KA AO, KA AO, KA AWATEA:

Emergent Māori experiences of education employment transition

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Te Orokohanga o te Ao Māori

Ko te pū, te more, te weu, te aka, te rea.

Ko te wao-nui, te kune, te whē, te kore, te pō.

Ki ngā tāngata Māori, nā Rangi rāua ko Papa.

Ko tēnei te timatanga o te ao,

Ko tēnei te timatanga o te ao.

From 'te pū' (the very origin) sprang 'te more' (the taproot), then sprang 'te weu' (the rootlets or fibrous roots). Then came 'te aka' (the creeper or vine), and then 'te rea' (the increase).

Then came 'te wao-nui' (the great forest), 'te kune' (the forming, the conception), 'te whē', (representing sound), 'te kore' (void) and 'te pō' (darkness).

Māori people came from Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatūānuku (Earth Mother).

This is the beginning of the world.

This is the beginning of the world.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is the product of an ongoing conversation that started out as an argument in my head. What that eventually led to was letting go of the doubt I carried that university just wasn't the place for me, and entering into my first experience of higher learning, over 20 years ago. Ka patua te taniwha o te whakamā! That is where I deeply inhaled my first breath of university, starting out as an undergraduate student at Victoria University of Wellington. From there I quickly found myself gravitating (tumbling) towards a small piece of paradise situated in the Education Studies buildings in Fairlie Terrace on the outskirts of the Kelburn campus, perfectly named He Pārekereke. It was here where I was to first find myself academically, challenged and cajoled by lecturers who opened the door to other worlds and many possibilities while also furnishing me with the theories, words and insight that would allow me to make sense of my world. I am beyond grateful that I was able to begin this experience of tertiary education in this way, and would like to acknowledge those lecturers who were part of that early stage in my journey. So thank you Wally Penetito, Kabini Sanga, Hazel Phillips, Joanna Kidman and Cherie Chu for inspiring me so early on in my university studies, so that completing this PhD was always destined to be the endpoint to a beginning so rich with critical analysis. Ngā mihi nunui ki a koutou.

After graduating with a Bachelor's degree in education, then following it up with an Honour's degree, the internal conversation kicked in again and was joined by the droning but ever-loving voice of one Mr. John Wikitera. So I made the decision to keep going with this alternate life that had become a comfortable bubble for my student existence to dwell in. It was fortuitous that for the second time, I was able to tap into the wealth of knowledge and resource of He Pārekereke having had Hazel Phillips as my primary supervisor for my Masters thesis and the guidance of Joanna Kidman and Cherie Chu earlier on in my PhD journey. Although my pathway to the completion of this PhD has been somewhat unique involving many trials and tribulations, I believe my progress beautifully reflected the rollercoaster ride that I had signed up to, sometimes it was up, sometimes down, most of the time it was like going round and round in the same spot. Aptly though it spurred me on, to persevere to the very end. Therefore, I am grateful to every one of my supervisors in that they gave me leeway to conceptualise and then to write, even if at times it felt sporadic and painful. To my primary supervisor Hazel Phillips, thank you for taking me on so late in the piece and to Jenny Ritchie my secondary supervisor, I have appreciated your scholarship and manaaki throughout the short time that we have been travelling this haerenga together. Without you both this thesis might have been left incomplete, so I am

grateful beyond words. Tēnei te mihi aroha ki a korua. I would also like to sincerely acknowledge you Hazel for picking up my primary supervision and for your sage advice earlier on in the scheme of things that helped push me over the line. To my sisters Pania and Awhina and to my family and friends who encouraged me to keep going and would not take no for an answer—your collective faith helped me to see that the end of this journey was near, I just needed to push through it. Ngā mihi aroha ki a koutou! I need to also give thanks to Victoria University for giving me a PhD scholarship and Top Scholar award in 2010. Much gratitude also to Te Korowai Aroha Whānau Services for their ongoing encouragement and financial, cultural and moral support, to Vicky Culling for your insightful advice on some of my earlier chapters, to Far North REAP for providing me with printing and tutor support, and to Jo Mane for this comprehensive tutoring and particularly for your insights into kaupapa Māori theory. Thank you so much to you all, I am so very grateful.

He aha te kai ō te rangatira? He kōrero, he kōrero, he kōrero (What is the food of the leader? Communication, communication, communication). Ōtira, he tuku mihi aroha ki a koe Tā Apirana Ngata. Without the late Sir Apirana Ngata whose passion for all things Māori completely captured me, there would not have been the means to think creatively about school-to-work transitions for Māori, being proudly Ngāti Porou, and representing that adequately through this thesis. Days sitting in the sterile surrounds of the Archives would come alive through the writings of Tā Apirana, which is something that I have tried to incorporate here through this thesis. Therefore, I would like to sincerely acknowledge the immense contribution that Apirana has made to this PhD, and send my gratitude to his descendants and whānau who have continued on with his legacy. He mihi aroha ki a koe e Tā.

Ka huri au ki tōku whānau. I give eternal thanks to my family for the stories that were gifted to me, this collection of rich descriptions of narrative that I have been able to draw from for this research journey. To the extended Wharehinga whānau and those family members who helped to fill in gaps in information about my great-grandfather Wi, and to my mother and father Te Wairingiringi and Ron Mitchell, thank you so much for sharing your memories, your experiences, your laughter and tears. I love my mum who would come to my home and mow my lawns when I was sick and writing, and my Dad who would try to fix my stuff, like a lawnmower I bought off the internet that did not work very well. None of this would have been possible without you both and I hope I have created something you can be proud of. To my brother Cameron who needs acknowledging, your support for me has always been something that I could count on and I am very proud to be your sister. To all my nieces, nephews, to the Wikitera whānau, to my kaupapa whānau LMP who have contributed to keeping

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the flame of Māori education burning, and to all of my whānau—thank you for being part of my life. I am truly honoured to call you my family.

Finally, to the reason why I do this, to my princess child Waimirirangi Wikitera and to my partner in life, my husband John Wikitera. We have endured the storm! Waimirirangi, your consistency in nagging your mother to keep writing and to 'just do it' has finally come to its conclusion! John, it was your continued conversations and support that helped me to believe that this educational journey was something I could do, and now, kua ea...it is done. I am so happy that we made it to the end. Although this has been a long time coming and it has not been an easy road for our family, it is finally complete! Now we can all take some time out to appreciate each other and enjoy this family achievement. For all you have done for me and for all that you are, I love you both beyond words.

Nā tō rourou   *(With your food basket)*
Nā taku rourou   *(And my food basket)*
Ka ora ai te whānau.   *(The whānau will prosper)*

Dedication

This doctoral thesis is dedicated to my grandmother, my Nanny Mereana Luke (nee Wharehinga) who passed away October 26, 2014 at the age of 84. She passed away while I was completing this thesis and with a big part of it focused on her father Wi Manawawai Wharehinga, it might have been easy to lose myself in the sorrow of it all and to let the thesis go. Nevertheless, the conversations she shared with me were so precious that it did not seem right to give it up. What she gave and what I will always be eternally grateful for is her treasured words of love—an immeasurable love that she held for her father and the same quality of love that she shared with me, my daughter Waimirirangi, and with our whānau. I continued with this PhD because of her, even though it would have been easy to stop writing especially when things became a bit unstuck. However, there was no way I was going to let my Nan down and so I persisted to the end with her in mind.

What kept me going was a fervent wish to acknowledge how much of a beautiful person she was. When I was a child, she would care for me along with my grandfather Eric Utika Titiahoe Luke. In my teenage years, she let me get away with so many things, like taking off for joyrides in their car when grandfather was sleeping. She just allowed me to be me, without judgment and with complete unconditional love. My adult years are a poignant reminder of her character as she continued to demonstrate her aroha for all of us. It was the kind of love that lit up a room and it is something of her that I miss terribly. Her amazing fortitude and willingness to give were something that illness could not take away from her. It was felt even in her final days, as she would continue to ask if her mokopuna and great-moko were okay and did they need anything. This is what my grandmother has come to epitomise, that love is what matters at the end of all things.

Therefore, I pay tribute to my Nan and to who she was. Even though there was a hardness to her life, she maintained a generosity of spirit and always a willingness to share from her memories, her family stories and especially the lifelong love she carried for her Dad, Wi Manawawai Wharehinga. Throughout my own life, this made him very real for me as his great-granddaughter even though he passed away when Nan was a young girl. It is the conversations along with imagining their life, a life Wi created for his family from being a carpenter, a trade he took up after attending Te Aute College, which is central to this thesis and the continuance of the legacy that he left for our family.

The knowledge of my grandmother who I have loved all of my life and who I sorely miss, is something I will always treasure and never forget. This knowledge is the blood that runs in my veins and this thesis is a testament to its continuation for the future generations of our whānau.

My beloved Nanny.
I will bury my sorrow in my mahi, and share this aroha with our world.

Ka Ao, Ka Ao, Ka Awatea:
Emergent Māori experiences of education employment transition

Abstract: The significance of genealogy on Māori transitions between education and employment is often not appreciated as a valid body of knowledge. This research seeks to consider a family history of Māori 'education towards employment' experiences and the ensuing conversations that have occurred as part of those experiences. Of major focus is the influence of state policy on systems that have educated Māori to become employable or unemployable, highlighting the often insidious nature of the underlying themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration that have underpinned these policies.

Kaupapa Māori theory is engaged as the methodological approach for this research, while a 'hypothetical dialogue', counter-storying and Critical Race Theory (CRT) form the theoretical frameworks for analysing the historical and contemporary narratives provided. What this enables is the positioning of a Māori lens with which to understand the inherent values, beliefs and experiential learning that emerge through using autoethnography and more specifically, indigenous autoethnography. This research details a series of conversations that portray the education-employment transitions of different generations of the researcher's family. It is a highly personalised account shared to provide insight into the effect of policy on these transitions. Accompanied by scholarly commentary, the thematic material is derived from the collection and analysis of primary data such as genealogical and personal experience, which includes the analysis of family narratives and the observation of hui/meetings.[1] Secondary data includes literature and review of policy, which provided a baseline for the research.

The findings of the research establish deficit thinking as a distinctive, historic and recurring feature of systems that are supposed to educate Māori for employment, but which instead continue to educate and transition a significant number of young Māori into unemployment, underemployment and temporary employment arrangements. These findings contribute to the development of an initiative that supports Māori transitions between education and employment, and which looks to

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[1] Te reo Māori terms, phrases, proverbs and words will be used throughout this study, and will have macrons where appropriate. With terms that need explanation, the Māori term will be provided with a non-Māori translation either immediately in the text of the research or in the footnotes where necessary. A glossary of terms has been added to the beginning of this thesis to define the Māori words used throughout the thesis.

the design of a community hub dedicated to educating whole families at a grassroots level; specifically focusing on a group of parents and whānau studying towards an undergraduate qualification based at their local kura/school.

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Glossary of Māori terms

Ahi kā	Home fires burning
Āta	Set of principles around being mindful
Aotearoa	Indigenous name for New Zealand
Aroha	Love
Awa	River
Awhi	Help
Haka	A dance, traditionally done as a confrontation
Hapū	Sub-tribe
He Pārekereke	Seedling bed
Hinga	Fall
Hui	Meeting
Iwi	Tribe
Ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea	It is day, it is day, it is daylight
Kai	Food
Kaimoana	Seafood
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship
Karanga	A ceremonial welcoming call
Kaumatua	Elder
Kaupapa	Subject, purpose
Kawa	Protocols
Koha	Gift
Kōrero	Talk
Kōrero-ā-whānau	Family talk
Kūpapa	Historical term denoting someone who is neutral, or a sympathiser/loyalist to the Crown
Kuia	Elderly woman
Kura	School
Mana	Power, strength
Manaaki	Care
Māori	Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand
Mamae	Pain
Mana	Prestige, influence, control, power
Marae	Traditional meeting-house
Mātāpono	Principles
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Mauri	Essence, life force

Mihi	Greetings
Moana	First name of the author. Means 'ocean, sea'
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Nūhaka	Town in the Hawkes Bay region
Ora	Wellness
Orokohanga	Origins, creation
Pākehā	Referring to a non-Māori person
Pākeke	Adult
Papakainga	Homestead
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
Patua	Hit
Pōwhiri	Welcoming ritual
Pūkōrero, pūrākau	Stories
Rangatahi	Young person
Rangatiratanga	Leadership
Ranginui	Sky Father
Tāmoko	Cultural body adornment, tattoo
Tangata/Tāngata	Person/People
Tangata Whenua	Person of the land, indigenous person
Tangihanga	Funeral
Taniwha	Monster
Taonga tuku iho	Treasures passed down through the generations
Taranaki	Province of New Zealand
Te ao Māori	The Māori world
Te ao hurihuri	The changing world
Te ao tawhito	The traditional world
Te Kotahitanga	An education strategy, means the unity, oneness
Te Kuru	Transliteration of 'The Guru'
Tiaki	Look after
Tikanga	Protocols
Tino Rangatiratanga	Self determination
Tōku ohooho	My awakening
Tōku reo	My language
Tuatahi	First
Tuarua	Second
Tuatoru	Third
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Waiata	Song
Waka	Canoe/boat

Whaikōrero	Speechmaking as part of pōwhiri process
Whaiwahitanga	Participating/contributing
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakatauki	Proverb, saying
Whakawhanaungatanga	Process of making connections
Whānau	Family
Whānau whānui	Wider/extended family
Whanaungatanga	Making connections
Whare	House
Whenua	Land

Prologue

Ka Ao (It is Dawn),

Ka Ao (It is Dawn),

Ka Awatea (It is Daylight).

There are some things that I have come to know about te ao Māori, the Māori world. Not everything or a few things. Not even close to being an expert in anything or enough to think I am what I've cynically come to know as a specific characteristic in people who use their knowledge to become Te Kuru—The Guru, and to engage in Te Kurutanga—the ways of The Guru.[2] No, that is not my world or my way. In my version of being Māori, I am in between te ao tawhito, the traditional world and te ao hurihuri, the changing world. My learning about this is a lifelong passion. It is part of the love I have for knowing who I am. It is coming into an awareness that being Māori is hard and then wanting to know more about why it is hard and what can help to make it less so. It is the blossoming of my thoughts in the form of a conversation with self. Conversations are the backbone of my writing and the reason why I feel so compelled

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[2] Te Kuru—The Guru and Te Kurutanga—The ways of the Guru are loosely defined here as a Māori person with varying knowledge of te ao Māori who use that knowledge for their own benefit either as a means of 'mana sucking', a term that describes the transference of mana/esteem from the giver to 'Te Kuru', and/or for pecuniary gain. Te Kuru often thrive in Māori educational contexts that attract Māori people who are lacking in either te reo Māori and/or a Māori identity, and in this vulnerable state are often attracted to the supposed knowledge of Te Kuru. An awareness of Te Kuru and Te Kurutanga is relevant to this study as it is important to understand what a 'lived experience' might look like if critical thinking is not engaged, particularly with Māori people who are often searching for the 'truth' in all the wrong places. (See Walker, 1989).

to bring these stories to light. They are stories that have made me who I am and that have taught me about life and all that it entails, and for which I am forever grateful.

My childhood is where I learnt many of my life lessons. Through my school years, there are two stand out memories when I think about what it was like for me growing up Māori. The first recollection comes from when I had just started primary school and of being the only girl out of a handful of children, most of whom were Māori, lined up on a wall in a corridor and about to get the strap. This was punishment for myself and another Māori boy who had been caught playing with water inside a classroom. When school had finished for the day and I went home in tears and told my mother what had happened, she marched down to the school and yelled at the principal for a lengthy amount of time for strapping her five-year-old child for something she believed should not have resulted in corporal punishment.[3]

The second recollection came later on in my secondary schooling when I first began to question why all the teachers at the school I had attended were Pākehā. The shopkeeper was Pākehā, the leaders at Girls Brigade and the swimming instructors

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[3] The memory is a peculiar thing. I do not actually clearly remember the physical sensation of being strapped however; I do have the most vivid memory of waiting to be strapped—standing by the wall outside the girls' toilets and in total despair, although funnily enough not in tears. The tears did not come until I came face to face with my mother and told her what happened to me.

were Pākehā. I did not know where any of these people lived either but I just knew they did not live on my street. The schools, the shops, the youth groups and swimming lessons were all spaces in which I learnt I was different and that in the hierarchy of things, my difference meant I was less likely to fit in. I also began to think about my experiences of places where there were mostly or solely only Māori people. For me this was at the marae, at rugby league games, collecting kaimoana, and at family gatherings. This is where I learnt that being Māori was about being connected to the sea, the land and to people. Alcohol abuse, land loss and greed would be a part of these narratives as well, although it was a mostly happy childhood that taught me that being Māori involved the establishment and maintenance of relationships, which as children you first began to understand through observation and also sometimes through yelling.

Mereana my beautiful grandmother never yelled. When she answered the phone, her phone manner was as if she were singing with bellbirds chirped on her shoulders, not talking. I do not ever recall her screaming or being angry. I remember her telling us off but it never felt like it was a telling off, and because she never quite told us off, I think we mokopuna tried very hard not to do things that required reprimanding. During the times I would sit with Nan, I would ask her to talk about her dad, Wi Manawawai Wharehinga. I remember being there with her on numerous

occasions, carefully holding the photo of Wi that held a special place on my Nan's

bookcase and I would then ask about him and their life growing up. They were warm

memories with many smiles and a bit of sadness shared in between. She would tell

me stories about her siblings, her Mum and Dad and about his schooling. One of the

stories she would always share was that her father had gone to quite a well-known

Māori boys' boarding school, Te Aute College. However, at the times I would relay this

information onto other whānau[4] members, many felt unsure about this point and at

that stage my grandmother was the only one left alive of her siblings so there was no

one from inside my immediate whānau who I could call upon to validate her story.

I wanted to be sure of this piece of information but mostly I needed to make

this right for my grandmother, so I emailed Te Aute to inquire after my great-

grandfather under the names Wi, Wi Manaawai, Wi Manawawai and Wharehinga.

Confirmation came back of Wi Manawawai being enrolled there in 1904. I cried when

I read the email, not because he was enrolled there but because Nan told me this and

I wanted desperately for it to be true. I was relieved that I could tell Nan that she was

right; her father had attended Te Aute because I received an email that told me so. It

was through the process of verification that this fact became 'the truth' for me, all the

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[4] Whānau translates as family in the Māori language.

while Nan just smiled and told me she already knew this. After a time of reflecting on what had happened and how I had processed things, I got angry with myself for not believing my grandmother in the first place or just simply not accepting what she had told me already so many times before as the truth.

This is the ultimate academic mind game. I needed to tell this story and the stories that have contributed to the education employment transitions of my family. I had to explain how state policy had been *inscribed* into our collective whakapapa through an education haphazardly steering us towards eventual career pathways. I wanted to do this as genuinely and authentically as I could, as well as loosely aligning what I had to say through this thesis with the conventions of academic writing. This is not a straight story, and it is not a linear or compartmentalised or even a 'count by numbers' affair. It is a circular story. It goes back and forth adding more dimension and substance with every exasperating rotation. It is pūkōrero, pūrākau, a Māori-centric storytelling experience. It is the traditional process of pōwhiri and of whaikōrero, of speechmaking and of each person adding their voice and the content of their talk to the bigger picture. It is similar to how I have been taught to do things in a Māori context, by listening, observing and then by doing. Sometimes I did not know what I was doing or why, and my continual questions of 'Why? Why? Why?'

would be met with 'Just because…' And so I have written a thesis in much the same vein.

By prioritising my voice and our community, I intentionally choose the means by which to pay respect to the people who have shared their knowledge and their stories with me, with those people being my own whānau. Therefore, I have endeavoured to write this PhD thesis with my first priority being to honour the stories and the kōrero that are an integral part of my own personal experiences. I am incredibly lucky to have these stories, which provide insight into our whānau experiences of education towards employment, and I will keep that thought at the forefront of my mind. Autoethnography, although not always a comfortable fit, has given me the vehicle from which to tell this story, using my voice and locating it in a familiar context. In translating this into 'indigenous autoethnography', it affords me some scholarly license to express myself in a way that upholds my cultural integrity, and pays homage to the stories told to me by my family.

The words of the title of this thesis serve as a metaphor to track my journey of coming into awareness through these stories. It is only a small part of an invocation that can be used to begin formal Māori speechmaking, a tauparapara/incantation that goes through the phases that created the world. This tauparapara begins in *te kore,*

the nothingness and goes through different sequences of that before coming to *te pō,* the night and its many variances, *te pō nui,* the great night, *te pō roa,* the long night, *te pō uriuri,* the deep night, *te pō kerekere,* the intense night. Thus arriving at the dawn, *ka ao,* and daylight, *ka awatea*. The significance of *ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea* is that it represents an awakening of my awareness relating to my whānau experiences of education towards employment. It is the dawning of my understanding towards the realisation that Māori can and are proactive in providing their own solutions to education-employment transitions.

As indigenous peoples who have survived the historical onslaught of colonialism and colonisation, Māori people as a population are on a precipice. Do we succumb to assimilation and leave our indigeneity in the past, continuing in our enjoyment of New Zealand citizenship like every other ethnic minority in Aotearoa? Or do we lay claim to our whakapapa, the genealogy that connects us as first peoples of this land? My choice is to remember the past and our stories so they may continue to speak to my current circumstances and to my future.

Tōku reo, tōku ohooho—my language, my awakening.

HEI TIMATATANGA: KA AO, KA AO, KA AWATEA

Kei konei au. I am here. Basking in the glow of this Far North sunrise, the hint of golden sunrays reflecting off low-lying clouds. Its dazzle yet to be realised.

I am the cloud.
My family are the rays.
I can reflect the brilliance of their stories.
If only I find a way to shine this light back from where it came.

Please let me get that right. I want to do them proud. I must rise above this uncertainty. I can demonstrate my aroha and respect for what I have received. I need to give back.

I have a need to be authentic, and so I sit here, watching this sunrise, and waiting to capture this essence of myself, in the form of words.

(Journal log, 27/01/16)

Chapter One: Introduction

Each individual story is powerful. But the point about the stories is not that they simply tell a story, or tell a story simply. These new stories contribute to a collective story in which every indigenous person has a place. (Smith, 1999, p. 144)

Introduction

There is a story to be told about New Zealand's education policy and its limiting of Māori educational potential and subsequent employability. It is a response to the negative experiences of education that have contributed to Māori unemployment and underemployment. Mostly, this has been experienced through government policy that discriminates based on a historic, colonialist system—the occurrence of which has consistently failed generations of young Māori as they have transitioned between school and work. It is the story of those Māori families who left school with no or few qualifications, and who went directly into jobs offered specifically to the unskilled and unqualified—the entry level jobs at the very bottom of the ladder. Ko tēnei tōku ao, me tōku pūkōrero. This is my world, and my story. It is drawn from the collective narrative of my family; all of us entangled in the myth of meritocracy that if you just apply yourself then you will achieve. Instead, framed by policy our shared experience would speak more about the struggle of being Māori and how that shaped what we were to expect from New Zealand's education and employment systems. Moreover,

it would attest to the agency of Māori people who pushed through the restraints of these experiences, to pursue education and employment beyond the box that was prescribed for them. This study celebrates these stories of resistance by also naming the structural and systemic inequities that Māori have had to overcome as part of school-to-work transitions.

Historically, policy has shut young Māori out. The prevailing *mindset* behind this being that "members of the dominant group justify the world as it is, that is, with whites on top and...browns on the bottom" (Delgado, 1989, p. 2413). Ritchie, Skerrett and Rau (2014) argue that this is part of "the complex and twisted discourses of harm masking the power hierarchies of colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand" (p. 117). The intent of this research is to make sense of the knowledge embedded within these 'twisted discourses of harm' that target Māori[5] populations and correspond with an enduring deficit perspective ingrained within ongoing state policy. It is the persistent and dominant nature of this discourse that manifests itself as an often indiscriminate and unchallenged feature of government policy; and even though it is significant—it is mostly undetected in the state's approach to educating Māori towards employment. It is something that as a nation we do not speak openly and honestly about. In creating

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[5] Māori is a term used extensively through this research. It is the name given for the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand. In this study, the use of the word Māori refers to Māori people unless otherwise stated.

Māori educational underachievement, the incongruous nature of New Zealand's

education system[6] is disguised by 'good intentions' (Simon, 1990) that then shape the

level of employment expected for and consequently experienced by Māori people.

Despite this being a difficult and uncompromising testimony, it does provide a

compelling reason for how we came to be here due to a systemic bias that favours the

interests of dominant Pākehā over subordinate Māori (Mahuika, 2008; Simon, 1986;

Walker, 1991).

There is a link between government policy, education, employment and Māori

'failure', which is historically located and part of a meta-narrative that corroborates the

range of experiences Māori people have been subjected to as a result of such

phenomena as acculturation, institutionalisation and colonialism (Bhabha, 1985;

Fanon, 1963; Smith, 2005; Trask, 2013). Education is an inherently political act (Freire,

1985), and historic government policy has purposefully been used as a means of

control (Simon & Smith, 2001). The wisdom gained from these insights has been

intermittent and limited, and as such, the general state of Māori education-

employment transition as with other areas of development for Māori remains

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[6] The term 'system' is defined here as "the patterning of social relations across time-space, understood as reproduced practices. Social systems should be regarded as widely variable in terms of the degree of 'systemness' they display and rarely have the sort of internal unity which may be found in physical and biological systems" (Giddens, 1984, p. 377).

problematic (Mitchell & Phillips, 2013; Phillips & Mitchell, 2012).[7] It is through the

sharing of these contextual realities; drawing from collective conversations and stories

that Māori are able to access and critically engage with these experiences.

Background to Study

There is a relatively small but growing amount of New Zealand-based research

undertaken describing the school-to-work transitions of young New Zealanders

(Dalziel, 2010; Dalziel, Higgins, Vaughn & Phillips, 2007; Morrison & Loeber, 2005;

Phillips & Mitchell, 2010; Sanders & Munford, 2016; Stolte, 2006). Despite the increase

in research, more needs to be done with the education-employment linkages data

towards improving the quality and success of young New Zealanders (Quintini, 2008;

Quintini & Martin, 2014) and Māori school-to-work transitions (Mitchell, 2009). The

focus here is on the links made between the historical education system provided for

Māori and the present-day system, and more specifically the discourse around

education and the *continuance of failure* that has become a generational experience

for young Māori. My own transition narrative, which is described in the findings of my

Masters of Arts research (Mitchell, 2009), establishes that the majority of Māori people

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[7] The paradox for Māori, who participate in education-employment transition and other development initiatives such as quota admission strategies for Māori students applying to study subjects such as law, is whether the intent of these strategies to be positive, equitable, pro-social activities is realistic. Instead, research suggests that these strategies have had very little effect on increasing the participation rates for Māori in these areas (Hitchcock, Smuts, Alon & Gabriel, 2016).

who make up these 'generations' end up re-living the same experiences of educational failure as their forebears. Eventually they find themselves in an interminable loop offering their own children back into the same schooling systems, seemingly forgetting their own mostly unfortunate experiences of education. These parents need to maintain a sense of hope that things might have changed because they want the best possible futures for their tamariki, and so they send their children back into these flawed systems.

The experience of educational failure is as familiar to Māori as it is intergenerational. It relates to the state of education and the huge hole of disparity that exists for young Māori who attempt to leap from an education system, mostly from secondary schooling into employment (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2009). While politicians and respective governments maintain a regular, concerted effort to conceal the impacts of this 'gap' what becomes apparent is that Māori educational disparity exists and that it needs to be addressed (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2009; Bishop, O'Sullivan & Berryman, 2010). This gap fosters the general belief that young Māori are not successful in their transitions from education to employment and that they should take responsibility for this, as it is supposed that their predicament is mostly of their own doing (Mitchell, 2009).

Te Kaupapa: Presenting the Issues

Deficit thinking has been a recurring feature of the policies that provide education towards eventual employment for Māori. Because of that Māori are likely to be the object of blame; casualties of state sponsored educational failure (and thus transition-to-work failure), due to 'failure' becoming an ongoing, self-fulfilling prophecy. In this research, deficit thinking is defined as a "process of 'blaming the victim'. It is a model founded on imputation, not documentation" (Valencia, 2012, p. x).[8] Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richardson (2003) consider the impact of deficit thinking on Māori education as one that "perpetuates the ongoing colonising project of pathologising the lives of these students, and maintains the power over what constitutes appropriate classroom interactions in the hands of teachers without any reference to the culture of Māori students" (p. 5). Māori failure has been normalised in Aotearoa New Zealand[9] and as such, seeking to understand how that has influenced education-employment transitions is an integral part of this research.

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[8] Valencia (1997, p. 2) describes how deficit thinking is attributed to students such as Māori as a way to explain educational failure and not because of any failing of the education system. He argues, "the student who fails in school does so because of internal deficits or deficiencies. Such deficits manifest, it is alleged, in limited intellectual abilities, linguistic shortcomings, lack of motivation to learn and immoral behaviour. The proposed transmitters of these deficits vary according to the intellectual and scholarly climate of the times...genetics, culture and class, and familial socialization have all been postulated as sources of alleged deficits expressed by individual students who experience school failure".

[9] Aotearoa is the first Māori name given to New Zealand by the wife of the intrepid explorer Kupe. Throughout this study, I use the terms Aotearoa, Aotearoa New Zealand and New Zealand to refer to this country.

Colonisation as a process is not explicitly explored through this thesis, nevertheless how it has affected policy and the ideological[10] themes of *assimilation*, *cultural adaptation* and *integration* (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Durie, 2003; Irwin, 2002; McCarthy, 2014; Macfarlane, Glynn, Grace, Penetito, & Bateman, 2008; Simon, 1998) is a feature of this study. Successive stages of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration are highlighted in this research as *ideological themes* that correspond with specific policy eras. As the major philosophical thinking underpinning state policy, these themes advance dominant Pākehā identity and culture for the purpose of westernising the Māori population. Briefly, the initial assimilation policy describes a colonialist treatment of Māori; the second policy of cultural adaptation expected Māori to fit their traditional identities into western culture.[11] Integration, the third policy to be discussed in this study, attempted to incorporate cultural elements within a solely westernised structure. Education was seen as the perfect site for an assimilationist regime to take hold, demonstrating that schooling "was based on providing Maori with a particular form of education that aimed at controlling knowledge and Maori access to it" (Johnston, 1998, p. 329).

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[10] Ideology as a generic term is often referred to as 'systems of thought or beliefs'. As it relates here, Thompson's (1984, p. 4) description of ideology is fitting, as it describes, "a *critical conception*….It preserves the negative connotation which has been conveyed by the term throughout most of its history and it binds the analysis of ideology to the question of critique". For further discussion, see Thompson, 2013.

[11] An argument that will be discussed further into this study, is that Sir Apirana Ngata, along with Te Rangi Hiroa, were instrumental in promoting their own brand of 'cultural adaptation', which they also termed 'cultural adjustment (McCarthy, 2014).

What also requires further examination is the relationship between the current

systems that educate Māori for employment and how these are informed by a wider

socio-historical context. This relationship is at the very core of my research. In

highlighting the disparity between Māori and Pākehā, the argument is that this

ideological thinking has helped to establish Māori education in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Cunningham (2011) identifies three models that explain why disparity exists for young

Māori:

1. A determinants model—whereby differences in distribution of underlying risk factors or risk markers are reflected/reproduced in health, education and developmental outcomes (often criticised as a social deficit model);
2. A cultural deficit/cultural difference model where the incongruence between Māori cultural norms and the mainstream is seen as a cause of poorer outcomes (sometimes included in a determinants model); and
3. A colonisation and/or racism model whereby historical and, some would argue, ongoing insults are believed to manifest in poorer contemporary outcomes requiring major organisational and system change to address. (Cunningham, 2011, p. 145)

Although all three models inform how disparity features in this study, the focus on the

'ongoing insults' in Cunningham's description emphasises how a pathway of failure is

able to manifest itself unchallenged in Māori students as they are educated for future

careers. This anomaly taints the quality of the transition young Māori make from

education into post-education opportunities. It is considered here as the reason why

the education system does not successfully retain Māori students, and why the

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transition-to-work system continues to be an *ill fit* for many young Māori going

through this stage in their lives (Mitchell, 2009).

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to capture the experience of Māori education-

employment transitions and the impact of state policy. It is pitting a cultural

perspective against a structural paradigm through genealogical storying of these

experiences, exposing encounters of systemic, structural inequity identified as deficit

thinking along with the ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and

integration. By incorporating the cultural element of storying, this research is seeking

to link historic education-employment policy to present day education-employment

policy through an enduring family narrative. As such, conclusions will be drawn around

the role of deficit-based policy in the ongoing education-employment transitions of

Māori. Policy containing deficit thinking has created this system of transition, however,

there is much more to this story than just policy. What is important is to understand

the *impact* of state policy through the ability to 'talk back' (hooks, 1989; hooks, 1995b)

to what has happened.

Therefore, whānau narratives are privileged in this study as a legitimate body

of knowledge with the sharing of whānau stories about their experiences of school-

to-work transition. A hypothetical dialogue via a series of letters between Sir Apirana

Ngata and Professor Basil Bernstein is created as a historically sourced analytical

framework. I also seek to engage critical counter-storying (Delgado, 1989) as a tool

of emancipation that includes the penning of a letter to my daughter Waimirirangi

Wikitera. This all culminates in the development of a strategy for working with Māori

who have been failed by present day education-employment policy and who engage

in a second chance education initiative as role models for their own children and

respective whānau.

Research Questions

The main research questions for this study are; what influence has the

ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration had on state

policy and the education-employment transitions of Māori? In addition, how might

Māori education-employment transitions be contextualised and theoretically

understood through family-based narrative? The following contributory questions will

also be considered; what western and kaupapa Māori theories explain the impact of

policy on Māori education-employment transition? Moreover, how might

transformative learning contribute to the ongoing conversation about Māori education and employment?[12]

Method and Methodology

Kaupapa Māori theory underpins the method and methodology of this study and provides an eclectic way to discuss Māori issues, all filtered through a kaupapa Māori lens. The use of kaupapa Māori theory is a critical response to the use of research as a tool of oppression, in that:

> In this post-colonial era, as we come to terms with the challenges of decolonisation, researchers too are being asked to decolonise their minds, hearts and practices. This challenge is more than a question of ethical practice; it is about making this world a better place for generations to come. (Furness, Nikora, Hodgetts & Robertson, 2013, p. 2)

Kaupapa Māori theory is a vehicle for emancipation through research *by Māori, for Māori, about Māori* (Bevan-Brown, 1998).[13] By aligning a Māori cultural framework

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[12] The intention behind each research question is to understand the impact of state policy and the three underlying ideological themes identified here as assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration. How this is captured in this research is through identifying those impacts within three different narratives provided by my family; one being my great-grandfather Wi Manawawai Wharehinga, a combined narrative featuring my parents Ron and Te Wairingiringi Mitchell, and my own personal narrative. The ability to utilise both Māori and non-Māori lenses contributes to further understanding the impact of policy from different perspectives. Transformative learning is an important feature of the research questions as it provides the opportunity for critical reflection, highlighting the innovation that has happened as a result.

[13] Bevan-Brown (1998, pp. 231-240) devised a list of 10 components for conducting kaupapa Māori research as an attempt to answer the question she posed, "by Māori, for Māori, about Māori – is that enough?" These included that research must be conducted within a Māori cultural framework stemming from a Māori worldview, based on Māori epistemology, incorporating Māori concepts, knowledge, skills, experiences,

with other generic research methods, it is both liberating and daunting for me to consider whānau narrative and story-telling as an expression of 'kaupapa driven' autoethnography. Briefly, autoethnography is defined in this study as "not simply a confessional tale of self-renewal; it is a provocative weave of story and theory" (Spry, 2001, p. 713). The conceptualising of kaupapa Māori theory with autoethnography and more specifically, indigenous autoethnography (Whitinui, 2013) will be woven more fully into this thesis in Chapter Two.

