existing resources and progress made since the inclusion of *Māori* language as an academic subject in 1952. Not unlike the University of British Columbia, the impact of reports on *Māori* in the University of Auckland and subsequent implementation of the wānanga concept has been positive.

***Te Wānanga O Waipapa* implementation**

The development of a *wānanga* within the University of Auckland provides opportunity to create an international centre of excellence in university teaching research and study by establishing a consolidated building complex drawing together all *Māori* and indigenous entities within a virtual context. This has been done within the confines of its national and international objective of recognizing the value of indigenous cultures.

“Internationalization challenges key areas of activity in the University, such research, curriculum, teaching and learning, staff development and mobility, international student’s recruitment and relations with ethnic communities.”⁶⁰

However, the development and implementation of virtual concept is built on a number of reports that discussed the strategic advancements across the University for *Māori*. For example, the Hollyman committee recommended to the faculty the inclusion of *Māori* Studies II papers to the calendar as part of the academic programme. The confirmation of these papers signaled the beginning of *Māori* language and other related cultural studies being developed by other departments across the university. Faculties introduced special recruitment schemes to encourage *Māori* students – Law in 1969; Medicine in 1972; Commerce in 1986 – establishing pro-active rather than

60 Strategic Plan 2002-2004 and Operational Priorities 2002. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand (2002)

the perceived neutral or negative approach of the University toward the recruitment of *Māori* into the University.⁶¹

‘Wānanga’/ ‘A Traditional House of Learning’

One of the primary strategies proposed in the university’s strategy statement is to:

*“Identify and support innovative and excellent Māori academic initiatives”*⁶²

The major initiative in recent years was established in the Review of *Māori* in the University report (Walker, 1998). The review recommended that a *wānanga* be established at the University which would serve in part to bring about the repositioning of current and future *Māori* programmes and in the university.

The development of the *wānanga* initiative at the University of Auckland is not unlike that of the University of British Columbia model discussed later in this thesis. There is both a recent and longer history which led to the proposal to transform structures at the University of Auckland.

More recently the Education Act 1989 signaled the changes that were to take place in New Zealand for educational organizations and agencies. The change meant a complete re-think and re-strategization of corporate vision and directive to move into the 21st Century. A significant part of this re-organization was the refocusing of issues such as equity and resourcing for *Māori* to advance alongside other cultures within New Zealand society. For *Māori* the legislative conversation had begun earlier with the introduction of the *Waitangi* Tribunal Act 1975, the *Māori* Language Act in 1985, and the findings of the *Waitangi* Tribunal relating to *te reo Māori* and claim lodged by *Huirangi* Waikerepuru and *Ngā Kaiwhakapumau I Te reo* Incorporated

61 Tarling, N. (1999). Auckland: The Modern University. Publishing Press Ltd, for the University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand

62 Ibid: p5

Society (The Wellington Board of *Māori* Language)⁶³. Richard Benton's (1972) research on *te reo Māori/ Māori* language in the 1970's provided a base for the *kaupapa Māori* initiative of the 1980's, and paved the way for the development of transformation informed by *Māori* education theory that advanced to form *Kaupapa Māori* theory and praxis (Graham Smith, (1987)). One outcome of the theorizing that has been the linkage to past and present developments in educational policy reform and implementation for New Zealand society. This theory is underpinned by the Treaty of *Waitangi* development from the point of view of *Māori* substantiating *tangata whenua* status.

The initiative for *Māori* in the University of Auckland is discussed within the historical account reported by *Ranginui* Walker in a university initiated Review of *Māori* in the University (June 1998). The report included a number of recommendations such as the establishment of an interim *Runanga* (i.e. not unlike a group of specialists/ skilled advisors) to assist *Ranginui* Walker to undertake the Review of *Māori* in the University. The main function for the *Runanga* was to establish the *Wānanga* and monitor the implementation of the University's performance in meeting its Treaty of *Waitangi* obligations to *Māori*.

The report discusses and records the University of Auckland's initiative led by *Māori* staff at all levels of management collectively from across the university by creating a 'virtual' *wānanga* concept within the existing organization. This concept is not to be taken literally but be seen as a term that is useful to locate meaning and understandings within *Māori* ways of knowing what the initiative is seeking to achieve and how it is done. The development raises the conscientization of people within the institution as part of the discussion on *kaupapa Māori* theory informing *Māori* within the university. The terms of reference for the report were to assess the position of *Māori* students and staff in the various departments and faculties of the University of Auckland; and assess the performance of departments and faculties against the Treaty of *Waitangi* section of the University's *2001 Mission Goals and Strategies*.

63 Finding of the Waitangi Tribunal Relating to Te reo *Māori* and a Claim Lodged by Huirangi and Nga Kai Whakapumau I Te reo Incorporated Society (The Wellington Board of *Māori* Language). Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand, (1986).

The recommendations of the report were presented in two categories representing structural improvement and structural change. Structural improvement was the ‘modifying’ of existing structures to meet *Māori* needs; structural change was a ‘radical departure’ or ‘creating a new structure’ based on *Māori* needs to produce an end product compatible with those of the institution.⁶⁴

This report was an opportunity to record the history of *Māori* participation in the university sector in particular at the University of Auckland. It notes that Sir Apirana Ngata, in 1925 founded the *Māori* Ethnological Research Board, seeking to have the Senate of the then University of New Zealand introduce the teaching of *Māori* language as a subject for the Bachelor of Arts programme. It is suggested that the first recorded *Māori* activity relating to the University of Auckland was in 1947 when Maharaia Winiata was appointed to the Department of Adult Education. This was followed by another appointment in the same Department, of Matiu Te Hau. In 1951 the appointment of Professor Bruce Biggs as an Assistant Lecturer in the Department of Anthropology was confirmed and this led to *Māori* language courses being offered by the University of Auckland in 1952.⁶⁵

Over the next forty years the conscientization of *Māori* language as a language of scholarship involved acknowledged scholars such as Dr. Bill Geddes, a senior lecturer, and Dr Biggs both in the Department of Anthropology. This acknowledgement was in the face of considerable opposition from other areas of academia in recognizing *Māori* language as a scholarly subject. Geddes and Biggs worked to refute the claim from a Professor of French, that *Māori* was an oral form of scholarship that belonged in the Stone Age. The tabling of a number of written texts in *Māori* served to present a counter argument to that Professor’s claims.

In 1985-86 the opening of a separate *Māori* Studies academic block was followed by the building and opening of the Waipapa *marae* in 1988 in the same location of the *Māori* Studies academic block. This *symbolic* manifestation of a meeting place for

64 Review of *Māori* in the University. University of Auckland, Auckland New Zealand. (June 1998)

65 Ibid

Māori in the University in the form of the traditional meeting-house *Tane Nui A Rangi* was a significant step. Ann Salmond stated:

‘Over the past two years the Vice-Chancellor, the Senate and Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities have fostered moves to set up a marae, this could be just what’s called for.’⁶⁶

The next significant step was the physical separation of *Māori* Studies from the Department of Anthropology to form the Department *Māori* Studies, which was then recognized in 1991.

The Review of the Department of *Māori* Studies

The self review process of the university departments and faculties involves the audit and quality management strategy. Reviews are conducted within a specific timeframe every three years and focus on progress and other related activity aligned to the university mission statement and strategic plan and priorities. In December 1993, the terms of reference for the Review of the Department of *Māori* Studies report were set. They were to examine the activities of the Department of *Māori* Studies in meeting its commitments to *Māori* Studies and the academic disciplines within it, to the University, to the community at large and to the *Māori* community in particular. This would include the examination of the structure, composition and level of the undergraduate programme and graduate programmes in *Māori* Studies and to evaluate these in comparison with programmes in other institutions. The quality of teaching and research in *Māori* Studies was also to be examined, as was the appropriateness of the present organizational structures and availability of resources in *Māori* Studies. The relationship between the Department of *Māori* Studies and other Departments and Schools at the University of Auckland was also to be considered.⁶⁷

66 Smith, C. (2002) Unpublished thesis, He Pou Herenga, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand

67 Report of the Committee Established to Review the Department of *Māori* Studies. The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand (December 1993)

This was the first report of its kind that focused on the Department of *Māori* Studies. The Review Committee first suggested *Te Wānanga* as an initiative in this report. A significant section of the report discusses this within the context of bringing together *Māori* staff from across the University faculties and departments that would enhance the potential of such a ‘formal’ role within the university structure.

The Review Committee recommended that:

“the Wānanga be established as a Board or preferably a Faculty, which would report to Senate as do others Faculties, the Centre for Continuing Education, and the Joint Board of Theology.”⁶⁸

It is suggested that this is the first time that an initiative of this nature was to be incorporated within the University of Auckland. Based on this recommendation an infrastructure for the *Wānanga* was to be constructed with existing resource as one of the key objectives of the Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*) when it was established in 2000. This is discussed further in the Report completed in June 1998 by *Ranginui* Walker. However, the collective ‘buy in’ or response by other parties across the university has been minimal. Some faculties have approached this as an opportunity to enhance their recruitment and participation policies by creating significant and innovative programmes as described in the 20/20 programme of the Medical and Health Sciences Faculty⁶⁹. This particular programme focused on the recruitment of *Māori* students into a bridging programme at certificate level; it enabled students to complete their first year of study and depending on grades enter into other courses of medical study targeted at higher levels of qualification from across the university. The establishment of an Associate Dean position in some faculties across the university with specific responsibility for *Māori* development and advancement has been a similar move toward meeting an identified target group needs.

Despite much discussion the concept of the *wānanga* is still not complete to the extent envisioned in the report, particularly in the area of staffing appointments identified, as

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ University of Auckland Mission Goals and Strategies, 2001, University of Auckland

part of the need to implement into the overall organization and vision of the *wānanga*. The report noted that the *wānanga* should focus on the collective role of building a critical mass of *Māori*, therefore bringing together *Māori* staff from across the university. The timeframe for the collation of base information to establish actual numbers and names of personnel would take time as the recording of ethnicity on enrolment forms for students had only been part of university enrolment activity since 1996. Further to this, the advancement of the *Māori* and Indigenous Graduate Studies Centre offers mentor support and guidance to *Māori* students undertaking post graduate study from across all faculties. This approach gives opportunity built on the undergraduate degree structures to develop naturally into post-graduate activity with a significant research and community activity role. This would again enable the utilization of existing people as resources to contribute to the initiative. Another important part in the development of this initiative is the development of a suitable location for the administration and centralization of the *wānanga* such as the *marae* complex.

The Review of *Māori* in the University report also recommended the establishment of an interim *Runanga* in July 1997 to assist *Ranginui* Walker and others to undertake the writing of this specific report. What was recommended in the report was that the *Runanga* was to establish a ‘*Wānanga*’ and to monitor the implementation of the University’s performance in meeting its Treaty of *Waitangi* obligations to *Māori*.

Waipapa Marae - Turangawaewae/ A Place to Stand

The development of the *marae*⁷⁰ complex including the traditional meeting-house ‘*Tane Nui A Rangi*’ can be seen as part of the transformation that has taken place at the University of Auckland. The concept of *turangawaewae* refers to a home base or home. Within this thesis it encompasses the idea of being a home base for students living away from their tribal lands or home where they had grown up in. Aligned to the traditional meeting house at the University of British Columbia it becomes a ‘home away from home’. Implicit in this discussion is the physical presence of the

⁷⁰ Meeting area of *whānau* or *iwi*; focal point of settlement or village

marae that is the focal point for *Māori* within the university where *Māori* protocol and other cultural observances are acknowledged. In contrast to the Walker report, Cheryll Smith (2003) a researcher at the University of Auckland, stated that Pat Hohepa, a former Professor, presented with others the idea of a *marae* being built at the University of Auckland as early in the 1960's. This was in essence a form of transformative action that took place instigated by *Māori* and non-*Māori* staff. The momentum for the *marae* building project spanned from the 1970's until its completion in 1988.⁷¹ From the outset the expressed purpose of the *marae* was to provide *space* for *Māori* and others to gather and observe all cultural observances as envisioned by the supporters of the initiative. The importance of this building was an issue suggested by Cheryll Smith (2003), as being the realization of a project underpinning the everyday activity of University life at Auckland.

For Smith the *marae* was developed amidst a sequence of politicking and the bringing together of all parties to understand and support the importance of such a complex. The university agreed that the *marae* was to be built and proceeded to bring together concept drawings of the proposed complex. Emeritus Professor Sir Hugh Kawharu at the University of Auckland retells the story of this progression and how an approach was made seeking his views on behalf of the local tribe, *Ngāti Whatua*.⁷² Advice given at that time records the university senior management with representatives of *Ngāti Whatua* on the ancestral *marae* named *Tumutumu Whenua*. What emerged from this meeting was an understanding that the university had permission to proceed to locate and build the *marae*. It was to be named *Waipapa*, the original name of the bay where canoes were moored by *Ngāti Whatua* just below the present site of the *marae*. *Ngāti Whatua* provided further advice on the naming of the meeting house and other parts of the complex and are further recognized as *mana whenua*/ keepers of the traditional and cultural observances for the *marae* complex including the entire university complex. This can be seen as a form of transformative action for the university by *Māori* in re-claiming 'cultural *space*'. Re-claiming can also be seen within the context of *Māori* belief in the gaining of knowledge for mankind by *Tane Nui A Rangi*, which is the name given to the ancestral house of the University of

71 Smith, C.W. *He Pou Herenga*. Unpublished thesis, 2003. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

72 Kawharu, I. *Ngāti Whatua*. Personal communication. *Ngāti Whatua* are the local tribal group who have ancestral links to the land where the university *marae* is sited.

Auckland. Tane was chosen to ascend to the second level of the twelfth heaven to gather the three baskets of knowledge – *te kete uruuru matua (kete tuauri)* – refers to peace, goodness, love is the basket of ritual.⁷³ *Kete uruuru rangi (kete tuatea)* – refers to the prayers, incantations, ritual.⁷⁴ *Kete uruuru tau (kete aronui)* – refers to war, agriculture, woodwork, stonework and earthwork.⁷⁵

As stated earlier the opposition in the 1950's to *Māori* as an academic discipline, which was followed by protests by *Māori* students and staff for a place where they could gather for social and academic activities and then having the *marae* built on site of the University, are examples of the resistance experienced in bringing about change that led conscientization and finally to the growth of understanding and appreciation of cultural contribution at the University of Auckland. The site suggested for the complex was an old hall ('the gym') located at the back of the Old Arts building on the city complex. Cheryll Smith (2003) states that the University first sought to build a *marae* in 1976, but the idea was born prior to that year as the University sought positive approaches in finding ways to enhance the participation of *Māori* at the University. The general acceptance of a *marae* to be built at the University was signaled with the convening of a special sub-committee to consider the initiative. Membership of this committee was – Prof K J Hollyman (Chair), Prof Pat Hohepa, Prof Bruce Biggs, Rafe Bulmer, Prof Marie Clay and Prof Colin Mantell.⁷⁶ These members were representative of the faculties of education; arts; health and medical science, *Māori* studies and anthropology. The committee developed and presented a proposal to university senior management which was accepted in principle. The proposed complex included the traditional meeting-house, teaching facilities including lecture rooms, administrative *space* and student facilities. The inclusive nature of this process of planning saw a number of different groups involved in the process including architects, builders, the University Grants committee, government, local government and other agencies.

73 Best, E. 1923: p18

74 Ibid

75 Best, E. 1924: p78

76 Smith, C.W. *He Pou Herenga*. Unpublished thesis, 2003. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Justification of such a complex brought about significant issues that required considerable debate in University committees in part centered on the fact that the ‘*marae*’ was not considered at that stage to be a ‘teaching facility’. It wasn’t until after 1979 that the sourcing of funding became more crucial in the debate with the canvassing for funding to support an initiative of this calibre. Government sources of funding were difficult, as agencies were of the view that:

*“marae did not qualify for its funding as the marae was an academic institution and could not receive “urban marae” subsidies.”*⁷⁷

Consultation with local and regional iwi and Pacific Island groups had also to be sought by the organizing committee as part of the process. In 1981, the University Senate and Council gave priority to the building of the *marae* complex but by September 1983 the programme of work had not been started. The delay saw *Māori* students and some staff air their grievances in public protest aimed at the University. The aim of this action was to seek confirmation that the *marae* complex was going to be built. The commitment of funding to the *marae* project was given in different forms of contribution.

‘...the Auckland university teachers were supportive of the marae and they voted that \$130,000 of the car parking fees be paid into the marae fund in April 1983.’