This research privileges the Māori 'lived experience', and in the context of education being a crucial site of struggle for Māori, G.H. Smith (2004) suggests that "disadvantage has been both produced and reproduced...by unequal power relations between dominant Pākehā and subordinated Māori" (p. 46). If education is experienced as a site of struggle, then on its flipside it is also a site for transformation. For this to occur Māori need to speak out about their experiences. I contend that there has been limited scholarly space to converse about our place in the world, and to engage in the telling of Māori stories in an academic context. That our education

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attitudes, processes, practices, customs, reo, values and beliefs. It must be conducted by people who have the necessary cultural reo, subject and research expertise required; and be focused on areas of importance and concern to Māori people, out of self-identified needs and aspirations. It should result in some positive outcome for Māori and involve the people being researched as active participants at all stages of the research process, thus empowering those being researched. It should be Māori controlled and be accountable to the people being researched in particular as well as the Māori community in general. It should also be of a high quality, assessed by culturally appropriate methods and standards and use methods, measures and procedures that take full cognisance of Māori culture.

system has provided limited opportunity for this to happen is another reason why exemplifying the Māori lived experience is important. This is the reason for the use of whānau narratives and the development of a series of letters as a hypothetical dialogue that includes the writings of Sir Apirana Ngata and Professor Basil Bernstein. It explains the letter penned to my daughter as a means of analysis of my own school-to-work narrative, and the autoethnographic monologues used to separate out the three distinct parts to this thesis. This is a story within a story, providing the means to reclaim the academic space that has largely been inaccessible to our family until now.

The education-employment narratives of my family contain detailed accounts of our experiences in that "all knowledge is produced in specific circumstances and that those circumstances shape it in some way" (Rose, 1997, p. 305). Thus, the intention is to embrace the 'back story' for all the narratives provided and to highlight the circumstances that have shaped these stories. What these insights will present is transition experiences for each contributor, as conceptualised by interpretive policy analysis and its privileging of local knowledge (Yanow, 2007). The point of difference of the 'back story' is so this research is not seen purely as a theoretical or analytical pursuit, an academic rummaging and rustling of paper. However, it is also not intended as a quick snapshot of socio-historical events that have influenced Māori either, which is the reason behind organising this research into three distinct parts.

The intent in doing this is to first draw attention to the significance the past plays through the current realities faced by Māori, and then by applying 'counter-storying' to these realities it offers a more contemporary way of thinking about Māori education-employment transitions. Counter-storying provides a standpoint for each of the parts of this thesis and is defined here as a means to "name our reality" (Crenshaw, 1984, as cited in Delgado, 1989, p. 2437). By naming my reality, I recognise the tension created from pulling together the academic requirements of writing this thesis with the narratives that are contained by this study.

Outlining the Chapters

In beginning to piece together a cohesive story, one part of this research is dedicated to the historical experience of policy that has shaped the education-employment transitions of Māori, and which are sourced from the narratives of three whānau members and their experience of these transitions. By focusing on 'lived experiences' and through privileging these whānau stories, a tangible link is made between policy and the considerable influence it has had on the lives of these whānau members. To support this historical anchor—alongside the methodology and theoretical frameworks found in Chapters Two and Three—Chapters Four and Five of

this research describe the experience of education-employment policy *eras*[14] that have typified the ideological underpinning of state approaches to Māori education-employment transitions. These historical eras are: (1) the manual/agricultural education policy of the early 1900s recounting my grandmother's memories of her father's education, both of whom grew up on the East Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, and (2) the Māori trade training scheme as it relates to my teenaged parents who both moved to the capital city of Wellington in the early 1970s to attend Māori pre-employment courses. The ideological themes typified by state approaches to Māori education-employment transitions are positioned in this research as assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Durie, 2003; Irwin, 2002; Macfarlane, Glynn, Grace, Penetito, & Bateman, 2008; Simon, 1998). These themes will overlay the lived experiences of my whānau during these historical policy eras and act as a filter for each of the narratives provided.

Initially in working through a process towards selecting the most appropriate policies for this research, what came to bear were my own whānau experiences of policy, as my family and I provide the 'human face' to a study that could have easily

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[14] 'Policy eras' is a term used in this thesis to describe historical underpinning philosophies that have been part of the Māori experience of education. For further reading about the impact of policy on Māori education (Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

been reduced down to a straight analysis of policy. The use of assimilation, cultural

adaptation and integration as themes to explain these policies helps locate this

colonial terminology in a socio-historical context that has influenced how Māori have

been educated for employment. Ritchie and Skerrett (2013) contend, "Aotearoa offers

both a contested space of persistent colonial education patterns and of powerful

interruptions and reclaiming projects" (p. xiv). By recognising the power of these

policies in the shaping of my life, I have endeavoured to use this knowledge to reclaim

my story while also relating it to Māori school-to-work transitions.

To capture the nuanced aspects of this study, each policy era is in part

examined from what I know and what I have been told about these lived whānau

experiences. They are experiences that have been passed down to me as either kōrero-

ā-whānau[15] or through having actively sought out this information, and as such are a

significant part of the fabric and rich tapestry from which I am created. They are the

building blocks on which my sense of place and identity have taken shape. The use of

whānau narratives situates the foci for this research in the use and practice of

mātauranga Māori and it being positioned here as a cultural imperative. Mātauranga

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[15] Kōrero-ā-whānau literally translates as 'family talk', which describes the manner in which I have received this information, and that I have received this knowledge through processes of inquiry at different times during my life.

Māori contributes to the genealogical knowledge contained in this research, and the utmost care has been taken to ensure that this reflects other whānau members' understandings of the same events. One of these narratives is based on stories from my grandmother Mereana Luke (nee Wharehinga) of her late father and my great-grandfather, Wi Manawawai Wharehinga.[16] His story is part of our collective family story, of which I am one person of many. In presenting my great-grandfather's story as part of this research, I am mindful of my responsibility to maintain the integrity of our shared whakapapa/genealogy and the embodiment of te mana ake/the absolute uniqueness (Pere, 1991) that belongs to Wi Manawawai Wharehinga. To ensure transparency around the use of whānau narratives in this research, the methodological and ethical tensions contained here will be further explored in Chapter Two.

So I can analyse the impact of these policy eras on the historical whānau experiences used, I will be drawing from the bodies of work of Sir Apirana Ngata and British sociologist Professor Basil Bernstein. Within this part of the research, I employ a series of letters as a 'hypothetical dialogue' formed around the autoethnographic personal narratives (Ellis & Bochner, 2000) of my great-grandfather and parents.

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[16] Wi Manawawai Wharehinga and his wife Raiha (nee Waru) had nine children, one son and eight daughters, who in turn had children and grandchildren. Wi also had siblings and came from a large extended whānau. There are a multitude of people who have varying degrees of relationship and connection to Wi, and these relationships formed part of my positioning in writing the narrative about Wi.

Through this hypothetical correspondence, I call on Ngata and Bernstein to provide their commentary towards an innovative, historically based analytical framework to help understand the historic whānau narratives retold through this study as they relate to education-employment policy. Tā[17] Apirana Ngata (3 July 1874 – 14 July 1950) was the Māori statesman from Ngāti Porou;[18] a lawyer, politician and cultural renaissance man and Professor Basil Bernstein (1 November 1924 – 24 September 2000) was a British sociologist, a controversial sociolinguist interested in systems of power in education.

My assertion here is that government policy and practices have been explicitly designed to educate Māori for a limited range of employment and that generally, Māori have not had the opportunity to reflect back on these experiences. Thus, within a historical context this research argues that Māori have not only been denied the opportunity to talk back to these education-employment experiences in a meaningful way, but also that they have not been able to consistently engage in critical theorising relating to Māori education-employment transition. To counteract this within the historical context of the research and through this series of letters, I have assigned

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[17] 'Tā' translates into 'Sir' in the Māori language. Ngata was knighted in 1927, becoming Sir Apirana Ngata or Tā Apirana Ngata in recognition of his service to the Māori people.

[18] Ngāti Porou is one of the principal tribes located on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand.

Professor Basil Bernstein the role of 'detached theorist', befitting his knowledge base about issues of power and control and the impact of these on the schooling of minority populations.

In the same vein I view Ngata as someone who was versed in te ao Māori and who represents the Māori 'potentiality' to theorise about our place in the world, which also ensures that the focus is squarely on a Māori perspective of these historical Māori issues. The use of letter writing as an analytical tool is understood here through a description offered by Denzin (2000) as delivering the means by which to "ask readers to relive the experience through the writer's or performer's eyes" (p. 905). In doing so, these series of letters provide a means of analysis that is based on my understanding of these historical issues and my reading of both Ngata and Bernstein. As a hypothetical dialogue, the intent of Chapter Five of this thesis is to talk to the historic education-employment experiences of my whānau and to utilise Ngata and Bernstein as a means to explain and critique these experiences of policy. As part of the theoretical underpinnings for this thesis, Ngata and Bernstein are discussed in depth further in Chapter Three.

In that a distinct part of this research is given over to the lessons we might learn from the past; the second and third parts of this thesis look to a more contemporary

experience and understanding of transition provided through my own personal narrative about education-employment transitions. This is a 'standard story' (Phillips, 2009) when it comes to the Māori experience of education and employment systems and it is through opportunities that seek to describe and understand these experiences that we begin to engage in counter-storying (Delgado, 1989). The use of my own personal narrative is there to capture a *generational* story, a scholarly appendage to 'what ever happened to that family line?' From this comes the opportunity to re-engage with the tool of letter writing, and this time I write a letter to my daughter explaining my school-to-work experiences. This study is transformative learning in practice, in that enacting a transformative process provides a context by which to 'make meaning' relating to ones experiences (Mezirow, 1990, p. 18). This is demonstrated here through the provision of narratives, of letter writing, free flowing conversations and stories relating to my own education-employment story as an exercise embracing conscientisation (Freire, 2000). For Freire:

> Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. (Freire, 2000, p. 34)

My ability through this thesis to cultivate a standpoint on government policy is important to whom I choose to be, both academically and in a personal sense. What is essential in this process is that it embraces my family, and especially my daughter Waimirirangi. This is not only because these policies have significantly influenced the transitions and lives of my whānau, but also because they will continue to have an impact on our lives. In the latter parts of the research, I use this standpoint and the transformative power of education to build a platform from which to imagine education-employment transition beyond the deficit thinking that has underpinned these policies.

The third and final part of this research looks to link what is currently happening for Māori young people in today's education-employment climate with the intent to better understand the inconsistencies that exist for Māori students. These are the students who tentatively engage with the available mainstream supports only to 'fall out' of the system into oblivion, or if they are lucky they might get picked up by alternative strategies, programmes and agencies or other personal support systems within their reach, such as whānau, school and peers. More often than not, these young people have to rely on their own devices and motivation to get them through (Mitchell, 2009). The 'messiness' of this picture acknowledges the unruly nature of

these support systems, which are meant to play an integral part in whether or not young Māori successfully navigate the education system towards a meaningful career.

What is proposed here is a way to work around the deficits built into the state system responsible for education-employment transitions, which is addressed in Chapter Nine. There is a need to highlight the significance of 'meaningful relationships' and how this is better understood through counter-storying. Both contribute to this research as support strategies that potentially 'buffer' the deficits that are part of these systems. These supports are introduced into this study through the development of a community hub model, the intent of which is to provide education for the whole whānau. In thinking about what a future-focused strategy might look like for improving Māori education-employment transitions, I propose a pathway that engages young Māori with support accessed from within their own families. This strategy encourages education and learning for all members of the family, which in turn offers to whānau a voice and an ability to be critically engaged in this process. It is an opportunity to reclaim education where education has been identified as the problem. It is also the transformative space from where whānau can pursue their own solutions.

Chapter-by-Chapter Outline

The following section provides a brief description of each chapter of this research. There are three parts to this study; the first part looks at the historic experiences of education-employment transitions, the second part at a more contemporary experience of education-employment transitions for Māori and the final part looks to strategise about what could help improve future transitions. I have also used a prologue and epilogue in keeping with the autoethnographic nature of this thesis.

Chapter One has introduced the kaupapa/subject of the study. This chapter outlines the rationale, purpose and organisation of the rest of the thesis.

Chapter Two features a discussion on kaupapa Māori theory as the overarching methodology used for this research. In exploring the many faces of kaupapa Māori theory, a different way of looking at this theory presents itself through considering its flipside referred to here as 'kūpapa Māori theory'.[19] My rationale for writing about kaupapa Māori theory in this way is to highlight the many different ways and theoretical underpinnings that are possible with its use, which in itself makes the

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[19] Kūpapa Māori Theory will be discussed further in Chapter Two as part of rationalising the use of kaupapa Māori theory through this research.

theory vulnerable and open to challenge. It is also there to signify an element of the

'uncomfortable' when identifying as a Māori researcher utilising kaupapa Māori theory.

A kūpapa Māori approach indicates a kaupapa Māori theory that has been taken for

granted. An overview of autoethnography and indigenous autoethnography is also

included, alongside the ethical tensions that may occur.

Chapter Three brings together the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis in

developing two analytical frameworks. The first historical framework is based on a

hypothetical dialogue featuring Ngata and Bernstein and includes an outline of the

proverb *'E tipu e rea'*[20] penned by Ngata in the 1950s and the middle ground metaphor

(White, 1991).[21] The second contemporary framework is based on Critical Race Theory

(CRT) (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Solórzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000). In that this thesis focuses

on policy, Chapter Three will also provide an overview of interpretive policy analysis.

Chapter Four presents the education-employment transition experiences of

three members of my whānau. The policies that provide a timeframe for these

experiences are the manual/agricultural education policy of the early 1900s and the

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[20] The full proverb in both its original Māori form and its English translation is provided in Chapter Three.

[21] A broader understanding of the middle ground metaphor and its application in this study will be provided in Chapter Three.

Māori pre-employment schemes of the 1960s and 1970s. What is understood through this chapter is that education was driven by the need to create a brown labour force (Spoonley, 1996) and that despite the limited scope of the education system; Māori used the experience to further themselves as best they could.

Chapter Five develops a series of letters I have composed in the style of early 20th century writing, supported by the texts of Sir Apirana Ngata and Professor Basil Bernstein. These letters are used as the analytical framework through which to understand the historical whānau narratives as illustrated in Chapter Four. The proverb '*E tipu e rea*' and other events and milestones from his life's work support the integrity of the dialogue. Bernstein's contribution focuses mostly on the theory of pedagogic device.

Chapter Six introduces the part of the study that positions me and my lived experience into my research. My focus here is on the contemporary reality of school-to-work transitions, and having to contend with the insidiousness of the 'deficit perspective' (Gorski, 2011). My education-employment experiences will provide insight into the ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration, and how these featured in my own transitions.

Chapter Seven outlines the framework of Critical Race Theory (CRT) that will be used to analyse my narrative provided in Chapter Six. This is done specifically through a letter penned to my daughter Waimirirangi Wikitera. In utilising letter writing again as a method of analysis, I am interested in recognising through my narrative how these experiences have been impacted by deficit ideology and racism. The anticipation is that this will provide an opportunity to share with my daughter my experiences, and to 'talk back' to the status quo.

Chapter Eight is the part of the PhD thesis that melds together the narrative sections of this study in substantiating its findings and discussion. What is first discussed is the link made between policy and the underpinning ideologies of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration. The themes that have emerged from analysing the narratives will then be elaborated on. These themes include deficit thinking, subtractive schooling, whakamā, different teacher treatment, silencing and a reconsideration of the term kūpapa.

Chapter Nine is the development of a strategy that looks to contemporary and cultural metaphors as anecdotes for working alongside the current faults in the system. This strategy goes towards developing successful pathways for Māori education-employment transitions that support whole whānau. An existing example of Māori

education towards employment using a community education hub model will be outlined.

The final chapter, Chapter Ten is the conclusion of this research. It will summarise the content of this thesis and provide recommendations for further research as a result of this study, and will offer a final proposal of 'where to from here?"

Key words and phrases

The phrases 'policy and policy practices', 'state policy', 'practices of policy', and 'procedures' all relate to the implementation of government policy including the underlying ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration. While the term 'mainstream'[22] is not made explicit here, it does underpin the contention that Māori education-employment transitions have mostly happened within a mainstream context and that "[c]ontemporary Maori culture remained invisible in the majority of mainstream classrooms" (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 40). Māori-medium education is recognised as a form of resistance (Smith, 2003) against

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[22] Mainstream is a public education system in New Zealand that is best summed up by Lee (2005, p. 2) who states that: "'mainstream' schools have been constrained by the preferences and policies of the dominant group, resulting largely in the status quo. Many 'mainstream' schools, in particular secondary schools, have made little progress in improving Maori educational outcomes and advancing Maori educational aspirations. Often schools have little interest and/or limited resources to incorporate Maori knowledge, culture and perspectives in and outside of the curriculum. This struggle to include Maori culture in meaningful ways in the curriculum is compounded by few Maori teachers".

the failings of mainstream education systems (Sheriff, 2010). The terms 'education-employment transitions', 'school-to-work transitions' and 'transition-to-work' are used interchangeably through this study and represent the content of the policy and systems discussed here. What is beyond the scope of this piece of research is the transition between secondary schooling and further education, through tertiary education institutions or private training establishments. The volume of data required to be analysed by this wider study would be limited by the scale of this research, which will be further expanded on in the recommendations for future research in Chapter Ten.

There is a need to focus on what constitutes 'school' and 'schooling' through this study. Young Māori are more likely to be attending mainstream secondary schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand (Hynds, Hindle, Savage, Meyer, Penetito, & Sleeter, 2016), and whilst there they will transition into post-education experiences. The standard start point and gateway by which to enter into employment is through either entry-level work opportunities, further education and/or government assistance. It is also accepted through this research that other young New Zealanders that are non-Māori also experience uncertain transitions out of secondary school into employment (Vaughan, 2003; Vaughan, Roberts & Gardiner, 2006; Vaughan & Boyd, 2004). However, it is the position of this study that it is especially tenuous for young Māori

due to the historical, assimilative purpose of education that "should lead the Maori lad

to become a good farmer and the Maori girls a good farmer's wife" (Strong, 1931, p.

194). This limited thinking re-appears in ongoing generations of Māori people as a

result of hegemony, which is defined in this thesis as, "the legitimation of the cultural

authority of the dominant group, an authority that [has] play[ed] a significant role in

social reproduction" (Woolard, 1985, p. 739). At specific points in the New Zealand

education system, Māori people have been made to feel subordinate and ill equipped

for academic or scholarly learning. Hegemony has meant that generations of Māori

people have believed this to be true and continue to reproduce these beliefs and

stereotypes amongst themselves. Ka'ai-Mahuta (2011) puts the responsibility for this

type of thinking back at its source, stating "[t]his is to be expected as the State

education system had been founded on hegemonic ideas and practices for 140 years

and had shaped the attitudes of teachers and administrators" (p. 212).

Chapter Two: A Conceptualisation of Kaupapa Māori

Much research about Maori is also merely descriptive, telling us what we already know, yet not proposing any solutions or action that can be taken for change. We know about the low socio-economic status of Maori, the high crime and imprisonment rates, the high unemployment and low educational attainments. We now need research that informs solutions. (Cram, 1993, pp. 28-29)

Introduction

In this chapter, the methodological frameworks and philosophies that support this research will be discussed in detail. Given that the purpose of this study is to respond to deficit thinking and the ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration, kaupapa Māori theory offers up the opportunity to fully engage a mātauranga Māori lens as a "culturally responsive methodology" (Berryman, SooHoo, Orange & Nevin, 2013, p. 15) to accommodate the cultural aspects of this undertaking.

This is research that is "based on Indigenous epistemologies, that focuses on our own ways of seeing, knowing and doing" (Houston, 2007, p. 46). By applying a Māori-centric appreciation of these knowledges, my intent is to position kaupapa Māori theory alongside the other ways of 'knowing' that inform this research, so that the significance of being 'Māori' is extended throughout. This theoretical knowledge

includes autoethnography, and due to its relevance to Māori, indigenous autoethnography (Whitinui, 2013). Some of the other theories and approaches utilised in this study, such as the middle ground (White, 1991), Critical Race Theory (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Solórzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000) and interpretive policy analysis (Yanow, 2007) are explained further in Chapter Three.

Thus, kaupapa Māori theory is celebrated here in its capacity to be participatory and reciprocal (Bishop, 1999). Bishop posits:

> [W]hat is crucial to an understanding of what it means to be a researcher is that it is through the development of a participatory mode of consciousness that a researcher becomes part of this process. He or she does not start from a position outside of the group, and then choose to invest him/herself. The researcher cannot "position" him/herself, or "empower" the other. Instead, through entering a participatory mode of consciousness the individual agent of the "I" of the researcher is released in order to enter a consciousness larger than the self. (Bishop, 1999, p. 4)

Therefore, kaupapa Māori theory is a conscious awareness that allows me to reclaim the 'space' (Smith, 1999) to think about research or rangahau with Māori eyes. *I am not 'me', I am 'we'.* As a metaphor, each aspect of this research is treated as a piece of a coherent whole, ultimately helping to fashion the whāriki[23] on which sits the content of this research. Included in the whāriki is a discussion about the style of writing that

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[23] Whāriki is the Māori word for mat.

is employed through this thesis, which I have aligned to kaupapa Māori theory and described as 'circular storytelling'. To help appreciate the complexity required in creating this thesis, space is provided to discuss what was involved in compiling all of its different aspects. As part of that process, I look to rationalise the use of kaupapa Māori theory, which is applicable here due to it being privileged as the primary methodology for this research.

In being able to fully appreciate the value of kaupapa Māori theory, what is revealed is its hypothetical flipside somewhat controversially rephrased here as 'kūpapa[24] Māori theory', based on my reflections of the challenges associated with using kaupapa Māori theory. By introducing kūpapa Māori as a concept for discussion, the intent is to highlight some of the distinctly different experiences of being Māori, in that just 'being Māori' is a highly complex, nuanced and contested identity marker that requires some form of critical analysis. That analysis is warranted in this research due to the ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration and the socio-historical context from which the term kūpapa derives. In the same treatment, the barriers associated with autoethnography will be explored as they relate

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[24] Kūpapa is a historically sourced term, and refers to those Māori people who described themselves as 'neutral' or it was used to describe Māori who were loyal and/or friendly with the British. A more comprehensive definition is provided in Chapter Eight of this thesis.

to the whānau narratives and any potential issues involving intellectual property and consent.

This study is located within a qualitative research paradigm and methodology, highlighting the importance of building an eclectic approach that is intrinsically cultural and emphasises the emergent nature of the research. By focussing on the topic of this research, my interest is in designing a qualitative-based study intent on capturing the complexities involved with Māori school-to-work transitions—informed by and contributing to the production of rich and insightful research.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

As a Māori researcher, kaupapa Māori theory allows me to think about the issues raised through research and to understand this from my lived experience as a person who identifies herself with a whakapapa to Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngā Ruahinerangi and Ngāti Porou[25]—a genealogy and a birthright.[26] As a Māori woman who has maintained a passion for social change through working with whānau, I am committed to the transformative potential of kaupapa Māori theory as it applies to

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[25] Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngā Ruahinerangi and Ngāti Porou are the names of Māori tribes that are part of my cultural heritage.

[26] Birthright here describes my connection to ancient and traditional Māori protocols and principles.

being Māori in Aotearoa and globally. Transformation *is* how Māori have come to be a distinct ethnicity and cultural identity. Before arriving on the shores of Aotearoa, there were not the contemporary categories of whānau, hapū and iwi that are now more commonly associated with being Māori (Ballara, 1998). The landing of the first peoples to Aotearoa New Zealand and the evolving of subsequent protocols and practices helped to transform these inhabitants into a population that would be identified as Māori.[27] Transformation continues to shape these experiences and through this piece of research, I declare my stake in that whakapapa through my own use of kaupapa Māori theory and its transformative potential.

In aligning my research with kaupapa Māori theory, I have had to consider the *viability of* and *vulnerability with* my use of this theory in relation to other western research theories. As a Māori researcher, the viability of kaupapa Māori theory is a given, as I count myself part of a continuing legacy of Māori who are "setting a new agenda" (Smith, 1999, p. 107), in that being Māori is normal and maintaining a Māori worldview is essential when researching for, with and about Māori. The intent of this research is to be Māori-centric in reference to the Māori-specific subject of this study.

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[27] Historically, the term Māori was used by European settlers to describe the Polynesian peoples who had been living in New Zealand since discovering the country. Before coming into contact with Europeans, the word Maori was not used to describe the whole population, who tended to identify themselves more with their own whānau and hapū groupings.

In a practical sense, the multidisciplinary nature of kaupapa Māori theory enables other

research approaches to feature in this study, with the addition of an important

distinction—that they be understood and practised through their alignment to

kaupapa Māori theory. It is important to do this to offset the predisposition of

Eurocentric research towards labelling Māori, and to be able to discern who the

coloniser is (Smith, 2012). Smith argues:

> In a colonial context, however, research was undeniably about power and
> domination. The instruments or technologies of research were also
> instruments of knowledge and instruments for legitimating various colonial
> practices the cultural archive with its systems of representation codes for
> unlocking systems of classification, and fragmented artefacts of knowledge
> enabled the travellers and observers to make sense of what they saw and
> to represent their new-found knowledge back to the West through the
> authorship and authority of their representations. (Smith, 1999, p. 60).

There is a growing body of literature regarding kaupapa Māori and Māori-

centred research techniques and processes (Cram, 2001; Cunningham, 2000; Jahnke &

Taiapa, 2003, Kepa, 2012; Ormond, Cram & Carter, 2012; Smith 1997, Smith 1999), all

of which play an essential part within this study. Of note is Bishop's (1996) earlier work

on 'whakawhanaungatanga' and its significance to Māori, which helps to establish the

status of relationships in accordance with Māori culture. In using specific,

intergenerational whānau narratives, an analysis regarding these relationships

becomes vitally important in determining what impact state policy has had on the education-employment transitions of my family.

Rationale for a Qualitative Design and Kaupapa Māori Approach

Traditionally, Māori have identified themselves through the context of relationships (Durie, 2006), which at the very core are genealogically and socially constructed. I succinctly understood what this might be when listening to my grandmother's stories (Mereana Luke, personal communication, June 17, 2011) about attending dances with hundreds of other young Māori, while in her late teens and early 20s. Relatedly, Bishop (1996) distinguishes a reliable research design to be one that does not isolate Māori from their own lives. The rationale for a qualitative design is underpinned by a declaration from Strauss and Corbin (1994) that qualitative methods can be used when there is an attempt to know more about a phenomenon than what was previously known. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) add that "qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3). In effect, these statements recognise the suitability of a qualitative design and its privileging of knowledge that incorporates the phenomena of Māori education-employment transitions.

My Obligation to Research Methodology

In her groundbreaking book *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, L.T. Smith (1999, p. 120) outlines a set of tikanga-based principles from Te Awekotuku that offer researchers such as myself further insight into working within a Māori context. These are expressed through seven key statements:

1. *Aroha ki te tāngata* (respect for people)
2. *Kanohi kitea* (the face seen or 'face to face')
3. *Titiro, whakarongo...kōrero* (look, listen... speak)
4. *Manaaki ki te tāngata* (look after people)
5. *Kia tūpato* (be cautious)
6. *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tāngata* (do not trample on the *mana* of people).
7. *Kaua e māhaki* (do not flaunt your knowledge).

These statements from L.T. Smith resonate with my desire to maintain integrity and be consistent with how I choose to conduct myself as a Māori researcher. It includes being mindful of the reasons why this particular approach was selected to examine the impacts of education-employment policy on my family. This study is concerned with producing new knowledge about the 'enduring patterns' (Meyer, 2013b) gathered from three generations of whānau narratives regarding these impacts. Meyer's understanding of culture as enduring patterns is discussed further through this chapter in autoethnography.

My duty to conduct principled research also extends to consideration of issues such as initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation, and accountability (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). Within the context of this study, I declare the subjective nature of this undertaking and the benefits that are likely to be attained from successfully completing this PhD. I have initiated this study primarily so that I am able to know more about how education-employment policies have affected my family; however, I recognise that it also helps me to complete my doctoral studies at Victoria University of Wellington.

Being accountable to my family and their narratives is of utmost importance as I feel a deep sense of obligation to this responsibility and ensuring that I share their stories with dignity and respect. It allows me to honour the integral contribution that my family have made to this research. Notably, it is a tremendously difficult undertaking attempting to squeeze whānau narratives into the often-suffocating space and conventions that is academic writing. However, it is knowing that these stories will be there for future generations of our family and that some means of critical analysis has been linked to the narratives provided that makes this undertaking positive and fulfilling.

The timeframe and sequencing of the contributions made by my whānau also shows how specific knowledge has influenced our ongoing education and employment. This is an important point to make. G.H. Smith (2003) refers to a similar historical example and the emergence of conscientisation that came out of the experiences of the first wave of parents' to put their children into kōhanga reo in the early 1980s:

> The 'real' revolution of the 1980s was a shift in mindset of large numbers of Maori people - a shift away from waiting for things to be done to them, to doing things for themselves; a shift away from an emphasis on reactive politics to and an emphasis on being more proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation. These shifts can be described as a move away from talking simplistically about 'de-colonization' (which puts the colonizer at the center of attention) to talking about 'conscientization' or 'consciousness-raising' (which puts Maori at the center). These ways of thinking illustrate a reawakening of the Maori imagination that had been stifled and diminished by colonization processes. (Smith, 2003, p. 1)

What is legitimate knowledge and how to ensure I am accountable to what is written are all issues that need attending to. Matauranga Māori is positioned here as a legitimate and validated worldview. It is the way I choose to conduct research, through a Māori lens that is privileged and celebrated within this thesis. The cultural reference for legitimising knowledge and accountability is located here in the philosophy and practice of koha.

In linking this concept to the research, koha is an act of reciprocation involving the giving and receiving of mauri or energy. Kennedy, Cram, Paipa, Pipi and Baker (2015) describe koha as caring for others through such things as kai/food and manaakitanga/hospitality. In relation to my experiences of education, I equate koha to being able to send my daughter to kōhanga reo and Māori-medium schooling, and the reciprocation of the Māori language and protocols that are instilled into our family through this exchange.

I have also experienced the giving and receiving of koha on many other different levels. The occasion that will always remind me of the significance of koha came while collecting donations given towards the tangihanga of my grandfather Eric Luke. It was understanding that whānau and friends had contributed to this koha process, and then being overwhelmed with gratitude and love for whatever was offered. Sitting in one of the rooms connected to the meeting-house and reading off the names and the koha that people had given gave me a feeling of unity and connectedness. Even though there had been this huge loss in our whānau, because all of these people had donated money, time and food, it made it easier for members of our immediate family to just grieve and be grateful for this most sacred of cultural processes. The giving from whānau and from people who had a connection with our grandfather was overwhelming and sad. It showed to me that koha is an expression

of aroha/love. Koha has its own energy, which in this instance was tinged with sadness. It reminded me about the importance of koha and what it represents in terms of a Māori way of doing things. These cultures and traditions are the bedrock of what it means to be Māori. Durie (2001) considers the philosophy and practice of koha as a fundamental cornerstone of being Māori.

From this understanding of koha, I do not need to be told to give, nor when I am required to give. I have a connection with koha that goes beyond the tokenistic giving of a donation, which is usually a contribution of money. I know koha is about 'paying it forward' and that I am part of this 'living' process. Koha is also an integral part of my obligation to being culturally responsive as a Māori researcher. It is the practice of Smith's (1999) principle '*aroha ki te tāngata* (respect for people)'. This became significantly clearer to me after reflecting on what happened with the contributions of koha towards the tangihanga of my grandfather Eric Luke. It really became an affirmation of the high regard that others had of him, which was reciprocated through the tangihanga and koha process.

In being accountable to the authenticity of the research, I take up the role of being the 'instrument of choice' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) in that having human capabilities enabled me to be responsive, to multi-task and to process data. This

allowed for myself as the author of this research to be the main 'instrument' in accessing information and then being able to provide feedback to all interested parties. I find this role works well within its Aotearoa New Zealand context, and especially with kaupapa Māori theory in its commitment to working with people 'face to face'.

Autoethnography

As an undergraduate student, I gravitated towards writing assignments in narrative form, something which was encouraged in the Education Studies papers that I enrolled in, and which allowed me to express my 'cultural self' in the somewhat cultural void that university can sometimes be. To be able to connect my experiences with public and social policy, legislation and the impacts of colonisation, helped me to make sense of my identity, my positioning and my 'sense-making' capabilities. As Ellis (2007) states, "[d]oing autoethnography involves a back-and-forth movement between experiencing and examining a vulnerable self and observing and revealing the broader context of that experience" (p. 14). Being able to think through these critical issues in a reflexive way is integral to the use of this tool and a narrative-based writing style linked in with this study through the qualitative research methodology of autoethnography.

The fusion of autobiography and the self, with the cultural context of ethnography is what makes autoethnography such a vibrant and intrinsically relevant research methodology (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011). Autoethnography engages people into its process, whether it be as writer or reader; the point is that everyone contributes and participates. Bochner (2012) recognises this ability to establish intimate connections between people, as one of the benefits of utilising autoethnography. He states:

> The truths of autoethnography exist between storyteller and story listener; they dwell in the listeners' or readers' engagement with the writer's struggle with adversity, the heartbreaking feelings of stigma and marginalization, the resistance to the authority of canonical discourses, the therapeutic desire to face up to the challenges of life and to emerge with greater self-knowledge, the opposition to the repression of the body, the difficulty of finding the words to make bodily dysfunction meaningful, the desire for self-expression, and the urge to speak to and assist a community of fellow sufferers. The call of these stories is for engagement within and between, not analysis from without. (Bochner, 2012, p. 161)

As a methodology and method, autoethnography is understood to be "[a]uto(self)/ethno(s)(culture)/graphy(writing style)" (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p. 2), paraphrased as, 'a study of my culture'. As it relates here, the more succinct definition is *my study of my culture*, which reflects the strands of shared stories that have been collated and that represent a collective body of knowledge belonging to my family and then to myself. In support of this stance, Ellis and Bochner (2000) pose the

question, "how important is it to make the researcher's own experience a topic of investigation in its own right?" (p. 733). To be able to consider my family stories as not only *taonga tuku iho* or treasures passed down through the generations but also as research data has been both a humbling and rewarding experience, in addition to being an effective and robust research approach.

The cultural positioning of this research reflects a preference towards the writing of narrative, and aligns with sentiments expressed by Clandinin and Connelly (2004) and their thoughts on narrative inquiry, as "a multi-dimensional exploration of experience involving temporality (past, present and future), interaction (personal and social), and location (place)" (p. 576). Not only does this assist with contextualising the 'insider/outside' perspective associated with kaupapa Māori-centred research (Smith, 1999) but it also further embeds the use of autoethnography in this study, within the variability associated with temporality, interaction and location. This multiplicity is best understood, again, by Clandinin and Connelly (1994, p. 417) who propose that autoethnography be considered around four overlapping pathways, of inward and outward and backward and forward. In thinking backward, there is the opportunity to connect. In moving between positions that are inward and outward, there is capacity to discern and to utilise these perspectives to make sense of the experience. In taking this knowledge forward, I am intent on my research capturing narrative that embodies

the multiple layers of experience embedded in whakapapa/genealogy that come with

being whānau/family and being Māori (Moeau, 2007; Smith, 2012).

Meyer (2013a) argues that as indigenous beings "[w]e simply hold a

relationship to enduring patterns" (p. 3). She goes on to elaborate:

> Relationship as verb infers the *intentional quality* of connection that is
> *experienced* and remembered. Here we begin our walk into Indigenous
> epistemology; into the simultaneity of the unseen and seen. We are
> entering a wide-open field of knowledge production and exchange with
> priorities in *practice, relevance, context, consciousness,* and *shared common
> sense.* It is knowledge through *experience,* individual or collective, and a
> way of being via site-specific familiarity through years, generations, and
> life-times. In this way patterns emerge collapsing time into space and all
> unknowns into mystery and story. It is knowing shaped by purpose and
> knowledge prioritized by function. Finally, it is an understanding that has
> *endured* for a *reason*.[28] (Meyer, 2013a, p. 6)

The imbued knowledge captured by these words hit a chord when I thought about

this, in reference to autoethnography—*my study and <u>whakapapa</u> of enduring patterns*.

Up until this time, I had researched myself in an inward 'look at me' kind of manner. It

was a one-dimensional perspective, and it was invaluable in that it allowed me to

express who I was according to the cultural contexts I had experienced. Through this

thesis, I now look to extend on this, by including the *lived* experiences of my great-

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[28] The emphasis/italics are part of the original quote.

grandfather Wi Manawawai Wharehinga and my parent's Ron Moana Mitchell and Te Wairingiringi Charmaine Mitchell (nee Luke). This is a familial triad of lived experience, connected through whakapapa and an accumulative educative process in that the experience of my great-grandfather links to my mother who met my father and is therefore a taonga tuku iho, a sacred treasure from my forebears who have passed this down to me.

These experiences give me insight into those 'emerging patterns' that have helped to shape me, not as a 'self-help' therapeutic mechanism but as a commentary about three specific generations of one family. The whānau narratives represent the collective, intergenerational nature of indigenous knowledges and ensure that the priority is to position these knowledges at the centre of this research rather than passively advancing the "colonialist voice" (González, 2003, p. 80). González (2003) goes on to add that, "[t]o write scholarship easily becomes a feigning of community through adherence to enforced standards, rather than through an actual communal process of discovery and expression" (p. 80). It is reclaiming this communal process and positioning community over the 'colonialist voice' that is a fundamental undertaking for this study.

As with all research theories, there are multiple ways to interpret autoethnography in ones writing. Again, I reiterate that kaupapa Māori theory has shaped the way autoethnography will be expressed in this research. *Ko wai au? Who am I?* is a powerful reminder for me of the generations of experience and living that has already gone into creating who I am and who I have become. The subjective nature of this interpretation is supported by Vonéche (2001), who states that text should be written retrospectively, from the viewpoint "of a person interpreting his or her own past; its form and content largely depend upon the author's current preferences and opinions and part of its function is to preserve and remain faithful to the writer's personality" (p. 226).

Indigenous Autoethnography

> In many instances, merely telling our stories is not sufficient; we must also be prepared to show how stories are lived in authentically as well as meaningfully ways. (Whitinui, 2013, p. 12)

I recall the Young Māori Leaders' conference I attended in 2007 and an explanation given by one of the conference speakers, Peter Moeau (2007), in his presentation of the Māori phrase *te tāngata* and its literal translation into English as 'the people'. He then went further into deconstructing these words down into *te-tā-o-nga-tā* and explained *tā* as the shortened version of *tāmoko*, the traditional Māori

facial tattoo. Moeau (2007) continued with his translation of this into English as *the moko of all moko* and described the living generations of Māori as a layer of this *tāmoko* that have endured for generations. In finishing, he concluded that the current generation are the living representation of their whakapapa, singling these generations out as the ultimate *tāmoko* of their whānau. Even though I have forgotten much about this conference, the continued layering that is the generational representation of whakapapa speaks to me metaphorically of how Māori have come to know themselves epistemologically and ontologically, which has been through the sharing of kōrero and of stories such as this. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) support this form of transmission of knowledge in that "[s]ubjects, or individuals, are seldom able to give full explanations of their actions or intentions; all they can offer are accounts, or stories, about what they did and why. No single method can grasp all the subtle variations in ongoing human experience" (p. 29).

The challenge here for me is in how I represent the stories of the specific members of my family who feature in this piece of research, and how I play my part in ensuring that the pattern of *tāmoko* is created with integrity, respect and aroha/love for the future generations of our whānau. The use of indigenous autoethnography as a vehicle that will carry the narratives of my family is underpinned by principles of kaupapa Māori theory and will sit alongside interpretive policy analysis in response to

Denzin and Lincoln's (2008) assertion that no one method encapsulates the complexities involved with being human.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, indigenous autoethnography is the fusion of autoethnography with a Māori worldview (Whitinui, 2013). It is an acknowledgement of the epistemological and ontological foundations underpinning mātauranga Māori and the multiple understandings that emerge because there are Māori people who have a vested interest in interpreting what this all means for them. One of the ways that this is made evident is through storying or pūkōrero. Whitinui (2013) maintains that one way of doing this is through a process of indigenous autoethnography, and the comprehension required to understand the impact of such an undertaking:

> Discovering, exploring, co-constructing, and narrating notions of "self" as an indigenous person must take into account an individual's ability to articulate meaning in relation to why their world is socially, culturally, and politically different as an indigenous person. It is, therefore, important to ask how valid, authentic, or sufficient are the stories we hear or seek to share and why would anyone be interested? And what enables or engages an indigenous person to tell their stories in ways that help others as well as themselves to better understand the inherent complexities underpinning our uniqueness as culturally connected human beings? (Whitinui, 2013, pp. 3-4)

This is supported by Bainbridge (2007) who contends that indigenous autoethnography is about an 'inner knowing' that emphasises "the significance of

maintaining and utilising Indigenous epistemologies and ontologies in the research process" (p. 13). She believes some of these indigenous tools include tacit knowledge through such acts as *indwelling*, which is "the heuristic process of turning inward to seek a deeper, more extended comprehension of the nature or meaning of a quality or theme of human experience...the indwelling process is conscious and deliberate" (Moustakas, 1990, as cited in Bainbridge, 2007, p. 7). This acknowledges what I understand to be a subconscious and intuitive trust in oneself, that as an indigenous researcher there are answers that lie within, despite what the academy might prescribe as conventional research practice.

What indigenous autoethnography has the capacity to do is link the indigenous researcher to, "their own level of connectedness to space, place, time, and culture as a way of (re)claiming, (re)storing, (re)writing, and (re)patriating our own lived realities as indigenous peoples" (Whitinui, 2013, p. 12). This is a sovereign act, in that "*sovereignty* has become a term through which Native peoples define agendas for social change" (King, 2012, p. 218). It is a call to action, to engage in a means of 'reflexive inquiry' (White, 2001) through the sharing of stories and what it means to be indigenous. There are lessons to be learnt through the process of documenting this self-reflection, shaped by the past and through periods of colonisation and assimilation. Indigenous autoethnography gives Māori the means to understand why the same issues continue

to manifest themselves in the present, and potentially to strategise towards a more informed future. It allows for an open, outward expression of what it is to be Māori that privileges a "particular, participatory, dynamic, intimate, precarious, embodied experience" instead of a "temporal, decontextualized, flattening approach of text-positivism" (Conquergood, 1991, p. 189). In a time of seeking to know more about cultural identity and about self, indigenous autoethnography is able to express "what we don't know about what we do know" (Richardson & Lockridge, 2004, p. 69). Indigenous peoples may not have all the answers, but in beginning to engage in these types of conversations the hope is that it will create more dialogue and a dedicated space from which to develop this thinking (Redi, 2010).

Circular Storytelling: Unsettling Traditional Thesis Writing

I have written this thesis in a particular style in order to privilege the Māori and indigenous practise of 'circular storytelling' and as a challenge to what tends to be expected from a linear, academic text. This form of writing is holistic and repetitive by nature, which is reflective of indigenous storytelling methods whereby through the reiteration of tacit knowledge, the emphasis is on the importance of an ever-deepening narrative and the learning acquired from this undertaking. It is based on somatic knowledge and the understanding that people innately know that this is an emotional journey and "the essential truth [i]s an interior one" (Berman, 1989, p. 111).

By capturing these deeply felt, internalised 'truths' through the experience of reading and writing, everyone is caught up and enmeshed in the story that is unfolding, thus becoming a 'whānau-of-interest' (Bishop, 2005, p. 121). Bishop (2005) describes this re-storying as 'spiral discourse', which is based on relationship and a process of collaboration and is described in both its literal and figurative sense as "[t]he discourse spirals, in that the flow of talk may seem circuitous and opinions may vary and waver, but the seeking of a collaboratively constructed story is central" (p. 122).

Relationship is an important component of my writing, and the reason why I am telling these stories in this particular way. Wilson (2008), an indigenous scholar of the Cree Nation believes that the "relationship needs to be formed in order for an understanding of an Indigenous research paradigm to develop" (p. 6). The recurring movement of circular storytelling assists me in weaving the stories together, and intertwining these stories in with my community and readers. Wilson (2008) speaks about the "principles of relationality and relational accountability" (p. 6). He suggests that this is about not knowing who will read these stories, but starting from a 'common' ground, which he believes is about starting at the beginning. So I have introduced circular storytelling here, in what I believe is the beginnings of my coming into an awareness of this indigenous practice, and also as a way to support the building of a relationship with my readers.

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Therefore, this thesis is written in what might initially look like an unorthodox manner, fashioned on the symbolism of 'circular writing' and the premise that with every rotation there is the opportunity to rethink the concepts presented. This technique is comparable to whaikōrero, or traditional Māori speechmaking that talks 'around' a kaupapa/topic, using metaphor and symbolism to describe and contextualise what is being spoken about, usually without naming it. It is associated with whakapapa, a genealogy that maps out "a way of thinking, a way of learning, a way of storing knowledge, and a way of debating knowledge. It is inscribed in virtually every aspect of our worldview" (L.T. Smith, 2000, p. 234). Irwin (1994) aligns this to kaupapa Māori and the idea that knowledge "starts from te ao Māori and extends outwards to te ao Pākehā, rather than the other way around" (p. 28). This mirrors what G.H. Smith (cited in Rico, 2013) explains as kaupapa Māori theory, and which Rico (2013) describes as being an "'inside-out' model of transformation" (p. 383). Indigenous theorising and thought processing embodies a sense of movement that starts from within and then branches outwards into other ideas. What is also highlighted through the use of circular storytelling is the emergent nature of mātauranga Māori and how cultural knowledge is sustained through these kinds of processes.

Rationalising Research Methodology

In this part of the chapter, I look at each of the research methods and include a response to rationalise its use here. With each approach, I identify and explore specific difficulties that might occur from their use in this study. In being able to rationalise each of these theories, I am able to fully appreciate what each theory might bring to the research and also what might be unaccounted for in each of these approaches that also adds to the body of knowledge collated as part of this research.

Rationalising Kaupapa Māori theory

In essence, kaupapa Māori theory was born out of resistance and as a means of intervention to the generic research theories that did not adequately explain what Māori were experiencing (Smith, L.T., 1992). There is a growing theoretical unpacking and practical application of the theory, however much more needs to be known about the paradox that is kaupapa Māori (Eketone, 2008; Cooper, 2012). To further my own understanding of kaupapa Māori theory, it is important for me as a researcher to be familiar with its critiques; one typically being that the theory is a by-product of "neotribal capitalism" (Rata, 2000, p. 51). This is based on the contention that tribes conspire to create a fictitious, culturally-based knowledge system that directly benefits only a few of its elite members. Other scholars question the 'traditional' aspect of kaupapa Māori theory, pointing to the term "*decolonise*" (Marie and Haig, 2006, p. 17)

and its association with a post-colonial worldview. To a lesser extent, there are Māori

academics who are seeking more from the theory, including Eketone (2008), who

believes that kaupapa Māori theory needs to be differentiated from kaupapa Māori

practice; Mane (2009) who advocates for more needing to be done to ensure that

kaupapa Māori theory rises above its "fledgling status" (p. 9), and Niwa (2006), who

questions the subjectivist nature (Rata, 2004) of kaupapa Māori theory.

By featuring kaupapa Māori theory in this research, I have had to critically

engage with what this theory is all about, and accept what L.T. Smith (2005) expresses

as the research landscape being "tricky because it is complicated and changeable,

and…also because it can play tricks on research and researchers" (p. 85). Smith (2012)

identifies that stereotypical criticisms levelled at indigenous researchers is not a new

phenomenon, however it is one that I have to become familiar with. This is because I

have chosen to heighten my understanding of kaupapa Māori theory and how it

applies to this study, which I do so as an enthusiastic supporter of the theory and its

capacity to understand the experiences of Māori people.

Having had markedly different experiences of what it meant to work in a

kaupapa Māori way from having worked in a kaupapa Māori community agency, like

Eketone (2008), I began to question whether it was in fact unrealistic to imagine it as

being the catchall for everything good and positive about being Māori (Mahuika, 2008). The questioning resulted in some home truths. Being Māori was not romanticising about what the ideal Māori person, life or experience was, but was more to do with actual reality. Being real meant facing up to some real issues, and in relation to this study it was accepting that kaupapa Māori theory would only ever be 'appropriate' depending on who was using it. It was then that I thought about whether there was a dark side to kaupapa Māori theory.

My personal experience of this other side of kaupapa Māori processes happened during a hui/meeting in 2012, when a small group that I was participating in was accused by one of the other hui participants of being kūpapa, which in this instance appeared to mean that we were anti-Māori. Apparently, it was because our presentation was different to the others—and as such, we were all ostracised. The reference of kūpapa relates specifically to a historical passage of time and to Māori people who were loyal to the colonial government, and who in due course benefited from this arrangement. In modern times, its use is more akin to being accused of 'selling out' your heritage. For me though, it was a spiteful word to be accused with and I felt terrible for the other members of my group, on top of thinking that I had already had so much 'heritage' taken from me via the process of colonisation. However, I came to understand that this accusation spoke more of the arrogance of

the accuser than it did about my vulnerability in acknowledging that I have whakapapa

that makes me Māori.

This is a sensitive subject that got me thinking about whether there was another

way to conceptualise kaupapa Māori theory. What I began to wonder about was

whether there could actually be something termed kūpapa Māori theory? This could

look like kaupapa Māori theory; however, what might be called into question would

be the genuineness or intent of the researchers using it. As this relates to the

difference between kaupapa Māori within the academy and kaupapa Māori within

Māori communities, Eketone (2008) challenges how Māori have come to perceive

kaupapa Māori theory. He adds:

> In some ways, Kaupapa Māori Theory as it stands, is an acknowledgment
> that we have sought to place our knowledges in the box of the Western
> academy, an act which could negate a thousand years of Māori knowledge.
> In a discussion among a number of Māori researchers in Christchurch in
> 2001, one of the issues discussed was "where does mātauranga Māori fit
> into the academy?" In a reversal of the question, one could say the real
> question is where does the academy fit into mātauranga Māori (if it can);
> otherwise it is yet again, defining Māori knowledge and experience in terms
> of Western concepts. (Eketone, 2008, p. 7)

Perhaps this is one of the dilemmas associated with kaupapa Māori theory, that as

espoused by Eketone (2008), it has been underpinned by western theory and placed

in an academic box where researchers can utilise it regardless of their genuineness or

intent. It also helps PhD students to write theses with a research theory that will recognise them culturally. The sanctity of Māori knowledges has the potential to be bastardised through overuse or abusing its use.

In considering the issues involved with kaupapa Māori theory, I have contended that identifying as Māori is fraught and comes with many tensions. I believe that the controversy associated with the use of kaupapa Māori theory needs further consideration and will result in a more comprehensive rationale for its application in Māori research. Furthermore, opportunities for critically engaged analysis such as this has to be seen as good for strengthening the viability of kaupapa Māori theory in the area of qualitative research.

Ethical Tensions Involved in Autoethnography

In the context of this piece of research, I have captured the theory of autoethnography in this brief statement: *my study and whakapapa of enduring patterns*. That this statement could be perceived as an inward, individualistic, self-centred pursuit is one of the reasons why autoethnography is seen as problematic as a research methodology (Méndez, 2013). My intent was to write about the experiences of my great-grandfather Wi Manawawai Wharehinga and my parent's Ron Moana

Mitchell and Te Wairingiringi Charmaine Mitchell (nee Luke), to identify and understand those *enduring patterns*, and to link their experiences to my own.

I have drawn directly from the conversations and narratives that come from my family. These are real people with real stories. This is not a piece of creative writing. Dauphinee (2010) from whom I have drawn in order to locate ethics and autoethnography in this thesis, states:

> I want to guard against a generation of novelists just as I want to guard against the positivist tradition that entrenched an orthodoxy of knowledge production that works (unsuccessfully, in my view) to deny all traces of the self in scholarly writing and to discipline the others it encounters into rigorous categories that don't work and never did. (Dauphinee, 2010, pp. 803-804)

This is also the stance taken by Walford (2004) who adds, "[i]f people wish to write fiction, they have every right to do so, but not every right to call it research" (p. 411). There is a need to see the value of autoethnography, beyond it just being typecast as fictional writing. Denzin (1997) adequately describes why autoethnography should not be confused with creative writing, in that it is the "turning of the ethnographic gaze inward on the self (auto), while maintaining the outward gaze of ethnography looking at the larger context wherein self experiences occur" (p. 227). In relation to the research, this is about positioning autoethnography as a way to connect to a

deeper understanding and awareness of the provided narratives, which is often not sought by positivist research methods and methodologies.

In addition, through the process of writing down these narratives, I am only able to select particular fragments of these experiences to *fit* the requirements of this piece of research. There is a convenience in 'packaging' the experiences of others, albeit the experiences of my immediate family that highlights some of the ethical issues that need to be fully considered within this research (Pipi, Cram, Hawke, Hawke, Huriwai, Mataki, Milne, Morgan, Tuhaka & Tuuta, 2004). My ability to select certain narratives from specific members of my family is a responsibility that I have taken on, so that our collective voices can be heard. This is also a matter of pragmatics that is the bane of all researchers, regardless of orientation, paradigm, method or methodology. What is of primary concern for me in both my roles as researcher and as family member, is that I treat the narratives with the utmost respect, as taonga/treasures that belong to all of us through sharing and maintaining our collective whakapapa/genealogy. By selecting 'slices of their experiences' for this research, I am emphasising the collective nature of our stories, and presenting them in a way that my family, in taking up the position of my primary audience and community, are able to re-engage with these stories in a socio-historical context. This is my purpose in writing our stories, as a means to legitimise our experiences of

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education and employment alongside the policies that regulated what we were to experience.

Despite my honourable intentions, a prevailing academic discourse was unrelenting in its handling of my family as generic research participants, and what was deemed to be important was to stress that my family's intellectual property belonged to them. Formal consent was sought from each participant and willingly given, and despite these requirements as per the institution, what was more important was re-engaging with our mutual familial connection. These historical whānau narratives are important as they reflect experiences that have had a significant impact on my own experiences. These same narratives also show *patterns* that are thematic and fully embrace the principles of knowledge, inquiry, theory and scholarship. Finding this kind of meaning through identity is a socio-political pursuit and as such, can be trivialised to be ""identity politics", as if identities were not themselves the products of the histories they mediate" (Wald, 2000, p. 24). In regards to autoethnography, this statement captures the politicised contexts within which the lived experiences of my whānau need to be understood.   My identity, as recollected through this autoethnographic account, is a product of the history of my family, and as such, I have a responsibility to this genealogy and to representing it in a respectful manner.

Dauphinee (2010) also considers several issues in relation to the ethical concerns about academic research and her own use of autoethnography. Those questions/themes include:

- "What expert am I?" (p. 802).
- "Whose voices are not being heard and why?" (p. 806).
- "[That]...questions of veracity necessarily lead to questions of trust." (p. 811).

In responding to these challenges outlined by Dauphinee, the focus is on maintaining a relationship with those providing the narratives, one that is based on care and love whilst also adhering to the mores of qualitative research methodology. I also consider myself the 'expert' in that I have received stories from my family about their education-employment experiences, with the exception of my great-grandfather whose story was shared with me from his daughter, my grandmother Mereana Luke (nee Wharehinga). I have purposely used the stories of Wi Manawawai Wharehinga, Ron Mitchell and Te Wairingiringi Mitchell (nee Luke) as they all coincide with specific policy that shaped their education-employment pathways. The challenges involved in positioning myself as the 'expert' have ranged from being the voice of my family, through to recounting the historical nature of these experiences. In utilising this study to highlight Māori education employment transition issues, I am mindful of the other voices of my family that are not included in this research. By connecting with the narratives captured

through this research, and making sense of them through ongoing, meaningful dialogue with my family and participants of this research, I feel more able to represent these voices as well as my own life experiences and education-employment pathway.

The question of veracity, of truthfulness and of understanding what truth means to a particular person, in a particular context, or at a particular point in their lives is part of the process of trust that researchers who use an autoethnographic approach must subscribe to. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) state, "[o]bjective reality can never be captured. We can know a thing only through its representations" (p. 5). Bishop (1996) declares that stories epitomise "the diversities of truth" (p. 24). I trust that my parent's recollections of their 17-year-old selves are a representation of their truth. I trust that my grandmother's collective memories of her father are a representation of her truth. Dauphinee (2010) concludes that there is risk in using autoethnography as a research method, namely in being able to discern "between scholarship and storytelling" (p. 799). However, autoethnography also presents an opportunity to understand the complexity and nuance of the human experience, and to overlay that with scholarship as a means to offset the presumed shortcomings of the approach.

Through rationalising the use of autoethnography in this study, the point was to not only take a hard, honest look at some of the criticisms associated with the methodology, but to also acknowledge why it is here in this research. Autoethnography allows me to assert in this academic space that I am different. It gives me permission to be who I am, and to incorporate that part of my being into my academic writing. This is in the face of what Richardson (1997) suggests is the controlling nature of social scientific disciplines:

> [That] includes telling writers to suppress their own voices; adopt the all-knowing, all-powerful voice of the academy; and keep their mouths shut about academic in-house politics. But contemporary philosophical thought raises problems that exceed and undermine that academic story line. We are always present in our texts, no matter how we try to suppress ourselves. (Richardson, 1997, p. 296)

Through this study, I am proclaiming that my scholarly contribution is different to what is considered as 'traditionally' academic and that my difference should be celebrated. In staking this claim, L.T. Smith (1999) argues that the research process then becomes transformed. She contends, "[q]uestions are framed differently, people participate differently, and problems are defined differently, people participate on different terms" (p. 93). This is how I have chosen to describe and explain the education employment experiences that belong to my family and myself; drawing together the strands of autoethnography, and more specifically, indigenous autoethnography with kaupapa

Māori theory as the basis for a reciprocal instrument with which to conduct experiential 'insider' research through a Māori lens.

Research Methods

Houston (2007) maintains that "[t]here is real potential for research to be conducted that focuses on discovery, representation, reciprocity and recovery; research that acknowledges, benefits and enriches the communities from which it came" (p. 46). The 'potential' captured by this statement appropriately conveys the degree of resolve to be 'community focused' that underpins the research methods utilised here. What is described as research methods needs to reconcile both the academic requirements, and my own obligation and responsibility to my community (Smith, 2012). Thus, there are logistical considerations within which to understand data collection, data analysis, verification of the research and data management, and their place within the research. There is also my commitment and passion for reflexive writing that has opened up a space for the emerging of new understanding. Somerville (2007) argues that in spaces such as these, is where 'new insights emerge'. She states "[t]he aim of these transgressive forms is to open up and disrupt taken-for-granted ways of interpreting the world" (Somerville, 2007, p. 226). The act of writing helps to problematise the use of conventional research methods, and provides the scope for an eclectic response (Richardson, 1995). This comes in the form of a variety of

approaches that include autoethnography, kaupapa Māori theory and grounded theory analytic strategies (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Being able to provide a rationale for what constitutes data, why and how it is collected and what happens once it is collected is important in maintaining the integrity of my whānau narratives and the value that is placed on that data within this study.

Data Collection Procedures

There were two distinct phases of data collection for this research. The first phase involved the collection of data relating to the policy eras analysed as part of this study. The magnitude involved in using the term 'policy eras' has largely dictated that the data collection follow not only the actual policy document but also information associated with this undertaking, in keeping with the term 'era'. While the word era usually refers to a period of time; it is used here to cover both time and associated documentation. The information collected to supplement this policy documentation has mainly been archival data such as Education Department memorandums and correspondence from the National Library and Archives New Zealand.

The second phase involved collecting data for the whānau narratives. The bulk of this data came as a direct result of engaging in a reflexive process relating to the education-employment transitions of my family, including my grandmother Mereana

Luke talking to me about her father Wi Manawawai Wharehinga and of my parent's

Ron and Te Wairingiringi Mitchell. By writing about our collective experiences, I was

able to sift through the data and select those experiences that were influenced by state

and social policy. To ensure the accurateness of my memories, I also interviewed my

grandmother and my parent's, to check and corroborate my compilation of their

narratives. This checking phase included correspondence with Te Aute College to

confirm my great-grandfather's enrolment there. Supplementary documentation for

this phase of data collection also involved archived governmental information,

newspaper clippings and various media items from the late 1800s to the early 1900s.

Data Analysis Procedures

Inductive reasoning processes were used in order to project information from

what is 'known' to the 'unknown' (Heit, 2000, p. 569), to help recognise shifting

patterns of cultural experience for the analysis of both the policy and

autoethnographic content. Relating to the analysis of historical policy, what was

involved was ongoing reflexivity from which emerged an awareness and

understanding of each 'policy era', and how that contributed to the theorising for the

policy and its impact on Māori. This insight is in line with Patton (1980) and his

definitive statement, "[t]he researcher strives to understand the gestalt, the totality,

and the unifying nature of particular settings. This holistic approach assumes that the

whole is greater than the sum of its parts" (p. 40). Thus, the methods utilised for data analysis within this study integrate a mātauranga Māori worldview with an autoethnographic lens, through which I fully appreciate that "I am more authentic when I acknowledge my own 'situatedness' and draw awareness to the role I play in creating and shaping knowledge" (Sell-Smith & Lax, 2013, p. 14).

By incorporating the autoethnographical orientation of this study with data analysis, this research has borrowed an idea from Ellis around 'thematic analysis of narrative' (2004, p. 196) that sits alongside grounded theory analytic strategies (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). Ellis (2004) contends that thematic analysis of narrative refers to "treating stories as data and using analysis to arrive at themes that illuminate the content and hold within or across stories (p. 196). Themes emerging from the data/narratives have helped with the beginning phases of analysis and are referred to here as 'open coding' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). From this, 'theoretical coding' was employed, which linked different concepts together to identify their relationship to each other. These concepts and relationships that emerged were not coerced in any way (Glaser & Strauss, 2009). The notion of relating codes to each other sits comfortably within this research as it helped me to look at comparisons and different combinations of themes coming from the research. The ease in being able to do this inevitably helped focus my research on whether there were issues of concern that

required further analysis, specifically concerning the Māori education-employment policies that had been selected.

Methods of Verification

Verification for this research embraces an indigenous autoethnographic position, by adopting the *triangulation of meaning* theorised by Aluli-Meyer (2006, 2008), because "[t]elling our stories is a verification that we matter" (Alcock, 2014, p. 12). The cultural imperative in utilising a triangulation method that embraces an indigenous epistemological view of knowing the world is important when locating autoethnography alongside kaupapa Māori theory. Aluli-Meyer (2006) describes the triangulation of meaning as a framework in which to "place our nagging sense that there is a "within of things"...a way to engage in the world that matures objectivity, a space to contemplate, a process to heal from the blistering promise objectivity held out for us" (p. 264). It is the unyielding relationship between objectivity and verifiability often seen as absolute, which becomes malleable through frameworks such as this. Aluli-Meyer (2006) argues that even when researchers believe themselves to be objective, the very act of thinking that they are objective is still a subjective idea.

What such thinking contributes to this section of my research methods is that conventional techniques need to be challenged from an indigenous standpoint, and

that through this kind of tension comes an opportunity to think more discursively about what verification might look like in relation to this study. To support this position, I have drawn liberally from five factors that Richardson (2000, p. 254) uses when reviewing personal narrative papers, to create structure around how I have looked to verify my research data. These factors and some supplementary questions include:

1. Substantive contribution: Does this piece contribute to our understanding of social-life?
2. Aesthetic merit: Does this piece succeed aesthetically? Is the text artistically shaped, satisfying, complex, and not boring?
3. Reflexivity: How did the author come to write this text? How was the information gathered? Ethical issues? How has the author's subjectivity been both a producer and a product of this text?
4. Impact: Does this affect me? emotionally? intellectually? generate new questions?
5. Expresses a reality: Does this text embody a fleshed out, embodied sense of lived-experience?

In considering verification methods in this way, this piece of research is engaging with what Rath (2012) refers to as 'layered text', in that the co-construction of knowledge "seeks to question taken-for-granted meanings and invite the reader into the text to fill the empty spaces that are deliberately left for her/him to construct her/his own interpretation" (p. 2). Verification therefore becomes a living process that takes into account the collective nature of this data, and the obligation I have as researcher to understanding and capturing that information in a way that

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acknowledges the sanctity of the narratives. It also acknowledges the place of the

reader in contributing to the ongoing nature of these stories, and that verifiability, in

ascertaining how we come to know 'truth', is an endless pursuit.

Data Management Strategies

Planning is essential for the management of research data, specifically so

provision can be made for the storage and retrieval of data when and as required. This

is what Miles and Huberman (1994) describe as data management. Its implementation

in this study provided parameters for how data was collected and stored, its

accessibility in it being able to be retrieved from storage and the length of time that

the data was to remain stored. With regard to the policies that were collated as part

of the data collected through this research, all of this documentation is public domain

literature and therefore did not need to be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet.

However, a locked filing cabinet was used as the collection point for all the data that

was physically amassed as part of this research. This mostly was due to the holding of

transcripts written up from the interviews conducted with my parents and

grandmother.

All of this data had to be accessible and retrieved easily, as and when required.

It will be stored for five years from the completion of the research, as a means to

ensure data is available for checking purposes. After the passing of the five years, all data will be securely destroyed, as per the requirements of Victoria University of Wellington. The storing of all data collected for this research relates to how it is maintained and accessed. Keeping this data available allows for verification and understanding of the researcher's interpretation of the data collected. The ethical considerations as they relate to the storing of data for this piece of research have ranged from the confidentiality of the information to the length of time this information should be held, which have been addressed within this section of this study. Ethics approval was granted by Victoria University of Wellington, and a copy of the introductory letters, consent forms and information sheets used for research participants is provided in the appendices.

Conclusion

Kaupapa Māori theory as a research methodology has the ability to capture the nuances and complexities involved when using whānau narratives in academic writing. Locating kaupapa Māori theory in this study by considering both what the theory brings to Māori experiences of education-employment transitions, as well as the shortcomings around how it is used, helps to strengthen how it is positioned here through this research. Method and methodology ensure that the research is robust

enough to be scrutinised and with the cultural capacity to carry the kaupapa of Māori

education-employment transitions.

Chapter Three: Further Theoretical Considerations

> We must be engaged in making space through struggles over power, over what counts as knowledge and intellectual pursuit, over what is taught and how it is taught, over what is researched and how it is researched and how research is disseminated. We must also struggle to make space for students, space for them to be different, space to make choices, and space to develop their own ideas and academic work. All of this is a struggle for our future. (Smith, L.T., 1992, p. 5)

Introduction

The development of two analytical frameworks to underpin the narratives presented in this thesis is discussed in this chapter. As an analytical tool, these two frameworks provide a context through which to explicate the structural inequities present in state policy that have influenced Māori school-to-work transitions. A hypothetical dialogue is created to analyse the historical whānau narratives provided in Chapter Four, and Critical Race Theory (CRT) is constructed into a letter that I pen to my daughter Waimirirangi in Chapter Seven. Both of these analytical frameworks, as they relate to this study, rely on the use of letter writing to deliberate on the issues that have emerged out of our collective narratives. Through the course of this chapter, each theory will be examined in relation to the part they play within the research.

As part of the historically based analytical framework presented as a series of hypothetical letters between Sir Apirana Ngata and Professor Basil Bernstein, White's

(1991) middle ground metaphor is discussed, as it underpins the development of a

context through which to conduct such an undertaking. The middle ground is a term

that White uses to explain the metaphoric space in which two cultures meet during

the 1650-1815 interactions between Native Americans and Europeans in the Great

Lakes Region of North America. In this space, negotiations and misunderstandings

take place. In designating Ngata and Bernstein their own hypothetical 'middle ground'

via this exchange of ideas through a series of letters, the intention is to outline the

following theoretical underpinnings for both men; for Ngata that is mainly captured

through his whakatauki/proverb '*E tipu e rea*' and for Bernstein, his later understanding

about pedagogic device. To fully appreciate my position as the principal voice in this

conversation and how I draw from the thinking of both Ngata and Bernstein, I am

utilising the knowledge and scholarship they both are able to embody to add a critical,

historically grounded element into my writing.

The second analytical framework is based on Chicano academics Solórzano and

Yosso's understanding of counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for

educational research (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). This text supports the analysis of my

contribution to the whānau narratives, as provided in Chapter Six and is premised on

a framework that applies Critical Race Theory to the examination of educational access

for Māori, and the ability of Māori to talk back to their experiences (Ormond, 2006).

How this is initiated is through another letter writing exercise in which I explain and provide some critical reflections of my own 'education towards employment' experiences to my daughter.

The final theoretical lens to be explored through this chapter is interpretive policy analysis. An overview of its use here will be provided. In addition, what is explored in this chapter are the complications that come as a result of applying these analytical frameworks and theoretical considerations. A rationale for the use of Ngata, Bernstein and the middle ground metaphor as an analytical tool in the form of a series of hypothetical letters is also considered. Applying the concept of Critical Race theory that is predominantly American-based model to a Māori narrative requires some form of deliberation, which will be provided here. Interpretive policy analysis has been selected in that its use in this research is in a complimentary role. A separate section is provided further into this chapter, dedicated specifically to rationalising these theories and their use within this study.

Ngata, Bernstein and I in the Middle Ground

In the earlier stages of this study, the creation of a conversation between Sir Apirana Ngata and Professor Basil Bernstein as an analytical framework helped to shape my intentions for this research, in that the hypothetical theorising of these two

men captured the issues significant to my family experiences of Māori education-employment policy. What became an issue was the authenticity of voice that would carry the scholarship of both Ngata and Bernstein. I needed to retain authorship of the framework, while also ensuring that I was not seen to be putting words in the mouths of Ngata or Bernstein, which was never my intention. By making this distinction, I did not want to go down the route of traditional research, which Bishop (1999) describes as having "misrepresented Maori understandings and ways of knowing by simplifying, conglomerating and commodifying Maori knowledge for "consumption" by the colonisers" (p. 1). Bishop (1999) goes on to add that Māori are seeking accountability from those in 'power', as well as holding themselves to account for what knowledge is produced. He states:

> The Kaupapa Maori position regarding legitimation is based on the notion that the world is constituted by power differentials, and that there are different cultural systems that legitimately make sense of and interact meaningfully with the world. Kaupapa Maori research, based in a different worldview from that of the dominant discourse, makes this political statement while also acknowledging the need to recognise and address the ongoing effects of racism and colonialism in the wider society. (Bishop, 1999, p. 5)

It became evident to me that I needed to own any conversation that would be a part of this thesis, but that I also could draw on a collectively sourced means of analysis, through such a thing as a 'whānau of interest' (Bishop, 1999). I needed a

whānau approach because I wanted to explain the historical narratives of my great-grandfather and parent's, but did not feel equipped to do this on my own. What resulted was the idea of a series of letters presented as a 'hypothetical dialogue'. Dialogue is used here "partly because a person realizes his/her self initially through others: from them we receive stories, words, forms, and tonalities for the formation of our initial idea of ourselves" (Smith, Collinson, Phoenix, Brown & Sparkes, 2009, p. 344). This realisation has come through linking my research with the ideas that Ngata and Bernstein have contributed, particularly in relation to Māori development and the education of minority students.

The purpose behind developing these hypothetical letters into an autoethnographic dialogue was to be innovative in the creation of an analytical framework that could adequately contain the historically grounded part of this study. It presented a challenge, as this thesis is based on the link made between my whānau narratives and school-to-work transition policies that have impacted Māori. Therefore, the distinctive characteristics of the letter correspondence as an autoethnographic dialogue required further thought. Much of that thought has focused on the framing of this dialogue as a means to analyse the historical content. In linking this thinking to an autoethnographic dialogue, I am seeking to position myself as the principal voice of these letters while also engaging Ngata and Bernstein in this imagined dialogue.

As the author of this research, it is important to me to privilege a Māori position

for research about Māori (Durie, 2001). This is represented through this part of the

study via the lens of Sir Apirana Ngata. In as much as Ngata embodies this 'Māori'

lens, Professor Basil Bernstein epitomises a philosophy that challenges the different

motivations working behind the scenes, and how this might significantly impact on

learners in education systems. Both Ngata and Bernstein together personify a cohesive

body of knowledge recognised here within this study as a historically grounded means

of cultural analysis.