[Smith (2003)]

An interview by Smith (2003) with Professor Bruce Biggs, Head of *Māori* Studies at that time about the action taken in securing funding revealed that *Whare* Kerr, a *Māori* member of staff, had suggested that a fund be started to raise monies for the building of a *marae*. Biggs and Kerr agreed to put together \$1,000 each and then approached the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Colin Maiden who said, “.... *if you fellows want a marae, I’ll get you one...*” but never took the two thousand dollars offered by Kerr and Biggs. Maiden undertook this task of fundraising from a number of businesses within the Auckland region. Later on he sought out Biggs to say that while he was

upstairs in his office talking to managers of various agencies and organizations trying to source the funding for the *marae* project, it was not helped by the fact that *Māori* and others were downstairs erecting a tent outside the registry giving loud vocal protest to the little progress being undertaken by the University on fundraising for the project. Another organization that had emerged during this period was 'Tuia'. It consisted of staff from across the university network supporting *Māori* initiatives such as the *marae* project. Actions taken by all parties suggest that general acceptance of the building of a *marae* on this particular tertiary site, a first for New Zealand, gave conscientization to the University of Auckland's acknowledging *Māori* contribution to academic study.

Te Wānanga O Waipapa

In 1997, the University of Auckland established a senior management position and Office for the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*) to which Professor *Ranginui* Walker was the first appointee. Walker's retirement in 1998 was followed by Professor Graham Hingangaroa Smith's appointment. The appointment came after he was made the first Professor in *Māori* Education for the University. With the completion of this activity as recommended in the Walker report (1998) the recommendation of the establishment of a '*Runanga*' provided further opportunity for the University to develop strategic vision for the advancement of *Māori* by the Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*). A *runanga* is a term that in traditional times referred to an advisory council. A council of key advisors to the tribal chief; a collection of chiefs or assembly of people. Within the context of the *wānanga* at the University of Auckland the term is used with the expressed purpose of senior *Māori* representatives gathered to form an advisory body to the council, senate and the Vice-Chancellor of the university.

The Runanga

The Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*) had to confront several issues prior to moving on the establishment of a *runanga*.(Appendix One). In 1999, the identification of all senior *Māori* staff from across all faculties of the university was the first task to be undertaken, providing a critical mass of *Māori* making up the

runanga membership. This provided a mandate for each member to support and assist the development and advancement of all *Māori* staff and student focused activity within their respective entities and report back to the *runanga* on a timely basis. The *runanga* meets quarterly throughout the year and reports bi-annually to the University Council. It also provides advice and support to the Office of the Vice-Chancellor.

The establishment of the *runanga* was the first part of a re-positioning for *Māori* in the University. Another recommendation in the Walker report was the development of ‘*Te Wānanga O Waipapa*’ but within the university’s infrastructural framework. The historical events recorded above are in part captured by what Nicholas Tarling wrote:

“The future of the University of Auckland is contained in the university of the present, but it is also contained in the university of the past, and not merely in the past 30 years.” (Tarling, N. 1999)

Nicholas Tarling stated that for the university to progress in meeting the needs of its constituency, it could draw an acknowledged history to build on in the future. The outcome for the institution in this sense was to provide a critique of its responsiveness to *Māori*, in particular to articulate the institution’s response to making it more inviting and responsive to *Māori* who are seeking to take an opportunity to try and succeed within the academic environment. This environment provides recognized credentials that would be accepted nationally and internationally.

This was the expressed purpose of the ‘*wānanga*’ initiative. In seeking to bring all *Māori* entities of the university together it was necessary to extend and reconfigure the existing *marae* complex, so that a number of *Māori* groups could be accommodated under one physical umbrella. Such a physical presence would produce collaborative and more inclusive *whānau* synergies as well as the expectation that this would lead to more innovative modes of operation in the respective fields of research, teaching and learning for the University. This meant that other *Māori* individuals and entities across the university would stay within faculties but would traverse academic and research disciplines collectively as and when required for teaching and research purposes. It was also acknowledged that from the outset of the

initiative that the Treaty of *Waitangi* and the status of *Māori* as *tangata whenua*/ people of the land were to be the core principle. However, equity needs of *Māori* were considered as important, as the overriding objective was to produce an innovative, academically strong centre for *Māori* and indigenous teaching and learning. *Māori* staff had to agree to work toward establishing the accommodation justification proposal seeking to advance *Māori* and Indigenous students. It was crucial that the cross-cultural dynamics of the people relationships were understood and appropriately addressed in this forum with the specific aim of making it work effectively.

Graham Smith (2000) saw this initiative as an opportunity for the University of Auckland to create an international centre of excellence in university teaching, research and study by establishing the consolidated building complex drawing together *Māori*, Pacific Islands and Indigenous studies entities at the University of Auckland. This was in line with national and international objectives of recognizing the value of indigenous cultures. The new building complex was represented as a complex that sought to provide autonomous *spaces* for the development of *Māori* interests along with other cultures. It would also provide opportunity for shared teaching and learning and create a critical mass of academic activity so that *Māori* and Pacifica academic pursuits could build on each other's knowledge and skills base. The formation of *Te Wānanga O Waipapa*, as a University-wide entity accommodated in the new building complex was seen as having the potential to bring together *Māori* students and academics from the other faculties into a shared sense of *whanau*/ 'extended family'. The *wānanga* would then serve to attract prestigious academic resources to the University of Auckland site creating the expectation of a higher University profile in this area of study while consolidating existing *Māori* resource within it and providing a nationwide location for premier scholarship in a number of academic disciplines.

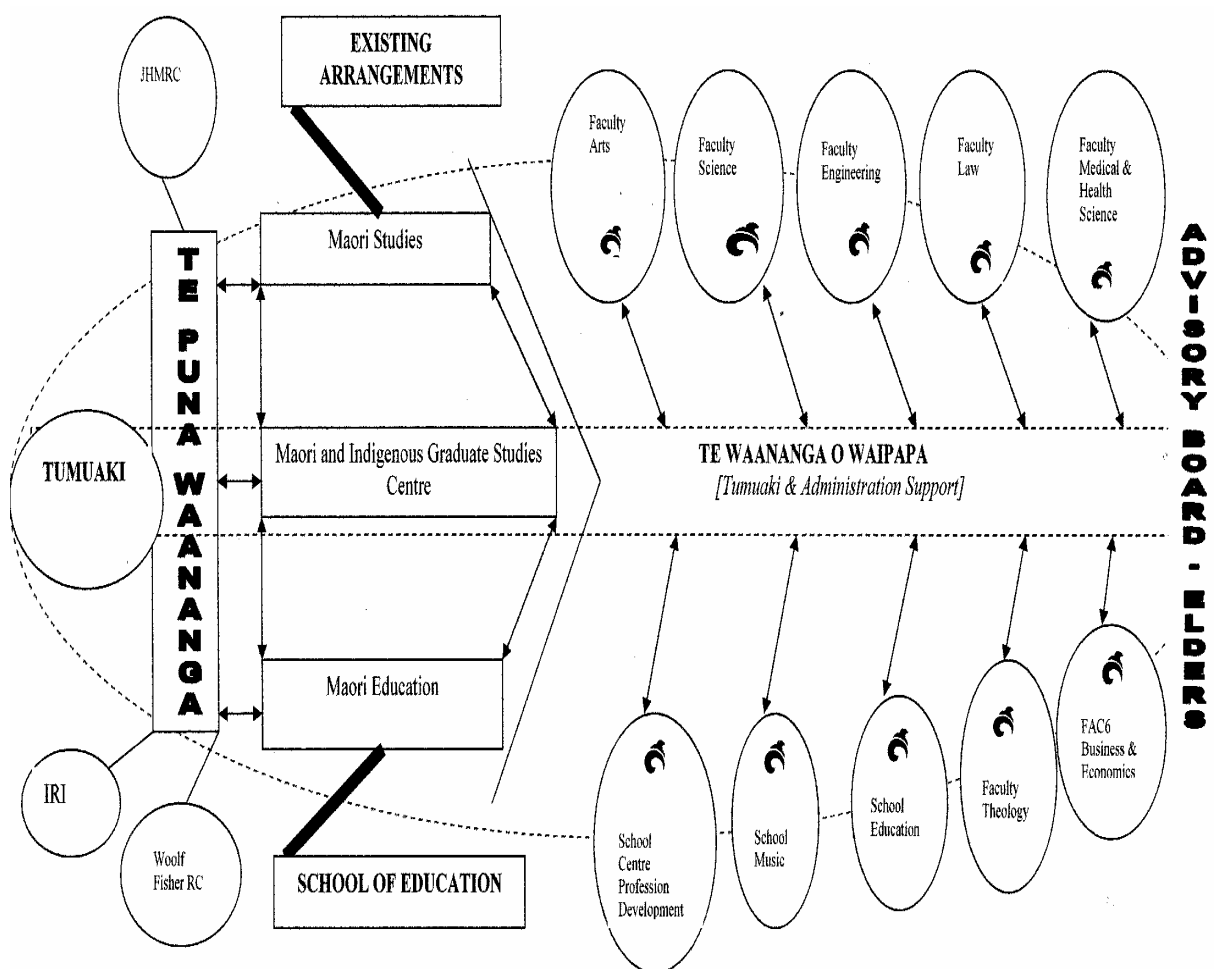
It was important that the new complex would be seen as a *turangawaewae*/ a place to stand, for *Māori* and Pacifica students from throughout the University. Planned *Māori* student service facilities within the complex would accommodate visiting students and associated seminars and meetings and provide dedicated *space* for appropriate cultural observances. *Māori* and other cultures base the sharing of resources on economic reasoning inherent in the sharing of the type of *space* envisaged. There was

an inherent flexibility of use and future proofing capacity in bringing like activities together as was scheduled in the accommodation report.⁷⁸ Different research entities such as the James *Henare* Māori Research Centre (JHMRC), and the International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI) located off-site would be incorporated within the planned complex. In the interim pending completion of the complex the above entities as with others were accommodated in close proximity to the new proposed complex to achieve a workable mass of academics. The transition into the new complex would happen with a minimum of disruption to the existing activity of all parties.

The overview for the planning of the initiative required opportunity to ascertain existing infrastructure as shown in Figure Three, *Te Wānanga o Waipapa*. This was suggested as a virtual structure that incorporated all academic entities of the university including their respective support structures. All faculties of the *wānanga* were linked by a common programme of study that meant that the duplication of course papers did not occur and that all parties would be able to access pooled resources such as the Department of Māori Studies delivering te reo Māori language papers for all faculties. Funding that emerged from this would be apportioned accordingly to each faculty. Key elements to this were the more efficient and effective use of human resources and other sources of information required for the delivery of the course papers. Further development of post graduate papers and research supervision for post graduate students would be developed and offered through the *wānanga* by faculties as and when required. The development of this model centres on the mutually agreed understanding by all faculties that they would retain autonomy in relation to these programmes and that they would be able to contribute when their respective programmes were in operation. Central to the organization and management of this initiative is the co-ordination of all activities led by a *Tumuaki*/ Dean advised accordingly by the *runanga* and advisory board including elders.

78 Te Puna Wānanga & Fale Pacifica Accommodation Justification Report. (2001) Report prepared by the Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor (Māori) and Pacifica Staff for the Faculty of Arts, University of Auckland.

Figure 3: Te Wānanga O Waipapa



[Source: Office of the Pro Vice Chancellor (Māori), University of Auckland (2000)]

The key elements in this structure are the positions of entities within the university identified as faculties and schools. The research institutes sit alongside the faculties linked into the *Te Puna Wānanga*. *Te Puna Wānanga* refers to the well-spring of knowledge. It affirms the view that it is the birth place for *Māori* programmes within the university. This term emerges from within traditional *Māori* society and can be directly aligned to the infrastructural reforms within the university. Another important part of the reconfiguration was the constructive use of *space* that would cater for the specific needs of the groups to be accommodated. This planning was done in close consultation with the groups by the accommodation strategy group led by the Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*). Jasmax Architects were contracted to provide expertise in project co-ordination. They were contracted in part based on their historical connection to planning the original *marae* complex, having been

responsible for that building project from its inception in the late 1980's. Greg Boyden was the project *manager* and Ivan Mercep, the original architect, came out of retirement to assist as required. This is an example of the type of collegiality that made this initiative special for all involved in the project.

From the outset Jasmax and others took into consideration the floor area schedule for the complex. What were planned was the incorporation of existing buildings such as the *Māori* Culture Workshops and a two-storey extension of the existing *Māori* Studies building. They sought to connect the existing *marae* and the planned Business and Economics complex site located in the same precinct of the *marae* in order to achieve an integrated conference facility option complete with language translation facilities. It would become the *turangawaewae*/ a place to stand, for *Māori* staff and students from throughout New Zealand and represent the University of Auckland as the leading institution for *Māori* and indigenous studies. Funding generated by teaching EFT'S (Equivalent Full-time Tertiary Student) attributed to *Te Puna Wānanga* and *Te Wānanga O Waipapa*, as a whole would go toward meeting ongoing operational and management costs. The economic analysis and *space* usage were taken into account when considering operational costs and the ongoing projected management of the complex. Integral to this was the combined energies of *Māori* entities from across the university to achieve a unique Polynesian centre of academic pursuits. At that time a first for New Zealand and a singularly unique facility internationally. A number of possible funding sources were identified to provide the capital injection of funding for an initiative of this kind. The thrust of presentations to be made focused on the how the community would also benefit in the use of the complex facilities, as they would be unique to Auckland and the only dedicated academic site of this nature in New Zealand.

The incorporation of the existing *marae* facility was also to be used as teaching *space* and a site to observe cultural ritual by the entire university community, the Auckland, New Zealand and international community. Strategic fundraising for the project considered several categories or groups. A selection of groups was - University Funding; N.Z. Government Funding; General International Philanthropic Funders (Carnegie, Mellon Trust); General National based Philanthropic Sources (ASB Trust, Westpac Trust, Sky City Trust, Telecom, Clear, APEC Foundation, Regional Councils

and Local Funding); Auckland City Council; *Māori* Focused Community and Philanthropic sources (*Te Ohu Kaimoana*, *Māori* Education Trust, Auckland City Council, and MASPAC).

Overarching goals of the planned development involved the provision of an internationally recognized site of academic excellence in *Māori*, and indigenous university studies; connected with government policies aimed at ‘Closing the Gaps’, ‘Capacity Building’ and ‘Regional Enhancement’⁷⁹. The accommodation case was made for *Māori* research and teaching independently. This would ensure that the inter-relationships of architectural design, functionality and cultural *kaupapa* were maximized; while creating an appropriate environment for learning and achievement as part of the strategy was to consider the development of regional enhancement. This came in the form of relationships developed between the University and other institutions such as the *Waiariki* Institute of Technology [*Rotorua*] and *Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi* [*Whakatane*]. Another aspect that was considered (G.Smith, 2001) was the development of an infrastructure of researchers needed to support planned academic interventions designed to grow and enhance all aspects of undergraduate and postgraduate teaching and research for the university. As an equity initiative the project responds to the Treaty of *Waitangi* as well as the social development of *Māori*. It sought to project a new vision of citizenship leading to a *Māori* interface and is therefore especially significant for Auckland and *Aotearoa*/New Zealand as a whole.

The planned strategy for the *Te Wānanga O Waipapa* initiative was informed by the previously mentioned university reports as well as a number of governmental reports. Governmental reports included: The Jefferies Report (1997) “*Māori* Participation in Tertiary Education – Barriers and Strategies to Overcome Them” and more recent reports, “Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between *Māori* and Non-*Māori*” – A Report to the Minister of *Māori Affairs*, *Te Puni Kokiri* (1998); and a Report of the Controller and Auditor-General – “Delivering Effective Outputs for *Māori* (1998). These were all developed around themes that are evident in University

policy such as the need for quality research linked to effective and appropriate government policy in the better utilization of *Māori* resources. Supportive long-term strategies and planning across a broad front for *Māori* academic development was a key to this line of thinking as was the need for creative responsiveness to developing *Māori* aspirations. The need to improve quality outcomes for *Māori* students through the integration of *Māori* knowledge, language, culture and values into the university context was one of the underpinning features of this activity that would lead to the development of culturally supportive teaching and learning contexts for *Māori* students.