Both Ngata and Bernstein are the 'human faces' to an analytical tool that has

taken the metaphoric form of an autoethnographic dialogue via the letters. The 'fields

of interest' of these two men are described here as Māori development (Ngata) and

the sociology of education (Bernstein). The rationale behind selecting Ngata and

Bernstein to carry out this dialogue is due to the experiences and work that both men

were involved with relating to education-employment transitions and policy. Ngata,

as a Māori leader and parliamentarian was passionate about the creation of

employment opportunities for Māori, and Bernstein endeavoured to understand the

discursive nature of 'power' in its many guises, including the formation of policy right

through to its application. It would have been an absolute privilege had there been

the opportunity to witness an actual conversation between Ngata and Bernstein. The

conversation would have been dynamic, largely in light of their obvious differences as well as less pronounced similarities, eccentricities, characteristics and each man's sense of their own vernacular. Ngata knew mostly everything about the Māori world and Bernstein knew how destructive education systems/structures could be to marginalised groups of people. Together they would have been able to solve these pressing issues. Theoretically, that is the intent of this hypothetical conversation.

Pedagogic Device

What is actually esoteric in one period can become mundane in another. (Bernstein, 2000, p. 29)

The application of Bernstein through this study has focused on his later writing, as a much more conscientious refining has occurred to many of his theories as time has taken its course, none more so than pedagogic device. Essentially, Bernstein's pedagogic device theory is a complex "systematic analysis" (Power, Aggleton, Brannen, Brown, Chisholm & Mace, 2001, p. 14) outlining the rules governing the transmission, acquisition and evaluation of knowledge. The way knowledge is produced and influenced at many different levels highlights what knowledge is privileged, what is omitted, how knowledge moves through a myriad of contexts and to what extent power and control influences these decisions. It is Bernstein's insights into power and control through the pedagogic device that has ultimately led to incorporating

pedagogic code into this research. Bernstein (1996a) states that, "control establishes legitimate communications, and power establishes legitimate relations between categories. Thus, power contrasts relations between, and control relations within given forms of interaction" (p. 9). I wondered how this idea of 'relations between and relations within' had played out in the whānau narratives and state policies selected for this piece of research. I was also interested to understand its application in the classroom, which is where an element of the pedagogic device theory, the pedagogic code comes into play.

What I have come to know about pedagogic code is that it has more of a focus on 'how' knowledge is constructed, maintained and legitimated and is less concerned with actual 'knowledge' itself, or as Bernstein (2000) espouses "a distinction between a relay and what is relayed" (p. 14). Pedagogic code comes from Bernstein's theorising about where knowledge is situated and who has access to it. The power to regulate what is relevant knowledge and how this knowledge is then passed onto the learner is key to the pedagogic code. Atkinson (1997) suggests that, "[t]he pedagogic device is a mechanism for the 'thinkable' amongst different social groups, for the identification of what may be thought simultaneously implies who may think it. Social order is thus equivalent to the cosmological order of consciousness" (p. 173). Bernstein (2003) fully understood that to understand the 'thinkable' one must know its

"shadow of the 'unthinkable'" (p. 189). He contends that in this shadow there is the potential for the "*yet to be thought*" (Bernstein, 2000, p. 30, as cited in Kidman, Abrams & McRae, 2011, p. 217). Kidman et al. (2011) maintain that opportunities are available for the actualising of this latent thinking, asserting that, "[t]he gap is there, but its potential is under-utilised" (p. 217).

There are many structural levels to pedagogic device and accordingly, the boundaries within and between these 'fields' can either be classified as strong or weak. Wheelahan (2005) describes the classification of different fields of knowledge in that "[t]he specialisation of different fields is maintained by the strength or weakness of boundaries and the degree of insulation between them" (p. 1). Dowling (1999) draws on Bernstein's theorising about the pedagogic code and its use of framing and classification as outlined in the following table that highlights the interrelationship between framing and classification.

Classification	Framing
Power	Control
Space	Time
Between	Within
What	How
Voice	Message
Recognition rules	Realisation rules

Table 1. The interrelationship between classification and framing (Dowling, 1999).

There are rules regulating the process of pedagogic device that are called the distributive rules, recontextualising rules and the evaluative rules (Wheelahan, 2005, p. 1). Bernstein (2000) saw each field as interrelated and hierarchical. He proposed distributive rules to be those rules that "distributed different forms of knowledge to different social groups" (p. 114). With this rule, Bernstein differentiated between 'unthinkable' or new knowledge and 'thinkable' or official knowledge, and that distributive rules regulated access to such knowledges. The recontextualising rules are there for "delocating a discourse, for /relocating it, for refocusing it" (Bernstein, 1996b, p. 47). There are two parts to this rule, the 'official' recontextualising field that includes government departments and curriculum/policymakers and the pedagogic recontextualising field, which includes researchers, teachers and teacher education institutions. The evaluative rules regulate what is required to demonstrate that knowledge has actually been acquired, and as such is "concerned with recognising what counts as valid realisations of instructional (curricular content) and regulative (social conduct, character and manner) texts" (Singh, 2002, p. 572).

Bernstein (2000) argued that knowledge communities were either 'singular' or 'regional' according to whether they were fashioned around the structure of

knowledge (singular) or a field of practice (regional). He imagined many academic

disciplines as singular, with specific rules of entry, specialised knowledge and a firm

dependability on its existence (Bernstein, 2000, p. 52). Where I believe my research

relates to pedagogic device is also through the 'new' regions Bernstein suggests of

vocational education. He notes that the discourse around 'retraining' "[i]s based on

the acquisition of generic modes which it is hoped will realise a flexible transferable

potential rather than specific performances" (Bernstein, 2000, p. 59). This new

understanding is not fashioned around a field of practice, but towards what the market

is pursuing.

E tipu e rea

> E tipu e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao; ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei
> ara mō tō tinana, ko tō ngākau ki ngā tāonga a ō tūpuna Māori hei tikitiki
> mō tō māhunga; ko tō wairua ki tō Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

> *Grow up and thrive for the days destined to you, your hand to the tools of
> the Pākehā to provide physical sustenance, your heart to the treasures of
> your Māori ancestors as a diadem for your brow, your soul to your God, to
> whom all things belong.* (Ngata, as cited in Brougham & Reed, 2003, p. 89)

The appropriateness of the proverb *E tipu e rea* and its application to the Māori

'experience' across the generations is one of the reasons why I have chosen it to

underpin the historically grounded part of my research. This proverb provides a means

through which to understand the complexities that Māori have to live with, the

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tensions involved in being Māori and the multiple ways in which to self-identify or be identified as being Māori. In essence, *E tipu e rea* challenges a simplistic view of what it means to be Māori, and suggests that there are varying degrees of 'living as Māori' as it relates to being part of a westernised world.

As a piece of writing *E tipu e rea* was an observation Apirana Ngata wrote in 1949, into the notebook of Rangi Bennett; daughter of Sir John Bennett.[29] The proverb has been used in many different settings and frameworks and is considered one of the most well used proverbs amongst the Māori community (Brougham & Reed, 2003, p. 89). Within this study, *E tipu e rea* is specifically used to support one of the research questions, which is 'what influence has the ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration had on state policy and the education-employment transitions of Māori?' In positioning *E tipu e rea* in relation to my own specific worldview, the focus is squarely on what Ngata intended for Māori people, which was to retain one's own culture, but to also 'culturally adapt' (McCarthy, 2014) to the western world, and by doing so, creating the means to successfully participate in both worlds.

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[29] Sir John Mokonuiarangi Bennett Q.S.O received a Knight Bachelor in 1988 for services to education. Amongst his many achievements is chairing the Māori Education Foundation (to be later known as the Māori Education Trust) for 25 years and being the inaugural patron of the Ngā Manu Kōrero national secondary school speech competition.

On 3 July 1874, Apirana Turupa Ngata was born into a prominent Māori family from the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand. His father Paratene Ngata, a farmer and businessperson, was highly regarded in the Māori world, as was his great-uncle Ropata Wahawaha, a loyalist who fought alongside colonial forces. It was Wahawaha who would first recognise in the young Apirana the makings of an intellectual mind (Ramsden, 1948). Ngata was brought up steeped in all things Māori, and was taught at Waiomatatini Native School in 1881 before being sent to Te Aute College, a boarding school for Māori boys, in 1883. It was here that Apirana Ngata would begin to excel academically, under the tutelage and guidance of headmaster John Thornton.[30] Ngata, alongside a handful of other young Māori men educated through Te Aute, became known as 'Thornton's boys' (Barrington, 2008), Thornton having instilled in his students the belief that they could champion the plight of their people who were struggling with the changes between traditional Māori living and westernisation. These students formed a society, eventually named the Young Māori Party, and travelled to Māori communities to speak out against the substandard living conditions and hygiene that were becoming synonymous with Māori homes (Walker, 2002; Barrington, 2008).

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[30] John Thornton, headmaster of Te Aute College between 1878 – 1912 who advocated for an academic curriculum, which included preparing boys for the sitting of matriculation exams for the New Zealand University. The success of this academic ethos was challenged through a Royal Commission into the school, which deemed Te Aute lacking in manual and technical instruction. It recommended the academic subjects be dropped in favour of agricultural and manual instruction (Graham, 2009).

Thornton fully impressed on Ngata the benefits associated with 'Europeanisation' (van Meijl, 1996), which Ngata believed gave Māori people more choice to develop themselves, through such things as education and the commercial use of Māori land. Ngata along with many of his contemporaries envisioned that Māori people needed to embrace the ideals of the western world with haste. However, he also remained unwavering in his belief that Māori people should retain their traditions, protocols, practices and customary relationships to language, land and heritage. Although somewhat contradictory, these two frames of reference formed the basis for the creation of the statement *E tipu e rea*. It also follows on from the teachings of his great-uncle Wahawaha, who utilised the tools of westernisation to protect the lands and customs of his tribal homeland in the East Coast. This accommodation of these two differing worldviews was further instilled in Ngata through instruction from his father to delay university study directly after Te Aute, resulting in him returning to his family for two years to strengthen his knowledge of Māori language, tradition and protocol (Stafford & Williams, 2008). Despite the contradictions associated with seeking to be both 'Europeanised' and Māori, Ngata was consistently able to model these aspirations in his own life; having the mana, presence and authority to do so as a Māori leader with the ability to traverse between both Māori and western worlds.

During his time as a university student, and his subsequent careers in law, politics, farming and the many other activities that spanned his career, the constant that appeared to propel Ngata on was the work he did towards reviving a culture and people he felt to be in decline. He also felt that Māori people in general were resistant to any change. To encourage Māori to embrace western ways, Ngata alongside other Māori leaders, strongly advocated for strategies that might fast-track this mass adaptation. These strategies included acts of legislation, whereby Māori people could declare their 'Europeanisation'[31] or through supporting the exclusion of the teaching of te reo Māori from schools.

Ngata believed the Māori language was a language to be used only in Māori homes, and was unwavering in his insistence that the Māori language not be taught in schools, proclaiming in 1936, that all school curricula should have "English first, second, third, fourth and all the rest of the subjects fifth" (Barrington, 2008, p. 301). He would soon come to question his assertions, and the fervour with which he took to the task of supporting Māori communities to adapt to westernisation, especially when encountering Māori people who had lost their identity as Māori. Only a mere three

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[31] *AJHR,* 1948.

years later, in 1939, he laments "nothing was worse than for one to be with Māori features, but without his own language" (Barrington, 2008, p. 302).

For all that Ngata was involved in, the proverb he is remembered for is *E tipu e rea*. It continues to resonate because the themes underpinning the proverb are still as relevant today as they were in the times that Ngata theorised about these matters. As a means of analysis, *E tipu e rea* has been used as an indigenous theoretical framework for working in Māori youth development (Keelan, 2001). Accordingly, Keelan has used the theory to look at key Māori concepts such as whakapapa and whanaungatanga alongside companion concepts such as awhi, manaaki and tiaki. She has also analysed the proverb line by line, translating the Māori words to its English counterpart and describing what the sentiments of the line might express within a Māori youth development model. Apirana Ngata led a full life, and died a year after writing *E tipu e rea*, following a brief illness on 14 July 1950.

In relation to the life of Apirana Ngata, his son Henare would offer the following summation:

> A favoured few...constantly keep their objective before them, find satisfaction both in accomplishing and striving...so long as there is a Māori people the objective will remain, growing with life itself. Therefore, as it is

something bigger than any single individual, Death cannot defeat such men – the Waiapu flows on. (Ramsden, 1948, p. 15)

The struggle to survive as Māori is a continuing journey, a battle for the hearts and minds of people who have a choice to participate in the identity and traditions of Māori culture, or not. Sir Apirana Ngata entreated Māori of his time to not lose their cultural heritage, but to enhance it by taking up western education. That the insidiousness of this western education system would further alienate Māori from their language, customs and heritage would be a painful realisation that Ngata would eventually make, noting that "nothing was worse" (Barrington, 2008, p. 302) than being Māori but not knowing what 'being Māori' means. In coming full circle, the relevance of Sir Apirana Ngata is again found in the choices that Māori still have, and that choice is to utilise this very education system to take up the Māori language and traditions once more.

Developing a Historically Grounded Tool of Analysis

I have developed these letters that pull together key intellectual elements from both Ngata, as underpinned by the themes contained in his proverb above '*E tipu e rea*', and Bernstein's pedagogic device. This theory "refers to the way in which knowledge is classified and framed" (Wheelahan, 2005, p. 1) and incorporates Bernstein's key concepts of classification and framing. Bernstein (2000) contends that

the way in which knowledge is classified puts across "the message of power" (p. 6), and there is power in determining what knowledge is classified, the way it is classified and who has access to it (as cited in Wheelahan, 2005).

With this analysis, I have attempted to position myself as the 'shadow' author of this dialogue via the letters, whilst also highlighting what Ngata and Bernstein bring to the conversation. Hence, the historical features of this analytical framework are derived from the following deliberation, using specific thematic excerpts mainly from the Ngata proverb '*E tipu e rea*' and theoretical underpinnings from Bernstein as exampled in the table below:

Ngata		Bernstein
Grow young seed...	BUT	Watch out for systems/structures of power and control.
Remember who you are...	BECAUSE	There are systems/structures that may try to take your identity away from you.
Learn the ways of Pākehā education...	ALTHOUGH	Know that someone else may dictate what that education might look like.

Table 2. Analysis of "E tipu e rea"

It has been important for me to fully capture Ngata and Bernstein's theories within this framework, to add weight to my attempt to speak about the historically

grounded state policies and whānau narratives selected. The dialogue itself has been

created from the theorising produced from aligning some of the pivotal thinking from

these two men, with my own thoughts.

The Middle Ground

> Indians are the rock, Europeans are the sea. The sea wears down and
> dissolves the rock; or the sea erodes the rock and cannot absorb its
> battered remnants, which endures. The first outcome produces stories of
> conquest and assimilation; the second produces stories of cultural
> persistence. (White, 1991, p. ix)

In that the hypothetical letters gives me scope to explore the ideas of Apirana

Ngata and Basil Bernstein, the seminal study of the *Middle Ground* by social and

environmental historian Richard White (1991, 2006) helps provide a metaphorical

'setting' for this dialogue to occur. The middle ground was theorised by White as a

way to explain the significant historical events of the *Pays d'en Haut*, a vast area that

includes the Great Lakes region of North America. Mainly, it was used to describe the

symbolic, political and utilitarian encounters of 'cultural accommodation' between

primarily the Algonquin-speaking Indian tribes and French settlers—a mixture of

traders and missionaries; although it also includes the relationships formed in this

middle ground with the British and Americans.

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Despite my specific research referring mostly to the symbolic aspects of the middle ground, the 'lived experience' of this model and specifically the events preceding the initial encounters between the French and indigenous peoples help explain the complexities in play in the creation of the middle ground, and why White believed this model to be 'setting-specific'. However, he also conceded to the point that conceptually the middle ground could translate into other settings. White (2006) argues:

> So, do I think that the middle ground as a process is replicable in other places and other times? Yes, I do. Is every instance where academics find this process at work the equivalent of the Upper Country? No, but sometimes other academics might think so. I was fairly specific about the elements that were necessary for the construction of such a space: a rough balance of power, mutual need or a desire for what the other possesses, and an inability by either side to commandeer enough force to compel the other to change. Force and violence are hardly foreign to the process of creating and maintaining a middle ground, but the critical element is mediation. (White, 2006, p. 6)

Through this study the bridging of cultural differences through 'negotiated' worldviews and the 'negotiating' of a shared space does not seek to replicate the middle ground model. Instead, it attempts to utilise this concept to underpin the creation of a symbolic space wherein Ngata, Bernstein and myself emulate the relationship that indigenous and colonial peoples have entered into, where there is an equal distribution of power, and the means to mediate.

I liken this to power brokers, whose individual achievements and status cancel each other out, nullifying any potential power play. When power is taken out of the equation, there is potential for social interaction and with it, a "process of mutual and creative misunderstanding" (White, 1991, pp. 52-53). It is in these moments of misunderstanding that White suggests the potential for new knowledge is generated. This is part of the argument for using 'middle ground' in this research through the creation of a dialogue that only exists in theory. It is the transformative potential of misunderstanding through this exchange where I am able to re-imagine history in the spaces created from this connection, according to the development of protocols of encounter between Ngata, Bernstein and myself.

The other part of the argument relates to the political underpinnings involved in the middle ground that respond to what was being experienced by Māori at the time that Apirana Ngata was strongly advocating for change, in that it became a space where "the politics of village and of the empire met" (White, 1991, pp. 142-143). There is a distinct similarity here between what White proposes and what Ngata was observing, a shared memory amongst indigenous peoples who have lived through times of colonialism.

In regards to Ngata, it is maintained through this research that his role was one of intermediary between Māori communities and the western world, in an era in which numerous attempts were made towards bridging these two discrete worlds, both located within their own complex, hybrid and nuanced systems. Amongst the many usages of the 'middle ground' that are similar to what is being proposed through this research, is the study of boarding school experiences of Indian children and its impact on American Indian literacy (Katanski, 2005). In that study Katanski (2005) describes the middle ground as "a space in between cultures where they could develop a whole new system of meaning, or even several concurrent systems of meaning, along with new situational identities that they added to their repertoires" (p. 105). It is this 'space between' which is of significance to this research in that it aptly describes a place in which an autoethographical dialogue, such as what is being proposed through this study, might exist and be useful.[32]

Critical Race Theory

> Theory, then, is a set of knowledges. Some of these knowledges have been kept from us—entry into some professions and academia denied us. Because we are not allowed to enter discourse, because we are often disqualified and excluded from it, because what passes for theory these days is forbidden territory for us, it is vital that we occupy theorizing

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[32] Bhabha (1994) theorised about an 'in-between' space, which he relates to the third space and to rethinking old binaries through reimagining new sites where negotiations about culture and difference can take place. Even though I do not directly refer to Bhabha through this thesis, I do acknowledge that his concepts underpin much of what I have used in my writing.

space…. By bringing in our own approaches and methodologies, we transform that theorizing space. (Anzaldúa, 1990, p. xxv)

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is an attempt to fully confront the insidiousness of racism. Chicano academics Solórzano and Yosso, who contextualise CRT within education systems in America, define CRT as, "a framework or set of basic insights, perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural and cultural aspects of education that maintain subordinate and dominant racial positions in and out of the classroom" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 25). In this study, it is these main ideas espoused by Solórzano and Yosso that align with the challenging of New Zealand's state policy underpinned by themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration. This process of understanding and exploring these themes through the narratives and research provided here enables these structural processes to be made known and ultimately, to be better understood.

As a body of work, CRT came into existence through challenging the invisibility of race, gender, class and 'difference' throughout legal discourse and institutions in the United States. One contributor to the theory, Harris (2012) understands the potential of CRT for change:

It investigates a paradox: how does racism persist despite its nearly universal condemnation by state policy and by the norms of polite society?

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Rejecting the conventional liberal position that racism survives only as a relic from a less-enlightened time or as a characteristic of poorly-educated or troubled individuals, critical race theorists take the position that racism is ordinary and normal in contemporary society, indeed perhaps integral to social practices and institutions. (Harris, 2012, para. 1)

Maintaining a position outside of the rhetoric that considers racism as 'ordinary and normal' dispels the myth that it is not relevant in analysing Māori education-employment transitions. It is a role I see for myself as an emerging Māori researcher. This study argues for this recognition of racism that has permeated itself within state policy and which has been fully embedded into the systems and institutions that have limited the level of education Māori have received since its inception.

To engage CRT in with methodology, Solórzano and Yosso (2002, pp. 24-25) propose the following five factors should be included:

1. The intercentricity of race and racism with other forms of subordination.
2. The challenge to dominant ideology.
3. The commitment to social justice.
4. The centrality of experiential knowledge.
5. The transdisciplinary perspective.

In engaging with the broad themes encompassed by these five specific elements provided by Solórzano and Yosso (2002), the inference is that each element acknowledges the wider context of subordination in which race and racism exist,

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alongside other critical thinking demonstrating the intent of people and communities to challenge the status quo. How Critical Race Theory features in this research is through the penning of a letter to my daughter Waimirirangi as a means to validate narrative, storytelling and 'talking back' within scholarship. By critically reflecting on my own school-to-work transitions and sharing my memories and epiphanies with my daughter, I am interested in opening her eyes up to this education system and what it entails, particularly as she is yet to enter into her own transition between school and employment. hooks (1989) regards these opportunities of 'talking back' as not just living with oppression, but being able to use these experiences to develop a level of conscientisation towards transformation (Freire, 1970a). The space to have these kinds of conversations is vital to this methodology, which underpins the narrative of education-employment transitions I am endeavouring to contribute to this study.

Interpretive Policy Analysis

One of the reasons behind the use of interpretive policy analysis within this piece of research was to look behind the abstractness of policy 'speak' and to capture the importance of the stories of the people that policy affects. In saying this, 'storytelling' is a major component of interpretive policy analysis (Roe, 1994), and is in line with the use of whānau narratives to show the human impact of the state policies and practices selected for this research, and particularly for the historically grounded

part of the study. This is further understood by Levy (1999) who maintains that such

an undertaking as capturing the realities of whānau would benefit those people who

are making and analysing policy. She argues:

> [I]f policy making and analysis is to avoid being dominated by a positivist paradigm, which refuses to acknowledge the existence of values and assumptions as being an inherent factor within the policy making process, there is a need to create a process which is founded on a participatory framework: a framework which allows for the incorporation of the many different and varied voices of Maori. (Levy, 1999, p. 14)

The use of whānau stories as a meta-narrative to problematise the impact of state

policy, is there to question 'the traditions and dilemmas' (Bevir & Rhodes, 2006; Bevir

& Richards, 2009) involved in policy analysis.

My understanding of policy in relation to this piece of research has mostly

focused on its impact on Māori education-employment transitions as portrayed

through the narratives provided here. As a reflective process, I have chosen

interpretive policy analysis because of its ability to use interpretive methods to focus

on the 'puzzles' and 'tensions' involved with this type of analysis (Hajer & Wagenaar,

2003, p. 243). I am interested in understanding the meaning of the experience behind

the policy, and how that was captured through this research. By using interpretive

policy analysis, I have attempted to find a research theory that allows me the freedom

to look at the selected policy eras, as well as the flexibility to incorporate the other important dimensions of my research, namely the development of analytical frameworks.

Interpretive policy analysis confirms the assumption that traditional policy analysis is seen as "a language of certainty rather than a language of inquiry" (Stein, 2004, p. 140). Being grounded in "the legitimacy of local knowledge", (Yanow, 2007, p. 22) supports this study to challenge state policy and practices by engaging in the experiential knowledge voiced through this research. The approach itself is defined as "a focus on meaning that is situated in a particular" (Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003, p. 228). Yanow (2007) argues that once local knowledge is accepted, then an appropriate method for accessing this knowledge can be developed. I have positioned my whānau narratives as 'local knowledge' that also demonstrates a key feature of this theory, which is how different groups of people interpret policy according to their own frame of reference.

Rationalising the Theoretical Underpinnings

Rationalising Ngata, Bernstein and I in the Middle Ground

The complex nature of this hypothetical conversation has brought together a Māori political leader and a British academic into the autoethnographic imaginings of

a Māori doctoral student, so that I could engage us all in a series of letters underpinned by our own specific bodies of knowledge. Also included in with this piece of writing is the enactment of the metaphor of the middle ground. As such, I have sought to provide a rationale for developing these hypothetical letters, noting both what they contain and their usage within this thesis.

The content of the letters needed to be championed by people who knew what they were on about, which is partly the reason why I chose Sir Apirana Ngata and Professor Basil Bernstein and have included them in this dialogue. Sir Apirana, through his lament that is the proverb *E tipu e rea* is almost pleading with Māori to retain their identity whilst also encouraging them to attain what the western world had to offer. Also, Professor Basil Bernstein, who challenged systems and those in power, and who himself was challenged for his deficit thinking of minority children (Jones, 2013). What persuaded me to follow through with this conversation was the creation of an innovative means by which to analyse my family narratives, of which I would be its mouthpiece and its 'expert' (Dauphinee, 2010). In addition, I came to an understanding that Bernstein's ideas relating to communication barriers faced by minority children due to school were more to do with his identifying difference, rather than deficits.

However, having an affinity with these two men did not automatically translate into an analytical tool. Some rules needed to be applied to ensure that the dialogue had some shape and form. This is where White's metaphor of the middle ground entered into the fray. The middle ground provides a space in this dialogue whereby three people can come together to inform this piece of writing, from their differing perspectives and towards a mutually understood conclusion. The hypothetical dialogue is essentially used here as a vehicle by which to contain this series of letters.

Rationalising Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) arose out of a specific North American legal context, which can be seen as contentious when attempting to use this methodology to underpin education-employment transitions for the New Zealand-based family narratives contained in this research. The North American-centric positioning of this theory can take something away from the usefulness of CRT to explain comparable experiences outside of the United States of America.[33] In light of this, the *polarising* nature of racism has the ability to transcend territorial differences whilst also retaining the specificity of the experience, and so, the critical analysis of these context-specific,

[33] An example of the 'North American-centric positioning' of Critical Race Theory can be found in the legal and social justice landmark court decision 'Brown v. Board of Education' that in 1954 led to the desegregation of American schools.

New Zealand-based experiences can be sufficiently captured through this theory. CRT

is a methodology grounded in the experiences of racism, and those experiences of

racism are a global phenomenon.

The legal origins of Critical Race Theory are founded in the American civil rights

movement (Vicars, McKenna & White, 2012), which also adds to the difficulties faced

when attempting to gain insights from this framework for the benefit of other contexts.

Despite there being similarities between America's civil rights history and New

Zealand-based resistance movements such as Ngā Tamatoa (Walker, 1984) and events

such as the Bastion Point occupation (Locke, 2012), the legal experiences as they relate

to CRT are context-bound, and therefore any conclusions drawn from CRT as they

relate to Aotearoa New Zealand are done so with this in mind.

In an education setting, Bishop (2003) suggests that the underhanded nature

of racism means that it can be as deceptive as the educational material that concealed

anything Māori, as an example of "epistemological racism" (Scheurich & Young, 1997,

as cited in Bishop, 2003). He argues:

> Māori imagery and aspirations, as expressed in Māori metaphor as well as
> Māori lived experiences, and the meanings of these experiences, have been
> marginalised and interpreted by the 'authoritative' voice and directions of
> the 'expert' to suit ends other than those desired by Māori peoples

themselves. To add insult to injury, everyday 'acceptable' myths of Aotearoa/New Zealand have been created and perpetuated by such a process. Sadly today many of these myths are believed by Māori and non-Māori alike. Such practices perpetuate the ideology of cultural superiority that is fundamental to colonisation. (Bishop, 2003, pp. 234-235)

Durie (1998) also argues that through the processes of colonisation, Māori knowledge was changed to suit 'the colonizer', and by doing so, "new myths were created and a new type of Māori identity was forged" (p. 54). As such, conscientisation, critical thought and Critical Race Theory enable us to reclaim our stories, and provide a contemporary critique of the institutionalised and structural racism that has influenced New Zealand's education system.

Rationalising Interpretive Policy Analysis

The research lens of interpretive policy analysis complements the policy aspects of this study; and as such plays an important role within this research. This approach is the cement that holds this research together, and is reflective of the role that policy plays here. The use of the term 'policy eras' describes the context of time in which these policies took place, and are the vehicle from which to understand the themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration that are the historical underpinning philosophies that have been part of the Māori experience of education. The policy focus of this research relates to the vocational education provided to Māori students.

It is not an explicit policy as such, but it was a historic policy direction that features in each of the policy themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration, which has severely limited Māori educational choices and accessibility.

A manual-based education has steered Māori into agricultural and labourer type work, from the early 1900s when education was expected to produce mainly farmers and carpenters for the men, and farmer's wives and clerical work for the women, through to the 1930s and the advent of Māori trade training schemes. Interpretive policy analysis addresses the experience of the policy that created these types of directives, and fits well with this research and its exploration of the impacts of the 'policy eras' on different generations of my family. Its capacity to be reflective lends itself well to kaupapa Māori theory and autoethnography. What interpretive policy analysis also does is help to meld together the different components of this research, through the privileging of lived experiences from the family narratives, and also as a result of the *enduring patterns* of culture that have shaped my identity.

Conclusion

In outlining the theoretical components and structure that has helped to create this thesis, my intention through this chapter was to specify how these considerations have contributed to my thinking regarding Māori education-employment transitions,

and specifically, how to incorporate my family narratives into this undertaking. Being able to explain theory behind the dialogue created between Ngata and Bernstein is important because it helps to rationalise its use in this study. Understanding Ngata and Bernstein is important. Also, by clarifying the significance of the middle ground metaphor, I am arguing that this thesis has been about *negotiation*, finding a common ground around what is expected of this thesis, and mostly having enough space to be able to come to some agreements about what has helped to create the education-employment experiences of my family. Giving myself the permission to have these thoughts, and to share them with my family and community is part of Critical Race Theory and counter-storying. Understanding how policy has contributed to all of this, has helped to complete the theoretical considerations provided here.

TUATAHI: KA AO (IT IS DAWN)

I don't know how I arrived here. I was sure that academia had given me so much insight into my life, but I can see now that it has also changed the way that I perceive the world. I'm trying to grasp onto my stories, those things that make me who I am, but I can also see how they appear conflicted in this thesis. I keep wanting to change the academic speak, so it isn't so jarring alongside the stories that have shaped my life, but the student in me is afraid.

I. Am. Afraid.

Regardless, I keep plodding along, hacking away at the undergrowth that has formed because I am clearing a path towards an endpoint as yet unnamed, but in my urgency to get there perhaps I have neglected to turn back and to whakapai, to clean the pathway that I have created. In going forward, I need to clear a way back so that I can return to where I started. Returning is important. It is a constant reminder that it all originated somewhere. My origins and my life source is my whakapapa. It is my genealogical link to the gods.

And so where am I? I have come to an unknown place at an unknown time to discover that I don't in fact know much. I take comfort that I have brought the threads of my whakapapa with me though. I silently weep that it is not a lot, but I have a firm grasp on the glimmer that I have. I align it alongside my academic alter ego and I pray. I'm not the praying kind, but I seek to make way for this union between my Māori soul and my scholastic ego. It almost feels impossible to be seeking this, and yet in the awkwardness of it all I am driven forward. I have found myself a place to stand, and in one hand I clutch to my whānau stories and in the other I keep a firm grip on academia. I am a conduit for both, and it is a responsibility that is flourishing within me.

I have become the vehicle representing two different aspects of myself, made manifest through this thesis. My aim is to do justice to the narratives of my family. What I seek is to bend scholarship and mātauranga Māori into each other. In seeking this my realisation is that my pathway back is a pathway around. The path is circular and infinite. That is the power of whakapapa.

Whakapapa. It is my stronghold. No one can take it from me.

(Journal log, 26/11/16)

Chapter Four: Whānau Narratives

For, after all, if inferior peoples must be exterminated, their cultures and habits of life, their languages and customs, their economies, indeed, every difference about them must be assaulted, confined, and obliterated. There must be a dominant culture and therefore a dominant people, a dominant religion, a dominant language, a dominant legal system, a dominant educational system, and so on, and so on. In other words, there must be dominance and subordination. (Trask, 2006, p. 10)

[W]e find that the educated Maori is decidedly better material to work with than the uneducated Maori. (Williams, 1906, p. 24)

Narrative One: Wi Manawawai Wharehinga

Whare hinga
A space, an institution, a whānau
A lineage rebuilding itself within a catch cry –
We will rise again!
(Journal log, 04/08/12)

I have always known his name to be Wi Manaawai Wharehinga. My niece has Manaawai as a middle name, in acknowledgement of her great-grandmother, my grandmother Mereana Luke (nee Wharehinga). Most of my knowledge about Wi comes from her, with the exception of several discussions I have had with members of the wider extended Wharehinga whānau, who knew him as Wi Manawawai Wharehinga, and is the actual name written on his gravestone. I acknowledge both

these names; however, in this chapter I will refer to him as Wi—the father of my grandmother, my Nanny Mereana.

I recall a black and white photo of Wi at my grandparent's house. He is smiling what I have come to know as the 'Wharehinga' smile, having been around a number of Nan's siblings and their extensive families. My Nan has the same smile, the nose, cheekbones and chin are also similar. It always makes me think about what, from my own profile, originates from my Wharehinga lineage, and whether I can pick up any of those features in my daughter. There is a gentleness to be seen in the photo, from the shy smile, to his children playing closely by him. This gentleness is something that is familiar to me, having spent a lot of time with my grandmother Mereana. Her gentle nature was legendary amongst her grandchildren and great-grandchildren. This connection between Mereana his daughter and Wi is part of my own journey to know my great-grandfather, across the span of time, within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Along this journey, it has been the distance and the 'sameness' which I have found hard to reconcile. The distance comes from not knowing my great-grandfather, and having to rely on second-hand information so that I can fill in the missing pieces of information I have about this part of my family. The 'sameness' relates to a mutually

shared whakapapa, a genealogy passed down through the Wharehinga line, to which I am a relatively recent addition. Although I am only two generations removed from my great-grandfather, it really is a lifetime of memories that I have only been able to access through childhood memories and adult curiosity about my Nanny's dad, knowledge that has been part of my understanding who my grandmother was. Relying on my grandmother's memory of her father was tentative business, due to his passing away when she was very young, at eight years of age, although what also came through was her love of her father, that he was a good parent to his seven children, and that my grandmother took his premature death very hard.

So, what do I know of Wi? I know the Wharehinga whakapapa comes from a small settlement on the East Coast of New Zealand, called Tikapa. The name Wharehinga is interesting when translated from Māori into English, Whare (house) hinga (fallen). However what the whānau kōrero, the wider families understanding behind the name suggests is that instead of the literal translation of Wharehinga as 'house fallen', that it actually comes from a man named 'Hinga', so Wharehinga or Te Wharehinga, describes 'The house of Hinga'. My knowledge of the genealogy associated with the beginning of the Wharehinga name connects the family to Iwirakau, a rangatira from Tikapa Marae who is credited with bringing whakairo/carving to this area of the East Coast (Simmons, 2006). Incidentally, my great-

grandfather Wi was a carpenter and according to my grandmother, one of the best carpenters in the area. I was fortunate to bear testament to this in 2010 when travelling with my grandmother through Tolaga Bay and my Nan pointing out some of the houses that Wi had built, a testament to his carpentry skills. Being able to locate Wi in the context of a whakapapa/genealogy of carvers, as exampled in the genealogy chart below (Simmons, 2006, p. 46), gave me the permission to draw some insight regarding his familiarity with wood, and possibly supported by his families wishes, to be working and making a career out of this familial connection.

1.	Iwirakau i a Rakaitemania
2.	Te Aotehuinga
3.	Maruaratangata
4.	Utatu
5.	Te Kurakamahuki
6.	Te Aowhakaritea
7.	Temahirangi
8.	Teapurangi
9.	Marae
10.	Te Wharehinga

Table 3: Wharehinga whakapapa (Simmons, 2006, p. 46)

What started me on my journey to close the 'distance' and to further understand the 'sameness' between myself and my great-grandfather Wi, was the education that he received to become a carpenter. In 1904, my grandfather was

enrolled at Te Aute College.[34] To put this in context, a young Apirana Ngata first

attended Te Aute at the age of nine in 1883. Twenty-one years later, Wi Manawawai

enrolled into Te Aute, destined to receive a manual and vocations-based education.

During this era, the schooling of Māori was shifting. Attaining an education

through school was a means of instituting social order amongst Māori, which is

understood to be one of the main reasons behind the establishment of schooling for

Māori in New Zealand. According to Simon's evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal for

the Wānanga Capital Establishment Report (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999), the creation of

schools for Māori by the government was seen as a way to ensure the "social control

and assimilation of Māori" (p. 5).   Actively educating Māori children away from their

language and culture, and replacing it with Pākehā culture and the English language,

was seen to be the most expedient way to assimilate Māori (Jenkins & Matthews,

1998).

From its Christian beginnings to the creation of a secular education system with

the establishment of Native Schools and its goal to 'Europeanise' Māori, Simon (1990)

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[34] Te Aute College was established in 1854 as an Anglican boarding school for Māori boys, from an endowment of 7,000 acres. In its earlier years it catered for younger students, and was more like a primary school.

suggested one of the first education agendas faced by Māori to be the 'replacement'

approach endorsed by church missionaries, which looked to substitute Māori rituals,

practices, values and institutions with Christian-based equivalents. I wonder if this is

how carpentry became a viable career choice for Wi, as a substitute for a life of

traditional Māori carving. I know very little of how Wi grew up, and have a passing

knowledge of who his siblings or parents were. I am not sure as to why he was sent

to Te Aute, other than wondering whether Barrington (1992) was correct in his

summation that those charged with the aim of Māori educational assimilation were

endeavouring to "lift Māori from one society to another" (p. 69). Thus, it was a

commonly held view that if Māori were to be further educated, that this would alienate

them from their own communities (Barrington, 2008, p. 149). This would be best

illustrated in the sentiments of James Pope, an Inspector of Native Schools from 1885

to 1903 who stated that:

> To deprive the Maori settlements of their best members by giving them
> scholarships and other inducements to forsake their own people for good
> would be one of the cruellest and most certain means that could be
> adopted for making the race as such deteriorate and die out. (as cited in
> Barrington, 2008, p. 154)

The opinions expressed by those people charged with the responsibility for educating

Māori in those times, does suggest that there was the belief that anything other than

a simple education to ensure Māori could successfully enter back into their

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communities would be detrimental to traditional Māori life. Regardless, Māori communities were being transformed by the knowledge being attained through education, and many like my great-grandfather, would return from schooling to their papakainga, which in the case of Wi would be to the East Coast, to Uawa and Tolaga Bay where he would raise his family of seven children, with his wife Raiha. How his family would be raised though, was as a Māori family learning to live in a westernised world.

Although assimilationist policies for Māori education have dominated between 1847 and 1960 (Hindmarsh, 2000, p. 160), it was seen to be part of the initial replacement ideology that prevailed amongst education officials who looked after Māori education. There were many conflicting agendas and positions when it came to the education of Māori. One of the key points made by Barrington (2008) regarding this 'assimilative' outlook on schooling for Māori, was its intention to shift Māori children out of the village mentality. This is shown in an 1862 report by school inspector Henry Taylor in which he perceives schooling Māori as the work of 'civilizing the native race'. He goes on to identify 'communism' as an impediment to the work of civilizing Māori and states:

> Their present social condition bears testimony to the ill-effects of such a system. Tribal rights destroy personal ownership, few among them can

boast of owning an acre of land as absolutely and wholly his own. In the same way, stock, houses, farm produce, and even the very children, are held as the common property of the tribe, with the exception of horses, perhaps, few attempts have been made by the Natives to individualize property. In the School-room by a careful and persevering system of appropriation we may gradually train them to a proper perception...but the results of such training will not, I anticipate, develop themselves among the community for some generations to come, still we ought not to abandon the attempt, or give up, because success is doubtful and remote. (Taylor, 1862, p. 35)

The headmaster of Te Aute at the time Wi was enrolled there was the enigmatic John Thornton, who had been instrumental in pushing an academic programme for the Māori boys that were already receiving an education through his school, the most prominent of those being Sir Apirana Ngata. According to Simon (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999) some Pākehā educationalists such as John Thornton, were genuinely concerned with the state of education of Māori and committed themselves through their work towards improving it. However, in 1906, John Thornton's success in educating his students to go onto university study would come under fire. Along with the Wanganui Schools Trust, Te Aute would become the subject of a Royal Commission[35] that questioned whether too much time and resource was going into preparing Māori boys for the matriculation exam for the University of New Zealand. What would come under scrutiny was whether the schools resources would be better spent on the teaching of agricultural and manual instruction. Providing evidence at the commission hearing,

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[35] *AJHR,* 1906.

former Assistant Inspector of Native Schools, Harry Kirk would remark, "[w]hen I have said that the Maori should not be made a scholar, it is not that we cannot make a scholar of him. My view is that we can: but I think the life he has got to lead will be most useful to his people if we refrain" (Kirk, 1906, p. 102). Change was coming, whether my great-grandfather was ready for it or not.

I do not know for sure if Wi was expressly educated at Te Aute to learn the trade of carpentry, or whether the education he expected had instead been scuttled by the recommendations of the Royal Commission and its sanctioning of an agricultural and manual based curriculum for Te Aute students. There was an expectation that students worked hard at their education while being schooled at Te Aute[36] and included in that was the use of carpentry 'tools' (Thornton, 1906, p. 37). Regardless, I imagine taking away the academic orientation fostered at Te Aute must have caused an upheaval of some form for the students of that time.[37] My great-

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[36] Thornton (1906, p. 35) shared what a typical day for a Te Aute student was, stating "[t]hey begin at 7 o'clock in the morning, and they are not finished until 9 o'clock at night....Prayers, 7 a.m.; breakfast, 7.30 a.m.; at 8 a party of boys numbering from six to eight come to me and we work together about the place, chiefly in the vegetable garden; school begins at 9.15, dinner at 12; school again from 1 to 3:30; tea, 5 o'clock; at 6.30 they meet again, when the daily newspaper is read out to the whole school by one of the senior boys; at 7 evening preparations begin; prayers at 8.15; after which I generally have something to say to the boys, which brings it up to 9 p.m.".

[37] Evidence from the Te Aute Trust Royal Commission suggests that John Thornton would be 'jealous' that the technical education suggested by the Education Department would encroach on the academic curriculum he had fostered at Te Aute. It is clearly indicated in the Commission report that as a teacher, Thornton was expected "to teach what he was told to teach....he has no right to mould the policy with regard to what teaching he is to give" (*AJHR*, 1906, p. 4).

grandfather Wi was one of those students. Even if he and his whānau had decided that university could have been a viable option for him, ultimately the choice between matriculation or a trade had been taken away.

Bernstein's (2003) sociology of knowledge suggests, "symbolic control translates power relations into discourse and discourse into power relations" (p. 126). He views symbolic control as a means of control by dominant agents, usually the middle class (Bernstein, 2003), which supports an invisible pedagogy that reproduces social relations in the classroom. Bernstein (2003) also adds "the assumptions of an invisible pedagogy are more likely to be met by that fraction of the middle class who have a direct relation not to the economic field but the field of symbolic control and who work in specialized agencies of symbolic control" (p .71). An invisible pedagogy sanctioned by the dominant agents who controlled Māori education is in keeping with a replacement/assimilative agenda, of which Te Aute College had to subscribe. Changes made to the subjects taught at Te Aute must have been felt by the whole school. Did this change the way the teaching staff instructed their Māori students in the agricultural and manual subjects? Did the teachers feel like they had any choice in what they wanted to teach their students, as opposed to what was required of them? In the end, Thornton succumbed to the recommendations imposed by the Royal Commission, to replace the academic curriculum with manual/vocational education

(Graham, 2009).   Bernstein supposed that teacher-student interaction was built on power relations external to school that mirrored the relationship between the school and government control, which in turn were subsequently reinforced by pedagogical and epistemic practice.

I can only imagine what an interaction between my great-grandfather Wi and his teachers may have looked like. According to Bernstein (1999), schooling was about the regulation of a student's education through pedagogy. He argued that pedagogy "is a sustained process whereby somebody(s) acquires new forms or develops existing forms of conduct, knowledge, practice and criteria, from somebody(s) or something deemed to be an appropriate provider and evaluator" (Bernstein, 1999, p. 259). In their report to the Ministry of Education, *Te Kotahitanga: The Experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori Students in Mainstream Classrooms*, Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and Richardson (2003, p. 200), identified a 'traditional classroom' as being one where the teacher focuses on:

1. instruction to transmit content knowledge;
2. monitoring to check for compliance;
3. behavioural feedback that is mostly negative in order to control students;
4. the majority of interactions involve the teacher interacting with the whole class or to individuals; and

5. knowledge that is deemed to be official and legitimate is pre-selected by the teacher as an agent of the dominant culture and this dominance remains unacknowledged.

Hill (2004) notes the 'stuck-ness' of the likes of Apirana Ngata and others who were schooled at Te Aute, receiving a Pākehā education and believing that "total or overt resistance to the state and settlement would have been counter-productive" (p. 45). This was seen as the 'best of both worlds', however my argument is that the schooling received by Ngata et al. contributed to their acceptance of western culture and their lack of opposition to its establishment amongst Māori communities. They were supportive of Māori adapting to western ways (McCarthy, 2014). This sentiment is noted by a supporter of Ngata, who comments, "[i]nsurrection and agitation are in no way constructive, and the weight of the state opposes them" (Hill, 2004, p. 45).

As this relates to the manual labour directive put upon Te Aute College, Graham (2009) in his doctoral research accepted that "[w]hile it is also important to recognise the importance of an agricultural curriculum for Māori at this time; the debates of the day centered on control of the curriculum by non-Māori for Māori" (pp. 63-64). I am certain that Wi did not have any control over what was happening with his education while he was at Te Aute. The only choice he had in the matter was to attend school, which he did, and eventually this education resulted in him becoming a carpenter by

trade. It may also have been something that Wi was particularly passionate about, a skill he could utilise in his community of Tolaga Bay. My belief is that had he been given a choice between further tertiary study and a manual education that there would have been time for Wi to think about his options for life after completing his time at Te Aute.

What was to eventuate was that on the completion of his education, my great-grandfather Wi Manawawai Wharehinga became a carpenter. Being enrolled at Te Aute in 1904, he was there at a time when it was going through great turmoil as it related to the academic orientation of its curriculum, an orientation that was eventually removed as per the recommendations of a Royal Commission (Graham, 2009). The systemic education of Māori of this era had been problematic for those charged with its responsibility (Barrington, 2008; Simon & Smith, 2001). What arose out of the 1906 Royal Commission was that the education of Māori needed to realign with a manual and agricultural curriculum (Graham, 2009), which would equip Māori with the manual skills necessary so that they were able to contribute these back to their communities on their return home. What was seen as a deterrent to that were schools such as Te Aute focusing on an academic curriculum and thus an academic pathway, which would be counter-productive to the requirements of Māori communities. That Wi returned home to Uawa, Tolaga Bay to become a carpenter suggests that he was sent to Te

Aute to receive a technical education, and that from that he took up the trade of carpentry. However, Wi could probably have learnt this trade in Tolaga Bay, which was one of the suggestions provided as evidence to the Royal Commission, stating that parents sent their children to Te Aute "not to be taught what they could learn at home, but to teach them what they cannot get at home" (Williams, 1906, p. 25). If there ever was a choice between becoming a carpenter or continuing on in education, Wi did not have any other option, as he was attending Te Aute at the time that the Royal Commission recommendations were coming into force at the school.

These recommendations were introduced into the school through teachers who taught the curriculum accordingly, changing a teaching practice that focused on an academic orientation, to a curriculum with no academic orientation and a focus on agricultural and manual subjects. Did being taught the trade of carpentry resonate with a whakapapa of carving that was part of the Wharehinga lineage? I imagine that Wi was sent to Te Aute, perhaps subconsciously, because of this carving whakapapa, and that the 'replacement' agenda of an assimilative education system was part of the reason that carpentry was seen as a helpful trade to have for the Māori communities that Wi would work in. Two generations later, the great-granddaughter of Wi Manaawai/Manawawai Wharehinga would utilise an academic orientation to 'talk back' (hooks, 1989) to the schooling of her great-grandfather.

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We shall not cease from exploration, and the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time. (Eliot, 1943, p. 59)

Narrative Two: Ron and Te Wairingiringi Mitchell

> I te taha o tōku papa;
> Ko Moumoukai te Maunga.
> Ko Takitimu te Waka.
> Ko Ngāti Kahungunu te Iwi.
> I te taha o tōku mama;
> Ko Taranaki te Maunga.
> Ko Aotea te Waka.
> Ko Ngāruahinerangi te Iwi.

    I have chosen to begin this particular narrative with a small part of my whakapapa, this confirmation of genealogy given to me from my parent's, given to them from their parents, passed down through the generations—long lines of genealogy which have gone into my creation. My link to this wealth of whakapapa though, comes to me directly from my parent's Te Wairingiringi Mitchell (nee Luke) and Ron Moana Mitchell, the lead actors in this next narrative. The pepeha that began this narrative is my statement of cultural identity, and contains within it spaces, time and terrain structured relationally that I have explored physically, spiritually and through the critical lens of education. These geographical, tangible landmarks help me to locate myself culturally within both familiar and unfamiliar contexts.

    This account of my 'self' has with it a collective spiritual base, which spans eons but is still current and in a state of perpetual motion. It speaks to me about socio-

cultural and historical paradigms, which through sequences of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration have conspired to design its own alternate version of what it means to be Māori. How I come to be part of this is through the sustained presence of these sequences in the prequel to my life—through experiences of my parent's, grandparents, great-grandparents and wider whānau whānui. In this study, I have given a brief insight into the lived experiences of my great-grandfather Wi Manawawai Wharehinga and will continue to explore this 'presence' through the movements of my parents Te Wairingiringi and Ron, as 17-year-olds leaving their rurally based homes to attend Māori pre-employment courses in New Zealand's capital city of Wellington.

My parents met in the bustling metropolis of Wellington in 1970. As a child, my mother was known as Charmaine, all due to a primary school teacher who found her actual name, Te Wairingiringi, too hard to pronounce. She grew up in the small South Taranaki settlement of Matapū, the only child of my grandfather Eric Peter Luke, also known as Utika Titiahoe and my grandmother Mereana Pero Luke (nee Wharehinga). My father Ron Moana Mitchell lived his whole life in the small village of Nūhaka, north of Wairoa, the fourth youngest son of 15 children. He lived with his parents, my grandmother Gladys Mihimoana Mitchell (nee Smith), and my grandfather Hiku Adam Mitchell—and a good number of his brothers and sisters, with up to nine siblings living under the same roof at any one time.

The astuteness of my grandmother Gladys was one of the reasons why my father Ron found his teenage self on a train carriage departing from the station in Nūhaka on its way to Wellington. Dad vividly recalls my grandmother's belief that education was going to give her children the best of opportunities, and that for her many sons, training in trades and industries would set them up for their own lives and families. My mother, having had the conversation with teachers at Hawera High School that there were very limited employment opportunities to be found in South Taranaki, was excited about the alternate option these teachers offered, which was to attend a pre-employment course in Wellington for Māori girls that would school her in typing and secretarial duties towards a future job as a secretary. Having left secondary school for good, my Mum went from Taranaki to Auckland to work with her Aunty Edna over the school holidays. While there, she received a letter from her parents to say that she had secured employment at ANZ Bank in Wellington, and was expected to report for duties as soon as she was able to get there.

Straight off the train from Nūhaka, my father was picked up from the Wellington central train station by a Māori Affairs officer and taken out to a Māori boys' hostel in Trentham, Upper Hutt. My grandparents dropped my mother off to Pendennis House, a hostel for Māori girls' in Thorndon, Wellington. My parents had arrived in Wellington to attend Māori pre-employment courses, which was a

collaborative initiative between the Department of Māori Affairs and Wellington Polytechnic. The five-week course, piloted in 1966, consisted of "practical English, Mathematics and 'Civics' with the aim being to familiarise young Māori from rural areas with the city environment and to place them into jobs, particularly as apprentices in the case of the boys and as clerical workers in the case of the girls." (Harrison, 1966, p. 42). The reason behind the course's existence, a course that would support so many Māori teenagers as they left their rurally-based lives to seek employment in cities such as Wellington, and which ultimately led to both of my parents meeting and marrying— was largely shaped by a shift in government policy regarding Māori, and the 1960 Report on the Department of Māori Affairs, more commonly referred to as the Hunn Report (Hunn, 1960).

The influence of state policy has had a significant impact on how my family were educated and employed. This began with the assimilation policy that formed with the settlement of the New Zealand colony and ranged through to the early 1900s when my great-grandfather Wi Manawawai Wharehinga was educated, and eventually employed as a carpenter. This transitioned into the cultural adaptation policy of the 1930s that was embraced by Māori of the time, as noted by Simon (1998). Simon proposed that Māori saw the cultural adaptation policy as a way to shift Māori thinking from a traditional worldview to the ever-changing western world that was fast

enveloping New Zealand. According to Barrington (1976), cultural adaptation as it applied to Māori came from colonial education in Africa, and led to curricula that was "'practical' and 'functional', and therefore closely related to life in the rural areas" (p. 1). Even before cultural adaptation was officially adopted as a policy in New Zealand in the 1930s, Māori scholars and academics could already see the merit of such a policy "to improve the position of Māori in a Pākehā-dominated society" (Simon, 1998, p. 61).

In 1960, the Hunn Report and in 1962 the Currie Report heralded in the integration agenda (Irwin, 1989; Sullivan, 1993). It is the Hunn Report created by a Labour Government in 1960, but made public by a newly elected National Government in 1961, which I will be focussing on through this narrative, as it is my assertion that this report was the reason why my parents met in Wellington in 1970. The Hunn Report, named after J. K. Hunn (1960) who at the time was the Deputy Chairman of the Public Service Commission and Acting Secretary of Māori Affairs, was initially meant to review the relevance of the Māori Affairs Department, but quickly became a means to make some sweeping statements about the status of Māori in New Zealand, and some suggested strategies to deal with that. These statements and strategies were instrumental in the formalising of the government's integration policy for Māori.

The Hunn Report described Māori as being in three categories. In the first category, Māori were portrayed as being a completely 'detribalized minority' (Hunn, 1960, p. 16), fully assimilated into Pākehā society. The second, and the majority, were Māori who were comfortable and integrated into both Māori and Pākehā communities, and the third category, were Māori classed as "[a]nother minority living in a backward life in primitive conditions." (Hunn, 1960, p. 16). The report suggested that the ideal situation would be for the third category of Māori to transition into the second category, and that it was the choice of the second category of Māori to transition into the first category.

The Hunn Report made comment about a number of issues for Māori—particularly increased housing, strategies for the rising Māori crime rate, the need to increase the number of Māori apprenticeships, the need to increase the number of university students and issues around the development and multiple ownership of Māori land. The report suggested that things such as intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā, the schooling system and modern housing supported the much touted policy ideology of integration, and as a result, "Māori people would be socially engineered into effective citizens" (Harris, 2004, p. 21).

As for the Hunn Report, Harris (2004) suggests "integration was merely assimilation by another name" (p. 23), and even when some elements of Māori cultural practices were seen to be encouraged through this report, the traditional contexts of marae and Māori communities, which embedded these cultural practices, were seen to be part of the "backwards living" (Hunn, 1960, p. 16) that the report appeared eager for Māori to leave behind. As this relates to both of my parents', their childhood activities would have provided ample evidence of this, in that these experiences contributed to sustaining links and obligations to a Māori cultural identity. My mother grew up on marae around South Taranaki, being raised as a child amongst her extended whānau. My father spent his childhood fishing on the Nūhaka River, milking a cow, playing tennis and rugby, and going to church. However, I believe that it was not the activities of rural Māori that Hunn felt to be a threat to the education and employment potential of Māori but the tethering of people to an identity and culture believed to be going through its death throes. By designing government policy to reflect the tokenistic practice of Māori culture whilst looking at it as a purely disconnected activity, particularly to the contexts of marae, land or tribe, the Hunn Report was essentially reorienting Māori to an urban and therefore less connected existence.

Through this report, Hunn expressed the sentiment that any change for Māori, would be decided by Māori. The report clearly states that even though integration of Māori was the objective, Māori by in large would decide whether they wanted to be integrated, or not. However, this was a point of contention for Biggs, a Māori academic who spoke out against the report and the inconsistencies he found within its statements while addressing attendees of the Northland Young Māori Conference in 1960.

> A recent spokesman for the Department (of Maori Affairs)....said that integration was inevitable but he pointed out that the rate at which the process proceeds should depend largely upon the wishes of the Maori People themselves and any acceleration or deceleration of the process attempted by policy changes should take Maori opinion carefully into account. There is some danger, I think, that European rather than Maori opinion, may be attempting to set the pace. (Department of Maori Affairs, 1961, p. 2)

When I first asked my mother about whether she felt like she had any choice in leaving Taranaki to attend a Māori pre-employment course in Wellington, she told me that her schoolteachers, who initially spoke to her about this course, also said that there would be no opportunities for her to work in Taranaki once she left school. Mum did not actually want to go to Wellington, but felt that she had to go, because of work opportunities. In contrast, my father, on the other side of the North Island, could not wait to leave Nūhaka. He had already seen many of his older brothers leave home,

and many of them had found gainful employment in the meat works. His two brothers that were closest to him in age went to the Māori trade training schools in Christchurch and in Auckland. It appeared that it was expected that he follow their example.

In relating to my parents' stories, I am surprised about the contrasts and similarities that have gone into shaping the decisions of my teenage parents and how these decisions led them to be in Wellington at the same time. My worldview, the one that aligns and grounds me within an existence that is connected to a family lineage, to a set of traditional values and beliefs and to a cultural perspective, is made more poignant, clearer because of the context of 'integration' of that era. Despite there being a more simpler road towards 'detribalisation' for Māori, and the increased visibility and transportability of Māori cultural practices to urban settings, my parents did not cut their ties with the places they considered to be 'home' and regularly took us back there, to South Taranaki and to Nūhaka.

I like to believe that my parents both went home because when they were at home, my Mum and Dad could make more sense of themselves amongst their family and familiar terrain, as opposed to these new personas they were developing in the city that were devoid of whānau but filled to the brim with whānau-like Māori friends. In photos from these times my parents would go back to their respective hometowns,

they look very content. I then begin to appreciate the weight of their rural/urban

existence, and whether there is a pull between their rural identities and the shaping of

these new lives that my parents were part of back in the city of Wellington in the early

1970s. I began to see this life in relation to what I have termed 'the default position

of biculturalism', drawing from what Durie (2005) thought of biculturalism within a

legal context as being an 'uncertain' tool, which would be better understood through

its objectives "to acknowledge and respect those things that are distinctly Maori

owned and operated" (Durie, 2005, p. 4). What I have come to understand as the

default position of biculturalism is the reality of these two wildly different experiences,

one of being distinctly Māori and the other of being integrated into a western lifestyle.

Essentially, the 'default' explains the use but also the long drawn out absence

of this rural, cultural framework that subsequently led to the re-creation of their urban

Māori experiences. I, along with my other siblings and our children, am a product of

that rural-urban disconnect. This contextualises my description of myself as a Māori

woman who has spent a significant proportion of her life living in the capital city,

Wellington. Due to this fact, I live with a tension, because it is complicated to describe

what makes me Māori. The more that I understand about my parents' experiences,

the more I distance myself from this homogenous view of being Māori (Houkamau,

2010) and am drawn to what Houkamau (2010) describes as Māori identity being

"culturally heterogeneous" (p. x). In his PhD thesis, *Māori at work: the shaping of a Maori workforce within the New Zealand state 1935–1975*, Nightingale (2007) adds more analysis to what my parents went through:

> The dream of a smooth transition from a rural environment to an urban one by Maori was shattered and Pakeha New Zealand's precious myth of racial harmony was challenged in ways never imagined before. Those most affected by the 1970s economic recession were second-generation dislocated Maori who were minimally educated, mostly unemployed and tribally unschooled. (Nightingale, 2007, p. 28)

I have always been fascinated by my parents' experiences as teenagers arriving in Wellington, and what contributed to both of their decisions to leave their hometowns. I see my parents and their parents as people who both consciously and unconsciously moved between the 'Māori/Pākehā partnership' (Irwin, 1989) that existed within two paradigms; being their individual versions of what it was to be 'Māori' in that particular era, while co-existing in a western cultural framework, within the social policy and practice of integration. O'Sullivan (2007) aligns such experiences with the concept of biculturalism, stating that "[b]iculturalism is inherently colonial" (p. 3). He goes on to explain that biculturalism "positions Maori in 'junior partnership' with the Crown and oversimplifies the culture and political make-up of its assumed homogeneous Maori and homogeneous Pakeha entities" (p. 3).

Thus, the idea of biculturalism is a contentious and complex term, which is ever evolving and is open to interpretation (Sissons, 2000). The changing nature of biculturalism is one of the reasons why I have included it in this narrative—a narrative that connects my parents' experiences to mine. This is supported by Durie (2004) who argues for a "bicultural continuum" (p. 12), based on his earlier writing on 'three workable biculturalisms' (Durie, 1995, p. 35). This has been developed to help make sense of the variety of ways Māori engage with biculturalism (Simon, 1989), and what I imagine must be the conceptualising of different Māori identities. As generations of my family have done before, I am also providing my own blip on that continuum, drawn from these narratives as a way to substantiate the dualities and multiplicities (Briscoe, 2005) that have impacted on my life. The 'bicultural continuum' has been further developed by Wright (2006, as cited in Grant, 2012, p. 17) who elaborated on these ideas in the following analytical frame:

Models	Denial	'Soft'	Moderate; Cultural Model	Inclusive; Structural Model	Strong Diversity Model	'Hard'; Separation Model
Goals	Conformity to Pākehā culture, denying place of Māori culture	Celebrating Māori culture, language and tradition within society	Improving race relations	Partnership within institutions	Separate but equal	Māori self-determination, tino rangatiratanga; the system; centres of resistance
Structures	Status quo; Western and 'colonial'	Removal of discriminatory barriers and prejudice A	Māori perspective into the culture of an institution	Active Māori involvement within the central mission of an institution	Parallel institutions both committed to the same overall aims	Māori models of self-determination
Policy outcomes	Retaining status quo; absorption acculturation	Incorporating Māori; maintaining assimilation	Accommodation; integration	Responsiveness to the other; inclusivity; partnership	Devolution of power, resources, and outcomes; self management; parallelism	Self-determination
Treaty of Waitangi	Historical; nullity or fraud irrelevant	Māori invited into colonial framework	Paternalistic parts to be honoured	Partnership, as one people adaptable	Partnership, but parallel; principles	Essential for restorative justice; but indigenous rights way forward; spirit

Table 4: A Bicultural Continuum (Wright, 2006, pp. 530–531).

I have come to an understanding of what the Hunn Report described as the three categories to which Māori belonged. The first category, an assimilated/'detribalised' Māori, the second, Māori who can comfortably walk in both a Māori and western worldview, and the third category, Māori living a 'backward', rural life. I have understood the second category, the concept of being a 'westernised Māori' alongside the metaphor of wearing a 'westernised cape'. An example of this might look like a Māori person who can competently live in a western world but who is also discerning enough to take the 'cape' off when moving in te ao Māori contexts. This is in contrast with my experiences of a number of urban-based Māori people, who accept they may have Māori ancestry, but who have very few bearings when it comes to a 'Māori' worldview, or who choose not to identify with being Māori. In accordance with my analogy of the 'westernised cape', being westernised has created 'detribalized' (Hunn, 1960, p. 16) Māori, who I argue here use it as a means of protection against "the layers of negativity" (Pohatu, 2003, p. 16).

I asked my parents about the negativity they experienced as Māori young people, new to the city of Wellington. There were numerous experiences of racism and indifference. This seems to have been balanced out by the fact that there were many other young Māori people there with my parents, who were also very new to the city. There were social occasions, many parties, dances, alcohol and freedom. There

was employment and money, friends and family. There is the backdrop of a city, busy with people doing things. From an article about the pilot of this Wellington-based Māori pre-employment course in 1966, the first impressions of the city from some of the 60 students in this first intake, are indicative of the absolute contrasts between the places young Māori like my parents came from, and the city of Wellington.

> When I first got off the train, and stepped onto the Wellington railway platform, the things that impressed me were the amount of people walking past, and the amount of noise. Also the different coloured clothing and people of different races passing by. But the thing I was most worried about was my suitcase.
>
> To me, and I think to some of the other country boys too, all this hurrying by the Wellingtonians seemed stupid. This was mainly due to the type of life we had previously led, that is, slow and easy going. Although soon we too became members of the rat race that takes place in a city.
>
> The first question I asked was, 'Please show me the main street,' and to my amazement there was more than one.
>
> Other things that impressed me were the buildings. As you walk along the street and look up it feels as though you are a dwarf walking down the Grand Canyon. The buildings are huge and tower way above the pedestrians. Some people never seem to see these monstrous buildings because they haven't time to stop and look around. (Harrison, 1966, p. 43)

As it relates to my analogy of the westernised cape, Cushman (1990) proposes the idea of the empty self, that western culture had evolved into a culture that allowed its people (including westernised people such as Māori) to isolate themselves from a traditional identity. On reflecting on the sheer amount of opportunity that young

Māori of my parents' generation had to distance themselves from their rurally based cultural selves, I can only wonder at the tenacity of Māori people such as my parents, who continued to tap into the rich tapestry bestowed upon them through their whakapapa. I understand why this eventuated, particularly for my mother. My grandparents shifted down to Wellington not much longer after she did, so they could support their daughter. This was especially significant, as she had become pregnant with their first grandchild. My grandfather Eric had very close ties to Taranaki and to his land interests that tied him to his brothers and sisters. My father's mother, Gladys but known to all as Ma Mitchell, was a humble, beautiful, kind natured woman. My Dad's connection to his mother was evident because he continued to make the trek back to Nūhaka, even when he was so far away.

I believe that luck and a strong connection to family were some of the reasons why my parents were able to live in the city and not be 'detribalised' into being 'brown' Pākehā. Eruera (2005) affirms that whakapapa is "the foundation of a Māori worldview" (p. 61). Durie (2003) states that "the most useful processes for Māori will be those that will lead to individual gains through full participation in te ao Māori and full participation in society generally" (p. 301). However, the experience of being able to fully participate in both te ao Māori and in general society has not been the reality for some, which has led many to become alienated from their cultural identity. Cushman

(1990) describes this state as "a self that experiences a significant absence of community, tradition, and shared meaning...and experiences these social absences and their consequences "interiorly" as a lack of personal conviction and worth" (p. 600). Durie (1998) used the word 'ethnocide' to suggest that the forced assimilation of western culture and practices by Māori meant a loss of ethnic identity. Whatever the reason, there are a significant number of Māori people who chose not to identify as Māori.

In 1961, policies that emanated from the Hunn Report provided another avenue for young Māori to distance themselves from their rurally based whakapapa, in the guise of employment and a life in the city. For many, this city life became a replacement for the rural homelands from where many of these young Māori people had come. Becoming detached from this rural, traditional context assisted 'the empty self' as proposed by Cushman (1990), a self that sought to fill itself with the trappings of consumerism as a means of forgetting what had been lost. My parent's teenage experiences of coming to Wellington to attend their respective Māori pre-employment courses have generated nostalgic memories of social gatherings and the lavish spending of money. The excitement of being able to do this, and the freedoms that employment provided that gave Māori access to this kind of lifestyle, certainly helped urban-based Māori people to become accustomed to these experiences.

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My mother eventually became a typist with the ANZ Bank and my father, a fitter/welder with the Railways Corporation. Through completing their pre-employment courses, my parents were provided pastoral care from the Department of Māori Affairs, housed in hostels and were able to choose between the numerous employment opportunities provided. Many students, such as my parents, were offered employment and careers while they were still on their courses. Learning how to live in the city, and learning how to become a certain type of person certainly fits in with the metaphor of the westernised cape. The course taught young Māori the benefits of this new form of identity, especially when it seemed that many other urban-based young Māori were identifying themselves in this new way. Those Māori who did not take to this new identity might have been looked down upon or seen as deficient.

From a distance, it might have become easier for some of my parents' peers to look with disdain at their rural homelands and their family back in these places. Even though an education system and successive assimilative policies had resulted in both of my parents not being taught the Māori language, even to this day, they both maintain a love of their places of origin. This is a worldview of connection to place that enables further generations of our whānau to pay tribute and to honour those of our extended family who stayed and learnt from being rurally based (Gruenewald &

Smith, 2000), maintaining ahi kā and keeping the home fires burning for our families

to continue to return home.

Chapter Five: An Analysis of the Whānau Narratives

Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. This work of de-valuing pre-colonial history takes on a dialectical significance today. (Fanon, 1963, p. 210).

...so intimately bound up with her people was she, that she could not write their history without unconsciously writing her own. (Penniman, 1986, p. 20)

Introduction

In this chapter, a hypothetical conversation has been created between Sir Apirana Ngata and Professor Basil Bernstein that takes the form of a series of letters; three from Sir Apirana and two replies from Prof. Basil. This conversation is based on historical events and evidence, and forms part of the analysis of my own history through the historical whānau narratives from Chapter Three relating to Wi Manawawai Wharehinga and Ron and Te Wairingiringi Mitchell. This present chapter of my research provides a means by which to assess the structural inequities present in state policy, and to capture the Māori response to this. It utilises two very different perspectives: Sir Apirana who lived and was educated through an assimilative agenda and who then became a lawyer, parliamentarian and farmer, and who spearheaded the Māori revival of arts, crafts and language: and Professor Basil, who critiqued and was critiqued in regards to his ideas about formal education and social class.

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Through crafting these five letters in the 'style of' Ngata and Bernstein, I am interested in constructing a new way of thinking about the impact of policy on Māori transitions between education and employment. Given this is a hypothetical conversation representing two historically located figures, it would be remiss not to pay attention to the theory of presentism, and the trap of seeing the past through a current worldview. Presentism is a theory that argues for the premise that only the present exists. Keller (2004) states "if something doesn't exist now, says the presentist, then it doesn't exist at all" (pg. 84). He goes on to argue that presentism is burdened by the process of truthmaking and that "it does not make sense to ask what things would have had to have been like in order for some necessary truth to fail to be true" (Keller, 2004, pg. 102). There is an irony in 're-creating' historical writing from a present-day worldview, and that awareness is not lost during this part of the study. To counterbalance this, historically sourced documentation, footnotes and direct quotes are intentionally utilised throughout this hypothetical correspondence as a means of offsetting my own 'penmanship' with some key themes from both Ngata and Bernstein.

Thus, this part of Chapter Five can be read in two ways, firstly, through a straight read through of the letters, without the footnotes, and secondly, by reading the letters in conjunction with the footnotes. With regard to the exchange of ideas in the

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theoretical 'space' created through this series of letters, this part of Chapter Five is

underpinned by the metaphor of the middle ground (White, 1991), within which both

Ngata and Bernstein are placed in a theorised context designed specifically as a means

to negotiate an understanding of each other's lived experiences. The 'creative

misunderstanding' synonymous with the middle ground (White, 1991) is quite literal

within this series of letters, not only aptly describing what might have been a difficult

means of communication between Ngata and Bernstein, but also acknowledging my

own worldviews and influence on the creation of this hypothetical, constructed

dialogue.

In support of the theoretical space provided through the analysis of the middle

ground, this study also considers this hypothetical dialogue through an indigenous

worldview provided by Nakata (2002), who describes sites such as the one developed

for this piece of research as a 'cultural interface'. He (2002) expands on this idea by

suggesting that this space is:

> The intersection of the Western and Indigenous domains…the place where we live and learn, the place that conditions our lives, the place that shapes our futures and, more to the point, the place where we are active agents in our own lives – where we make our decisions – our lived world. (Nakata, 2002, p. 285)

It is this type of thinking that gives this made up conversation between Apirana Ngata and Basil Bernstein a dispensation of sorts, to help understand the real lived experiences of my family members. Through the following letters the element of self-determination, of tino rangatiratanga implemented here is my attempt to give voice to Ngata and Bernstein to make sense of my own identity and where I have come from.