The establishment of the *Te Puna Wānanga* and *Te Wānanga O Waipapa* virtual ‘university within a university’ concept for *Māori* education was further underpinned by key principles inherent in the Treaty of *Waitangi*: partnership, active protection, good governance, citizenship and *tinio rangatiratanga*/ autonomy and self management. The *Waitangi* Tribunal identifies these principles as justification for the existence of *Wānanga*⁸⁰. The *Māori* Education Group – *Te Aratitia* is an example of the benefits of bringing together a critical mass of *Māori* staff, *Māori* specific courses and delivery styles which in turn attract quality teaching staff and subsequently lead to greater *Māori* tertiary education access, participation, retention and success. The aim of the *Te Wānanga O Waipapa* and *Te Puna Wānanga* concepts was to build on the ‘success strategy’ of *Te Aratitia* to create further opportunities by way of collaborative teaching and *Māori* academic development across the University. *Te Aratitia* is a term that is likened to a spearhead forging forward to break new ground, in this case to give birth to new initiatives for *Māori* development in the university. *Te Wānanga O Waipapa* is based on *Māori* understandings and practices. It seeks to provide an environment in which successful elements of *Te Kohanga Reo*, *Kura Kaupapa* and *Wānanga* could develop and flourish. A key concept is that of the *whānau*/ extended family. The aim of the project is to create an environment of co-operation and respect, which supports students and staff in a culturally appropriate context. The overriding objective is to create an exciting and innovative learning environment, which would produce high quality outcomes in every aspect of the *Wānanga*. It is informed by values that include academic excellence; improved rates

of participation and success by *Māori* students; the validity of *Māori* knowledge; culturally appropriate pedagogy; vision; *tino rangatiratanga*/ self determination; *whanaungatanga*/ family values and *kotahitanga*/ collaboration

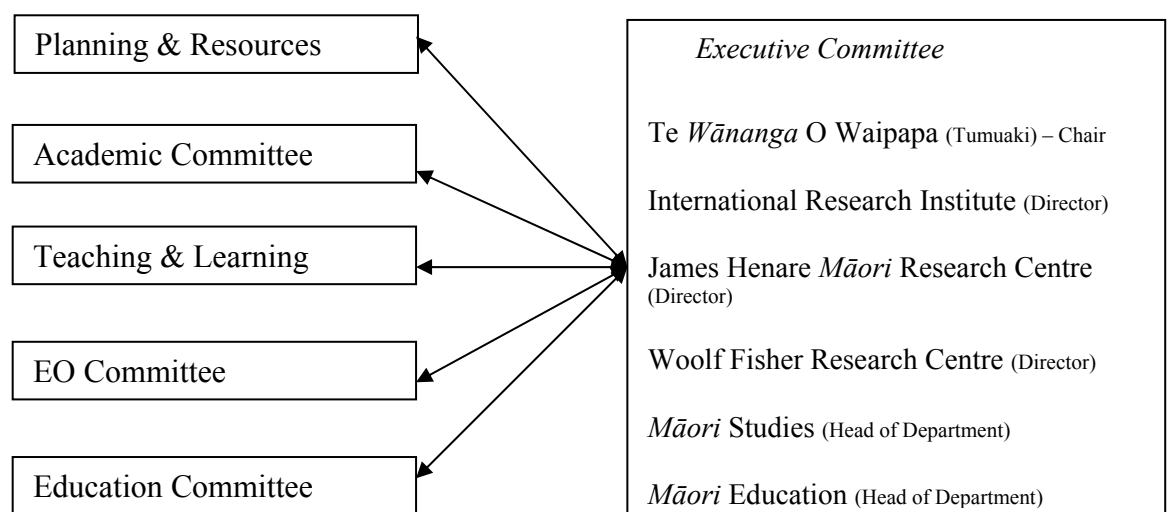
The proposed reconfiguration of the accommodation planned for the *marae* involved a number of key committees within the university. The Capital Planning and Budget Committee considers all proposed construction prior to the initiative proceeding to the Council for approval. Presentation of a full proposal included architectural drawings of the concept, construction and an ongoing financial commitments, institutional policy and strategic intent in line with university planning – short term and long term. The Faculty of Arts was charged with the sponsorship of the initiative as the key entities – the Department of *Māori* Education and the Department of *Māori* Studies were part of the faculty. The creation of the *Māori* and Indigenous Graduate Studies Centre (MAI) along with the other entities would form the *Te Puna Wānanga*/ the well-spring of knowledge which would sit at the core of the University-wide development of *Te Wānanga O Waipapa*. *Te Puna Wānanga* was to occupy the current *Māori* Studies buildings and develop a new integrated organizational structure. Future building planned will be located adjacent to the current Department of *Māori* Studies and *marae* buildings to create *space* for the MAI Centre, the *Māori* Research Centres. This also included dedicated teaching facilities. Future development was signaled in the planned case of the proposal. The new graduate development called the *Māori* and Indigenous Graduate Centre would serve to bridge the two academic groups supported by the staff and students of both academic groups.

Māori and Indigenous Graduate Studies Centre (MAI)

The MAI development was a core component of the *Te Wānanga O Waipapa* initiative. The programme allows graduate students to enrol with either *Māori* Studies or *Māori* Education. Each student would be tracked throughout the programme and provided with supervision support throughout their post-graduate years of study. Key to this programme is the greater flexibility in developing supervision support options, particularly at PhD level where it is acknowledged that there is insufficient *Māori* staff. The aim of the programme was to produce by 2005 a total of 500 *Māori* PhD's

or doctoral students and or graduates, a critical mass of academic credentialed people nationally that could be called upon to provide supervision support for other *Māori* and indigenous students enrolling in the programme. It was noted that the EFTS (*Equivalent Fulltime Tertiary Student*) would be apportioned according to teaching contributions. It was also planned that *Te Puna Wānanga* (Figure 4) would have an Executive Committee structure that would include the Chairs of *Māori* Studies, *Māori* Education, MAI Graduate Centre and the Directors of centrally involved research centres: IRI, JHMRC and the Woolf Fisher Research Centre. The *Māori* focus research centres would maintain their existing structures and research autonomy but co-ordinate as appropriate through *Te Puna Wānanga*. The centres would also support where they are able the MAI Centre and the development of graduate students into research.

Figure 4: *Te Puna Wānanga*



Competition from Other Institutions

Effectiveness in a competitive context

The University of Auckland claims to be the premier research-led tertiary institution in New Zealand and the wider Pacific Island region. Its significant presence coupled with a reputation for quality (*reiterated as recently as August 2000 by the National*

University Audit Body)⁸¹ is based on the university's ability to attract, nurture and retain highly credentialed teaching and research staff. By virtue of its size the university has the capacity to offer a diverse range of programmes appealing to a broad cross-section of potential students. *Te Wānanga O Waipapa* is well positioned to take advantage of these strengths. It is aimed at becoming the dominant *Māori* graduate education provider within the New Zealand tertiary sector. Only *Te Wānanga O Aotearoa* and Auckland University of Technology's, *Te Ara Poutama*/ Faculty of *Māori* Development could possibly compete with that vision. This is unlikely however, in the case of *Te Ara Poutama* as a memorandum of understanding between the University of Auckland and the Auckland University of Technology has been developed to incorporate the different programmes offered by both institutions as there is marked differentiation between the programmes each institution offers. In the case of *Te Wānanga O Aotearoa*, one of the state funded *wānanga*, the programmes offered at that institution centre more specifically on under-graduate courses whereas the University of Auckland is directed more to the ongoing development of post-graduate study and research. Moreover, course offerings of other providers are generally localised and specific e.g. UNITEC⁸² or in the case of Massey University's Albany complex severely reduced following Institutional restructuring. Nevertheless, an analysis of recent enrolment trends shows that the University of Auckland has only been partly effective:

Table 1: *Māori* Student Enrolments in New Zealand Tertiary Institutions

Tertiary Institutions	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
University of Auckland	1,932	2,047	1,988	1,921	1,922	1,778
University of Waikato	2,285	3,001	2,966	2,808	2,854	3,045
Massey University	3,225	3,894	3,898	3,851	3,725	3,300
Victoria University of Wellington	1,396	1,602	1,476	1,324	1,079	1,045
University of Canterbury	602	582	627	655	636	634
Lincoln University						

81 New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit

82 Unitec's *Te Pūkenga o Wairaka* has a West Auckland focus and offers low level courses in te reo [Māori language] and *raranga* [flax weaving].

	102	136	135	155	162	154
University of Otago	1,255	1,354	1,289	1,264	1,159	1,145
Auckland University of Technology	1,310	1,685	1,672	1,695	1,575	1,297

[Source: Education Statistics for Students at Tertiary Institutions 2005, Ministry of Education]

The student enrolments in *Table 1* indicate that the majority of *Māori* student enrolments have decreased in most of the universities. There are a number of factors that could have contributed to this, one of which is the changes in government policy pertaining to student loans. Another of these factors was the collecting of ethnicity information. The University of Auckland sought in 1996 ethnicity information from students enrolling into the university for the first time. Prior to that students enrolling were not asked to provide that information as it was an option. Educational interventions such as the *wānanga* at the University of Auckland could also be seen as responsible for the arresting of the decline of *Māori* enrolments from 2001 peaking in 2004. Since then there have been a number of other interventions such as Starpath and *Ngā Pae O Te Māramatanga* (The National Institute of Research Excellence for *Māori* Development and Advancement), that have served to provide diverse options in research and career pathway for the *Māori* student.

Table 2: *Māori* Enrolments at the University of Auckland 1977 to 2003.

Year	Student Total	<i>Māori</i> Total	<i>Māori</i> %
1977	10,519	155	1.5
1978	11,420	253	2.2
1979	11,622	336	2.9
1980	12,012	406	3.4
1981	12,239	419	3.4
1982	12,472	306	2.5
1983	12,755	400	3.1
1984	12,946	381	2.9
1985	12,917	363	2.8
1986	13,030	363	2.8
1987	13,784	472	3.4
1988	14,552	615	4.2
1989	15,871	744	4.7
1990	16,457	765	4.6
1991	18,831	1,167	6.2
1992	20,772	1,340	6.5
1993	22,573	1,638	7.3

1994	24,262	1,920	7.9
1995	24,892	1,932	7.8
1996	25,829	1,984	7.7
1997	25,780	1,824	7.1
1998	24,284	1,815	6.2
1999	23,674	1,757	6.5
2000	28,092	1,778	6.3
2001	29,465	1,922	6.5
2002	31,502	1,921	6.0
2003	33,226	1,988	5.9

[Source: Office of Planning and Quality, The University of Auckland 2004]

NB:

1977-1980 *University Statistics (Hard-copy volumes). Ethnicity recorded by Liaison pre-1981.*

1981-1989 *Student Enrolments Summary.*

1990-1996 *University of Auckland Annual Report, 1995/1996.*

1997-1998 *SEARS.*

1999 *SEARS. [April 1999]*

2000-2003 *Planning and Quality Office, University of Auckland*

Over the last five years *Māori* students enrolling at the University of Auckland have risen and then leveled as reported in *Table 2*. This suggests that targeted recruitment of *Māori* has arrested the decline in numbers prior to 2001. As stated earlier the collation of information on ethnicity from tertiary institutions has been variable prior to 1996. The development of the focus on building critical mass of *Māori* entering and completing post graduate study is growing, in particular at the University of Auckland. In 2002 *Ngā Pae O Te Māramatanga/* National Institute of Research Excellence for *Māori* Development and Advancement was established and hosted by the University of Auckland. As part of the programme of development the centre continued to build on the *Māori* and Indigenous Graduate Studies initiative in contributing to post graduate development of *Māori* students. An analysis of recent enrolments in the doctoral studies programme at the University of Auckland notes progress in the effectiveness of such a programme developed out of the *Te Wānanga o Waipapa* initiative:

Table 3: *Māori* Student enrolments in doctoral programmes at the University of Auckland

	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000
<i>Māori</i> Student Graduates in doctoral programmes	91 (6.1%)	84 (6.2%)	81 (6.3%)	69 (5.8%)	65 (6.1%)	57 (5.8%)

Total students enrolled in doctoral programmes	1498 (100%)	1352 (100%)	1296 (100%)	1191 (100%)	1062 (100%)	976 (100%)
Māori graduates from doctoral programmes	Not available	10 (5.4%)	8 (6.4%)	5 (3.8%)	3 (2.6%)	3 (3%)
Total graduates from doctoral programmes	Not available	185 (100%)	125 (100%)	129 (100%)	115 (100%)	99 (100%)

[Source: Office of Quality and Planning, University of Auckland, 14 December 2005]

The initial goal for the *Māori* and Indigenous Graduate Studies initiative (MAI) was to have by 2005 a total of 500 doctoral students enrolled or graduated in New Zealand. Table 3 indicates a gradual lift in numbers from 2000 at the University of Auckland. In addition to the figures listed in Table 3, previous doctoral graduates from the university are now in excess of 150⁸³ graduates with PhD's together with the identified 447 in doctoral programmes listed in Table 3. This information demonstrates *Māori* participation in tertiary study at the highest level of academia. Demand for entry into tertiary education at university level is now more evident in the establishment of three state funded tribal *Wānanga* – *Te Whare Wānanga O Awanuiarangi*, *Te Wānanga O Raukawa* and *Te Wānanga O Aotearoa*. They are reported previously in *Māori Participation in Tertiary Education – Barriers and Strategies To Overcome Them*, Richard Jefferies (1997); *Progress Towards Closing the Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and Non-Māori – A Report to the Minister of Māori Affairs*, Te Puni Kokiri (1998); and *The Wānanga Capital Establishment Report*, *Waitangi Tribunal* (1999).

Further Wānanga Development

Possible processes to increase effectiveness further have been identified. Increases in the number of *Māori* students attracted by study opportunities might occur when the university's teaching and learning is better aligned with knowledge, ways of knowing and learning styles that reflect *kaupapa Māori*/ *Māori* principles and philosophy.

⁸³

Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor, University of Auckland (2003)

Existing courses and programmes could however, be expanded to include options such as courses in *Māori* musicology (ethno-musicology) and performing arts, *Māori* fisheries management and resource management (within the Faculty of Science). A further strategy is the provision of specially designed courses to other faculties and departments. In this sense it is suggested that *Te Puna Wānanga* also becomes a service provider of specialist courses. This would have the added effect of not having to reproduce language teacher resources in several faculties, therefore making more efficient and effective use of resources available at the university. In bringing together these proposals it is possible to consider aligning such initiatives to the organization and management of the traditional *wānanga*. The focus would be on the acquisition of knowledge and organization into the delivery of appropriate courses that lead to specialization which in the contemporary university is at the level of post graduate study.

The development of the initiative has been informed by the Treaty of Waitangi; equity concerns and enhancement of the well-being of *Māori* students and communities; Education intervention and development within *Māori* education; the Public Good – responsibility to close the socio-economic gaps and respond to socio- economic positioning of *Māori*; improvement of institutional efficiency through achieving more effective results from university expenditure in areas related to *Māori*; improvement of quality outcomes for *Māori* in respect to access, participation and achievement; modeling of new approaches and initiatives for *Māori*; clarifying cost benefits to *Māori*; repositioning the University of Auckland to achieve the above outcomes within the existing resource base and where appropriate with additional resource support; and enhancing *Māori* regional development through co-operative arrangements.

Positive features of this education model have been described in several research reports e.g. Jefferies 1997⁸⁴, Smith 1997⁸⁵ and the *Waitangi Tribunal*⁸⁶. At the same time, the new building complex sought to respond to a need to re-position *Māori*

84 *Māori Participation in Tertiary Education – Barriers & Strategies to Overcome Them*, published by Te Puni Kokiri / Ministry of *Māori* Development 1997

85 G.H.Smith, Unpublished PhD thesis 1997, University of Auckland

86 *Waitangi Treaty Claim* - WAI 781

Studies as an academic discipline, and to enable a more inclusive relationship across all faculties of the University of Auckland in advancing *Māori* development. In summary, additional and new *spaces* were required to support the new pedagogical approaches and to cater for anticipated student growth numbers as a result of new initiatives to be considered such as the development of the *Māori* and Indigenous Graduate Studies Centre (MAI); a ‘Night University’ development; ‘Senior College’ development; the development of distance education as a vehicle to deliver programmes for *Māori* at undergraduate and postgraduate levels; the development of improved services and which are better coordinated to support *Māori* students.

It is important to note the necessity, under the proposed development to sustain and consolidate the position of the International Research Institute for *Māori* and Indigenous Education (IRI) at the forefront of *Māori* research in New Zealand and internationally, as well as enhancing the profile of the James *Henare* *Māori* Research Centre in *Te Taitokerau* [Northland] and nationally. In the development of the proposed complex it was suggested that an impressive visual presence which would tangibly reinforce the University of Auckland’s commitment as the foremost academic site for *Māori* University study in New Zealand. Planning for the implementation of such a proposal would have to be strategically considered prior to bringing about the projected change as this would involve the physical movement of staff and programmes to the *Māori* Studies Department. The location of the MAI Graduate Studies Centre would have to be reconfigured in the same move, which would see the development of new buildings adjacent to the existing *Māori* Studies complex. This new accommodation⁸⁷ would house additional teaching *spaces*, the MAI graduate centre, the James *Henare* *Māori* Research Centre, IRI, additional staff offices, and *Māori* student support services. The intention of the new building programme was also to co-ordinate with Pacifica in developing their respective development programmes. It is intended to introduce a new dynamic in the overall cultural development of the university. Projected costs for this project when finalized will reflect the extent of the programme of development and the commitment of the university to the advancement of *Māori* within the institution.