In rationalising this 'made up' relationship between Ngata and Bernstein, there is certainly a healthy amount of uncertainty as to whether either of them would have appreciated the creative license I have assumed as a budding researcher in the creation of this series of letters. Ngata was an absolute fount of Māori knowledge, and did make a remark in his correspondence with Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck), that "[t]he visit to Rarotonga has however convinced me of one thing, and that is that no one can appreciate what a place beyond N.Z. is like from reading or attempting to picture it from the eyes of another" (Sorrenson, 1986, p. 18), which infers that Ngata may not have called upon any sort of expertise that Bernstein might have been able to offer because Bernstein had never visited New Zealand. In addition, Bernstein was largely disparaging of other scholars and academics using 'bits and pieces' of his theories (Moore, 2001), and there is some doubt as to whether he would have responded to any such correspondence regardless. In spite of the strong characteristics apportioned to both of these men, I have forged ahead, mostly because they made statements and

had opinions on all of the issues that are at the heart of this research, which produce a complex means of analysis when melded together into this series of hypothetical letters.

Finally, in regards to the presentation and formatting of the letters, I have decided to use a font similar to classical handwriting and a letter border to capture the spirit of the era. Certain liberties are also taken around the historic use of pluralising Māori words. Instead of using the word 'Māoris', I have instead gone with 'Māori people'. There will be words that may not read true for the particular time and setting I am attempting to capture through these letters, however I have justified their use in this chapter as representing my input into their formation, so that it is not just about a conversation between Sir Apirana Ngata and Professor Basil Bernstein but a three-way connection between myself and these two men as we seek to find answers to the issues discussed here.

Tā Apirana & Professor Basil Talk
Letter One

Dear Sir

By way of a formal introduction, my name is Apirana Turupa Ngata. Apirana is my Christian name. I come from a small country in the South Seas of the Pacific Ocean named New Zealand. I am a member of the Maori race and a Native of this country, of Polynesian origins. I am employed here in New Zealand as a Member of Parliament; however, I have a background in political science and law. I have also previously worked as a barrister. The reason why I am writing to you is that I wish to seek out your counsel after recently becoming aware of your particular expert knowledge on formal education in the United Kingdom, and its capacity to limit the upward mobility of children from under-privileged backgrounds.[38]

My reason for writing to you is to acquire your evaluation of a number of issues that have come to my attention relating to the education of the Maori people. I understand that you are an authority on the impact of formal education on minority populations. I am of the belief that some form of analysis of how minority populations succeed in education would be of great benefit to what is being provided for Maori people here in New Zealand. My aim through beginning this correspondence with you is to seek out your advice. I am hopeful your assistance will help me to support Maori people in their social advancement through the successful acquisition of Western education. I know that there are many hurdles that might stand in the way of this, but I feel compelled to at least try.

I believe there to be certain gaps within the formal education system for Maori people that require further examination. The irony of this is that I myself have been one of only a relatively small number of Maori students who

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[38] Bernstein became synonymous with the idea that formal education validated the language and experiences of children from the upper class, and as such, became a system that did not cater well to under-privileged children, the way they spoke and their everyday lives.

have had the privilege of participating in tertiary education. The barrier of limited uptake of tertiary education for young Maori men with the academic facilities to warrant an opportunity to study at a university level, as is my belief, has been detrimental to progress for the Maori people in Western society. I am of the persuasion that Maori people should aspire to equal opportunities in their access to education, and that is why I have continued to research this topic to better understand more of what formal education can potentially provide for Maori.[39] I wholeheartedly consider education to be the salvation for the Maori people, however the question remains, for all that formal education has brought for Maori, how much more can and should it be bringing?

Therefore, I have taken some liberty in outlining what the problem is here in New Zealand, largely from my own observations and experiences. It might be presumptuous of me to continue on in the premise that you would be supportive of what I am wanting to achieve here and as such would be willing to provide some expert insight into this matter. However, as this is an opportunity too good to squander, I will forge ahead, and humbly offer to you the following example of what I consider an atypical experience of education that Maori people have received in this country of late. This is all provided in the hope that there are themes within this example that you will be able to pick up and deliberate on.

With that all said, I would like to introduce you to a constituent of mine by the name of Wi. Many generations of his family have lived in the same small, rural community on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand for hundreds of years. This area is part of the electorate from where I am the sitting Member of Parliament. Wi has lived all of his life here on the East Coast of the North Island, apart from a small stint at boarding school. His family come from many generations of artisans, traditional carvers of wood, who create intricate carvings that adorn the meeting-houses that are at the heart of many our Native communities here in New Zealand, and which are affiliated to tribal and kinship-based networks. Wi was fortunate enough to

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[39] I believe the fact that Ngata himself was able to be successfully educated, whilst still retaining his level of proficiency in the Māori language and cultural traditions, impressed on him that if he could both be educated through the medium of English and still maintain his language and culture, then every person of Māori origin could potentially do the same.

be sent to the same boarding school at which I was educated, Te Aute College, a school set up solely for the purpose of educating Maori boys.

However, this is where the similarities in education stories ends between Wi and myself. The schooling that Wi received was a vastly different experience to my own, namely due to a change in state policy that was enforced at the time he was attending Te Aute College. What was to transpire was that government officials decreed a change to the education of Native people, which meant that the scope of the educational curriculum taught at the school became limited to just vocations and agriculture. Where once there was an ability for Te Aute students to sit the matriculation exams for the University of New Zealand, there was now the directive that higher education was at cross-purposes with what was considered the appropriate education for Maori boys. According to the policy, this would allow Maori boys to receive an education that would eventually allow them to return to their families with the appropriate skills and knowledge required to maintain their homes and communities, and for working on the land.[40]

In retrospect, I do understand the reasoning behind this new policy direction and its shunning of university studies for Maori, especially it being at odds with providing Maori a suitable pathway for their eventual return to the rural communities from which they came. However, the favouring of one option over another sits uncomfortably with me, the point being that the choice of Maori either pursuing higher education or vocational training had been taken away by the Department of Education. Hence, my constituent Wi continued on at Te Aute College, engaging in its vocationally based educational curriculum, and eventually returning to his people on the East Coast of New Zealand as a carpenter.

On a personal note, I am a loyal supporter of formal education that assists Maori people to be productive members of their communities. I believe that the education that Wi received while at Te Aute College left him in good steed, to be able to provide a significant contribution back to his family and community. I have been able to witness the results of his labours as well,

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[40] The limiting of educational choice for Māori must have been irksome for Apirana Ngata, who himself had benefited from the full spectrum of education in New Zealand from Native School to university (Barrington, 2008).

having toured through the many fine houses that Wi has built around his village. Although Wi is of a younger generation than myself, we have the same tribal heritage, and thus, I have sought to utilise his experience to understand more about the potential of education for the Maori people. Through the conversations I have been able to have with Wi, he has assured me that he has been perfectly happy with the life that he has been able to create for himself and his family, through a lifestyle furnished from his carpenter wages, and through the education Wi received from Te Aute College. I myself am exceptionally pleased that Wi has returned to the bosom of our homelands to share his expertise in carpentry within my own tribal boundaries.[41] However, I would not be as presumptuous to believe that if Wi had been given the opportunity to continue on to university, that he would have also been another fine example of the type of learned man that Maori need to look up to.

Therefore, my reason for writing to you in this fashion is so that I may share with you some of the educational experiences of Maori people here in New Zealand like that of Wi. The hope that goes with this correspondence is that if you are free to do so, you might apply your expert knowledge to the situation here to offer up some insights on what you think is required to effect change, if that is necessary. My concern is that the New Zealand education system is purposefully curbing the ability of Maori people to go to university, Maori people who like Wi, have not had the same access to higher education as non-Maori in New Zealand. I feel that it is my duty to understand every aspect of how education may better serve the Maori people. In providing you this brief synopsis of the education that Wi participated in, I am mainly seeking advice from you as to your thoughts on whether this lack of choice given to the Maori people through formal education will have a negative impact on Maori throughout the generations, and also what the implications of such a travesty as this would imply.

This lack of choice has seen the door to university learning open for the briefest of moments, enough for myself and a few other Maori leaders that have enjoyed the fruits of university studies and the benefits that have come with

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[41] Ngata did believe that Māori should return back to their tribal communities, and that they should culturally 'adjust' to western ways to help with the advancement of all Māori people. However, I believe that Ngata would also have wanted more educational opportunities for his people, which is what is being sought through this hypothetical letter to Bernstein (McCarthy, 2014).

that, only to see the door shut again on people such as Wi, who had no other choice than to be educated into a carpentry trade. My fear is that this limited access to education will continue to be a universal barrier to all Maori people and their ability to achieve to their very highest of potential. This opportunity to write and share with you something about how Maori have participated in education here in New Zealand is very important to me, and is an issue that I am very passionate about. In giving you a small insight into this world through the example that has been provided, I pray that you are able to comprehend the significance of your analysis to not only this specific situation, but to how Maori can successfully navigate an education system not necessarily designed with them in mind.

In all earnest, I am interested in staving off any future experiences of inequality in education for the Maori people. I am seeking your esteemed opinion regarding the divide between the academic and vocational aspects of formal education for Maori, and whether my people are being served adequately by the limited choices being provided. I pray that I have given you enough information for you to make some recommendations as to what action I should be taking in relation to this topic. I hope that I have not been too presumptuous in asking for your assistance in this manner. I look forward to hearing back from you.

Sincerely,

A.T. Ngata.

Letter Two

Dear Mr. Ngata

In this first instance, I would like to thank you for the generosity of your words contained in the correspondence that I have received from you. I am indeed honored that you have thought to seek me out in regards to these matters of utmost importance to you. I have been moved deeply by the depth of enthusiasm you have displayed regarding this topic. Thus, your gusto and sense of commitment to your people has sparked my interest in what you have outlined, and therefore after a thorough reading of your correspondence, I offer to you my perspective. Please be aware though Mr. Ngata, that this perspective comes with the disclaimer of having little to no knowledge of New Zealand or the Maori people. I do however believe that there appear to be some similarities between my own interests here in the United Kingdom and your situation in your own country, and as such, I can provide the following analysis for your own consideration.

It is my opinion that your dilemma arises from an idea that I have been working on, which is that, as you have alluded to, formalised schooling does have the power to limit the upward mobility of children from working class families.[42] I find that this is due to the transmission of knowledge privileged in formal school settings that favor children from upper class families. In the same token, this same education system is not set up to reflect the home backgrounds of working class children, of which many minority populations fit into this category, and therefore restricts and ultimately determines the high levels of underachievement and failure that many of these students experience. However, my own cogitations around this subject are that

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[42] It was Bernstein's life work to understand and eliminate educational disadvantage for working class children (Barrett, 2017).

education cannot compensate for society.[43] *There are systems that need to be understood, which you have alluded to in your correspondence.*

At a structural level, education needs to be challenged to produce equal opportunities for all students. There are 'seen' and 'unseen' boundaries that manifest themselves within education systems, which need to be exposed and addressed. Class and cultural issues exacerbate, and have the tendency to become boundaries between people, and boundaries between what subjects are available to what people. Therefore, as it sounds from the case study you have written about, the boundary has been twofold; one unfortunately sounds like the boundary of 'bad timing', and the other, relates to the power of curriculum to dictate to minority populations what school subjects better align to those 'vocationalised' career options considered viable for that particular grouping of people.[44]

What we would hope for these students is access to "an alternative order, an alternative society and an alternative power relation"[45] *from an education that acknowledges the inequities inbuilt into its system that subsequently manifests as inequities in society. Instead, what becomes acceptable is an education system that offers minority populations such as your own, options which appear to be conducive to the class status of your people, all the while acting to smooth over the detrimental impact it will have on its future generations. I believe that it will be the limited nature of this design that will influence the limited uptake of education by the Maori people, and I wonder then, that if this has not already occurred, that you should do whatever it is you can do within your powers to ensure that your communities and people are not shut out of the experience of education in its entirety, if this is at all possible.*

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[43] In putting forward the argument that education cannot compensate for society, Bernstein is highlighting the ease in which society puts the blame back onto schooling and education when things go wrong (Bernstein, 1971b).

[44] According to Bernstein (1971a, p. 154), in any pedagogical context you will find rules around how education is distributed, what and who will be taught, so he suggests to "consider instead most seriously and systematically the conditions and contexts of the educational environment". In doing so, it challenges the exclusivity of education provided by a middle class elite.

[45] (Bernstein, 2000, p. 30).

I am of the belief that the intentional and systemic failing of your people has, or will begin at the coalface of your school classrooms. "This may mean that the teacher must be able to understand the child's dialect, rather than deliberately attempt to change it. Much of the contexts of our schools are unwittingly drawn from aspects of the symbolic world of the middle class, and so when the child steps into school he is stepping into a symbolic system which does not provide for him a linkage with his life outside".[46] Although you have made reference to education being used to reintroduce Maori people back into their traditional communities with the trades that they have learnt through their education, I do wonder if there are other ulterior motives at play here.

I do not wish to disrespect you in any way, however it is my understanding in this instance that education has been used as a means to assimilate your people, and that this has been as part of a colonising process. I am of the expectation that it is the intention of the Crown to eventually distance your people away from the security of their traditional communities, and thus the homogenising purpose of education is used to smooth this transition. I would impress on you that the solutions to the queries that you have posed through your correspondence, is to understand that your people have had to fit into the "context of cost-efficient education".[47] That, on the part of the Crown, any substantive measure of education for the Maori people may be seen as misguided. That in fact, an education system would limit where possible, the options available to your people, and thus justifies the Crowns limited scope and investment in educating the Maori people.

I am not sure whether any of my findings are at all surprising to you. I personally believe that the salvation of an education system for your people lies in the ability of yourself and other Maori politicians, academics and learned people to challenge what has become accepted as the way that education is to become for the Maori people. This is an education with limitations in that it is different to what is provided to non-Maori, it serves the interest of a developing country requiring working class laborers en masse, and it is not costly to operate.

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[46] (Bernstein, 1971a, p. 154).

[47] (Bernstein, 2003, p. 212).

Education then becomes synonymous with trades and vocations as identified by policymakers in policy that is then specifically directed at certain ethnicities, such as your own people. This form of education, which essentially teaches people 'how' to perform certain tasks and duties, often neglects to ask the hard questions of 'why' and 'what'. This is at the crux of the limited nature of the education being provided to your people. Education should be an enhancement, fundamental "to the means of critical understanding and to new possibilities".[48] The Maori people need to feel they are participating in education, and that they are included. I would believe that in the case study that you provided, that he certainly did feel these things, but my argument would be, to what extent? Would he be able to critically reflect on what education has been able to offer him? Would he be able to articulate how education might have been transformative in his life? These are all questions I am sure you will be able to share with him in time. The answers should give a real indication as to whether there is an issue here as it relates to education for the Maori people. Regardless, I hope this running commentary has been helpful to you in ascertaining another perspective on this very sacred of topics.

I will leave this here now for you to ponder on the issues that have been raised potentially through this correspondence. Please feel certain that you will be able to respond to anything that has been outlined here, as I would welcome your questions and concerns.

Respectfully,

Basil Bernstein

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[48] (Bernstein, 1996a, p. 6).

Letter Three

Dear Professor Bernstein

I send you further greetings from New Zealand and with it a token of my appreciation for your clarification regarding the education of the Maori people here. Your keen analysis has provoked some serious thinking on my part, and it has prompted me to speak with more urgency with some of my close colleagues about this issue.[49] I do feel that I am at my wits end in fathoming how to assist my people towards successful integration into the Western culture, while still retaining our own traditions and culture.[50] I do see that there is potential for that to happen within the education system however, and I wholeheartedly support that. I will endeavor to speak again with Wi Manawawai about his situation and I am curious to know what his answers will be, and what I will make of them. I hope they provide me with the insight that you refer to in your correspondence, as I will be grateful for all the assistance I can get, even that which is gained through my own attainment.

I must tell you that I have already had occasion to witness what occurs when the fruits of my eagerness to be of assistance to my people has not been as helpful as I would have liked it to be. I became fully cognizant of this phenomenon while with a group of my contemporaries, attempting to work with our communities to support the successful integration of traditional

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[49] Ngata had extensive conversations with numerous people, including the renowned correspondence between himself and Te Rangi Hiroa, which references a number of issues, which also includes commentary and strategies about raising the status of Māori people (Sorrenson, 1982).

[50] Through his time in parliament, Ngata tried many strategies towards Māori advancement and yet significant improvement in the education of Māori still evaded him. His expectation was that Māori would always retain their language and cultural traditions, in addition to learning how to be just as good as non-Māori in the new westernised New Zealand. What he continued to find was that the more that Māori were integrated into westernised New Zealand, the more they lost their language and culture. By 1939, he realised the significant impact of this, and tried to changed tact (Barrington, 2008).

Maori life with Western ways.[51] Relating my quest to find better way, with previous attempts, I can impress on you that we learnt many lessons from working with our people, none of which have been entirely helpful to our plight.[52] This is in part the justification to think more broadly about the issues that are impacting the Maori people, as failing to do so will set in motion a reality I do not care for, and which I refuse to be passively part of in the role of caretaker that I find myself in.

I would like to tell you about another case study that I am looking for guidance on. This case study involves two young Maori people, a 17-year-old male and 16-year-old female, who have both left their traditional village lives to move into Wellington City, the Capital of New Zealand. They have been given the opportunity to go to Wellington to attend a pre-employment course specifically set up for Maori young people. The pre-employment course that both of these young people are attending are both vocational. Charmaine, the 16-year-old female is attending a clerical course and has been guaranteed a position as a secretary at a bank. Ron, the 17-year-old male is attending a pre-employment course and has also secured laboring work with the Railways Corporation.

The issue that I have with this is that the pathways set out for these two young people are indicative of the level of education that is being pitched to this generation of young Maori people. Given, my people want to work; they are not 'lazy'.[53] In addition, this is an opportunity presenting itself, and with

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[51] One of the ways that integration was achieved through the education system was the banning of the Māori language from the school ground, which was a measure that Ngata, initially, wholeheartedly supported but one which he would eventually change his mind on, commenting 'nothing was worse than for one to be with Māori features but without his own language', (cited in Barrington & Beaglehole 1974, p. 207).

[52] Ngata appeared to be in a quandary, lamenting the failed attempts and seemingly frustrated with the lack of progress towards his vision of westernised Māori. He goes on to state, "[T]he causes of failure are easy to find. In the first place our enthusiasm outran our caution, so that we proposed in our inexperience, with very weak instruments, to effect reforms of a most sweeping nature. We had none of us any great knowledge of Maori life: the little we knew was not to the credit of the Maori people. Beyond that little we did not look. It was sufficient for us that our people were dirty, idle, drunken and immoral; for we would teach them how to become clean, industrious, sober and virtuous. So we framed a constitution utterly impracticable, unsuited to the circumstances of Maori society; and beyond the power of the greatest organizing genius to effect." (Ngata, 1897, cited in Sutherland, 1950 p. 294).

[53] In Māori, Ngata states "'Māori are lazy' is very frequently used with reference to Māori, the very first thing that needs to be done by your group, in fact by all similar groups likely to be established in the future within the electoral boundaries of Te Tairāwhiti, is to refute it" (1996, cited in Roa, 2016, p. 49).

the wheels of change, one is either on the vehicle or on the sideline. However, I am of the mind that this is not the fate that I would like to see for my people. Although I am sympathetic with this drive to educate our young people, I am disheartened that the level is again at the lower echelons of education. What I just did not fathom is that Maori people would continue to be denied equitable access to higher education.

The second issue I would like to raise is my fear that the further that young Maori people locate themselves away from the traditional teachings of our culture, the more they lose their cultural identity, draining themselves of their Maori-ness. Young Maori people, like Charmaine and Ron have been drawn to New Zealand's newly developing urban centers, because of jobs. What many of these young Maori people found were other Maori people very similar to themselves, isolated from their homelands, their papakainga and thrust into courses and jobs they didn't really have an affinity with.[54]

With the newly acquired money from wages, came the gravitation to social outings, which include the traps of alcohol and gambling. Many young Maori found themselves in the same position as other urbanised young Maori in how and where they socialised. This helped to normalise this emerging way of being Maori in the city centres of New Zealand. I wonder whether it might have been different had many of these young Maori people not been taken so far away from their homes? My fear is that the physical distance between New Zealand cities, the bastion of non-Maori way of life, and the rural homelands of Maori, has impacted on the cultural identify of many of our young people, and this has been replaced by a social expression of being Maori, through such activities as drinking alcohol and gambling.

As I conclude this second letter to you, I reflect on the fact that although I am grateful that so many of our young people are gainfully employed, why does it seem somewhat remiss of me to feel that this has been a double tragedy? Firstly, Maori numbers in universities and higher management positions are

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[54] In being part of the Te Aute Trust Royal Commission in 1906, Ngata (1906, p. 29) made comment that living in townships and cities encouraged Māori "to detach from their people", and that educating Māori was not aimed at "the individual benefit of the boys and girls in the school, but the benefit of the race through these boys and girls".

woefully low, although there are some measures in place to improve this,[55] and the further Maori people drift away from their rural homelands, the further they distance themselves away from their language, culture and traditions and replace them with such activities as drinking and gambling. I do hope that you have a perspective you can share on these matters. These are certainly troubling times and I need to remind myself that there is a measure of hope in everything that transpires, and in even these matters. Although things do appear quite grim in nature, I am resolute in my faith that there must be a silver lining, somewhere.

Yours respectfully,

A.T. Ngata

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[55] The early 1970s is thought to be the time when collectives of young Māori were taking things into their own hands and entering into university study whilst retaining their own sense of being Māori. These groups are now synonymous with protest and self-determination, such as Ngā Tamatoa and the Te Reo Māori Society. cf. Strong, 1931, p. 193.

Letter Four

Dear Apirana

I pray that this correspondence finds you well. I have mulled over this most recent case study that you outlined in your last correspondence, and have come to an understanding of what might have transpired here. Those people that have the power and control over the education of your people will want to reproduce what they believe is required to create a hierarchical society, and undisputedly, the most expedient way to do this is through education.[56]

Apirana, it appears from my very cloistered and distant spot here in the United Kingdom, that this vocationally based education system has been established in New Zealand to take possession of your young Maori people, shifting them away from their traditional homes to locations and employment expressly planned towards the production of a certain type of worker. The mechanism for this to happen is through the curriculum.[57] I imagine that there must be some measure of value placed on the development of young Maori in these particular vocations by the Crown and New Zealand society at large. My fear is in what happens after all the positions have been filled? Or, what happens in 20 to 30 years' time when laboring jobs are not so easily sourced, and there is a generational legacy of Maori families, displaced from their traditional homes, with only entry level employability and skills? The implications to such a system, if left unchallenged, would be unfathomable. I feel that expediency is required on this matter dear Sir, and I wish you all the very best with this.

The next point I would like to offer for your consideration is to do with the

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[56] Bernstein (1971c, p. 47) states that "How a society selects, classifies, distributes transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control". Education is power and whoever has control over what is deemed to be 'education' through curriculum and how students access this knowledge, can use the education system as they see fit.

[57] According to Bernstein, the curriculum has a multiple of purposes, but the one that he would have been stressing here, would have been that curriculum is a means to control.

'framing' of the curriculum, which in itself gives Maori students very little control over what they are being taught.[58] Hence, it seems that this lack of efficacy may have potentially spilled over into other aspects of their lives. I imagine this looking like a puppet on a string, with the Crown being the puppet master. This idea has also allowed me to give thought as to the reason why this type of vocational education has fallen outside of the formal education system currently in place in New Zealand, as it looks like there has been a shift between the first and second case studies—the first which integrated vocational training into the education system for Maori, given it has been at the expense of opportunities for higher education. Again the measure of power and control required to do such things is something to be aware of. Who has this power? Are you able to intervene?

You point out in your correspondence that this second case study is where vocational training has become a template for introducing young Maori to employment in factories and as secretaries. Therefore, it is not surprising that many of these young people have found themselves isolated from their traditional sources of support, from their family and communities from which they have been taken from, as it appears that it is easier to assimilate these young Maori away from their traditional cultures and communities through reconstructing new identities for them around vocation. Alongside this, these young Maori, who may have been considered to be culturally gifted and intellectual in their own traditions and places of origins, now have lost, what I consider to be the rights of 'democratic process'.[59] I would insist that it would be rather hard to be civic if one is not given the tools to do so in this new environment, or if one is taken away from the places that traditionally monitored the civic duties of its young people, which I can only imagine is what has taken place with the mass exodus of young Maori taken from their place of origins and left to educate themselves for mind numbing employment

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[58] As earlier highlighted in Chapter Two, Bernstein (1996a, p. 9) argues that "control establishes legitimate communications, and power establishes legitimate relations between categories. Thus, power contrasts relations between, and control relations within given forms of interaction". The hierarchical nature of these categories and the limited control that Māori students had to change vocational training to higher level subject matters through this policy, meant that these students were just required to engage in this process without any other expectations of further education. Although many of these students were grateful for the opportunity that was presented to them, would there have been a change in how Māori society looks today, had there been options to take up such things as further managerial training?

[59] Bernstein outlined three conditions for democracy, being *enhancement, inclusion and participation*. These included the right to 'be more, be included and to participate' (Bernstein, 1996a, p. 7).

that requires other social outlets such as cavorting about with other lonely young Maori, and the excesses of partaking of liquor and gambling.

The process of acquiring a workforce, as you have outlined, seems overly stratified and state imposed. I will leave you with this challenge, which is, how will your young Maori people in this predicament identify themselves?[60] At present it seems that they have been dictated to, have taken up vices that I must believe are not part of the traditions of your culture. Again, I will leave it there for fear that any further information could be overwhelming. However, I do impress on you dear fellow, that the future of your people is in their ability to be critical of these state imposed systems.[61] It may take a few more generations for that to happen, such is the power of education under the control of those who choose to limit its potential.

I am not sure if this is farewell, or whether you wish to continue on with other case studies. If this is indeed our last communication, I do again wish you all the best and I pray that these thoughts have been on some assistance.

Respectfully

Basil Bernstein

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[60] Bernstein (2000, p. 59) answers the question "how does the actor recognise him/herself and others? By the materialities of consumption, by its distributions, by its absences".

[61] Bernstein (2003) was highly critical of the 'genericism' of vocational education, which was more process-oriented and less content-specific, so much so that certain levels of knowledge were withheld and mostly from those who were working class.

Letter Five

Dear Basil

As you alluded to in your last correspondence, this is indeed my final letter to you on these matters. I thought it proper to end off our correspondence with some brief closing thoughts. Again, I want to thank you for your earnest analysis and your sage advice. The ability to view these issues relating to the education of Maori people through your keen perceptiveness has been a valuable exercise to say the least. There has been much food for thought, and I would like to share some of the learning that I have been privy to receive through this correspondence.

Throughout your correspondence, I have felt that you have been cautioning me about the education system and its many dimensions and capacities, both to be the pathway towards success for the Maori people, but also as a vehicle of assimilation and oppression. I find myself to be at odds with my penchant to expect more from young Maori as they walk this educational road. Having walked this road myself to its fullest extent, I am at a loss as to why my people are not furthering themselves to the highest echelons of education, or, are simply not embracing fully the opportunity that education provides. I do realise that the traditional lives that my people have led thus far have impeded progress and integration; however, I also have seen what even a little bit of education can achieve for the welfare and betterment of my people. It is this small gem that I hold onto as I continue to battle against the forces that control what and how Maori are educated. Also, I am more prepared in my consideration of the education system as being a means of assimilation if I am not cognizant of that fact, and thus must keep persevering in my endeavors.

I will leave you with some words that I have written into the book of a young Maori girl, to encourage her on her educational pathway. I will give you the Maori version, and its literal English translation. I feel these words fully capture the essence of my challenge to my people and the poetic elegance of the Maori language:

"E tipu e rea, moo ngaa raa o toou ao; ko too ringa ki ngaa raakau a te Paakehaa hei ara moo too tinana, ko too ngaakau ki ngaa taaonga a oo tuupuna Maaori hei tikitiki moo too maahunga; ko too wairua ki too Atua, naana nei ngaa mea katoa".

"Grow up and thrive for the days destined to you, your hand to the tools of the Paakehaa to provide physical sustenance, your heart to the treasures of your Maaori ancestors as a diadem for your brow, your soul to your God, to whom all things belong".[62]

Ma te atua koe e manaaki,
Respectfully,

Apirana Ngata

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62 (Brougham & Reed, 2003, p. 89).

Conclusion

This exercise has been a purely creative process that has offered me the opportunity to depict the historical education-employment transitions of my whānau in this way. It is a reflective piece of writing that I have been able to use as an analytical framework, because of Sir Apirana Ngata and Professor Basil Bernstein. There has been much that I have had to process from thinking about these narratives in this way, and in choosing to engage Ngata and Bernstein in their mutual ability to advocate a way forward for Māori through using the education and employment systems available.

E tipu e rea written by Apirana Ngata has been the underpinning philosophy for this series of letters. In this whakatauki/proverb, he advocated for the 'best of both worlds' approach for Māori. Māori just needed to retain their cultural identity, customs and traditions, and find a way to integrate themselves successfully into western culture. However, Ngata was soon to realise that this was not going to be the case for many Māori communities struggling with the transition between their cultural traditions and westernised living. His own observations would have been challenging for him; Māori were finding it increasingly more difficult to transition into a western way of life. Adding to this was the cutting realisation for Ngata that the actual process of 'transition' was the reason behind his peoples diminishing connection to their cultural

identity, which included the loss of language and of traditions. In support of Ngata, Bernstein espouses the tenets of education but tempers that with a 'forewarned is forearmed' attitude through advocating a cautionary approach to the education system and its many dimensions and capacities.

TE TUARUA: KA AO (IT IS DAWN)

I feel impatient waiting for someone to read what I've written. Then again, I'm still a bit afraid that what I've written will not be appreciated for what it is...an outpouring of aroha for my family. Being a part of the family, I know that I have to include myself in these writings, and so I find myself confronted by the same insecurities as before. I have two alter egos; one relates to my whānau, and the other to this academic journey that I have been on for most of my adult life. I have felt comfortable and awkward in both. They both have given me a place to stand and a voice to speak with. They both have forever imprinted themselves on my identity. I know they both have made me who I am today.

So I continue on this pathway towards enlightenment and realisation carrying both parts of myself in my writing, because they both are the reason why I even have this opportunity to write into a PhD thesis about myself, my family and being Māori. It is such a humbling experience, and I am grateful that I am able to provide two separate aspects of myself, as one. It is a one-ness that is a bit hesitant because it dares to bring together parts of myself that don't appear to want to play along nicely. Yet, here they are in all of their glory, sitting side by side and doing what they are intent on doing, which is to represent me.

I am different. I appreciate my uniqueness and so what I've written here reflects my bumps, curves, dreams, nightmares and aspirations. It represents memories of my life, and embedded within that an attempt to make sense of this through research and theory. What that creates is an eclectic bordering on the extreme collection of words that will describe to the readership who I am. It will explain to my family who I am; to my husband and daughter, my parents and siblings, and to anyone who has come on this journey with me. It is a journey towards understanding what it means to be me, slightly unhinged and bordering on the eccentric, and so I am happy that the writing representing me will be of the same vein.

Theorising about oneself exposes ones vulnerabilities. I have been made vulnerable through this process, all in the pursuit of conscientisation towards transformative learning. I know my awareness of things is transforming. What is unknown is what it is transforming into.

(Journal log, 10/02/17)

Chapter Six: Ko Wai Au? Who am I?

We are not equally oppressed. There is no joy in this. We must speak from within us, our own experiences, our own oppressions—taking someone else's oppression is nothing to feel proud of. We should never speak for that which we have not felt. (Yrigoyei, cited in hooks, 2000, p. 59)

Narrative Three: Moana Erika Mitchell

This narrative is my contribution to the wider collection of family narratives that I am connected to through whakapapa. By providing my school-to-work transition story alongside those of my whānau, and participating in "the art of making words matter" (hooks, 1999, p. 35) my intent is to 'talk back' to the impacts of state policy. Having researched the education-employment stories of my great-grandfather Wi Manawawai Wharehinga and my own parents Ron Moana Mitchell and Te Wairingiringi Charmaine Luke, I began to appreciate the characteristic of resiliency that came with these words and this whakapapa. This is a genealogy of happenings shaped by potentially cataclysmic events not of my families making that impacted, mostly positively, on these select members of my whānau. A prime example of this is my great-grandfather Wi, who could have become a scholar despite not being given that particular choice all due to a change in educational policy that stopped university study being an option for Māori boys. The alternate strategy was being taught manual labour, which is where he learnt the valued trade of carpentry (Matthews & Jenkins,

1999). My parents Ron and Te Wairingiringi, were brought to the city of Wellington as teenagers at the behest of a government report that encouraged young Māori to leave behind their rural homes and families—the expectation was that they integrate into a westernised, urban life, learn new vocations and trades, and be put to work (Hunn, 1960). Each of these episodes shaped by the presence of systemic and structural inequities experienced through state policy, has been instrumental in creating the context of my life. Wi became a carpenter and looked after his family on his wages. My parents may have never had the opportunity to meet up in Wellington had it not been because of this government report, the Hunn Report of 1960.

Despite the significant benefits that members of my family have enjoyed over the generations, there is very little doubt that during the course of that time our cultural identity as a distinct group of Māori people has been severely compromised as a direct result of the impacts of state policy. This is to the point of questioning, "how cultural continuity is to be maintained within the context of continuing social change" (Barcham, 1998, p. 310). To support this is the fact that no immediate family members presently live on our papakainga—our traditional homesteads, and currently, we have no fluent speakers of the Māori language, despite there being many in my family with varying degrees of fluency. In 1997, Mead reflected on what Māori had conceded as a result of becoming westernised, "[a] great fear among many

thinking Māori is that we might have given away too much of our culture in the quest

to become integrated into Pākehā culture" (1997, p. 6). This was the world that I was

born into. Due to the success of government policies such as vocational training for

Māori and government reports like the Hunn Report 1960, my family were largely

urbanised, my dad worked mainly as a truck driver and my mother as a kindergarten

teacher. We were a Māori family floating about in a city that we lacked a whakapapa

connection to. This change from a rurally based, cultural lifestyle to urban living tested

our collective identity. Maaka (2003) states that:

> [A]s Maori became progressively integrated into the wider New Zealand
> society, alternative forms of association became available to Maori. The
> tribe remained the fundamental source of identity: it was, however, no
> longer the primary social grouping for many Maori. That is, the majority of
> Maori claimed affiliation to a tribe but did not live and work in a tribal
> context. (Maaka, 2003, p. iii)

Our family had physically moved away from one of our tribal identities, on top of which

we were also experiencing what it meant to be "underrepresented in positive social

and economic indicators of society" (Bishop, O'Sullivan & Berryman, 2010, p. 10). What

then becomes increasingly difficult to ascertain is whether my parents or even their

parents would have been any better or perhaps worse off, had there not been the

underlying deficit thinking inherent in these policies.