⁸⁷ Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori: Te Wānanga O Waipapa* Accommodation Plan, University of Auckland

Growth in *Te Puna Wānanga*⁸⁸ would be developed through key strategies. One of these strategies was identified as Enhancing Teaching and Learning Options. These options included stimulating growth in existing papers by improvement in the quality of teaching, curriculum content; rationalizing and repositioning papers using staff resources and expertise from across the *Te Puna Wānanga*; and the development of some strategic new papers designed to support *Māori* Musicology; *Māori* Fisheries Management in association with SEMS; Resource Management in association with SEMS; *Kura Kaupapa Māori* Teacher Training; and Public Policy - *Māori*. Some of these courses are already in the process of development e.g. Fisheries Management by 2002 and Resource Management by 2002. Other papers - *Kapa Haka* and Public Policy are also available. Proposed new developments include *Māori* Performing Arts specialties e.g. *Māori* jazz musicianship, *Māori* drama, film and media⁸⁹.

Strategies to enhance distance education and international opportunity as part of the growth aimed at in *Te Puna Wānanga* would be to develop distance education opportunities around existing graduate programmes and courses e.g. Masters of Education, MA *Māori* Education, MA *Māori* Public Policy, MA *Māori* Studies; the development of opportunity within Universitas 21. It is expected that new programmes would emerge naturally depending on perceived student and staff needs in the future. The main point of this approach is that the resources need to be in place to allow for this development to happen. Programmes planned as part of this initiative are Bachelor of Arts (Indigenous Studies); Bachelor of Arts in *Māori* Musicology and Performing Arts; Postgraduate Diploma in *Māori* Journalism; Postgraduate Diploma in *Māori* Professional Studies; Postgraduate Diploma in Indigenous Studies; Masterate in Education; Master of Arts (Indigenous Studies); Doctorate in Indigenous Studies; and Certificate in *te reo Māori*.

International Trends/ Models

The plan for the *Te Wānanga O Waipapa* initiative includes a need to advance international linkages and collaboration for research and teaching.

⁸⁸ Appendix One: Māori Student Enrolments, University of Auckland -: 1977-2003

⁸⁹ Appendix Two: Runanga Membership & representation, University of Auckland (2000)

Internationalization is integral to the development of any reputable university by way of collaborative agreements in the interests of promoting excellence in teaching and research. *Te Wānanga O Waipapa* through the Office of the Pro Vice Chancellor (*Māori*) already has strong relationships in place with other indigenous tertiary providers. These relationships enable international bench-marking and collaboration in a variety of activities including conferences, student and staff exchanges, and research. The overall effect has been the enhancement of the University of Auckland's position as a leader in research-led education, thus making it more attractive to *Māori* students wanting better educational experience.

New Zealand, like other OECD countries, has invested significantly in tertiary education. In recent times, the investment has been increasingly linked with a strategic commitment to build a 'knowledge economy' based on leading edge technology and innovation. A knowledge-based economy requires a highly educated and skilled population and is characteristically produced by a diversified, internationally competitive tertiary education sector, which includes research-led universities. However, the level of educational attainment and the level of investment in education in New Zealand are both lower than in many comparable countries.

According to the OECD publication *Education at a Glance (1998)*, the number of students in tertiary education increased in all OECD countries between 1990 and 1996; in half of these countries, by more than a third. On average across the OECD, 34% of high-school leavers now enter universities; and 22% complete a first degree. The development of this situation is informed by increased student demand, and by the desire of governments to enhance economic performance through knowledge industries. On average, a school leaver without an upper secondary qualification can expect to spend more than twice as long unemployed, and to spend twice as long out of the labour market as a tertiary graduate.⁹⁰

With this in mind the need for benchmarking is recognized as critical to the development of *Te Puna Wānanga* and *Te Wānanga O Waipapa*, to better prepare prospective students entering into the University of Auckland. Some of the

⁹⁰ Report of the Taskforce for Improving Participation in Tertiary Education. University of Auckland, New Zealand; October 1999.

international benchmarking has taken place in both the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia. This has been done in part by the Office of the Pro Vice Chancellor (*Māori*) which has developed a series of international indigenous research and scholarship relationships including the academic benchmarking of *Māori* programmes at the University of Auckland. It was suggested by Graham Smith (1997) that infrastructural benchmarking is to be included within the activities of *Te Puna Wānanga* and at other levels where committees are to be established to oversee academic quality and service delivery overseen by the Executive Committee of the *Te Wānanga O Waipapa*.

Institutional Risks

There are a number of institutional risks identified in the process. However the potential positives considered in light of the political climate and institutional readiness for initiatives of the calibre outweigh the risks. Issues raised in response to this suggestion are the government commitment and the Tertiary Education Advisory Committee now Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) mandate to respond to the *Māori* crisis in the Tertiary sector; a more overt quantification of the University of Auckland's Treaty commitment; increased collaboration and cohesiveness amongst *Māori* staff and resources within the University of Auckland; arresting the decline of *Māori* numbers in University of Auckland programmes; and positively growing *Māori* access, participation and success.

G.Smith (1997) states that the ebbs and flows of development for *Māori* have been influenced by political decision-making. The impact of this has seen significant repositioning of *Māori* resources within tertiary institution which is one of the key foci of this thesis. The Smith model suggests that depending on the resource and situation, people move in and out of the model of transformative praxis; whether it be part of resistance, conscientization or transformative action. Potential negatives identified would be the danger that institutional processes would undermine the innovative potential of the project; applying a short-term reductionist EFT assessment to the project when it is about creating the conditions to produce success (and subsequently develop EFTS growth) for *Māori* students in the medium and long term;

and *Māori* Studies totally collapsing with the loss of key staff as seen in recent years impacting on the area of *Māori* language capability within departments across the university.

Based on the above issues it was seen that there would be added potential for the university to establish a national and international centre of excellence in *Māori* and Indigenous education; remain the national leader in *Māori* academic development; bring together a critical mass of PhD qualified academic staff to work cooperatively for the benefit of *Māori*; and develop *Māori* Leadership and *Māori* academic role models.

Summary

The Smith model of *kaupapa Māori* developed with the understanding that for *Māori* knowledge to be considered as a valid form of critical theory it needed to be critiqued alongside existing forms critical theory and knowledge. G.Smith (1997) presents his findings and the subsequent model developed as transformative praxis. In telling his story he states that:

‘the stark reality of my story is certainly not a ‘romantic’ one. The issue of bridging the space between ‘theory’ and ‘practice’ is a fundamental issue in the thesis which follows. The purpose of sharing my story here as is the underpinning message in this thesis is to show and declare the link between ‘personal’ struggle and a wider ‘collective’ struggle, to show the link between the traditional intellectual and the organic intellectual, In this sense, the act of struggle itself is seen to be an important factor in the cycle of conscientization’, resistance and praxis’ in not only ‘making sense’ of one’s life, but in also transforming it in more meaningful ways, and ultimately reclaiming it.’

In the case of the University of Auckland, the model discussed has moved on from the initial stages of conscientization and resistance. In this case the move to ‘claim’ *space*

at the University of Auckland allows examination of the use of existing infrastructure and resources in the building of a critical mass of credentialed *Māori* people who would in time be in a better position to further contribute to New Zealand society. Critical events⁹¹ began as far back as 1947 with the appointment of Maharaia Winiata to the Department of Continuing Education. As *Māori* staff numbers increased the intervention proposed at the university took shape along the lines of traditional *Wānanga* where skilled people such as Deans of Faculties are recognized as *tōhunga*, as learned people were in traditional *Māori* society. It is from this foundation that the Smith model suggests that as with traditional *Wānanga*, the development of the proposed structure at the University of Auckland focuses on the efficient and effectiveness of all people working together as whanau or family for the collective good of all parties.

The calendar year of the traditional *wānanga* is another aspect that can be aligned to the same organization of the University of Auckland that has its calendar organized in semesters. Enrolment to courses and other such options offered by the university require people to pass certain examinations as part of a set of criteria not unlike that of the traditional *wānanga*.

The development of the *runanga*⁹² at the University of Auckland is another part of the intervention that can be considered alongside the traditional *wānanga*. A key element to traditional *wānanga* led by *tōhunga* was the incorporation of highly skilled personnel who again peer reviewed activity relating to the delivery and retention of knowledge. Skilled people in their respective areas of knowledge also provided opportunity for benchmarking and sharing of ideas. This involved travel and intimate knowledge of the particular areas of interest. Travel can be seen as an important part of both the traditional and contemporary models as it allows scholars to present their findings to others and vice versa.

The bringing together of the *kaupapa Māori* model presented by G.Smith (1997) as the foundation of an educational intervention provides opportunity for people to use it with the expectation that it will serve to further build on the knowledge base for

91 Table 5: *Te Wānanga O Waipapa*/ University of Auckland Critical Events

92 Appendix Three: Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor (Māori): Runanga Membership 2000 (establishment)

others. This thesis is an example of *kaupapa Māori* theory and how it has informed the contribution to the contemporary tertiary institution in New Zealand.

As discussed earlier in Figure Four, the *Te Puna Wānanga* suggests a re-organization of existing entities and related resources. This re-designation provides opportunity to establish more efficient and effective forms of collaboration and engagement at all levels of management, as identified, for example in the Faculty of Arts. The indicators of success in this model would be the arresting of the decline of *Māori* student enrolments across the university faculties, the growth of *Māori* participating in post-graduate study and research, therefore providing an opportunity to contribute to the bank of knowledge in New Zealand society. The significant events discussed in the chapter that form an integral part of the history for the University of Auckland are listed in *Table Four*. Each of the events presents themselves as part of the transformative praxis model discussed by Smith, (1997).

Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori

The language is the life essence of Māori existence

Table 4: *Te Wānanga O Waipapa/ University of Auckland Critical Events*

Timeframe	<i>Kaupapa Māori Model</i>	The University of Auckland
1835 to 1949	<i>Resistance; transformative action</i> <i>Transformative action</i> <i>Transformative action; conscientization</i> <i>Transformative action</i>	[1835] Declaration of Independence [1840] Treaty of Waitangi signed [1947] <i>Maharaia Winiata</i> first <i>Māori</i> appointment in the University – Department of Continuing Education [1948] <i>Matiu Te Hau</i> appointed in Department of Continuing Education
1950 to 1959	<i>Transformative action; conscientization</i> <i>Transformation action; resistance; conscientization</i>	[1950] Bruce Biggs appointed as Assistant Lecturer [Department of Anthropology] [1951] Department of Anthropology – <i>Māori</i> language listed in University Calendar.
1960 to 1969	<i>Resistance</i>	[1961] Hunn Report – government policy of integration
1970 to 1979	<i>Conscientization</i> <i>Resistance; transformative action</i> <i>Resistance; transformative action</i>	[1971] Report <i>Te Reo Māori</i> (Benton) [1975] <i>Waitangi</i> Tribunal Act [1985] Protests
1980 to 1989	<i>Transformative action</i> <i>Transformative action; conscientization</i> <i>Transformative action</i> <i>Transformative action</i> <i>Transformative action</i>	[1982] <i>Te Kohanga Reo</i> established – state funded [1987] <i>Te Reo Māori</i> recognized as an official language [1987] <i>Kura Kaupapa Māori</i> established [1987] <i>Whare Kura</i> established [1988] <i>Waipapa marae</i> established – <i>Tane Nui A Rangi</i>
1990 to 1999	<i>Transformative action</i> <i>Conscientization</i> <i>Conscientization; resistance; transformative action</i> <i>Conscientization</i> <i>Transformative action</i> <i>Transformative action</i> <i>Resistance; transformative action</i>	[Est.1991] Department of <i>Māori</i> Studies [1993] Review of the Department of <i>Māori</i> Studies [1997] G, Smith: The Development of <i>Kaupapa Māori</i> : Theory and Praxis [thesis] Review of <i>Māori</i> in the University [1998] First State Funded <i>Wānanga</i> established [1998] <i>Ranginui</i> Walker appointed as Pro Vice-Chancellor (<i>Māori</i>) [1993] <i>Mataatua</i> Declaration
2000 to present	<i>Transformative action</i> <i>Transformative action</i>	[2000] Office of the Pro Vice-Chancellor (<i>Māori</i>) established [2000] <i>Te Runanga Te Wānanga O Waipapa</i> established

Chapter Six/ Wāhanga Ono

Case Study: The University of British Columbia/

Tirohanga Tuarua – Te Whare Wānanga o British Columbia

Introduction

“The impact of policy reformation in Canada and New Zealand will be used to inform the issues raised in the ‘creation of space’ and the use of different tools that can be used to achieve indigenous goals.”(Piper, M. 1999)

This thesis discusses the re-positioning of two universities to meet the needs of the indigenous student while at the same time maintaining an internationally recognized and acknowledged institution of research excellence. The University of British Columbia in this context has a very mixed history in providing ‘space’ for Native Indians to enrol and enjoy credentialed success. A major report by Berger and Kirkness (1984) records the history of the development of programmes for Native Indian peoples. This historical account has clear parallels with the history of the University of Auckland. At the University of British Columbia and the University of Auckland, Native Studies or *Māori* studies components were first located in the Department of Anthropology, prior to being acknowledged as individual academic disciplines. *Māori* Studies in the case of Auckland and Native Indian Programmes of Study at the University of British Columbia.

The transformation of the institution to include Native Indian programmes at the University of British Columbia involved the reclaiming of both *voice* for indigenous peoples and *space* through a series of critical events. The key elements of *voice* as discussed by Linda Smith,⁹³ refers to the need for indigenous peoples to tell their own stories. Smith discusses the need to provide a base from which they can enter into the discussion or conversation about themselves and provide significant insight into the impact of issues on themselves collectively and individually. In the past within academic circles contributions of this nature have not been recognized or taken into

93 Smith, L.T. (1998). “Decolonizing Methodologies”. New York: Zed Books; Dunedin : University of Otago Press.

account. *Voice* in this context is a key element in creating *space* as it entails a forum and base from which conversation and contribution can take place.

The University of British Columbia development of indigenous space

In the case of the University of British Columbia interviews with Jo-ann Archibald, Madeleine McIvor and Mary-Paz Rivera provided rich sources of information about the development of the First Nations House of Learning. Archibald is a former director of the First Nations House of Learning and McIvor is presently the deputy director of the Longhouse. Rivera coordinates information technology support for the Longhouse.

Jo-ann Archibald is the co-author of the book ‘The First Nations House of Learning – Our Home Away from Home’⁹⁴. She builds on the earlier work of Verna Kirkness and Tom Burger who were charged with the responsibility of writing what became known as the Burger Report discussed in this thesis. My interviews with her provided insight into the development of indigenous *space* at the University of British Columbia. Jo-ann Archibald describes the honour bestowed on the university by the Musqueam and Squamish people on whose traditional lands the university is situated. Archibald argued that the development of First Nations programmes at the University of British Columbia was the best way in which to consolidate a presence for First Nations programmes of study. In addition she argued that all cultures represented at the University of British Columbia could benefit from the approach taken by each faculty who had responsibility for the programme. This proved to be a catalyst for conscientization.

Madeline McIvor’s interview provided further details about the establishment of First Nations programmes. Her experience since coming to the university and working in senior management within the First Nations House of Learning reveals the underpinning values. These were identified by McIvor as respect, reciprocity, relevance and responsibility⁹⁵. These factors give rise to the notion of giving back to

94 Kirkness, Verna & Archibald, Jo-ann (2001), “The First Nations Longhouse: our home away from home”, University of British Columbia, Canada.

95 McIvor (2003); Personal Communication

the community. Each person and what they bring to the Longhouse is valued and is seen in part as giving back to the centre, which in this case is the people or community.

An interview with Antonia (Mar-y-paz) Rivera, an enrolled PhD student whose ancestors can be traced to Mexico City, provided an opportunity for her to tell her story. This is an account of how she went about trying to have her thesis accepted on a CD-Rom rather than in the written form which had been a 'presumed' form of presentation for theses to be submitted, by an academic institution. The thesis was in partial fulfillment of her Master of Architecture at the University of British Columbia. The use of this story provides further insight into how institutional contexts are not neutral in to the use of new *tools* and how the support systems of the First Nations House of Learning allowed her and her family *space* to achieve her goal as an indigenous researcher. In this case the ways in which institutions interpret what is acceptable and implement policy relating to the use of technology inhibited the academic advancement of a person. This story indicates how the institution responded to the student's needs and changed the direction of its education policy by reviewing policies aimed at the use of technology.

A significant feature of the two key elements is having a place to stand and be heard. This is readily identifiable within *Māori* culture as being '*turangawaewae*'. Through the report by Berger and Kirkness (1984) the University of British Columbia also signaled its intention to seek an analysis of cultural needs for *space* and *voice*. This was needed prior to developing a strategy focused on advancement of the university vision that included First Nation collaboration throughout the university's governance, organization and management into the 21st Century. Interestingly the report achieved a form of conscientization, its aim being to record the history of the University of British Columbia's involvement in the 'ownership' and influence of the Northwest Art style.