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These types of ironies provided the setting for my teenage self, which is around about the time that I began to take notice of the prompting of schoolteachers towards potential career choices. Like many teenagers trying to find themselves, school did not seem to hold many answers for me towards becoming a gainfully employed adult. In reality, becoming an adult did not rate much of a mention altogether, alongside more pressing issues such as what was happening over the weekend and where to go swimming. However, a constant and vexing detail continued to unsettle my teenaged reality—the presence of time, the school calendar and being a senior student combined to become an absolute certainty that eventually I would have to think about life outside the bubble that had until then, comfortably contained my experiences of secondary school. Employment trends also impacted on my schooling as my parents struggled in their efforts to find better opportunities for themselves and their children, which eventually resulted in them leaving South Taranaki to head four hours car travel south to the city of Wellington, partway through my final year at school. The lifestyle choice of being within the boundaries of the iwi, gave way to the priorities of the whānau (Durie, 2001). The fact that my parents' were leaving me had very little impact on their engagement in my schooling career, which up until this point had been minimal and somewhat sporadic. Harris and Goodall (2008) describe how this type of non-engagement could easily have become a generational cycle for families such as mine:

Parents' expectations set the context within which young people develop, shape their own expectations and aspirations. Middle-class families tend to have culturally supportive social networks, use the vocabulary of teachers, feel entitled to treat teachers as equals and have access to childcare and transportation, all of which facilitate parental engagement in schooling. ...Therefore, it would seem that the educational odds are still stacked against children and parents from low-income families and from certain ethnic groups because certain parents actively include themselves and others do not. (Harris & Goodall, 2008, p. 280)

I was not initially going to go with my family to Wellington and my parents arranged for me to stay in Taranaki by myself to complete my secondary schooling. Nonetheless things progressively became harder the more I continued to go to school to try to learn and to leave with the necessary grades to pass the year. As a seventh former in my final year at Hawera High School, almost by default I began to feel isolated and marginalised. A sizeable number of students from my year who were Māori did not continue on with their schooling beyond fifth form, which was the earliest a student could officially leave secondary school. However, the reality was that Māori students were taking the initiative and electing to leave all by themselves, and the upshot of that was there were noticeably fewer Māori students in sixth and seventh form, and I most certainly was impacted by that.

In those senior years, school was a lonely place if you were Māori, and that being 'Māori' somehow made me feel like an outcast. In her PhD thesis, Rata (2012)

emphasises this thinking that "by adding the prefix '**Māori**' to a noun was an effective way of establishing that the object was of inferior quality" (p. vii).[63] As a Māori student, my schooling experiences mirrored this inferiority back to me in a number of ways. The school I attended did not allow students to continue onto sixth or seventh form unless they qualified themselves to do so by passing their end-of-year exams in the year prior. Not only did you feel different because there were so few senior Māori students (Leonardo, 2009) but also the Māori students who had already left were not overly supportive of those of us who were still trying to go to school. Kirp (2010) relates this to African American students who are often ostracised for staying at school. He goes on to add that these students are "accused of "acting white". That kind of punishment discourages potentially high-achieving students from investing in their own education. It may also prompt them to doubt their own intelligence" (Kirp, 2010, p. 13). There was a sense of pressure from all sides to leave school and even though I had the faculties to do well in education, I just was not well supported to keep on keeping on. This proved to be another barrier to Māori students continuing on into their senior years. As Bernstein (1971c) contends, "how a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control" (p.

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[63] The use of bold type is part of the original quote.

47). The ability to sideline the potential inherent in all Māori students from an opportunity to engage and learn through an educative process is surely an indictment on a system that still carries on mostly unchecked in much the same manner.

Part way through seventh form at Hawera High School, my snowballing bouts of loneliness created more angst for myself through the unwanted attention of one of my subject teachers who felt it appropriate to encourage me to do better in my schooling. Inconceivably, this particular teacher had taken it upon himself to repeatedly remove me from the classroom to lecture me on my waning attendance, conduct and aptitude. This proved to be a most uncomfortable experience, having an older male not of my culture talk to me about the virtues of education while also taking me away from the site of this so called education, the classroom. His talks had the absolute opposite effect of what I gather was his intent, which I can only imagine was for me to do better in school. However, all I could think about was that this maths teacher did not know me. He did not know my situation, how I lived, who my friends were. I knew very little about him too, and so the familiarity that he had created was extremely awkward. Noguera (1995) highlights the lack of connection many teachers have with their students, and the assumptions that are based on this lack of knowledge. He contends:

> These teachers ...did not live in the community where they worked and knew little about the neighborhood in which the school was located...[I]t was clear that most of the teachers also knew little about the lives of the children they taught, and most assumed that the majority of children came from deprived, dysfunctional, and impoverished families. (Noguera, 1995, p. 202)

This particular maths teacher of mine who was in a position of responsibility had crossed a line without even a thought about whether there was enough of a connection for that to happen in the first place. After about four of these talks and feeling self-conscious about being singled out and embarrassed that the other students were starting to notice that I was being treated differently, I took evasive action. Instead of going back to that class, I took to wagging it. I was branded a truant, got into trouble with school management and reluctantly took responsibility for my actions, believing that it must have been my fault. On an unconscious level, I understood that my actions were because of this teacher and his treatment of me. However, for something to happen here I needed to make an issue of it, and it was just too easy to do absolutely nothing about it and to withdraw myself from the situation entirely. And just like that, I drifted away from my schooling career, which led to the punitive measure of being put on 'report' and eventually to me leaving Hawera High School to go live with my family who had already left Taranaki and had based themselves in the Hutt Valley of Wellington. The impact was immediate and life changing. This was a complete paradigm shift for my 17-year-old self. I had gone

from a rural country life to being part of an urban landscape. Everything was exciting and filled with possibility. I was now living in the city.

However, what did not excite me at the time were the Māori cultural aspects of myself. Being Māori was far from where I was in my transitioning between schooling to the prospective labour market. The teenager that I had been did not know what it meant to even acknowledge the cultural and spiritual base that had sustained generations of my family, itself in a flux due mostly to the success of historical policy designed to that end. This success also contributed towards my own identity, sluiced together on the undercurrent of consecutive assimilative policies that influenced all aspects of my life, including the apathetic nature of this self-absorbed teenager that I had become.

The hold that these policies had over me manifested itself in my life through sequences of systemised education and marginalisation, frequently experienced from the position that to 'fit in' to school, I had to leave aspects of myself at home (Sheets, 2005). Mostly, I did not want to stand out 'culturally' for fear that to be different and to be visible and active in that difference was somehow going to make my life at school more difficult. It was not something that was spoken about—it just was 'easier' not to be visibly Māori. Although, the point was that because I looked Māori, I had a Māori

name and I practiced aspects of Māori culture, that the segregation just automatically happened at school despite my trying very hard to fit in, through being part of a 'visible minority' (Bauder, 2001).

Though this mixed up, couldn't-fake-it, abbreviated version of a cultural identity was not entirely of my own choosing or making, it did help me with some of my 'predicaments'. It managed to fill some of the void that had been created through the impact of successive government policy that essentially had disconnected me from the strong cultural and traditional base with which my family identified with. These significant landmarks and family genealogy both physically and spiritually linked me to places such as South Taranaki and Nūhaka. This allowed me to 'make do' with what I had in the way of a culture. Much of what I did know about my cultural identity I made some calculated guesses about. I created my own awareness of this 'cultural' self from what I thought sounded right, and from bits and pieces picked up from my family.

The level of consciousness required to understand any of the complexities that come with culture had not been fully grasped at this teenaged stage of my life, and as such, it was easy to just be the 'suntanned Kiwi' that I presumed that members of my family had become, to fit in to this new life in the city. What I had also failed to see

was that the only thing that stopped our family from being 'suntanned Kiwis' while we were living in our tribal area of Taranaki was our genealogical connection to the land there. My mother did start a Kōhanga Reo in Normanby, South Taranaki and we did attend Te Ataarangi wānanga that were usually weekend programmes where participants learnt the Māori language, again due to my mother's aspiration to be fluent in her native tongue. However, on reflection and pushing aside the romantic notions associated with living as Māori within traditional tribal communities (Salmond, 1983), our family continued to try to fill in the gaps in our cultural knowledge despite not fully appreciating the reasons why there were gaps there in the first place.

From secondary school, I did not go straight into a job, higher education or a training course. In fact, it took me well over a year to get into fulltime employment. I had only attended two secondary schools during that time, one in Taranaki where I had spent most of my life; and a school in the Hutt Valley, Wellington, which I attended for the last three months of my seventh form year. This move shifted our family away from my mother's tribal home but also allowed us to spend more time with her parents, my grandparents, who had lived in Wellington for over 20 years. My short career as a student at Hutt Valley Memorial College was marked with many milestones. I met students from the Pacific Islands and I learnt that you could truant from school but still go to class, just not the one you were meant to go to. I made many friends

and I did not have to identify with a culture or an ethnicity, as being a teenager was identification enough. Going to school every day became an exercise in wanting to know more about all the interesting things that were associated with school, such as people and teenage dramas, not necessarily because of any scholastic learning I might have been receiving. I had managed to stay at secondary school but that did not mean that I was being educated. I was in cruise mode and was not going to be labelled a 'drop out' but nor was I going to leave school with enough to qualify for entrance to university—helped largely by my decision not to study, and for one of my exams, to not even turn up.

Being able to look at and 'talk back' (hooks, 1989) to the transitioning young person that I was, has afforded me an appreciation of the dynamics of culture and a 'backstory commentary' to not only what was happening but also more importantly what factors contributed to create the context for these happenings. What I was also struggling with was what Cushman described as 'the empty self' (1990) as a way of theorising about western societies who had become so dislocated from a traditional sense of self and community that the only option left available was to fill the void of this through consumerism and therapy.

As a young Māori and recent arrival to the urbane surrounds of the Hutt Valley, Wellington, it was easier to affiliate with the popular music and trends of the time rather than spend any energy towards doing anything else. This act of distraction helped me to fritter away the time. I enjoyed being urbanised and was blissfully unaware of anything to do with culture, education or work. Because I was not struggling with anything, I liken this freedom to what Jones (2007) refers to when writing about a specific experience where Pākehā educationalists disengage with te ao Māori, finding it too hard. She remarks, "that we no longer need to experience the uncomfortable and contradictory realities that would otherwise confront us at that moment" (Jones, 2007, p. 13). I, like the Pākehā educationalists, chose the same easy path, and became quite adept at distancing myself from anything remotely Māori. The sad part in all of this was that I did not even know enough about anything to actually care about anyone but myself, living a very easy, carefree life as a person shirking any responsibility, be it to family or to culture. The only thing wrong with my life at the time was that I had come to a standstill. School had spat me out into young adulthood and all the burgeoning responsibilities that came with that but I did not care for any of it and flatly refused to do what was expected of me.

So despite not wanting to engage in anything that did not look like an extended holiday, I could not escape the constant gaze of my mother, Te Wairingiringi, who took

no notice of my teenage bubble and signed me up for a Māori training opportunities course with Māori writer and filmmaker, Tama Poata. Tama lived with his whānau on his Makara land block in a hodge podge of barns, sheds and old rail carriages. Not that I knew it at the time, but Tama Poata had written the screenplay for Ngāti, the very first Māori film to be written and directed by a person of Māori descent (Barclay, 2003). At 17 years of age, all I knew about Tama was that he would regularly collect me from the Wellington suburb of Karori and take me on a 20-minute car ride to rural Makara where I participated in a Māori writers' course he taught. I also came to know over this time that he enjoyed copious cups of teas and that he liked fry-ups for breakfast, which he cooked for anyone who happened to be at his home at that time.

It would not be until many years later that I would find the right words to put meaning to what Tama Poata taught me through his innate capacity to manaaki, or take care of people. Āta (Pohatu, 2004) is a cultural framework based on the ability to 'pay attention' through principles and practices that espouse a Māori worldview. An example of this is 'āta whakaaro', which loosely translates into being mindful of ones thinking. In practice, this might look like the ability to find meaning within the context of traditional repositories such as waiata/song, often conveyed within the lyrics. This is my feeling about the power of the film Ngāti and its depiction of the rawness and reality of being Māori in rural New Zealand during the 1940s. It helped me to

understand the intrinsically Māori way that Tama Poata did things and the gift that he had of reminding young Māori such as myself of our connection to whakapapa/genealogy and whenua/land.

Although being able to reflect back *now* on how much of a privilege it actually was to be taught by Tama Poata did not rate via my 17-year-old psyche at the time, and so in my naivety my travelling to Karori dwindled until it came to an absolute halt. Again, it was left up to my mother to ponder loudly about the plight of her eldest child. She moved quickly, not wanting me to get too used to sitting on the couch and enrolled me into the prerequisite course for the Diploma in Journalism at Wellington Polytechnic. Having the not-too-distant memory of my apathetic secondary schooling still ringing in my ears, I was not ecstatic to be going back into any form of mainstream education, especially because I thought I had made it clear to myself that I had in fact had enough of school. However, I was being made accountable for making the right educational choice (Watson, Hughes & Lauder, 2003), and going to a course was far easier than facing the wrath of my mother. It was 1990, and my return back into education was swift and surprisingly painless. This type of learning turned out to be exactly what I needed and I came to relish this opportunity to engage in a new educational context.

Through this course, I was introduced to the theory and practice of critical analysis and was able to use this to examine the systems of injustice that had influenced New Zealand society. This is where I learnt about critical reflection and investigative journalism, which equated to getting curious about the social issues that impacted on me as a young Māori woman. Becoming self-determining about issues that affected me was exciting because until this point, I had enjoyed just floating around in my teenage bubble. I began to understand concepts such as praxis (Bawden, 1991), which came with reflective thinking. Praxis was not just thinking about theory where theorists sat in their theoretical spaces and theorised. Praxis was also not just about practice, which I figured out because I was constantly doing things without fully appreciating why I was doing it. What I began to think about was a metaphor, if theory was the map and practice the actual journey then praxis became an awareness that both things were important in my life. This talk was familiar to me because even though I was still very young in my understanding of things, I had lived through a whole childhood of experiences and I was beginning to see the connection and relationship between learning about theory and experiencing life.

In regards to my 'disconnected, distanced and detached' (Borell, 2005) cultural self and its relevance to where I was at in finding employment, I saw that these concepts could be easily translated into what I then considered to be a Māori

worldview. I consider praxis to be important to such experiences as the Māori migration to Aotearoa New Zealand in ocean-voyaging waka, leaving their homes and loved ones to venture out *wayfinding* (Spiller, 2012), reading the signs while travelling Te-Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, the great expanse of the Pacific Ocean in search of a new home. I wondered if I would have been so brave, to leave all that was familiar behind. As a person in her late teens who could not really fathom what the future had in store for her, I look back on who I was and see this person on the edge of a growing awareness about my place in the world. This was heady stuff for an 18-year-old, coupled with the fact that my polytechnic course covered both theory and practice. However my wondering about such things needed to be put on hold as I was informed by the course tutor that I would have to participate in work experience, and was asked if I wanted to go to a radio station, a Māori radio station and to be more precise Te Upoko o te Ika, Wellington Māori Radio. This experience became synonymous with transformative learning (Smith, 2003). Praxis began to make even more sense, through reflecting on not just learning about the theory behind communication but through using actual skills to communicate. So with a set of theories in one hand and a willingness to learn in the other, I walked up the stairs for my first day of work experience at Te Upoko o te Ika Wellington Māori Radio.

My initial impression of my first day of work experience at Te Upoko o te Ika was that there were a lot of Māori people working at the radio station. In fact, at the time, everyone that worked for Te Upoko o te Ika was Māori, and very proud of their identity and culture. I listened to the Māori language being spoken on the radio airwaves, which was another first for me. The accountant was Māori, the radio announcers spoke Māori, the radio technicians, receptionist, manager, and absolutely everyone was Māori! I had not had an experience of seeing Māori people in a work environment dedicated solely to being Māori. This was after coming straight from Wellington Polytechnic where you had to go to the campus marae or the recreation centre to see so many brown people in the one place, and where I was already numbingly used to being the only Māori person in my class. I did see Māori people in Makara but they felt more like family and seeing I was the only person on that course, I did not really have another comparison for what I was experiencing at Te Upoko o te Ika.

I was to learn that the establishment of the radio station was by no small feat, and was part of the drive and resurrection of te reo Māori, the Māori language. Recognition of the plight of the language had been one of the driving forces behind the formation of Ngā Kai Whakapūmau i te Reo, the Wellington Māori Language Board, who took a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal to ensure the preservation and

protection of the Māori language (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). In 1987, their efforts were realised with the establishment of Te Upoko o te Ika, the very first Māori radio station in the country. There was a vision and a purpose to its existence as a vehicle for broadcasting the Māori language and for providing a platform for a variety of expressions of the Māori culture, from Māori humour, live singing and drama to debates, interviews and programmes of interest. The integrity involved in being part of this movement was not lost on the staff, and their commitment and obligation to increasing the levels of Māori language spoken on the radio was paramount.

What I do remember vividly about the place though, was that it was a bit run down, the gear looked like it needed updating and bits of the ceiling would come down now and again but that mostly everyone loved working at the radio station. There seemed to be genuine joy in what staff were achieving on the radio waves and for the Māori community of Wellington. Despite what it looked like, it was very comforting to be in the middle of Wellington City amongst Māori people that affiliated to tribes all throughout the country, all committed to the kaupapa of Māori radio and the revitalisation of the Māori language. Through my four years of working at Te Upoko o te Ika (1991-1995), even though it was about the business of radio, it was impossible not to associate what was happening there with tino rangatiratanga and

the efforts of tribes, kaupapa Māori initiatives and Māori resistance and independence

movements towards self-determination.

O'Sullivan (2004) considers self-determination to be "a pragmatic response to

contestations of power between the successor states of colonising peoples and the

indigenous inhabitants of colonised territories. It provides a political and legal

framework within which indigenous peoples can assert and realise autonomy to the

greatest extent possible" (p. 3). What I could see of Te Upoko o te Ika was that it was

a way to access the airwaves, making the Māori language familiar to generations of

Māori people who made Wellington their home. It was a very hands-on type of

operation. I vividly recall the sound booth at the back of the station being fitted out

with egg cartons and cut out bits of what looked like mattress foam. It was also a

political hot potato, having to deal with what was often referred to as preferential

funding due to the radio stations reliance on public funding. This was despite the

funding not being adequate enough to actually fully operate a radio station.

Regardless of what was happening on the periphery, the radio station functioned and

was successful in its endeavours. One of the reasons why I believed this to be was

because staff treated each other as whānau.

There has been quite a shift in the perception of the concept of 'whānau' and what that means in everyday terms. Durie (1997) explains the idea of whānau in two different categories, one of 'whakapapa whānau', which is based on bloodlines, the other category being 'kaupapa whānau', which describes the organisation and formation of whānau around an issue, or shared philosophy. I believe that 'kaupapa whānau' was what the staff of Te Upoko o te Ika participated in and were passionate about. While I was on work experience at Te Upoko o te Ika, what I observed was very similar to how I would see life on the marae. There was a definite hierarchy that did not stem from the management, but from the kaumātua who helped to maintain the tikanga of the station, and every staff member had a role and a part to play in sustaining the kaupapa of Te Upoko o te Ika, from the announcers through to the administrator. O'Sullivan (2004) suggests that "[i]ndigeneity is concerned with the right and opportunity to live as Māori: the right of access to language and culture, the right to preserve and develop resources as a community, not just an individual" (p. 16). This work towards tino rangatiratanga was what I was fortunate to be part of at Te Upoko o te Ika. Towards the end of my work experience there, I was lucky enough to be invited by the station manager to take up a fulltime position at the radio station as a junior journalist. As an 18-year-old who had floated around for a couple of years not quite sure what I wanted to do, this was one of those defining moments in my life—my first fulltime job.

As a junior journalist I felt a responsibility to cover stories about young people, urbanisation and cultural identity, as these themes were also part of my own pathway of discovering who I was and how I thought I could do justice to my new role at Te Upoko o te Ika. There were many opportunities through this experience to embrace more of my Māori identity and I learnt to love the regular dose of Māori language that I would listen to daily at the radio station. The timbre and melodic lilt of spoken Māori became quite soothing and familiar, reminding me of my understanding of the 'woven universe' (Marsden, as cited in Royal, 2003) that instantly connects me to a wealth of culture, history and people. I was beginning to articulate myself on the current social issues facing Māori, especially those living away from their tribes who had migrated to urban areas for jobs and educational opportunities. That I had already experienced two different cultural realities having lived most of my life in a small, rural village in South Taranaki and now residing in the urban centre of Wellington, helped bring clarity to my own experiences and compelled me to capture what other people wanted to share in relation to the issues they were facing. It did begin to feel like I had found a place for myself at Te Upoko o te Ika, and that there was a sense of belonging that I associate with the traditional concept of whakapapa, which I applied to this urban context as "the foundation of a Māori worldview" (Eruera, 2005, p. 61).

There was so much that I learnt about myself in my transition between finishing secondary school and beginning a career in Māori radio. It was a time of disconnects and of farewells; to secondary school, to a life mostly lived in a rural community and a time of new discoveries, affirming my cultural identity mostly through being "anticolonial" (Pihama, Cram & Walker, 2002, p. 41), and understanding who I was as a Māori living in the city, and as a person who could contribute something back to my community. Through this process, I began to notice a consistency of themes, a familiarity within people who, regardless of whether the context was rural or urban, traditional or modern, seemed to be carrying with them an innate sense of cultural obligation and responsibility, which were fulfilled in a number of ways. There was a sense of loss that needed to be acknowledged, a loss of faith in an education system that is meant to emancipate the Māori people but which is in reality failing generation upon generation of Māori children due to built-in mechanisms of deficit theorising about Māori. The loss extends to culture and language and has resulted in resistance and self-determination strategies being implemented. In riding on the coat tails of trailblazers such as Tama Poata, and the key people involved in Ngā Kai Whakapūmau i te Reo, such as Huirangi Waikerepuru, Whatarangi Winiata and Piripi Walker, I have had the opportunity through my youth to participate in these strategies, which I have continued with well into my adult years.

Chapter Seven: Creating the Critical Counter-Story

Our strategy should be not only to confront empire, but to lay siege to it. To deprive it of oxygen. To shame it. To mock it. With our art, our music, our literature, our stubbornness, our joy, our brilliance, our sheer relentlessness – and our ability to tell our own stories. Stories that are different from the ones we're being brainwashed to believe. The corporate revolution will collapse if we refuse to buy what they are selling – their ideas, their version of history, their wars, their weapons, their notion of inevitability. (Roy, 2003, p. 5)

Introduction

Critical Race Theory (CRT) underpins a letter I have penned to my daughter Waimirirangi as an insight into my experiences of school-to-work transition, and to highlight the enduring nature of genealogical narratives. This further embeds the analytical framework of letter writing used to understand my whānau narratives of education-employment transitions, and the ongoing significance of storying, narrative and the lived experiences of my family. Explicitly these experiences highlight the structural racism inbuilt into an education system that privileges a dominant worldview at the expense of marginalised peoples such as Māori. Feagin and McKinney (2005) suggest that the term racism was used to "denote a *system* of racialized oppression" (p. 18), which situates racism in a structural/institutional context opposed to its more common individualised usage. Thus, CRT becomes the lens by which to understand

and therefore transform experiences of racism on a structural level. It brings with it the ability to highlight the inequalities present in any given system.

The tool of counter-storying is used to write this letter to my daughter. Delgado (1989) considers that counter-storying has the potential to capture the experiences of others. He argues, "[c]ounterstories can quicken and engage conscience. Their graphic quality can stir imagination in ways in which more conventional discourse cannot (Delgado, 1989, pp. 2414-2415). To carry the message that I am choosing to convey through this letter to Waimirirangi, I require an innovative and genuine way of doing that, of being able to "name our reality" (Crenshaw, 1984, as cited in Delgado, 1989, p. 2437). The letter writing is a reflection of my genuine desire to share with my daughter the journey of my own education-employment transition. It is a story of transformation, and as such, requires a vehicle that will understand and support the intricacies of the struggle and the liberation of being able to talk back to these experiences. It is the nuance and complexity involved in this undertaking that is recognised through the use of CRT and counter-storying.

A Letter to My Daughter

My darling Waimirirangi,

I wrote a PhD thesis to share with our whānau some of the insights I have had about the education-employment pathways of our tipuna Wi Manawawai Wharehinga, your grandparents Te Wairingiringi and Ron Mitchell, and my own experiences. Here in this letter are my reflections on what I think happened to me while I was transitioning between school and work. I have written this especially for you. I believe that my schooling is linked to the same policies that were around when Koro Wi, Grandma and Grandpa went to school, vocational-based policies that were underpinned by the ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration. I know this is heady stuff. I also realise that you are still just a teenager, which is why I am writing this to you because I know that you will soon be going through your own transition from school into a career, and there are things to be learnt from my story, to share with your story, because our story is never ending. In giving you these words, my words, I am hopeful that they will help you find your own words, because I know that life is always changing, and there is always more to think about.

And so I feel the need to explain to you that when I went to secondary school, many of us Māori kids went through the same kind of schooling experiences, which I can still see continuing in a lot of students today. When I was at school, there were no options to be taught in the Māori language, unless you went to a Māori boarding school, but I was educated to be 'mainstream', so a bit different to you and your experiences of kura. By writing about it in this way, I am hoping that you will be able to connect the dots, and that this process is transformative.[64] I want to highlight to you the repetitive nature of deficit thinking in those government policies that directly impacted on our whānau. My intent through this letter is for you to understand that your own schooling is far different to the majority of Māori

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[64] (Solórzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000, Solórzano & Bernal, 2001).

students who are taught via the mainstream education system. These students still experience the persistence of this 'mainstream' dominant thinking through these policies that still continue to negatively influence Māori school-to-work transition. This ongoing negative experience of policy relating to Māori education-employment transition is made evident within my own experiences of this transition.[65]

What I first must acknowledge is the distinct probability that 'we' may never have been born had it not been for the Hunn Report of 1960/1961. This was the government report that brought about the Māori pre-employment courses that your grandparents were enrolled into as teenagers. The report was written to make recommendations about the issues that were affecting Māori people of those times, mostly around employment, justice, social welfare and education. How the report was written is something that is hard for me to understand, because it shows Māori culture and traditions in a negative light, requiring of strategies to make Māori people more like Pākehā. The probability of this happening was especially high for many of those Māori young people that left their families behind in their country villages, and ventured into New Zealand's larger towns and cities.

As you know, Grandma and Grandpa came from two very separate sides of the North Island and the Hunn Report gave them a reason to both be in the city of Wellington at exactly the same time. It is highly likely that they would not have met had it not been for these pre-employment courses run by the Department of Māori Affairs as outlined in the Hunn Report. Both Grandma and Grandpa confirmed this because there was no other reason for them to come to Wellington before these courses. It is unsettling to have to think about it in this way, that I may well owe my very existence (and yours) to a government report that in the 1960s recommended that young Māori should leave behind their traditional cultures to take up new identities and employment in the cities of New Zealand. We are the literal product of this way of thinking that to be successful and gainfully employed young Māori needed to take up the incentives on offer, which

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[65] These experiences are captured in the CRT practice of counter-storying as espoused by Delgado (1989).

ultimately served as a means of distancing them from their cultural heritage. This knowledge has had such a pivotal role in my own life, even when I am still working through what it all implies. Such struggles and tensions are often the backdrop for Māori as they come to terms with their identities and how this has been shaped by our colonial past.[66] Knowing more about this past, being able to locate this information within the context of my life[67] and then being able to share that information through the ability to 'counter-story' with you my beloved daughter, has surely helped to further understand and extend on my own identity.

This growing awareness about my identity became even more important as a result of being bombarded with the labels and stereotypes that have come to be associated with a fluid and evolving identity defining what it is to be Māori. In growing up and coming to the city of Wellington as a teenager, being 'too urban' and 'too westernised' equated to being Pākehā-like according to many of the whānau holding an opinion about such things, and who still lived and maintained cultural identities in our rural, traditional homelands. You were just a young girl then, but a few years back at Nanny Mereana's 80th birthday party, Grandma and our family made the decision to celebrate this milestone by subsidising the buffet dinner at the local working men's club catering to about 100 guests. During the speeches, one of the uncles made the tongue-in-cheek comment that our family 'were a little bit different' in reference to the non-traditional elements to the birthday that had been organised. This was meant as a challenge from members of our extended family to take important occasions like these back to the marae. What that uncle had not been privy to were the extensive discussions prior to that night, which had hashed out every single one of the options available both local and based back on the whānau marae but ultimately the decision was Nanny's and it was her wish to have her birthday where it was held.

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[66] (Sissons, 2005).

[67] (Olson & Shopes, 1991).

Identity is such a difficult concept to explain, but through writing about these things with you, I give myself the means by which to explain the collective identity of our whānau, an identity that came as a result of choosing to live away from our traditional papakainga. The myth of meritocracy that 'by working hard and climbing the ladder you will be rich' became part of the reasoning behind coming to the city.[68] The silent mantra was that through employment and educational opportunities our family would prosper. Did we buy into the dream? Was there a level playing ground to begin that dream with, or was access to employment and educational opportunities always limited? The myth was that if we did not succeed in our given careers or educational institutions it was solely our fault, and that somehow we were not good enough, 'lazy', 'useless' or just 'unable to be educated'. What was worse was that we started to believe these labels for ourselves, and began to think that if we were not achieving, then it was our fault. The 'failure' mindset plagued many Māori families who were already struggling due to their experiences with both education and employment. How does one question something that feels so fundamentally wrong when whole communities were considerably damaged by these experiences?

While I was a senior student at Hawera High School, I did feel isolated and marginalised. At the time, many other Māori students were leaving school and those Māori who carried on became even more pronounced in their differences. Throughout secondary school, Māori students were often seen to be the 'Other'.[69] There was the group that hung out at the school marae. There were the boys who played touch every lunchtime. Many of the 'popular' groups had one or two Māori kids in them. There was the Māori girl who appeared to be more at ease playing the class clown. There were those Māori students who I initially believed were Pākehā because there was never a time that I saw them identify as being Māori all through my time at this secondary

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[68] (Themelis, 2008).

[69] Said (1995, p. 332) considered the 'other' as "[t]he development and maintenance of every culture requires the existence of another different and competing alter ego. The construction of identity...whether Orient or Occident, France or Britain...involves establishing opposites and otherness whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and reinterpretation of their differences from us".

school. Perhaps, as a means to fit in, Māori students found their places and played their roles.

What was emphasised repeatedly during my secondary schooling in Hawera was that 'a successful school breeds successful students' and alongside that the message that 'educational achievement can be attained by those who apply themselves'. The typical successful student at Hawera High School was not a person that I was familiar with. He was Pākehā, popular, excelled academically and in sports, and was well off. If I was living on the margins of school life, this young man, the epitome of white privilege, was most certainly enjoying the benefits of being himself, born into a prominent and affluent Pākehā family, captain of the school's First XV rugby team, prefect, and the person that everyone knew would be successful. It was highly likely that this person did not think about anyone but himself and his own privileged group of friends. Moreover, there would have been no point to think about other students who may or may not have had a different educational experience to his own due to there being no benefit to him of thinking in this particular way, nor encouragement from teachers to critique his privilege.

This is what is called 'interest convergence'[70] and it only happens when those with power have something to gain out of addressing issues such as racism. However, this person did not have to do or be anyone but himself at school. To 'fit in', you either had to work hard to be or emulate 'him' or pretend to be something other than who you were. The alternative was to face the ordeal of being classed as 'different', and hence being treated as inferior. Having participated in education as a teenager, I tried to understand what it was that I was meant to have been learning and why any of it mattered. However, it was something that I frequently struggled with. If the system of education were purely about the transference of knowledge to students, then the opportunity to do that would have been an incredibly rewarding experience. That the system of education proved more to be a way to socialise the majority of Māori students away from learning and any

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[70] (Bell, 2004).

prospective career that required academic learning, was more the reality of my experience at Hawera High School.

The underlying message while at school was that being Māori did not mean anything, so do not bring your Māori-ness to school. If you wanted to be Māori, then do so in the confines of the school marae, or at kapa haka, or with fellow Māori students. There is a special connection and a sense of kinship for those people that have been historically and consistently marginalised by the status quo.[71] This was my experience, walking down the corridors of school, the mostly silent acknowledgements of others like myself who were different and who mainly kept that difference to themselves for fear of being 'outed'. The 'safe' places where Māori frequented were also conveniently located on the edges of the school grounds.

There is a wahine toa who talks about peoples speaking from the margins. Her name is bell hooks and she is an African American feminist writer who says that the further one is from the centre in terms of such things as identity, the more one can be potentially marginalised.[72] This is what I saw of the Māori students who identified themselves more on the fringes of the school grounds during the breaks, and while in the classroom more with the back part of the room. It was a spatial difference as well as a symbolic one. Māori were not seen in numbers in places such as the senior common room, the music room, the drama club or even the basketball gymnasium. I was a senior student at Hawera High School and had only been in the senior common room a half dozen times. Māori students identified more with settings outside the school grounds, like the town centre, the "spacies', which consisted of four space invader games in the local burger place. There were forces at play that pushed Māori students out into the margins and then out of the school system altogether, which would further confirm the representation of Māori as a marginalised population within Hawera High School.[73]

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[71] (hooks, 1995a).

[72] (hooks, 1995a).

[73] In South Taranaki, the Census of 1996 showed that 18.7% (5,244) of the population said they Māori, compared 15.1% for the whole of New Zealand. In regards to education, 59.4% of Māori aged 15 years and

What also became apparent of the teaching staff was that it was easier for the teacher not to address you if you happened to be a student who was Māori. It was a case of being unseen and unheard, blending into the background and eventually disappearing from secondary school altogether. Was it a way to silence Māori students, by just not acknowledging them at all? I only remember the one extreme case where I was actually singled out and lectured for not engaging in the subject, otherwise in most of my classes, all I had to really do was turn up and not say much, and that would be okay.[74] I remember one English class where I was sharing my thoughts with everyone all the while thinking 'no one is actually listening to me and especially not the teacher'. It was the most uncanny of things, to be talking aloud to people who did not care about what you were saying. Even in being confronted by the teacher in that one extreme case where I was taken out of the classroom and lectured about doing better at school, all I really thought was, 'this person thinks he's better than me' and all I felt was whakamā, the shame and embarrassment of being singled out. What this taught me was that I should not put myself into situations where someone could judge me. I also learnt that identifying as Māori was problematic, and that it came with certain hardships. In fact, if I chose not to acknowledge anything Māori, I might be spared the humiliation of being made to stand out. At the time, it appeared to be the most obvious solution, that if I just kept to myself and tried not to stand out, perhaps then things would not be so hard.

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over (1,761) said they have no formal qualifications, compared to 49.3% of Māori aged 15 years and over in New Zealand, Statistics New Zealand, 1997. What this shows is that even though the Māori population in Hawera, South Taranaki, was higher on average than the total Māori population for New Zealand, Māori students still did not leave secondary schools such as Hawera High School with formal qualifications, which supports my argument that Māori students were marginalised.

[74] d'Hauteserre (2005, p. 103) gives an alternate explanation for why being homogenised into a generic student population was more damaging for Māori students, than being singled out as 'other', stating that "Western modernity seeks to embody a universal understanding of humanity, to realize a unitary nation-state but it must annihilate 'otherness' to accomplish such homogeneity: 'to absorb the heterogeneous, to rationalize the incongruous; in short to translate the other into the language of the same'...the claim relies on ignoring, excluding, marginalizing or assimilating whatever escapes the grids intelligibility. Such a narrative is imperialistic because it assumes we must all be white and yet Europeans have needed to maintain difference to assert white superiority".

What was also proving to be difficult about secondary school was not being fully conversant with some of the concepts that appeared to be assumed knowledge at Hawera High School. Growing up in Normanby, a small rural settlement close to Hawera, a service town for the mammoth dairying industry of South Taranaki, it was quite easy to be unaware of what was happening regionally, nationally and even at a local level. I did know some things probably beyond my small bubbled existence. Thanks to my set of Children's Encyclopaedias', I knew about fairy tales, and about tree rings and what made rainbows. What I did not know, even as a senior secondary school student, was anything much about politics, or world news or even national news. I was oblivious to anything that was not in front of me and did not affect my experience of life. I remember going on a school trip to the maunga Taranaki for skiing. I was about the age you are now, and this was my first skiing trip ever, aside from sliding on rubbish bags on the sides of the road up on the maunga Taranaki. It was the first time I had seen such things as snowboards, ski glasses and all the upmarket clothing apparel that went with the trip. My parents put me in yellow wet weather gear, and because I did not know any better, I did not care that much.