Northwest art forms are unique to the people of British Columbia and its immediate surroundings. An example of this art form was the presentation of a totem pole to the university. To mark this event a totem pole carved by renowned Kwakwaka'wakw carver Ellen Neel was presented to the university on October 30, 1948 in front of a crowd of 6000 at Thunderbird Stadium. A formal ceremony was led by Chief William

Scow, before presenting it to the Alma Mater Society (AMS). He told the people gathered at the complex, that the pole sculptured as an image of the Thunderbird creature, now made the university's use of the Thunderbird name "hereby legal for the first time." Prior to this event, the university had used the Thunderbird name without the blessing of the First Nations tribes. The then AMS President Dave Brouson said that the pole would stand in a "place of honour" in front of Brock Hall, and would serve as a "constant reminder to this and future student councils to make Native students especially welcome on our campus."

As McIvor (2003) suggests the granting of permission by First Nations elders to the University of British Columbia to use the name 'Thunderbird' for the sports stadium was a critical event. This action witnessed by all present was seen by First Nations people as recapturing the prestige and cultural story of the 'Thunderbird'; after the use of the name by the university had been deployed without consultation.

"First Nations stories speak about the distant past when the world was very young. This was a time when there were no distinct divisions between human, animal, or spirit states of being. Humans could transform from one form to the other. They could become animals by putting on animal skins and become human again by taking them off. All realms of existence were closely interconnected. This concept is portrayed on monumental pole sculptures, on potlatch masks used in songs and dances, and other objects such as house fronts".

(Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia, 2003)

The Thunderbird motif has had a far reaching impact on the nature of branding, the use of promotional material and other such activity as an integral part of the promotion of the university locally, nationally and internationally. When confronted with this history, the University of British Columbia sought to address the issue by formally seeking permission to use the 'Thunderbird' logo, therefore mending a rift that existed but had never been acknowledged by the parties in the past. First Nations people, in seeking to 'reclaim' intellectual property and knowledge, approached the issue in a culturally appropriate manner. There are fundamental differences in the way in which Western society views intellectual property rights as opposed to the way indigenous

peoples consider traditional knowledge protection mechanisms.⁹⁶ The result is that North Western Art is now depicted as a natural part of activity within the University of British Columbia. From this understanding the institution has sought to create an environment that enables the provision of access for Native Indian students to advance within the context of academic and social study within the university.

The connection between the University of British Columbia and the University of Auckland has a history in addition to the institutional developments recorded here: an event reported in the history of the stadium as the first international rugby game held between a New Zealand *Māori* team and the University of British Columbia. Through *whakapapa*/ genealogy this is a significant connection between both institutions as a number of the team members had *Ngāpuhi*/ northern tribal group, affiliations. Therefore the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding 1997, (*Appendix Two*) between the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia can be seen as a continuation of the relationships made during that time. A key element of the agreement is collaboration based on indigenous people agreeing to work within the context of traditional ancestral houses that exemplify the unique cultural societies of the indigenous peoples in Canada and New Zealand. Both academic and non-academic staff participate in the agreement. But this is not a new event between both countries. A significant connection happened earlier at the Thunderbird Stadium on the 2nd February 1927, when the university rugby team played the touring New Zealand *Māori* rugby team in the University of British Columbia's first game against a touring side from overseas. Descendants of the same *Māori* Rugby team have continued to participate in the collaboration and activity of First Nations people for both institutions. A further parallel can be seen in how the University of Auckland sought appropriate support and advice from *Ngāti Whatua ki o Orakei* (the local tribal group in the Auckland isthmus) as part of the building process of the ancestral house *Tane-Nui-a-Rangi* located at the city campus of the university.

96 Waitangi Treaty Tribunal, New Zealand Government Report 262: 'New Zealand's Intellectual Property Framework'; Referred to as the 'Wai 262 Claim'

The First Nations House of Learning

Tribal groups sought change by claiming that the North Western art style was an indigenous resource and intellectual property. This created *space* to achieve their respective goals and become an integral part of the process in developing shared goals. The process can be seen as similar to the process of struggle to which G.Smith (1997) refers, in which *Māori* assumed responsibility for the liberation of themselves and their oppressors through a struggle for authenticity as human being. At the University of Auckland there were forms of conscientization, resistance and then transformative action that took place prior to the building of the *marae*. (Smith, L p235, 1997)⁹⁷ The Berger and Kirkness (1984) report was an opportunity for a critique of the institution's resourcing by the university itself as part of the conscientization process. This was led by acknowledged repositories of knowledge in the field, most of who were of First Nations descent. The report while recording the history of First Nations involvement and acknowledgement within the history of the university provided an opportunity to develop a proposal that sought the creation and development of a physical entity based on First Nations cultural principles and philosophies alongside the University of British Columbia vision and charter statements. (Piper, M. 1999)

After considerable consultation and collaborative discussion with all parties within the university community which included elders and officials, Kirkness (May, 1993)⁹⁸ proposed that the physical entity to house the native studies programmes would be the First Nations House of Learning Longhouse. Kirkness proposed that the entity was to be neither a "*faculty of the University of British Columbia or a Native Studies programme or set of courses*". Shee found that few programmes existed outside of the previously mentioned academic disciplines of education, law and anthropology at the University of British Columbia. This did not mean that people were not interested in Native Indian programmes, but priority had not been given to Native Indian programmes of study as an academic discipline or entity.

97 Smith, L. (1997) *Nga Aho O Te Kakahu Matauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Māori in Education*, Unpublished Thesis, (PhD), University of Auckland

98 A Commemorative Issue of the First Nations First Nations House of Learning Newsletter (May, 1993), The University of British Columbia, Canada

As suggested earlier the creation of ‘indigenous *voice*’ and ‘*space*’ needed to emerge prior to moving toward developing future strategy for such programmes of study. Priorities suggested in the report sought to improve access to the University of British Columbia and to assist faculties and departments to provide relevant culturally appropriate programmes of study. The first thrust of the strategy outlined by Kirkness was to source funding to provide mechanisms to complete a programme of ‘indigenous scanning’ to ascertain the scope of the initiative. This can be considered as a form of conscientization moving more toward the formation of critical elements of transformative action.

Like the Auckland example, funding was an issue. Base funding for the project came from the Donner Foundation.⁹⁹ The funding was seen as mobilizing the project, resulting in the First Nations House of Learning being constructed on the University of British Columbia campus. Kirkness sought to compile an historical account of the building of the First Nations House of Learning that took into consideration elders, students, staff and other University community members as the team who were “*instrumental in defining the purpose and concept of the First Nations House of Learning*” to its completion. Its initial intent was to argue that planning for this type of representation had in essence begun in excess of 10,000 years earlier, prior to the Berger and Kirkness report, as archeological evidence of the same cultural communities confirmed that Native Indian tribal groups existed and lived on the West Coast of Canada.

The building project lasted five years. It involved a number of ceremonies to mark important stages in the process, observing traditional protocols of Coast Salish and other Native Indian cultures. The dedication of the site, blessing of the ground, turning of the sod to mark the beginning of construction, raising of the housed posts and roof beams, cleansing of the First Nations House of Learning prior to occupancy and finally the official opening of the First Nations House of Learning were significant parts of

99 The Donner Canadian Foundation (DCF) was established in 1950 by William H. Donner. In the mid-1960s it was decided that DCF should focus on specific program interests, among these research on public policy. The Donner family chose Canada's centennial year, 1967, to embark on a course of professional grant-making that has contributed over \$100 million to more than 1,000 projects across Canada. The Foundation's grant-making continues under the guidance of a Board of Governors composed of the Donner family and eminent Canadians from a variety of fields.

the process in forming the '*a home away from home*' concept. This process was also followed with *Ngati Whatua* at Auckland, the local tribal group leading the observation of cultural ritual and protocol for the *marae* complex opening such as the blessing of the work site area prior to the building through to final completion. Further to this was the actual location of the First Nations House of Learning within the campus arboretum which is a '*teaching forest of species*' from around the world planted over eighty years ago when the university was being established.

Respect for the natural world is a common belief in both *Māori* and First Nations cultures. Therefore the ceremonies mentioned previously and the location of the First Nations House of Learning are viewed as cultural milestones reflecting a substantial history that has evolved over time and been handed down from generation to generation. This creative approach saw philanthropic donors coming forward to support the establishment of the First Nations House of Learning. The approach taken seeks to 'clothe' or put in place a base programme of development – resources, teaching, staffing within the First Nations House of Learning, and to present a more commanding cultural statement to the institutional community at large. These milestones involve the use of cultural art forms to establish a specific *space* for a culturally appropriate site of advancement located at the University of British Columbia. Kirkness and Berger (1984) suggest that the bringing together of entities allows *space* for the creation of a 'virtual University' not unlike the model developing at the University of Auckland in New Zealand. The '*space*' created seeks to provide flexibility within the respective universities to create strategies and synergies for collaboration internally and externally, seeking to advance within their respective academic disciplines or parts of the organization. As stated earlier the 'clothing' of the First Nations House of Learning would involve a number of key personnel. The establishment of an advisory group of people was a crucial step in the First Nations House of Learning development. The core membership consisted of Simon Baker, Alfred Scow, Minnie Croft, Verna Kirkness and others.

This advisory group sought advice from a number of organizations, agencies, groups and individuals, throughout the development of the Longhouse. The activity was considered to be an ongoing part of the consultation and collaboration that still exists. Beneficiaries are staff, students, and the local, national and international community of

the university. The development of a research culture was significant to the overall development of the First Nations House of Learning. This would in part serve to inform an academic programme aimed at attracting students justifying the employment of further appropriate support staff for programme initiatives. It was recognized that without students attending, core streams of income would be substantially reduced. Research funding would be a source of revenue and would go hand in hand with teaching activity at the First Nations House of Learning.

The Elders and their teachings

The teaching of elders is culturally significant, as discussed by Jo-ann Archibald (1997). She discussed in her writings the use of stories by elder Ellen White, and their importance to Native people in bringing together and shaping what is learned.

“Stories go back perhaps thousands of years ago. We always ask, ‘Why were these stories made?’ ... It was the only way that the old people can teach us. The story we are about hear is part of the stories that are told to little bit older people.”

(Archibald, J. 1997)

These stories formed part of the Berger & Kirkness (1984) report that recorded options for consideration by the University of British Columbia for pathways to respond to Native Indian people's access to the institution. These options included the creation of positions at senior management levels specifically targeting Native Indian staff, as well as targeting the active recruitment, retention, participation and advancement of Native Indian students. Key to this initiative was the initiative to build a Native Indian complex, including the First Nations House of Learning. From a cultural perspective the development of the First Nations House of Learning complex needed to be led by a number of elders. The process of convening a group of elders for the express purpose of providing guidance and support in the development of the complex in the university was an important feature in the strategic plan. This approach can also be found in the University of Auckland development where the *marae* is seen as a base for all *Māori*

students and their families. Dr Minnie Croft was one of the elders who provided a significant statement to the co-ordinators, giving guidance to the initiative:

“It is something that many of us have dreamed of for years. To our Native people, I hope it will be a home way from home. Once there is something like that in the university maybe it will help the students.”

(First Nations First Nations House of Learning Commemorative Newsletter, May 1993)

In response, staff of the First Nations House of Learning sought to acknowledge the contribution that the elders have made by reflecting on teachings in publications and themes of many conferences and meetings held at the First Nations House of Learning. *“Returning the Gift”, “Giving Voice to Our Ancestors”, “The Spirit and The Land”, “Gathering of the People”*, are some of the captions that have been acknowledged by Kirkness and others in respect of the elders’ teachings. Within the complex an Elders Lounge has been set aside to honour the contribution of Elders’. The University has also recognized the contributions of elders - Minnie Croft, Simon Baker and others by conferring Honorary Doctorates on them. It is this type of *space* and *voice* that has come to confirm in part, the institution’s commitment to the First Nations House of Learning.

An issue in all of this activity has been the need to seek to reclaim *space* for First Nations students. The inclusive nature of the building of the First Nations House of Learning, from the agreement to the concept, drafting of the concept plans, mobilizing groups of people, selection of trees, laying of foundations and landscaping was the challenge for all peoples involved. This has led to the acceptance of guiding principles developed for the First Nations House of Learning based on the teachings of respect, relationships, responsibility and reverence. Elder Vince Stogan for the Longhouse offered to the staff and students the following:

“...form a circle and join hands in prayer. In joining hands, hold your left palm upward to reach back to grasp the teachings of the Ancestors. Hold your right palm downwards to pass these teachings on to the younger generation.

In this way, the teachings of the Ancestors continue and the circle of human understanding and caring grows stronger.”

(McIvor, M. 2003)

As noted above Linda Smith¹⁰⁰ argues that for the indigenous researcher to create space for their stories to be told from their own perspectives they need to deconstruct Western scholarship. This provides a foundation of affirmation. The critique of traditional sciences by indigenous people provides the opportunity to reflect on the significance of their stories and experiences about research. The outcome of this approach is that *space* and *voice* from an indigenous perspective are seen as appropriate, something that has to be considered and accepted as a credible form in ‘academic’ discussion that takes place under the guise of ‘credentialed’ research. Archibald (1997) refers to this discussion as a privilege of being able to be a part of something that has been passed down from the teachings of her elders. It is encapsulated from her perspective by the honour given to her, offering to others the basic principles of respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, holism, interrelatedness and synergy, related to using stories and storytelling for educational purposes. Stories such the journey to the First Nations House of Learning.

The First Nations House of Learning – ‘*Creating the Dream*’

The report of the President’s Ad Hoc committee on British Columbia Native Indian People and Communities published in January 1984 had specific terms of reference. They were:

*To advise the President on the ways in which the University of British Columbia might better serve Native Indian people and Native Indian Communities in British Columbia.*¹⁰¹

100 Smith, L.T. (1999): p3

101 Report of the President’s Ad Hoc Committee on British Columbia Native Indian People and Communities. January 1984.

In bringing together this committee the President sought to be advised on the needs of the Native Indian People and communities that could be addressed by the University of British Columbia as well as the resources that might be relevant to those needs.

The President noted that with the real financial resources shrinking, he was not in a position to allocate funds for this purpose of the report and that proposals to allocate funds for new credit programmes were the responsibility of Departments, Schools, Faculties and ultimately the university.

The committee recommended the establishment of an institute:

“... dedicated to the advancement of British Columbia’s Native Peoples recognizing that the institute would form the foundation for an international institute at the University of British Columbia for the advancement of indigenous peoples around the world.”¹⁰²

The committee acknowledged that a task of this nature would have to be undertaken in stages. The first stage was to establish a First Nations Institute serving British Columbia and Canada aimed solely at attracting First Nations students in British Columbia to the University of British Columbia. This was seen as a step in strengthening courses and/ or programmes offered to Native Students while at the same time being of assistance to Native communities. The Institute founded under this goal would then form the base for outreach to other indigenous peoples internationally.

The implementation of this strategy was informed by the celebration of the 500th anniversary of Columbus’ landfall in the West Indies from the ‘Old World to the New’ along with a number of politically led advances in the form of constitutionally mandated conferences for aboriginal people of Canada. At that time considerable pressure was being placed on the Canadian Parliament concerning the debate on self-government for Canada’s Native peoples as a ‘third order’ form of government.

102 Ibid: p1

In bringing together these ideas, the committee presented a strategy that would uphold the laudable intentions of the University, therefore providing a pathway for this development to take place within an environment that addressed the political and social needs of all parties. The transformation that has taken place is based on the conscientization of the university in providing *space* for First Nations people to study at the University.

Natives Studies at the University of British Columbia

The historical acknowledgement of the use of the name ‘Thunderbird’ was central to creating *space* within the University of British Columbia. The creation of circular space was initiative of the graduating class of 1928, when ‘*two totem poles were purchased to grace the campus and later was added the Thunderbird totem pole which now stands in the traffic circle in front of the Student’s Union Building.*’ The name of the Thunderbird then became used as a secondary symbol of the University of British Columbia.¹⁰³

Other events that developed from the approach are accounted for in the history of the Museum of Anthropology since the proposed establishment of the university in 1877. The University of Auckland was established in 1883.

Hawthorn and others sought to gather significant collections of Indian artifacts and to commission reproductions of buildings and sculptures for display. This activity allowed for original works which, when completed, were shifted from near Totem Park to the present museum site on the university campus. The celebration of the 1871 British Columbia centennial celebrations observed the connection that existed between the ‘*reliance of British Columbia on northwest coast art as a regional act or symbol of identity.*’¹⁰⁴ Other events of this calibre were the Aboriginal Constitutional Matters, March 1983, and the World Fair held in British Columbia in 1986.

103 Ibid

104 Ibid:

The report suggested that the Province and the University of British Columbia had provided minimal resource support for the advancement of Native Indian programmes of study. In justifying its recommendations the Berger and Kirkness (1984) report also recalled what it saw as key historical events representing the contribution by both the University and the Province. The Hawthorn report published in 1958, '*The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment*'; was a significant examination of indigenous peoples as a demographic constitute of the provincial population. It was the first time demographic data was used to contextualize the actual situation of Native Americans for the express purpose of ascertaining their plight or present situation. Hawthorn published as a result of the report, in 1966 and 1967, a national study named '*A survey of The Contemporary Indians of Canada*'. This also is an example of a form of conscientization where attention raised to the situation experienced by First Nations peoples. The impact of writings such these can be contested, but for the purpose of this thesis the report is seen as a part of the history of the development of native studies programmes at the University of British Columbia.

First Nations Academic Programmes

Academic programmes that developed up to the writing of the Berger and Kirkness (1984) report involved critical individuals who utilized their skills in the standard formats to create new formats for new sites of development. For example, the Berger and Kirkness (1984) report noted the involvement of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology in providing the academic *space* for Native Indian prehistory within the discipline of Anthropology established in 1949. This advancement was led in part by Professor Borden who was Professor of German Studies. The growth of the graduate studies programme in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology was seen as a positive move toward encouraging students to specialize in Native Indian Studies. The report noted that three British Columbia Native Indians had received post-graduate degrees (Master of Arts) in Native Indian Studies during that period.

Further indicators of concerns being raised with native issues started to emerge more readily in the 1960's and 1970's, impacting on the University of British Columbia

organization. The issues were seen as an indicator of the growing awareness of Native Indian issues across Canada. In response the Centre of Continuing Education in 1969 offered a Summer Indian Leadership Programme. These ‘Summer’ programmes are still offered as short term courses. The Native Law Programme in 1973 was developed by the Faculty of Law coincided with a national programme offered by the college of Law at the University of Saskatchewan.

Faculty of Law Programme

In the Faculty of Law Professor Lysyk, who left the University of British Columbia in 1969, led the introduction of Native Studies programmes in the area of Native Rights. This work was based on the development of Native Law programmes and progressed without significant support in the area of counseling and mentoring support. The Law School initiatives however were developed independently from the Departments of Anthropology and Education. Nevertheless the Law programme was such that what emerged was a pattern of Native students enrolled in the NITEP programme taking up papers offered by the Faculty of Law.

The Native Indian Teacher Education Programme (NITEP)¹⁰⁵

In 1974, the Native Indian Teacher Education Programme was established at the University of British Columbia. This programme was further enhanced by the work of Dr Thelma Cook, Angie Todd-Dennis and Roland Case who in 1981 presented a report suggesting the establishment of a special institute named the Synala Institute. The word Synala refers to ‘*wholeness*’ in Kwakwala. This programme sought to provide support services in recruitment and on-campus activity for Native Indian students, reflected the Native Indian Teacher Education Programme approach to the recruitment and support of the same students. However, conscientization noted that there was a lack of support for the programme from senior management and that

105 Native Indian Teacher Education Programme

whatever was given was a 'symbolic' gesture. For example, Price (1981)¹⁰⁶, in commenting on Native Studies programmes in Canada, noted that:

"...large institutions with few Native Studies courses need to be particularly targeted in campaigns that are designed to expand the Native Studies curricula. In the west there is Victoria and British Columbia."

The Synala report (1981) noted that the University of British Columbia, while offering Native Studies programmes, was only ranked 9th out of a total of 10 Universities in Canada offering programmes in Native Studies and yet had the highest university ranking in the Province. Berger & Kirkness (1984) noted that there were 'no other colleges or universities on the list' at the time. This brought criticism from the Association of Universities at that time and led, in part, to an analysis of Native Studies that were being offered by all universities in the Province of British Columbia.

The NITEP initiative was established at the University of British Columbia in 1974 as a result of activity of the British Columbia Native Indian Teachers Association (BCNITA). In 1984 the Berger and Kirkness report noted that Verna Kirkness, Director of Native Indian Education/ NITEP was one of the few persons of Indian descent within the Faculty at the University of British Columbia. Activities in other Faculties identified were in the Departments and Schools of Agriculture; Animal Resources - fisheries management; Commerce and Business Administration – policy frameworks; Community and Regional Planning – Band Planners; Economics – Impact of land claims on Economic Development; History – commercial fishing; Political Science – History and political activity; Psychiatry – Emotional disorders and Social Work – Native children in welfare care.

The initiative was created when First Nations people saw the need for a First Nations teacher education programme that addressed the difficult, contemporary education issues pertinent to their community's lives. These issues extended over many areas including curriculum, teaching styles, parental involvement and assessment

106 Ibid: p3

(Archibald, J. 2003). The Berger and Kirkness (1984) report established that there was no central location or co-ordinated academic activity attributed to Native-related scholarly work at the University of British Columbia. The only likely centre was the NITEP 'hut'. This was further confirmed by there not being a pattern of strong centralized Indian organizations.

Anthropology and Sociology

In 1984, there were no specialized programmes of Native Studies at the University of British Columbia. Programmes of study were, as stated previously, in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology which at the time of their establishment were the first of their kind. The Head of Department at that time mentioned earlier in this study was New Zealander Professor Hawthorn. All courses began at undergraduate levels of study in the field of Native Indian ethnology, archeology, and educational teaching. These programmes have since advanced to Doctoral levels of study and are found across the majority of Universities in Canada. Of specific note is graduate research focused on Canadian Native Cultures from the same Department¹⁰⁷. Results of these studies positioned the Department in 1984, as the largest group of specialists in Canadian Indian Studies within the province of British Columbia.

Staff Recruitment and Retention

It is important at this stage of the development to note the transformative initiatives being undertaken by the university to consider the employment of indigenous people with the appropriate qualifications and skills, within the university. Dr Archibald (2003), a key person in the development of First Nations programmes at the University of British Columbia suggests that there are a number of key issues that now need to be considered in further advancing Native Indian and indigenous programmes of study in post graduate research and development. One of these is leadership.

¹⁰⁷ Department of Anthropology: Report on the Indians of British Columbia, 1958 and a survey of the contemporary Indians, Canada. (1966-67), University of British Columbia.

Leadership

The development of the First Nations House of Learning brought forward the issue of leadership. Verna Kirkness who worked over four decades of education (and is now a Professor Emeritus of the University of British Columbia) is a person seen as a leader in this field. Kirkness continues to work in the field of Aboriginal education. She was named as the Canadian Educator of the Year in 1990, received the National Aboriginal Achievement Award in 1994, and was recognized as a member of the Order of Canada in 1997. It was Kirkness who provided the strategic direction from the outset in seeking funds, people and resources of the University community, staff and students. Securing funding of the first million dollars from Jack Bell and then from others such as Bill Bellman was one of the remarkable achievements in the history of the First Nations House of Learning.

‘A Voice in the Wilderness’

Berger and Kirkness (1984) had likened existing voices for Native Indian education, prior to the report being developed and implemented, to ‘*voices in the wilderness*’. This image has parallels in the development of *Māori* entities within the tertiary institution described by Smith (1997), who argues that barriers generally exist for indigenous peoples, and these have not been taken into account. Recognition of barriers is key to achieving changes in circumstances peculiar to the group or individual. Institutions have identified this element. It is reflected in the Martha Piper, President of the University of British Columbia, statement in her Annual Report, 1998/99:

“... the world around us is changing rapidly. Businesses and organizations are only as good as their most recent undertaking or decision, and it is no longer enough to have a tradition of excellence or a successful track-record. Every bold move forward defines an organization today. This principle is not lost on today’s universities. Regardless of past successes or reputation, universities must keep pace with the needs of a changing society.”
(Piper, M., 1999)¹⁰⁸

108 The Annual Report 1998/ 99. University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada

The 1999 strategy signaled an increased responsiveness of the institution to the needs of the indigenous students. The policy direction of the University of British Columbia states the expectation that the pastoral responsibility of the institution is first to their students and staff. It is expected that institutions have a responsibility to create and provide a learning environment to assist students to explore research interests using intellectual and cultural *tools* of respect, collaboration, sharing and reciprocity. This is aimed at achieving critical and effective participation in a democratic process of selecting and creating a secure learning environment of choice.

Current programmes of development

The impact of First Nations programmes at the university suggests advances in the types and numbers of programmes offered to students. A number of programmes are co-ordinated by the First Nations House of Learning:

T'skel – First Nations Graduate Studies in Education

Since 1984 an alternative educational program has been available to graduate students of First Nations ancestry. T'skel, a Halq'eméylem word meaning 'Golden Eagle,' provides an opportunity for the bicultural pursuit of magisterial and doctoral studies. This allows students to complete required courses and other supplementary activity that focus on the intensive examination of issues directly related to First Nations schooling. Key areas of study cover administration and field-based work experience directly related to student research interests. Other course work and requirements set out by departments are aligned for student study purposes.

The Ts'kel programme involves research being undertaken across a number of areas. These relate to First Nations educational administration, curriculum and instruction, history, philosophy, sociology and policy development. Completed studies are of an inter-disciplinary nature, focusing primarily on the interrogation of European research models and bringing forward First Nations issues and perspectives.

“The epistemological and ontological breakthroughs of many of the completed research projects have contributed to furthering the knowledge base of First Nations and non-First Nations scholars, particularly in the areas of science education, multigenerational effects of enforced residential schooling, community leadership, teacher education, textual (re)presentation and deconstruction, history, historiography, traditional epistemology, and self determination and self-governance of education.

(Department of Education Studies, University of British Columbia 2002)

Summer Science and Youth focus programmes

This programme was created in 1979 to provide an opportunity for First Nations youth to gain leadership, public speaking, and public relations skills. The Native Indian Youth Advisory Society and the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology sponsored the programme in the past. Key to the programme is the experience that is gained by youth who undertake a course of study in the summer. The result of the programme is an increased understanding of First Nations culture, philosophy and contemporary First Nations society by both youth and the public.

Educational laddering – Chinook

A third programme involves a First Nations House of Learning partnership with the Sauder School of Business at the University of British Columbia. It has the specific aim of providing business education opportunities for First Nations participants. The Chinook programmes aim to develop a set of business educational opportunities across a broad range of situations for aboriginal participants. The use of the Chinook name was to provide a reminder of the Chinook Jargon used in earlier times by Aboriginal Peoples as the language of trade. The initiative is supported by a strong group of Aboriginal leaders who provide advice and direction. The partner institutions in this programme focus on the Chinook Business Diploma up to Degree level of study. Partner institutions planning to have the Chinook Diploma available to Aboriginal students for September 2003 include - Camosun College, Capilano College, College of New Caledonia, Institute of Indigenous Government, Langara College and Northwest Community College.

“... the goal of the Chinook initiative is to provide business education opportunities for Aboriginal students; that this initiative represents the collective efforts and creativity of seven post-secondary institutions; that these efforts are made in direct response to priorities expressed to the UBC First Nations House of Learning by members of the Aboriginal Community; and that today's signing ceremony represents a commitment on the part of the Partner institutions to help develop the managerial skills and capabilities so important to economic development and community self sufficiency.”
(Judge Alfred Scow, 2003)ⁱ

This development is indicative of the potential capacity building that has eventuated at the University of British Columbia. However, the First Nations potential is still to be realized and the Longhouse continues to be seen as the ‘spring-board’ or ‘instigator’ of continued development in some cases.

The University of British Columbia has therefore developed a strategy described as Trek 2000 that is the institution’s vision for the 21st century. Trek 2000’s principles, goals, strategies, and implementation highlight the re-positioning of the institution to promote First Nations advancement into and beyond the 21st century. This vision seeks to bring together a collection of the University’s goals in five general areas namely - people, learning, research, community and internationalization. The University’s vision -

“The University of British Columbia, aspiring to be Canada’s best university, will provide students with an outstanding and distinctive education, and conduct leading research to serve the people of British Columbia, Canada, and the world.”
(President’s Office: University of British Columbia 2003) -

in part parallels the direction suggested by the University of Auckland in its Mission Statement:

“... to be an internationally recognised, research-led university, known for the excellence of its teaching, research, and service to its local, national and international communities.”(Charter 2003, University of Auckland)

The OECD approach by both institutions suggests a strategy that would better position them in the educational rankings. Yet the approach has not clouded a need for the institutions to consider the changing political environments impacting on the tertiary education sector and the type of business focus that universities have to take into consideration in the coming decades. Dr Alan Gilbert, Vice-Chancellor at the University of Melbourne, stated:

“... at the University of Melbourne there has been no trade-off to the humanities and the social sciences for other disciplines.” ¹⁰⁹

This comment rejects a suggestion that the approach taken by the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia has been detrimental to the status quo. It also advances the notion that organizational leadership is paramount in the tertiary sector. Moreover it suggests the tertiary education is a privilege and that organizations need to constantly refresh their leadership on a regular basis to influence development and advancement.

The retirement of Verna Kirkness, and more recently the end of a term of service as Director of the First Nations House of Learning by Dr. Archibald, were significant events in the change of leadership concept discussed by Gilbert. It suggests hopefully, that the new ideas have come about naturally for the First Nations House of Learning, and that it has much to gain from the refocusing of the institution.

Summary

Within the development of the First Nations House of Learning complex at the University of British Columbia the underpinning has been in many instances similar

¹⁰⁹ The National Business Review, October 31, 2003, New Zealand.

to that of the University of Auckland. Both institutions began within a few years of each other in 1877 and 1883 respectively. The development of *Māori* and First Nations programmes saw both entities emerging out of the Department of Anthropology. The Smith model suggests that this would part of the resistance and conscientization process moving in the end to transformative action, with the development of the present Departments within the universities.

The main basis for development at the University of British Columbia centres on the Native Indian Teacher Education Programme. The model developed has been taken up by only some departments such as education, science, forestry and law. Interviews held with Jo-ann Archibald, Madeleine McIvor, Mary-Paz Rivera at the University of British Columbia have provided rich sources of information (as listed in *Table Five*), about the development of the First Nations House of Learning.

It is from here that in Canada a parallel can be drawn from key events such as in 1988 the appointment of Dr Verna Kirkness as the first Director to the First Nations House of Learning. Other such events include reports submitted to the University of British Columbia since the establishment of the Department of Anthropology in 1949; the Report on the Indians of British Columbia: A study of contemporary Social Adjustment (1966 & 1967); the Native Law Programme – Faculty of Law; and the 1974 report on the Native Indian Teachers Education Programme. Within the *kaupapa Māori* framework these events like those at the University of Auckland contained elements of resistance, transformative action and conscientization. In considering such historical events interviews with Archibald and McIvor in 2003 served to confirm the impact of such interventions at the University of British Columbia.

While the regeneration of the language in New Zealand has been the driving force behind the *wānanga* development at the University of Auckland building further on the foundations of *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa Māori*, *whare kura* and *wānanga*, the development of *Māori* as with First Nations initiatives has been in the area of education. In the case of the tertiary institution *kaupapa Māori* theory brings together threads of communication that assist in coming better to understand the concept of

wānanga. It also identifies the element of struggle as part of the process of tertiary study for *Māori*.

E kore e wheko, he mea iri ki runga te whēnako, e kore e wheko

The yearning for something cannot be easily distinguished, as an idea is hard to stop

Table 5: First Nations historical events at the University of British Columbia

Timeframe	<i>Kaupapa Māori</i> Intervention model	The University of British Columbia Historical Events
1877 to 1949	<i>Conscientization</i>	[1877] University proposed. [1948] Reclaiming of the naming of the ‘Thunderbird’ Stadium (Alfred Scow and others) [1949] Department of Anthropology established.
1950 to 1959	<i>Conscientization</i>	[1958] Report - The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of contemporary Social Adjustment (Hawthorn – Department of Anthropology)
1960 to 1969	<i>Conscientization</i> <i>Conscientization; transformative action</i>	[1966 & 1967] A Survey of The Contemporary Indians of Canada (Vols 1&2 Department of Anthropology) [1969] Summer Leadership Programme – Continuing Education
1970 to 1979	<i>Transformative action</i> <i>Transformative action</i>	[1973] Native Law Programme – Faculty of Law [1974] Native Indian Teacher Education Programme
1980 to 1989	<i>Conscientization</i> <i>Conscientization; transformative action</i> <i>Conscientization</i> <i>Conscientization; transformative action</i> <i>Conscientization; transformation action</i>	[1981] Report – Establishment of a Special Institute ‘Synala Institute’ [1982] New Canadian Constitution – recognition of the aboriginal rights of Canada’s aboriginal peoples [1983] First Honorary Doctorate – First Nations awarded to George Manuel [January 1984] Berger & Kirkness Report of the President’s Ad Hoc committee on British Columbia Native Indian People and Communities [September 1986] National Review of Indian Education Committee of Enquiry
1990 to 1999	<i>Conscientization; transformative action</i>	[1998] First Visiting Indigenous Scholar – Professor Graham H Smith
2000 to present	<i>Conscientization; transformative action</i>	[2004] First Distinguished Chair of Indigenous Education – Professor Graham H Smith

Chapter Seven/ Wāhanga Whitu

Another Era or another Error?! *Ēhara, he hara rānei?*

Conclusion

“..... it makes a great deal of sense for a multi-university system to contain universities with differing and complementary strengths, and for universities – like any organization – to recognize and concentrate on their strengths”.

(John Hood, 2003)

The general aim of this study has been to discuss the responsiveness of the tertiary institution in creating indigenous *space*, and to assess the impact on the access, success and participation of *Māori* and other indigenous peoples in such a setting. It is suggested that the primary vehicle for creating *space* was the incorporation of critical features of the ‘traditional *Māori* learning institution’. The analysis was framed within *kaupapa Māori* theory which offers an explanation for how effective change takes place within an organization from an indigenous perspective. The thesis examines how the development of an educational intervention at the University of Auckland was planned and implemented. It is then compared to the development initiative at the University of British Columbia for indigenous peoples.

The study found that there were common elements between the traditional and contemporary learning institutions in *Aotearoa*/ New Zealand which could be used to better inform the development of an indigenous infrastructure at the University of Auckland. These elements include benchmarking, mentoring, peer review or self reflection, selection for entry or enrolment into the institutions, hierarchical levels of teaching and learning, types of knowledge and control of it, and finally the maintenance of order within the tertiary institution.

The case study of the University of Auckland describes a series of critical events that took place leading up to the development of the *wānanga* infrastructure. The structure is designed to provide *space* for the incorporation of *Māori* perspectives into

an institution for the first time in its 130 year history. Critical events listed for the university included protest and initiatives driven by both *Māori* and non- *Māori* people embodying a form of resistance by a range of people from within the university. The theoretical basis for explaining this conscientization through the use of protest is offered by G.Smith (1997). He states that *kaupapa Māori* theorizing provides a conceptual framework that uses indicators of success such as the building of a critical mass of academically credentialed indigenous people focused on *Māori* development in *Aotearoa*/ New Zealand society. Smith suggests that this approach centres on values such as reciprocity, where the people who benefit from developments will in time do the same for others in the future. For example the university has developed bridging courses to assist people who have not experienced tertiary study for a period of time to be enrolled. People understand that they must meet a minimum level of achievement prior to undertaking courses of study. However, some traditional and contemporary aspects of selection on merit and of attaining levels of high achievement are still maintained as part of the process. Examinations are considered as being the acceptable mode of proving that students have to pass before moving to a higher level of study. The concept of reciprocity in this case can be discussed with the understanding that people who have passed through the system are available to support or mentor prospective students into the university using their expertise.

However, the University of Auckland *wānanga* plan affects all areas of the organization and management of the institution. The ‘buy in’ of both *Māori* staff and students along with academic staff, general staff and governance – council members, are key elements in maintaining the integrity of the initiative. That is, the integration of all entities across the university makes the timing for the implementation crucial with all parties bringing about changes that have more recently formed the basis for other academic study at the institution. The development of a Centre for Research Excellence – *Nga Pae O Te Maramatanga* [CoRE] in 2002, hosted by the university is a result of the *wānanga* initiative. The collective ‘buy-in’ of *Māori* staff and other *Māori* academics around the world was key to the mobilization of a critical mass of academically credentialed *Māori* people involved in a variety of indigenous research contributing to national and international research communities. This initiative was the first time *Māori* research and knowledge had been assessed and critiqued

internationally alongside other mainstream research entities from New Zealand. It is also suggested that these levels of achievement be considered as indicators of success for the *wānanga* initiative. The development of the *Māori* and Indigenous Graduate Studies Centre (MAI) at the University of Auckland can also be considered in the same forum as the CoRE. However, this would be seen as something that has a local contribution to be made in different fields of research.

Indigenous Collaboration and Whakapapa/ Genealogy

As with the University of Auckland advancement of *Māori* programmes of study, the First Nations House of Learning and other support entities within the University of British Columbia have brought together historical and contemporary schools of thought in this area of research. Exploring international benchmarking needs to be seen as key to this type of research activity. Dr. Archibald and others chose to develop a strong relationship with *Māori* academics from New Zealand, therefore bringing an international strand to the academic field of research based indigenous education. In the late 1980's Verna Kirkness co-ordinated a group of elders and others travel to New Zealand to share stories about the *Te Kohanga Reo/ Māori* language nests movement programme. This particular programme aimed to foster the revitalization of *te reo Māori/ Māori* language. This concept is also incorporated into the complex of the First Nations House of Learning. The language nest provides an opportunity for indigenous peoples to foster their children's native language while parents study at the university. Another part to the complex envisaged by Kirkness and Berger is the addition of an 'elders' lounge'. This lounge honours elders who have contributed their knowledge to the First Nations House of Learning and again provides evidence of a metaphor that celebrates the circle of life.

As stated earlier in this thesis the linkages or whakapapa/ genealogy between the two institutions date from 1927. The term 'a home away from home' is given a stronger voice within the context of hosting visiting scholars and extended family members of the local, national and international community for the First Nations House of Learning. The link allows for informed discussion by visiting scholars from both institutions undertaking special projects therefore enabling the sharing of ideas as well

as student and staff exchanges. Projects and exchanges of knowledge and experiences give indigenous people exposure to attending international forums of learning to make presentations at conferences and seminars on indigenous issues. This collaboration is confirmed in a number of the academic journals published in both institutions.¹¹⁰

The value of international collaboration is recognized by both universities. The University of Auckland has placed great emphasis on developing international outreach opportunities for staff and students. The relation between the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia provides opportunity for collaboration to take place as an integral component of indigenous research. (Bishop (1995); Jenkins (1994) and Smith (1997)). Their work discusses different types of representation for *Māori* during the educational reforms of the 1980's for *Māori* as mentioned earlier. Linda Smith (1997) viewed these reforms as the systematic interrogation of processes, or '*peeling*' back layer upon layer of beauracracy and '*gate-keeping*' that existed. In light of Smith's perspective it is important to consider other models of engagement that have taken place within other cultures and institutions. The researchers have developed international perspectives that provide opportunity to debate ideas formed from a person's research; life experience, and publication in academic forums or journals; and allow that for review by others who share similar research interests. This type of engagement is key to the sharing of ideas and allows for the interrogation of academic presentations therefore contributing to the collective pool of knowledge. Institutions have encouraged students to consider travel and international experiences as an option, and the strategic re-focus of both the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia to collaborate more formally through a Memorandum of Understanding – institution to institution, (*Appendix Two*) - provides that forum for their respective staff, students and communities. The memorandum of understanding was signed by the universities in 1997. It proposed that the indigenous ancestral houses – The First Nations House of Learning at the University of British Columbia and *Tane Nui A Rangi* at the University of Auckland provide the base for indigenous collaboration to take place. It sought to provide further options in attracting students by offering international experience as an added incentive to undertaking academic study. Of particular note in the case of the

University of Auckland student is New Zealand's geographical location and isolation. This isolation drives a need for international experience and networking, as an integral part of academic engagement and research.

The series of critical events (Table Six) are parallel in the development of the indigenous structure at the University of British Columbia. Elements of protest and affirmation discussed in the case study relate to specific events such as the 'naming' of the sporting complex now known as the 'Thunderbird' stadium. The events here fit the conscientization, resistance, transformative action elements of *kaupapa Māori* theory.

Differences exist in the way funding was gained for each of the projects. The generosity of donors contributed to a vision presented by key figures such as Professor Kirkness and others within the organizing committee at the University of British Columbia. Access to funding for ventures of this calibre in appeared to be more available in Canada than in New Zealand – at least as experienced by the University of Auckland.

However, early funding per se does not seem to be a critical factor. The critical factor in the Smith model is the achievement of a common understanding of the purpose of the institution in being able to provide the environment and courses of study that meet the recognized needs of the student (i.e. conscientization). The system has to adapt to conform to the identified needs of the people with the long-term prospect of supporting the growth of society's needs in the future. The sources of conscientization in both cases are the same. Repositioning or up-skilling of people is also an important consideration that needs to be taken into account. The transformative action in this case emerges from what people or institutions did to achieve the expected outcome. The most recent Vice-Chancellor, Dr John Hood (2003) suggests that universities have had to re-consider their respective strengths and work therefore to consolidate the uniqueness of the university in the academic community. Conscientization and then transformation take place for the individual and or group, therefore allowing for progress.

It is difficult to assess the impact of the approach taken on Native Indian involvement by the University of British Columbia as the availability of ethnicity data is not reported as is the case at the University of Auckland. The University of Auckland has noted this in their annual reports with more consistency since 1996. The impact of initiatives to recruit more *Māori* students into the institution has been able to be ascertained using this information. In building the First Nations House of Learning complex and the *marae* complex both institutions have provided themselves a core location for indigenous peoples. The development of the *wānanga* at the University of Auckland was later than that of the University of British Columbia as the circumstances were different. The actual protest and politicking events peculiar to the University of Auckland do not appear to be present in the First Nations case. What has emerged from this is the collegiality and peer support for staff and students alike as stated in the Memorandum of Agreement between both institutions. This has emerged out of the transformation that has taken place and secures the rapport that all involved have in seeking to progress with the respective universities.

A central proposition in the success of these enterprises for both institutions is that indigeneity is an important part of the solution. Indigeneity is described by Mason Durie as:

“... a set of rights that indigenous peoples might reasonably expect to exercise in modern times.” (Durie, M. 2003: p204)

Within a New Zealand context Durie suggests that this notion is informed by the application of the Treaty of *Waitangi* specifically designed to advance *Māori* interests in partnership with the Crown. The passing into legislation of the 1975 Treaty of *Waitangi* Act suggests in part Crown responsibility to recognise *Māori* as a partner in the ongoing development of the nation and *Māori* being able to live as *Māori*. This thesis has considered the view that the development of indigenous infrastructure within both institutions has the potential to create and confirm the value placed on understanding indigeneity for the tertiary institution. It can be seen in the components of the process as well as the resulting structure.

A partnership is the bringing together of two or more parties and to collaborate on mutually agreed issues and developments. As discussed earlier in this thesis the opportunities to exchange and share knowledge and benchmark and critique work are critical but basic activities of universities. Another part of the development for the re-positioning of the University of Auckland in addressing *Māori* need within the academic institution is the significance of educational development initiatives in the 1980's that served to inform the need for wider educational outcomes of *Māori*. This suggests the wider conscientization of the university as part of the development and repositioning process. This activity included acknowledgement of Benton's (1971) research on the state of the *Māori* language in the 1970's that suggested that the language was in a state of decline and that there was a critical decline in the numbers of fluent speakers in *te reo Māori*. The crucial emergence from that time was the creation of the *te kohanga reo/ Māori* language nest, movement in 1982, leading to the development of the *kura kaupapa Māori/ Māori* medium schools (primary level), *whare kura/* secondary level schools, and the *wānanga/* tertiary level institution. The majority of these institutions are state funded and provide a very broad base from which *Māori* language education is available for all New Zealanders as education options. The conscientization process included the development of *Māori* medium education options in particular for *Māori*. Graduates from *whare kura* are now enrolling into tertiary institutions such as the University of Auckland. To cater for these students the university has had to reposition itself, therefore offering new courses in most cases aimed at attracting fluent speakers of *te reo Māori* across a number of academic disciplines.

Student protest or confrontation in the 1980's at the registry building of the university discussed in the University of Auckland case study, was a major incident that Cheryll Smith and others had suggested influencing the creation of the indigenous *space*, and the development of *Waipapa marae*. Another form of protest that university staff participated in by giving evidence was recorded in the notes of the *Waitangi Tribunal*¹¹¹ in 2000 where a claim was lodged by the three state funded *wānanga* who collectively sought funding for their respective institutions to bring them in line with other like state funded university tertiary institutions.

111 Waitangi Tribunal Report (2000): Claim Wai 718

Events served to raise the conscientization of people, members within the institution and organization, bringing issues to their attention. The transformative action that followed resulted in a traditional meeting house being built as part of the marae complex. In the cases of both universities the approaches taken took similar pathways ending up with the same result. This suggests that for any development to take place these critical events appear to be part of the process of progress. The *kaupapa Māori* theoretical model only provides a base to begin the discussion of the process. The implementation of change comes about using the collective strengths and experiences of the people involved.

The *Waitangi* Tribunal noted that *wānanga* were contemporary or modern tertiary education providers that were founded on the concept of the ancient *Māori* institution of advanced learning more commonly known as *whare wānanga*. With this in mind the tribunal was able to confirm the standing of the *wānanga* as a recognized institution of advanced learning. In its move to create an indigenous infrastructure the action of the University of Auckland was validated.

However, one of the principal objectives of the tribunal claim was to establish a type of *Māori* controlled system of tertiary education underpinned with the key principle of *mātauranga Māori*/ *Māori* education. Professor Smith and others sought in the first instance to justify the concept of the *wānanga* infrastructure as suggested by the Report of the Taskforce for Improving Participation in Tertiary Education (October 1999), in seeking to reverse negative statistics of *Māori* in education and employment. It was noted that in May 1998, the Minister of Education, Honourable Wyatt Creech stated that:

“ that *wānanga* have made a positive contribution to addressing the tertiary education needs of *Māori*”

This development was a response by government in developing policy to increase the low percentage rates of *Māori* accessing tertiary education. With this background and other reports on the history of *Māori* participation in the University of Auckland,

Graham Smith and others proceeded to bring about change by creating an indigenous infrastructure for the university.

The task of identifying all *Māori* staff both academic and general, within the institution was one of the first of a set of activities in the *wānanga*. It was noted at the outset that a number of staff were not in a position to be able to contribute much of their time and expertise due to the restrictions of the positions they held within the institution. In time appropriate channels of communication and authority were given within senior and middle management that flowed on to other levels of management in the organization.

The vision of the University of Auckland from the outset was also a key principle for the establishment of the *Runanga* and other advisory groups within the university that were important in bringing about the suggested changes. It was important to note that during the establishment phase from 2000 to 2002 a number of positions in senior management were created and appropriate appointments made with specific responsibility for *Māori* within respective faculties at the University of Auckland. Associate Dean *Māori* was the title of the new positions within each of the seven faculties. The same type of initiative is also being examined at the University of British Columbia. Key to this type of approach to management is the need for appropriately credentialed and qualified staff. This will remain the main focus for both universities.

For the purposes of this study of the contemporary *Māori* academic site, a contrastive case study has been provided by another indigenous academic site, the First Nations House of Learning at the University of British Columbia¹¹². It also is a tertiary institution aimed at providing a ‘home away from home’ type of operation that targets in particular indigenous students and staff. It is not intended that this thesis record the successes of each institution because insufficient data has been collated over a reasonable period of time for informed conclusions to be drawn on the initial stages of development. In addition, the case studies show this circle of development is

112 This site is linked by a formal Memorandum of Understanding with the University of British Columbia that provides a broad base of collaboration for staff and student exchanges; the sharing of intellectual understanding and international models of excellence for *Māori* and Indigenous peoples.

incomplete and present levels of functioning will inform ongoing development and re-positioning planned in the future to cater for the students and staff need, when considering tertiary study options. However, a critical mark of ongoing success in both institutions is the continuation of *Māori* and/ or indigenous students enrolling. Alongside this is the institutions' maintaining the flexibility to adjust to meet the changing needs of students.

Of the developments at the University of Auckland discussed it is important to also consider the particular outcomes of the Report of the Taskforce for Improving Participation in Tertiary Education, October 1999, at the University of Auckland. As with the University of British Columbia the changes are being implemented by key personnel in senior management. Most recently these people were Graham Smith as the incumbent Pro Vice-Chancellor (*Māori*) for the University of Auckland and Professor Verna Kirkness at the University of British Columbia who provided indigenous leadership within their respective institutions as a result of working together on joint projects, including benchmarking and international outreach initiatives.

With this in mind the results of these stages of development will not become evident for some three to five years, as we are dealing with other factors in increasing access, success and participation of students at the University of Auckland. Political situations and other factors, marketing and location of course options for indigenous students are also key considerations in bringing about change. This context has been described by the Taskforce:

“.... on the basis of its findings the Taskforce has concluded that current participation trends in tertiary education in New Zealand are a national calamity in the making. The increasing loss of human potential that they represent is a major threat to social and economic development in New Zealand. If New Zealand's ambition to become a knowledge-rich society is to be achieved, these trends must be altered as a matter of utmost urgency. The next task will be to ensure that community leaders are fully acquainted with the material in this Report, and inspired to seek new and better directions for tertiary education in this nation.”

(Report of the Taskforce for Improving Participation in Tertiary Education,
October 1999, University of Auckland)

Ongoing consideration by the University of Auckland of the indigenous *space* it is creating, and then giving it priority, are key elements in this development. As stated earlier in this thesis, the need to bring together all entities within the institution was the main part of the implementation phase. Support achieved from all parties, both internal and external to the institution and then the communication of the plan to all parts and peoples of the organization, led to the successful completion of the first stages of the projects.

Further staffing movements at the University of Auckland are also evident in the appointments made to key management positions within the University of British Columbia, where indigenous appointments have been made as part of a strategy to attract and grow indigenous staff to contribute to the ongoing development of First Nations initiatives within the university. The comparisons made between the institutions also flow on to the involvement of the respective communities of the universities. At the University of British Columbia there is an Elders lounge that is specifically dedicated to elders from the community who have in part contributed to the indigenous *space* of the university. Again this can be discussed also in the construction of the ancestral house – *Tane Nui A Rangi* at the University of Auckland where the carvings and other parts of the meeting house present the tribal histories and stories of the *kaumatua*/ elders for all groups represented. These repositories of traditional knowledge form the base of indigenous *space* within the institution and go further to affirm the cultural elements that inform its organization, management and governance. The move toward celebrating significant contributions that indigenous peoples have to make to the academic institution is important and acknowledgement of other events that signal the long term commitment of the institution to indigenous peoples is another element of the changes implemented that will evolve more prominently as time goes by. The celebration of graduation(s) and other such cultural observances are some of the many events that have become an integral part of the university calendar. The staging of such events outside of the main campus is another example of such commitment.

As mentioned earlier in this section, the bringing together of a critical mass of indigenous people is another key facet of institutional development within the University of Auckland. This meant that the type of infrastructure needed to allow for like minded people (or in the traditional *wānanga*, *tōhunga* who were acknowledged experts in their respective disciplines) to come together with a common purpose of creating a Centre of Research Excellence within the university. Within the general context of a theoretical ideal for *kaupapa Māori* theory this development needs to be acknowledged as the ideal in achieving academic equity for *Māori*. The infrastructure that was planned provided in part a significant base for this initiative to be formed. The use of networks – work and tribal was instrumental in constructing a body of collective knowledge that would form the basis to enter into the realms of rigorous academic research, therefore be able to access knowledge of all kinds for the specific advancement of New Zealand society and in particular *Māori*. While the specific nature of this interplay between academic disciplines is acknowledged it was not an easy way of approaching things when trying to find common ground that all parties could contribute toward. The key to the situation has in my view been for *Māori* to participate in a knowledge driven economy. This implies that *kaupapa Māori* theory forms the basis for such development. In order for one to enter into this debate *Māori* have to be appropriately credentialed and therefore entry to tertiary institutions is of great importance. The institution will serve to provide the vehicle in which they can pursue their respective dreams. In order for all parties to get what they wanted out of the institution they were confronted with a degree of joint conscientization, agreeing to acknowledge each others' needs and moving on together with a common objective.

Linda Smith has claimed that government policy which impacts on *Māori* such as the Hunn Report in 1960 was based on principles of assimilation. Smith wrote:

“... naming the world has been likened by Friere as that of claiming the world and claiming those ways of viewing the world that count as legitimate ¹¹³ and “.... indigenous context of naming the landscape.... ”¹¹⁴

The nature of governmental policy has since sought to address the issues raised over time and *Māori* have moved on to name their world within New Zealand society.¹¹⁵ This has been achieved partly, by being educated within a tertiary setting, and setting out as part of this development to re-claim indigenous *space* within society and the tertiary institution. In presenting evidence to the *Waitangi* Tribunal about the history of state provision of education for *Māori* since 1840, Judith Simon, a research fellow with the International Institute for *Māori* and Indigenous Education at the University of Auckland, argued that:

“... past legislative action played a significant role in disadvantaging Māori within the State’s education system, leading to their under-representation in the statistics by which educational success is usually measured.”

(Simon, J., Jenkins, K.: 1995)

Narratives and case study approach

The approach in this thesis uses elements of narrative; creating a story of the development of indigenous structures and *space* which could be told without detracting from the overall integrity of the work of many *Māori* and other indigenous peoples. Consideration was therefore given to the presentation of two examples of indigenous *space* located at the Universities of Auckland, New Zealand and British Columbia, Canada, since these situations appeared well suited to a case study methodology. They offered completeness in observation, reconstruction and analysis,

113 Smith, L.T. (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies. Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Zed Books Ltd, University of Otago Press, New Zealand (p84)

114 Ibid: p157

115 Ibid p157

incorporating the views of actors or active participants' experiences that form the basis of their respective stories of development within the tertiary institution.

The *kaupapa Māori* methodology initiatives discussed by G.Smith (1997) brings to this thesis a theoretical approach that helps describe and explain the 'freeing' of indigenous people from the suggested multiple oppression(s) and exploitations endured from historical events. But what is further suggested is that *kaupapa Māori* theory is a model for intervention that seeks to provide analysis and the opportunity for engagement by indigenous people that will acknowledge the notions of conscientization, resistance and transformative praxis. Unlike formal resistance theory, entry into this cycle of reformation is at the discretion of the individual or group. In this case it is the re-entry of the tertiary institutions namely the University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia. The reconstitution of their respective institutions in creating indigenous *space* is acknowledged as being an intervention that is timely and necessary. Being able to demonstrate this relies on the case study approach and it is important to consider the justification of the use of case studies to demonstrate interventions.

Yin (1994) identified five components of research design that are important for case studies that include a study's questions; its propositions, if any; its unit(s) of analysis; the logic linking the data to the propositions; and the criteria for interpreting the findings (Yin, 1994, p. 20). Case studies can be either single or multiple-case designs. Also identified are at least six sources of evidence in case studies. These include documents; archival records; interviews; direct observation; and participant-observation.¹¹⁶ These sources demonstrate processes of change, patterns of relationships between action and outcome, and replication via the case studies strengthens the claims.

This thesis has covered a number of other issues that have been raised through the use of words such as *wānanga* and *kaupapa Māori*. The conversations that have evolved from such discussion will be the subject of other theses to be written by others in the future. What has been attempted by the author is to provide a snapshot in time of the creative intent of two internationally recognized research-led universities that have

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Ibid

continued to seek to improve the delivery of their business. In this case what has been described is a transformative strategy within existing resources and infrastructure. The work has been influenced by the wish to seek efficiency and effectiveness in providing opportunity for others to pursue the interrogation of the education system and having numerous options or choices in the field of tertiary education. What does remain is the need for other institutions to follow the lead of the University of Auckland in re-positioning themselves to meet the present and projected needs of *Māori* enrolled in courses of study.

Finally, a question to be asked is what are the limitations to the array of research questions presented in this thesis. The major limitation concerns evidence for effectiveness as noted above. Enrolment of *Māori* into the University of Auckland and pass rates are an indicator of success after the conscientization process started within the university. An early indicator was the acknowledgement of *te reo Māori* as an academic course of study in 1952, providing a starting point for the process and in this sense an indication of potential success. Further to this there are indicators of success for the model as the fluctuation of *Māori* student enrolments over a period of time has been influenced by a number of variables such as: policy, funding, university profile, credentialing, profile teachers and community. However, the methodology and theory of *kaupapa Māori* provide an opportunity to engage in the ongoing debate alongside critical theory. As a result this thesis has attempted to acknowledge the courage of people who have sought to create space and make changes to the institution. Their respective roles have been as leaders or being one step to the side and one behind. The thesis goes further to acknowledge the courage of the University of British Columbia and the University of Auckland in seeking to provide a ‘home away from home’ for indigenous peoples, for which we should be grateful.

Whakaakotia kia rua ngā akonga

To teach is to learn twice

Table Six: Significant Events for The University of British Columbia and The University of Auckland

Dates	The University of British Columbia	The University of Auckland
1800 to 1949	<p>[1877] University proposed</p> <p><i>[1927] International Rugby Canada V's NZ Māori team</i></p> <p>[1948] Reclaiming of the naming of the 'Thunderbird' Stadium (Alfred Scow and others)</p> <p>[1949] Department of Anthropology established.</p>	<p>[1835] Declaration of Independence</p> <p>[1840] Treaty of Waitangi signed</p> <p><i>[1927] International Rugby Canada V's NZ Māori team</i></p> <p>[1947] Maharaia Winiata first <i>Māori</i> appointment in the University – Department of Continuing Education</p> <p>[1948] Matiu Te Hau appointed in Department of Continuing Education</p>
1950 to 1959	<p>[1958] Report - The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of contemporary Social Adjustment (Hawthorn – Department of Anthropology)</p>	<p>[1950] Bruce Biggs appointed as Assistant Lecturer Department of Anthropology</p> <p>[1951] Department of Anthropology – <i>Māori</i> language listed in University Calendar.</p>
1960 to 1969	<p>[1966 & 1967] A Survey of The Contemporary Indians of Canada (Vols 1&2 Department of Anthropology)</p> <p>[1969] Summer Leadership Programme – Continuing Education</p>	<p>[1961] Hunn Report – government policy of assimilation</p>
1970 to 1979	<p>[1973] Native Law Programme – Faculty of Law</p> <p>[1974] Native Indian Teacher Education Programme</p>	<p>[1971] Report <i>Te reo Māori</i> (Benton)</p> <p>[1975] Waitangi Tribunal Act</p> <p>[1985] Protests</p>
1980 to 1989	<p>[1981] Report – Establishment of a Special Institute 'Synala Institute'</p> <p>[1982] New Canadian Constitution – recognition of the aboriginal rights of Canada's aboriginal peoples</p> <p>[1983] First Honorary Doctorate – First Nations awarded to George Manuel</p> <p>[1984] Berger & Kirkness Report of the President's Ad Hoc committee on British Columbia Native Indian People and Communities</p> <p>[1986] National Review of Indian Education Committee of Enquiry</p>	<p>[1982] <i>Te Kohanga reo</i> established – state funded</p> <p>[1987] <i>Te reo Māori</i> recognized as an official language</p> <p>[1987] <i>Kura Kaupapa Māori</i> established</p> <p>[1987] <i>Whare Kura</i> established</p> <p>[1988] <i>Waipapa marae</i> established – <i>Tane Nui A Rangi</i></p>
1990 to 1999	<p>[1998] First Visiting Indigenous Scholar – Professor Graham H Smith</p>	<p>[1991] Department of <i>Māori</i> Studies est.</p> <p>[1993] Review of the Department of <i>Māori</i> Studies</p> <p>[1997] G. Smith: The Development of <i>Kaupapa Māori</i>: Theory and Praxis [thesis]</p> <p>Review of <i>Māori</i> in the University</p> <p>[1998] First State Funded <i>Wānanga</i> established</p> <p>[1998] <i>Ranginui</i> Walker appointed as Pro Vice-Chancellor (<i>Māori</i>)</p> <p>[1993] Mataatua Declaration</p>

Glossary/ Nga Kupu

<i>Aotearoa</i>	New Zealand
<i>awa</i>	river
<i>hapu</i>	sub-tribe
<i>hui</i>	meetings
<i>iwi</i>	tribe
<i>Kaupapa Māori</i>	<i>Māori</i> philosophies and practices
<i>Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori</i>	The language is the life essence of <i>Māori</i> existence
<i>Kura Kaupapa Māori</i>	<i>Māori</i> language total immersion schools
<i>Whare Kura</i>	Secondary or High schools
<i>Māori</i>	indigenous People of New Zealand
<i>marae</i>	ancestral meeting house
<i>maunga</i>	mountain
<i>Ngati Hine</i>	a sub tribe or community
<i>pākeha</i>	non- <i>Māori</i>
<i>putaiao</i>	science
<i>Rūnanga</i>	tribal council
<i>tapu</i>	sacred elements
<i>Te Kohanga Reo</i>	<i>Māori</i> language nests (0-5year olds)
<i>te reo Māori</i>	<i>Māori</i> language
<i>te reo Pākeha</i>	English language
<i>tūpuna</i>	ancestors
<i>wānanga</i>	tribal university(s)
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy
<i>whānau</i>	family

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Appendix One/ Kupu Āpiti Tahi

The Runanga: University of Auckland, 2000

Terms of Reference:

- i. To advise the Vice-Chancellor and Deputy Vice-Chancellors and Education Committee on all *Māori* programmes and the development of *Māori* degrees and diplomas.
- ii. To be proactive in the development of *Māori* policy, programmes and curriculum for *Māori*.
- iii. To be a positive, proactive and visionary group.
- iv. To support quality assurance.
- v. To advocate delivery of adequate and appropriate resources and funding to *Māori* initiatives.
- vi. To develop positive policies and procedures for the appointment of *Māori* staff in faculties and departments where recruitment and retention of *Māori* staff are not meeting the University's mission and goals.
- vii. To monitor delivery of the Treaty component of the Missions, Goals and Strategies of the University across all faculties and departments.

Membership	Representation
Professor Graham Smith (Chair)	<i>Pro Vice-Chancellor (Māori)</i>
Professor Raewyn Dalziel	<i>Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academic)</i>
Professor Garth Cooper	<i>Faculty of Science</i>
Professor Colin Mantell	<i>Faculty of Medical and Health Science</i>
Professor Terry Sturm	<i>Faculty of Arts</i>
Professor Albert Wendt	<i>Pacifica Representative</i>
Professor Linda Smith	<i>Research</i>
Professor Anne Salmond	<i>Pro Vice-Chancellor (Equal Opportunities)</i>
Dr John Hood	<i>Vice-Chancellor</i>
Dr Kuni Jenkins	<i>Faculty of Arts</i>
Dr Margaret Mutu	<i>Māori Studies</i>
Dr Merimeri Penfold	<i>Kuia</i>
Dr Melenaita Taumoevalau	<i>Centre for Pacific Studies</i>
Vacant	<i>Faculty of APPFA</i>
Mr Kepa Morgan	<i>Faculty of Engineering</i>
Ms Lorna Dyll	<i>Faculty of Medicine & Health Science</i>
Mrs Margaret Taurere	<i>Equal Opportunities Māori Advisory</i>
Ms Charmaine Edward	<i>Faculty of Business & Economics</i>
Mrs Lucy Kapa	<i>Property Services</i>
Ms Nin Tomas	<i>Faculty of Law</i>
Mr Robert Sullivan	<i>Library</i>
Ms Jenny Bryan	<i>Library</i>
Ms Whiroina Pihema	<i>Nga Tauira Kapa Haka Representative</i>
Ms Suaree Borell	<i>Nga Tauira Māori Representative</i>
Mr Hector Kaiwai	<i>Nga Tauira Māori Representative</i>
Mrs Rangimarie Rawiri	<i>Māori Staff Representative</i>
Te Tuhi Robust	<i>Secretary, Executive Assistant, PVC (Māori)</i>
Mr Lee Cooper	<i>Secretary, Executive Assistant, PVC (Equal Opportunities)</i>

Appendix Two/ *Kupu Āpiti Rua*

Memorandum of Understanding between the First Nations House of Learning, The University of British Columbia and *Te Whanau A Tane-Nui-a-Rangi*, University of Auckland.

Preamble

Notwithstanding the umbrella agreement reached within the formal Memorandum of Understanding between the University of British Columbia (Canada) and the University of Auckland (New Zealand), this subsidiary document acknowledges the special attributes of the Indigenous Peoples' contributions within their respective institutions and seeks to encourage and develop Indigenous academic advancement to our mutual benefit.

Kaupapa – Principles

- 1) The University of Auckland and the University of British Columbia share in common strong and diverse ranges of Indigenous programmes.
- 2) This Memorandum seeks to enhance the academic development and advancement of programmes of interest to Indigenous students, staff and communities.
- 3) It is acknowledged that this is not a legally binding document but is an informal agreement to encourage supportive links and opportunities to be developed between each of the First Nations parties.
- 4) This Memorandum recognizes the diversity of First Nations involvement across a wide range of academic disciplines at each institution. This agreement acknowledges the first Nations House of Learning and *Te Whanau A Tane-Nui-a-Rangi* as the co-coordinating bodies by which the agreement is undertaken.

Objectives

This Memorandum will encourage co-operative links and opportunities for first Nations faculties from each institution to engage in:

- a) Staff/ student academic interaction and co-operation with respect to teaching, publications and research;
- b) International benchmarking of academic standards and performance;
- c) Sharing of academic programmes and courses where appropriate; and

- d) Participation of academic staff in international conferences, seminars and related activities.

Specific Objectives

1. Develop opportunities and means for postgraduate students to travel and study between the two institutions;
2. Develop collaborative research opportunities;
3. Develop trans-institutional teaching exchanges where appropriate;
4. Develop where appropriate the exchange of curriculum resources;
5. Establish staff internet and email linkages; and
6. Develop international publication opportunities for academic staff.

Agreement

1. Te Whanau A Tane-Nui-a-Rangi and First Nations House of Learning hereby agree that each will seek to take such action as will promote the specific objectives listed above;
2. This Agreement will terminate on June 30, 2001 but the parties may wish to continue and therefore review the specified objectives; and
3. In the case of termination, the joint programmes running between the institutions will be carried on to their natural conclusion. Those students who are still involved in programmes will finish their study and any collaborative research will be completed.

This is an Agreement to foster a co-operative relationship between the two institutions to encourage a broader understanding of Indigenous issues and to encourage the sharing of knowledge to enhance the learning of Indigenous students.

Signatures

_____	Date: _____
The University of British Columbia	
_____	Date: _____
The University of Auckland	