These experiences although shared by many were often not voiced. We were all in this together, but no one ever spoke about it.[75] If these Māori students had been given the opportunity to talk about their experiences of schooling, would this have been enough to address the disadvantages embedded into the education system that frequently failed Māori? The fact that we were all sharing the same experience but that no one ever spoke about it helped reinforce the isolation that many Māori students felt and the distrust that existed even amongst our own people. Even if I knew something was wrong with school, I did not ever think that I would be able to do anything about it. What instead happened was that I thought less of myself. It became my fault, and something I felt ashamed to share with anyone else. Being Māori also became a negative because being Māori equated to being

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[75] Camangian (2010, p. 179), in writing about the American schooling context states that "[f]ractured collective identities are humanities shaped by internalized oppressive thought, often resulting in alienating relations among people of color".

stupid.[76] The predictable eventuated at my school, and there was a mass exodus of Māori students who voted with their feet and left, suppressing most of their disappointments and anxieties about their experiences in the process. Self-hate was also apparent through other strategies, such as Māori students who chose not to associate themselves with anything or anyone Māori.

The differences in experiences of being Māori were not just isolated to school either. This became very clear to me because of Rachel, one of my very good friends through high school who was also the granddaughter of the highly esteemed Taranaki kaumatua Huirangi Waikerepuru. During my teenage years, I was fortunate to spend some time with Rachel and her grandfather trekking around the region attending various meetings.   Whilst in the car driving to these meetings, impressionable 16-year-olds listened to stories and learnt traditional songs. There are many examples of this traditional form of learning, more eloquently epitomised by Arapera Royal Tangaere and the Poutama model.[77] As an elder and master orator, Rachel's Koro Huirangi coached us through ongoing repetition of many waiata until we could sing the songs by ourselves. This style of learning is something I know that you are very familiar with, but it was so different to what I knew, which was a teacher seeing themselves as the holder of knowledge, attempting to force this knowledge on their students.[78] The experience with Rachel's koro was something simple but amazingly transformative for me, because up until then I had only thought of myself as a teenager who struggled with being taught anything.[79] His teachings certainly showed me that there were cultural ways to learn,

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[76] Camangian (2010, p. 180) goes on to explain that "[i]gnoring their apprehensions is dangerous considering the fractured identities and divisive practices that reflect the ways youth of color internalize and reproduce cultural self-hate".

[77] The Poutama model developed by Tangaere (2000) as symbolic of the traditional art formation that symbolised the 'stairway to heaven', 1997. Tangaere saw that in te ao Māori, concepts such as tuakana/teina or the person in the older and more experienced role (tuakana), helped the learner (teina) to get to the taumata (top) of the poutama structure. She linked this work with Russian psychologist Vygotsky and his use of the concept of scaffolding.

[78] Freire (1970b) calls this style the 'banking' method of education.

[79] Smith (2003) proposes that Māori pedagogy is the way that Māori people prefer to teach and learn.

but these ways were largely ignored when it came to my school learning experiences.

It was also about this time that I began to understand that despite being told otherwise, not all Māori people were the same. I knew this mostly because Poppa Eric, your great-grandfather did not go from marae to marae, participating in meetings like my friend Rachel's koro. Even though Poppa was a native speaker of te reo Māori, I only ever heard him speak the Māori language when he was partaking in a few alcoholic beverages. It was also the only time I ever heard him sing Māori songs. On reflecting about my Poppa and his life experiences, I am only left to ponder about the differences between Rachel's grandfather and Pop. They were of the same generation, they were also around about the same age, and yet, one had embraced te reo Māori me ona tikanga, the Māori language and protocols, while the other seemed to have a fraught relationship with being Māori. I did not fully appreciate the reasons why your great-grandfather may have had a different experience of being Māori until reading Rachel Selby's book 'Still being Punished', which collected and analysed interviews with Māori elders who were physically punished for speaking the Māori language while at school and who were still living with the psychological impacts of that.[80] I knew that Poppa had been punished while he was at school and that he did not stay there for very long. The impact of this, alongside a number of other factors that were happening in his life resulted in a man who would regularly attend land meetings, visit family members and attend funerals, but would not engage in speech-making or any other cultural formalities. I imagine your great-grandfather as a young child excited to be learning new things at school, and how traumatising it must have been to have to endure physical punishment for speaking the language of his birth.

All of my experiences and thinking about these hard things resulted in my having a (surprise, surprise) indignant attitude and behaviour, which turned into a pent up frustration at what I perceived to be the inbuilt structural inequities that seemed to never end during my schooling

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[80] (Selby, 1999).

career. The experience of these things were debilitating, in that I felt that I had very little choice but to disengage from school. This lack of options spilled over into my transitions between school and work, and then into my adult life. As a senior Māori student, I felt there was pressure to be more, to prove that I could stay at school despite the majority of other Māori students leaving, and it became apparent that I was being told by teachers and the system that if I did not succeed at school, I had so much more to lose. It was not just about me educating myself; it became more about defending my right to be educated. As a teenager, I began to feel like it was too much. The responsibility of having to do over and above what should have just been about my 'schooling' became too much to handle. There was a psychological toll to having to consistently struggle with a system of education that actively discouraged my participation, all based on being Māori.[81] It became a burden.[82] It set the tone for what I expected of life post-secondary school, having already experienced through my schooling that trying hard did not necessarily equate to achievement. Unfortunately, through school I learnt to not overly give of myself and to expect nothing. It was a rude awakening for a girl who loved to learn, who had received a set of Children's Encyclopaedias' as a toddler and who poured over those books for hundreds of hours, and who wanted to know more and be more.

I felt at a disadvantage because of structural and systemic inequities embedded into the schooling that I had received, and if I considered that this disadvantage had been ingrained in the New Zealand education system since its beginning, I could only imagine how it influenced the education and future employment prospects of my family. I think about Koro Wi Manawawai with the excitement of attending boarding school that did not include an academic pathway. It is hard not to get all teary eyed about Nan and Pop, both physically

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[81] Penetito (2011b, p. 9) captures this through the following statement: "New Zealand schools are fundamentally middle-class Pākehā institutions. They were invented by Pākehā, organised and run by Pākehā, along lines familiar with Pākehā ways of doing things in terms of values and expectations that derive from that culture. They are the majority, they have control over the resources both material and symbolic; they are the most socio-economically powerful group in the country".

[82] This burden was the structural and systemic disadvantage born out of a system predicated on being Pākehā as a manifestation of the inherent racism in the education system.

punished at school for speaking te reo Māori. There is Grandma's experience as a teenager, who after speaking to her high school teachers felt compelled to leave her hometown to venture into the big city of Wellington to attend a Māori pre-employment course. There is a link that is evident in these examples, which emphasises a shared experience amongst Māori people, in that there are similarities in these stories.[83]

The ongoing sameness in Māori experiences of education towards employment suggests that the deficits that helped to construct these experiences of the New Zealand education system are entrenched and here to stay. These systems are devious and carry with them the implication that Māori failure is due to their own doing. This thinking has given rise to indigenous people speaking out against the discourse of blame, with the National Organising Committee of the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education in 1993 developing the Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Rights in Education, which is a document that outlines educational transformation and reform for indigenous peoples. It goes on to state, "[i]n this context the so-called "dropout rates and failures" of Indigenous peoples within non-Indigenous educational systems must be viewed for what they really are--rejection rates".[84] Bishop and Berryman through their research with Māori students found the same thing, noting that these students "…spoke passionately about their desires to achieve within the education system [but] were just as adamant that this should not be at the expense of their Māori identity".[85] More stories and academic writing are required to turn this mindset around, and to speak to the hearts and minds of Māori people who have had to live with these discourses of educational failure and blame, thus engaging in the potential to change this to a discourse of self-determination.

The similarity in Māori experiences of education helped emphasise the stark differences that existed between Māori and Pākehā. I did not

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[83] (Selby, 1999).

[84] (National Organising Committee of the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education, 1993).

[85] (Bishop & Berryman, 2006, p. 264).

feel that school catered for my cultural differences at all, particularly as these differences included the fact that I was Māori, rurally-based and initially, passionate about education. I also did not know too many non-Māori students, but it did appear to me that it was easier to be non-Māori at my school. I spoke to Grandma and Grandpa about their experiences of attending pre-employment courses in Wellington, and whether they knew any Pākehā people while they were there during that time. Your grandmother identified a Pākehā woman who supervised her while at work; and your grandfather recalled his boss and a few other workers. According to Grandma and Grandpa, there was not much socialising done between Māori and Pākehā during the early 1970s. Who they chose to socialise regularly with during that time, were other Māori young people who had also left their hometowns to come into Wellington for similar opportunities and for work. They were all lumped together, young Māori isolated from their families and their tribes who had been brought to the capital city of Wellington for education and employment opportunities. Many of these young people were accommodated in Māori hostels such as the Pendennis Māori Girls' Hostel in Thorndon, which is where your grandmother stayed, and the Trentham Hostel in Upper Hutt, which is where the Māori Affairs officer who picked Grandpa up from the train station then deposited him. This would eventually become a critical mass of young Māori people from rural centres all throughout New Zealand, all new to Wellington and there for work, Māori pre-employment training courses and Māori trade training courses.

Twenty years later, as a 17-year-old, I would also be in Wellington and signed up on a Māori specific pre-employment course, namely the Training Opportunities Programmes. This consistency of experience that has filtered down through my genealogy is significant in that it has established for our family a vocational career path, one where the men in our whānau acquire licenses to drive trucks and the women gravitate to careers in childcare and social services.[86] As a whānau, we have never questioned these educational pathways because

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[86] The phenomena that I relate to the consistency of experiences that followed our family across several generations is something that Ladson-Billings (1998, p. 18) calls 'sustained inequity'. She contends that "CRT can be a powerful explanatory tool for the sustained inequity that people of color experience".

education that leads to work, whatever that work might be has to be good.[87] However, it is education that does not address fundamentals such as democratic citizenship, which is "becoming informed about issues that affect you and participating with others in determining how society will resolve those issues".[88] It is important that we do this, so that we can connect the dots between what happened in our whakapapa and how we can make sense of that. There is a generational link that I can now trace from my great-grandfather, down through my grandparents, my parents and to myself that connects limited vocational education opportunities to, at the very least, four different generations of my family. It is only since the writing of this research that our family have been able to engage in any form of analysis about the impact of vocational education on different generations of our whānau, which has allowed us some form of 'democratic citizenship'.[89] I think it will be important for you to maintain a generational understanding of our experiences and how they have shaped our whānau relationship with education and employment.

I trust you can take as much as you can from this letter. I wished that I had letters from Koro Wi, and from Nan and Pop so that I could understood more about what happened to them. Although Nan and Pop passed away while I was an adult, I did not comprehend the finality of death, and that there's no asking about those little things that orchestrated the employment pathways that our tūpuna took. However, it does not stop me from asking Grandma and Grandpa, and that is what I have done with their stories. I am very much indebted to your grandmother and grandfather for the life that they gave me. Although it was not always easy, (and I do understand the reasons behind that), it was my life and my family, and it came with so many amazing experiences. Why I am here writing this really, is because of my obligation to family. It has provided me with the motivation to persist on with education, which started as a teenager that led to my

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[87] Hyslop-Margison (2001, p. 28) states that "[v]ocational education that encourages students to accept passively and uncritically existing social and labor market conditions also constitutes inadequate preparation for democratic citizenship".

[88] (Portelli & Solomon, 2001, p. 12).

[89] (Hyslop-Margison, 2001).

gaining fulltime employment at 18. I do not know where I would have ended up had I not had this lifeline to my family. I know that it is hard out there. You only have to look at the statistics that show the significant numbers of young Māori who are unemployed and underemployed.[90] The likelihood that this might have been my fate (or could still possibly become my fate as an adult), is a critical part of my narrative as a Māori person who is still working through the physical and psychological transitions between school and work. It has shaped what your father and I have expected for you, and why you have been educated in Māori-medium schooling, trusting in the transformative potential that we felt was possible through Māori education. We have always believed and maintained our Māori identities, even though both of us were brought up away from our papakāinga, which was another reason why we shifted our family to the Far North so that you could experience what it means to belong to the whenua here. Even though you are still at kura, there has been so much benefit and aroha that has come from our faith in being Māori and our decision to put you into the Māori education system.

I am so proud of you, and have been for all of your life. Both Dad and I hope that we have supported you enough so that you can transition out of an education that has embraced you physically, spiritually, emotionally and culturally into employment that will also reflect who you want to be. We have learnt from our own experiences, and your education is the result of that. For your father and I, you personify the reason why we have continued with the catch cry 'Ka whawhai tonu matou!' the proverbial 'struggle without end'.[91] Keep striving our beloved daughter.

Love Mum.

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[90] (Kawharu, 2015).

[91] (Walker, 1990).

Conclusion

Even though the counter-storying has been difficult, it has been a liberating experience to be able to show through this letter with my daughter the progress that Māori have made, especially in being able to take up the opportunity of Māori-medium education. The chance to share these stories with my daughter has also been a decolonising act. Years of thinking that it was our fault that we did not excel at school had set many of us up to think of ourselves as 'less worthy' of success, well into our adult years. Nandy (1983) describes this as a way that:

> …colonises minds in addition to bodies and it releases forces within colonised societies to alter their cultural priorities once and for all. In the process, it helps generalise the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category. The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside; in structures and in minds. (Nandy, 1983, p. xi)

Through counter-storying and writing this letter, I reclaim my cultural 'priorities' altered as a result of processes such as secondary schooling. The likelihood is that if I were non-Māori, then the chances are that I would have had a very different experience of school. However, it was never the 'education' aspect of secondary school that was the concern, it was the cultural imperialism evident in this educative context that not only determined what level of access I had to education but that eventually also

determined the rocky relationship that I was to have with the New Zealand education system.

I recently discussed my thoughts about Hawera High School with my cousin who is nine months older than I am, and was always a year in front of me at school. It was the chance to talk about our shared and similar experiences, and to reflect on how isolating this experience was for both of us. What she did touch on was the way in which thinking that she was never good enough had affected her as an adult. The assumption that is made is that education is for all and if you just apply yourself, you will achieve. My cousin and I had the nous to excel at the school work while attempting to navigate what it meant to be 'in schooling' but in the end we failed 'school' due to the double dose of being Māori and poor. That meant that regardless of being capable enough scholastically, we were still seen as inferior and subsequently we felt inferior. It was hard to pin down where these feelings originated from, whether it was the teachers, the curriculum, the other students, and being in a mainstream secondary schooling system, or just absolutely everything. However, it did contribute to both of us having a very awkward relationship with school and with learning. Reid (2006), in her Master's thesis, talks about similar experiences felt by Māori university students of the insidious nature of institutional racism:

Testimonies suggest that institutional racism is concealed within existing policies and practices, and manifests in a lack of institutional professionalism towards Maori students. Testimonies also suggest that cultural and interpersonal racism is manifest in the Eurocentric bias of the curriculum and deficit staff professionalism. Moreover, participants' discomfiture at "being singled out" and their concomitant reluctance to "ask for help" is indicative of the fear of alienation and stigmatization many Maori experience in mainstream educational contexts. (Reid, 2006, p. 135)

The dogma of having to live through the judgements of others was hard enough but, on top of that, my cousin and I were educated through a system that validated one set of knowledges and was set up to allow some to excel, at the cost of our own education. Ultimately, this changed the way that we thought about ourselves, our confidence, our hopes and dreams. However, it also gave both of us the motivation to do as much as we possibly could to change that deficit-based trajectory so that our children would have more and be more.

TE TUATORU: KA AWATEA (IT IS DAYLIGHT)

I imagine there to be an infinite number of ways to tell a story. My way has been to share my stories, a-bundled-together organism created out of two important parts of myself; one that has been with me since before I was born and one that gave me the gift of critical thinking. In the light of day, there is clarity. I am learning to embrace it all.

My next quest is to name the unnamed. This is what it means to be lucid, that I can see and name and understand why things are the way they are. It is a daunting proposition, the vulnerability involved with challenging things that remain hidden, but in seeking these answers and restoring mana, I have set myself free. I am a kahu, a carrier hawk gliding on the breeze. I can see everything from up on high, the vision is stretched out before me, and I know the plan.

This is tūpono, my highest truth and calling. This is who I am destined to be. The teller of stories, the speaker of truths, the womb that births solutions. Mana wahine, mana tangata. This clarity comes bearing gifts. I love my whakapapa. I love being Māori. I love that I am a mother. Out of the ashes, there is a way forward. It is a creative thought. It is the belief in self. What we have here is a greater awareness about the stuff that makes us special. Māori are special. We are direct descendants of atua Māori. I am reborn in this knowledge.

To be conscious is the point of knowledge. I am awakened to the possibilities that are within me, and I willingly share them because I want to be of service. I want to help. I am called to help. What I provide is a way to make sense of the madness, and a grassroots, cultural solution steeped in good will and hope. The significance of this is blinding but I can see absolutely everything so clearly.

I have been caught up in this magic called hope. The day has dawned; the daylight is pure and cleansing. It has made me whole.

(Journal log, 30/05/17)

Chapter Eight: Re-Imagining the Master Script

Master scripting silences multiple voices and perspectives, primarily legitimizing dominant, white, upper-class, male voicings as the "standard" knowledge students need to know. All other accounts and perspectives are omitted from the master script unless they can be disempowered through misrepresentation. Thus, content that does not reflect the dominant voice must be brought under control, *mastered*, and then reshaped before it can become a part of the master script. (Swartz, 1992, p. 341)

Being Maori in Aotearoa is to be vigilant about decolonising a 'colonised reality'. (Mikaere, 2003, p. 126)

Introduction

The findings discussed in this chapter stem from the analysis done in Chapters Five and Seven regarding my family education-employment transitions. This chapter encompasses the themes that have emerged from engaging in these experiences of systemic and structural inequity through state policy. Racism as an "ordinary and normal" (Harris, 2012, para. 1) experience was identified through the intergenerational whānau narratives that formed the content of the analytical tools used. Trask (2004) states "[t]he sheer normalcy of white dominance underpins the racial assertion that white people and culture are superior, for if they were not, how else do we explain their overwhelming dominance" (p. 11). Throughout this thesis, the compiling of historic and current experiences of education-employment transitions into a fluid, cohesive family script has challenged this 'dominance'. The question now is: what do

we need to know to improve future whānau transition between education and employment? The underpinning policy positions of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration need reconsidering with regard to their influence on government policy and Māori education-employment transitions. There are a number of sub-themes that not only emanate from these three policy positions/eras but also reinforce the underpinned ideologies that have normalised the exclusion felt by Māori. Acknowledging the experiences represented by these themes goes further towards validating the community-centric research of indigenous and minority scholars. These sub-themes include deficit thinking and the New Zealand education system, subtractive schooling, the impact of whakamā (a form of cultural shame), differential treatment by teachers, silencing and reconsidering the use of the term kūpapa (a historic term for Māori who were loyal to the Crown, but used as an insult when applied in a modern context).

Assimilation, Cultural Adaptation, Integration and Policy

In assessing how the ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration have influenced government policy, along with the impact that these have on Māori education-employment transitions, this part of the study will reexamine a number of issues relating to policy. The focus is on exploring the nature and content of the ideological themes that are evident in my family narratives, and describing these

in this chapter. The significance of policy is a feature here, because of its contentious

nature and the misfit between the creators of policy and those seen to be the "people

on the receiving end" (Beresford, 2010, p. 227). State policy has had a considerable

impact on the education-employment transitions of my family because policy helped

determine the systems that shaped what we were to receive. In consideration of this

statement, I reflect on whether policy continues to entrench the themes of assimilation,

cultural adaptation and integration within New Zealand's education and employment

systems.

How policy is understood in this study is that it is fueled by politics. Bridgman

and Davis (2004) suggest, "[p]olicy is essentially an expression of the political will of a

government" (p. 8). Lavalette and Pratt (2006) contend that policy "is in fact an

intensely political – and contested – activity" (p. 4). Through this process some "will

be advantaged, while others will be disadvantaged" (Cheyne, O'Brien and Belgrave,

2008, p. 3). This fits in with the ideological policy themes of assimilation, cultural

adaptation and integration because those who create policy are often at polar

opposites to those on the receiving end of them, mirroring the enduring process of

colonisation and its spillover into political economies that have been entrenched

within a discourse of dominance.

This assimilative agenda was evident through the technical education my great-grandfather Wi would receive at Te Aute. Education was believed to be the most expedient way to do this for Māori and indigenous peoples across the globe (Lee & Lee, 2007; Weaver, 2014). Cultural adaptation as championed by Sir Apirana Ngata and fellow Te Aute old boy Te Rangi Hiroa (aka Sir Peter Buck) (McCarthy, 2014), was described as "maintaining their individuality as a race and moulding European culture to suit their requirements" (Ngata, 1931, p. 14 cited in McCarthy, 2014, p. 282).[92] Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa trusted that cultural adaptation or 'adjustment' would be in the best interests of Māori people, and that tribal communities would be the most ideal setting for this to be achieved. Ngata (1931) was convinced that "tribal spirit and canoe rivalry should blaze up, and out of this will emerge a race consciousness. I can hear the chiefs of old crying across the marae, kia rongona to ingoa! "Let your name be heard"" (p. xiv).

My great-grandfather Wi, after attending Te Aute, returned back to the Uawa region on the East Coast of New Zealand, and gave his carpentry skills back to his community. He was amongst his own people, the people of Te Aitanga a Hauiti and Ngāti Porou. That Wi came from a genealogy of carvers, epitomises what Apirana

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[92] In this quote, Ngata is quoting his friend Te Rangi Hiroa (McCarthy, 2014).

Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa were intending for Māori that they adapt themselves to western ways but retain their cultural selves. This is what Ngata was seeking with his proverb *E tipu e rea*, however as Māori 'adjusted' to westernisation, what he eventually had to concede was that the homogenising impact of western education was overtaking the cultural aspects of what it meant to be Māori. Removing Māori culture out of the classrooms was helped along by the deficit thinking (Valencia, 1997) normalised through the education system and indifferent teachers intentionally using teaching instruction to assimilate Māori children.

The integration policy era was an outcome of the Hunn Report (1960), and advocated for equality and 'closing the gap' between Māori and Pākehā (Hill, 2010). The report (1960) understood integration "[t]o combine, not fuse, the Maori and pakeha elements to form one nation wherein Maori culture remains distinct" (p. 15). Heavily reliant on government involvement focusing on a range of issues that included urban-based vocational education and employment, integration required Māori to leave their families and communities to re-create new lives and identities in the cities. My parents were part of this era of integration, which was the ideological theme that directly impacted on my education. Both parents were already very familiar with living in cities, so when better opportunities for employment presented in Wellington, they joined the urban migration out of rural Taranaki to take up those jobs. However, the

prospect of employment, education and an improved standard of living through integration also created generations of Māori people that had become physically disconnected from their communities (Keenan, 2014), which also facilitated a cultural 'distance' for some (Harris, 2008). My own education was experienced through a system that was educating me to not be Māori (Reid, 2006). Not feeling comfortable in my own skin because of a system that would not recognise my difference meant that I internalised these feelings while at school. Eventually this resulted in my leaving school due to feeling whakamā because I believed that I did not have what it took to succeed.

In considering that the broader policy directives in Aotearoa New Zealand have *created* disparity for Māori in education and employment, it also highlights the clear misfit between those producing policy and the policy 'end user', and explains why the ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration have become so entrenched within this country's political systems. In Aotearoa New Zealand, specific policy may not overtly support one ethnicity over the other (Barber, 2008) however; differences in ethnicity, culture and socioeconomic status do influence how policy is experienced (Waslander & Thrupp, 1995). An example of this is the Bill of Rights Act 1990 and its affirmative action policy that covers the use of quota systems mainly in tertiary education that are seen as providing an unfair advantage for Māori,

despite it being there to counteract institutional racism (Hitchcock, Smuts, Alon & Gabriel, 2016). One of the latest examples is found in literature about the New Zealand Government's discursive use of the term 'vulnerable children' to describe children requiring care and protection. Gillingham (2016) inadvertently stereotypes Māori children into the 'vulnerable' category through a research dataset that predicts child maltreatment. The research states:

> Separate models were also created to correct for the over-representation of different groups within datasets. For example, children whose parents had not received a public assistance benefit were incorporated in one model and a separate model was created for Maori children to correct for their over-representation in the child protection system. (Gillingham, 2016, p. 4)

In considering the ideological themes, prevailing agendas and the ambiguity of deficit-based policy, these examples show the discursive effect of policy on Māori, and why it continues to adversely influence Māori education, employment transitions.

Deficit Thinking and the New Zealand Education System

This study has found corresponding examples across all the whānau narratives of the deficit thinking that has become an intrinsic part of the New Zealand education system. The principle theory relating to deficit thinking is derived from the work of Valencia, a Chicana academic and American professor of educational psychology who

spent over 20 years theorising about deficit thinking and its specific impact on the education of ethnic minorities, particularly American Mexican students. Deficit thinking deceptively puts the blame back on the 'victim' (Valencia, 2012). The rationale for directing the blame at 'someone else' is because it immediately takes pressure off anything that might be wrong with the context; either structural or systemic (Valencia, 1997). Valencia (1997) emphasises the pervasiveness of deficit thinking in it being a philosophy and set of practices that shifts and adapts to the current educational policy and practices of the day. Bernstein (1970) would argue that it is the pedagogic code that reinforces the mindset that "those who have 'more', tend to receive more and become more, while those who have 'less', receive less and become less" (p. 37). Its relevance to Aotearoa New Zealand is that it is the mindset behind assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration. These efforts were intent on fashioning Māori, through education, into "second-class citizens" (Bevan-Brown, 2000, p. 5).

What also emerged out of the narratives was the significance of deficit thinking on ensuing generations of Māori, where it was not only the actual experience of this thinking that deterred Māori children and teenagers as they were encountering embedded deficits within New Zealand's education system. In addition, there was the accumulative memory of these experiences that needed to be taken into account as well, and particularly the resulting hegemonic practices that preserved this deficit

attitude towards education well into adult life. It is an ongoing continuum of deficit that has continued to be passed down through future generations of whānau—the legacy of deficit thinking and its intent to 'blame the victim'. Ultimately, this has restricted Māori engagement and participation in early childhood education, secondary school education, tertiary education, school-to-work transitions, career development and sustainable employment (Dalziel, Higgins, Vaughan & Phillips, 2007; Higgins, Vaughan, Phillips & Dalziel, 2008; Phillips & Mitchell, 2012).

In relation to the education of Māori students in mainstream secondary schooling, Russell Bishop and the team of dedicated researchers who designed the professional development programme called *Te Kotahitanga,* looked to this strategy and research as a vehicle by which to challenge the deficit thinking evident in many of these schools. The research produced insightful narratives obtained from both students and teachers that clearly illustrated the impact of deficit thinking on both parties. Bishop (2010) describes these student experiences in the following observation:

> They told us of their aspirations to participate in learning, and with what the school had to offer, but they spoke in terms of negative relations and interactions being an all-out assault on their identity, on who they were, on their very basic need to be accepted and acceptable which precluded them from being able to participate in what the school had to offer. (Bishop, 2010, p. 57)

The blueprint for educating Māori students through mainstream secondary schooling contexts requires a broad examination of the embedded ideologies and discourses that have indelibly become part of the directive to educate these students. Multiple theories such as deficit thinking, institutional racism or indifferent teachers do not tend to be considered as possible explanations for the much touted "long tail of Māori educational underachievement" (Jenkin & Clark, 2013, p. 68). The tyranny of deficit thinking has found its way into every facet of Māori education that not only has affected what type of education is delivered but also the life expectancy of successful programmes developed to address Māori educational achievement. Deficit thinking sought to 'fix the problem' by addressing faults deemed to be located in Māori students rather than in the educational system itself. The persistent nature of deficit thinking has meant that it literally follows Māori everywhere—in schools, social contexts, through the media (Beals, 2008), and into their homes.

An Insight into Subtractive Schooling

The idea of subtractive schooling originated out of the United States as an explanation for the education of Mexican students who identified Spanish as their first language and who maintained Mexican languages and culture within their homes. As articulated by Valenzuela (2010), subtractive schooling contends that the United States education system maintains a vested interest in "de-Mexicanising" students of Mexican

ancestry, thus 'subtracting' the students' language and culture from their schooling, which results in negatively impacting on their educational achievement and their relationship with school. Subtractive schooling is a valuable framework from which to understand the assimilative underpinnings of the New Zealand education system and its attempts to homogenise education largely through placing limits on the status of Māori language, culture and identity. Nash (2003) likens this limitation to the process of class reproduction in New Zealand schools. He argues:

> [T]he economic division of labour generates social classes; that families are located in the class structure; that families in consequence have differential access to resources (financial, educational, and social); that families are engaged in long term actions with the strategic purpose (broadly known to them) of enabling their offspring to maintain their economic, cultural and social position; that schools are involved in this process of 'reproduction' by affording recognition to the skills acquired through a literacy focused socialization. (Nash, 2003, p. 1)

The domino effect that contributes to subtractive schooling features a variety of other deficit-based factors, all of which render this process highly assimilative. By socialising minority and indigenous students into schools that reflect the dominant culture, and through understanding the financial pressures that might be motivating their parents, schooling is 'subtractive' for its ability to remove the cultural identity of minority and indigenous students, thereby replacing it with educational and economic inducements.

My sister lived in Dunedin, in the South Island of New Zealand, renowned for being the location for Otago University, which is where she and a cousin of ours studied and graduated from. On one of the occasions that I went down to Dunedin to visit her, she took my boyfriend and me for a visit to one of the local marae, Ōtākou Marae, on a beautiful autumn afternoon in a quaint bay on a hill overlooking Otago Harbour. While taking in the unique characteristics of the meeting-house and walking around the buildings, we came upon graffiti spray painted on the side of the building, which read, "GO HOME NIGGERS!" It was an absolute assault on the eyes and the spirit. The hate emanating from those words was horrifyingly confronting but the worst part of it was leaving the marae and feeling so strongly about this abomination being left sprawled over such a beautiful landmark. It was the angriest and saddest moment that I had had in Dunedin and it made me re-evaluate everything that I understood about being Māori, being tāngata whenua—people of the land and being part of New Zealand. It also became very clear to me that subtractive schooling had not only created a potential cultural vacuum for Māori students, but for all past and present non-Māori students taught in New Zealand's education system. In the classrooms, an invisible pedagogy reproduces social relations (Bernstein, 2003), and as a result, the majority of New Zealand's children leave school with very little knowledge regarding Māori history or culture.

Crucial information is missing from New Zealand's education system, information that could raise Māori educational achievement by raising the status of what it means to be Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. If people care enough about righting the imbalances that exist in society, then it is through education systems that these strategies can begin to take shape (Valenzuela, 1997). Educating students about indigenous knowledges, the colonisation process and history of being Māori in Aotearoa is part of substantiating this missing link. That this is not a fundamental part of the education system has meant that instead of celebrating Māori language, culture and identity, what Māori students have had to deal with and what non-Māori students largely have been educated to believe, is the hegemony that contributes to an education that reproduces the repressive colonialist social order.

Ladson-Billings (2006) poses the idea of microaggressions that are the everyday experiences of students of colour who have to endure untold examples of subtractive schooling felt like a "thousand tiny cuts" (p. 587). She goes on to explicate:

> African American people remained disproportionately poor in the land of opportunity. But it was not these macro challenges that bothered me directly. It was the thousand tiny cuts: being passed over by teachers in my integrated junior high school, being excluded from study groups by white classmates, being misled by my college guidance counselor, being second-guessed about my academic ability. (Ladson-Billings, 2006, pp. 586-587)

These psychological wounds have not only contributed to invisibilising Māori culture but also to a proverbial double-edged sword where cultural knowledge has been replaced by a discourse of hegemony. Instead of being 'second-guessed' by others, Māori question themselves. I felt the 'thousand tiny cuts' after reading the hate message sprawled across the meeting-house. I have felt the pain of it on any number of occasions. Sometimes, I defend what it means for me to be proud to be Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand today, and sometimes I worry that I'm not qualified enough to challenge anything.   By talking to these issues, these hegemonic practices are identified and disrupted. The 'tiny cuts' then become fuel for a thousand different reasons to challenge the status quo.

The Impact of Whakamā

In these whānau narratives, various experiences of disengagement, either from a particular system or detachment from a cultural identity, have resulted in whakamā, the culturally Māori concept most commonly associated with the feeling of shame. Metge (2005) further qualifies this by referring to a wider range of feelings covered by whakamā, "from shy through embarrassed to ashamed and guilty" (p. 85). Whakamā manifests itself in different ways within the narratives captured through this research. It is a common experience for Māori who internalise derogatory encounters in school classrooms, work places and in public.   Whakamā is an internalised expression of

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shame, often externalised through acts of withdrawal, violence and indecision. Metge

(1986) provides the explanation that:

> Properly handled, the negative aspects of whakamā can be minimized and even turned to good account. Mishandled, whakamā can be extremely damaging both to the whakamā person and to the social fabric, especially when it becomes ingrained and chronic. Denied outlet or healing, it can erupt in violence. (Metge, 1986, p. 148)

The chain reaction of consequences and the implications of the experience of

whakamā on Māori identity is seldom considered when critically analysing the state of

Māori education and employment, despite it being a good starting point to begin to

understand how that has affected the collective Māori psyche.

In its more current form, experiences of whakamā have the potential to limit

Māori through its ability to suppress initiative, momentum and creativity. A complex

Māori concept, examples of whakamā derive from many different contexts, and in its

most basic form, whakamā is a feeling of being ashamed or embarrassed. Sachdev

(1990) suggests that whakamā is:

> ...a psychosocial and behavioural construct in the New Zealand Maori which does not have any exact equivalent in Western societies although shame, self-abasement, feeling inferior, inadequate and with self-doubt, shyness, excessive modesty and withdrawal describe some aspects of the concept. (Sachdev, 1990, p. 433)

Within a Māori mental health context, a slowness of movement and a reluctance to engage can sometimes indicate an experience of whakamā, which when combined with other behaviours has the potential to look like a mental health disorder (Durie, 2001). In education, whakamā is difficult to identify due to the challenge in being able to find a direct correlation between the cause and the resulting behaviour and actions. When a student decides to truant from school, the action is recognisable and the consequence is in keeping with the situation. However, where whakamā is part of the reason why a student is truanting from the classroom, particularities such as the context in relation to teacher attitudes and behaviours are rarely used to explain these incidences.

One of the research participants from my 2009 Masters of Education research, Tony, spoke candidly about a primary school experience where a teacher asked him to say the vowel sounds aloud, which he did but pronounced in a Māori way. The minor difference between the Māori and English pronunciation was enough for Tony to earn a rebuke from his teacher who had assumed that it would be spoken in its English variation. Tony vividly recalls the teacher being visibly flustered when he chose to say it with a Māori diction. As the adult with a position of responsibility in this classroom, the teacher managed to turn a simple learning opportunity into a traumatic event, highlighting what Harris (2008) has articulated as 'the deficit construction of Māori

learners'. From that point on and well into his adult years, Tony thought of himself as 'a stupid dumb Māori'. Bourdieu (1991) describes the symbolic power of language as "[t]he sense of value of one's own linguistic products is a fundamental dimension of the sense of knowing the place which one occupies in the social space" (p. 508). From this experience, Tony realised that by just expressing himself as Māori, he has singled himself out as defiant and as deserving of the teacher's indignant response.

This is not an isolated experience. There is an ongoing wave of Māori children who have experienced similar encounters of whakamā, from everyday occurrences of teacher apathy, to acts of historic cruelty on Māori children who were physically punished for speaking the Māori language in the classroom (Simon & Smith, 2001). The trauma associated with punishment not only stopped a significant number of Māori from speaking their own language (Selby, 1999, p. 3) and consequently from engaging in school, but also had considerable implications with regards to their future use of te reo Māori. This was the experience of my maternal grandfather Eric Luke, who left school as soon as he was able to at 8 years old, having been part of a generation of children unnecessarily disciplined for talking in their native tongue.

Differential Teacher Treatment

I spent the majority of my secondary schooling sitting at the back of classrooms, as far away from the teachers gaze as I could get myself. There I would find many like myself, those students who recognised that putting some distance between oneself and the teacher meant the likelihood that they might forget that you were even there. The chance of this happening was so successful that eventually you were treated like you were invisible (Borell, Gregory, McCreanor, Jensen & Barnes, 2009), with the teacher 'teaching' in the general direction of the classroom but only engaging through discussion and question time with those students within close proximity, or more commonly known as the 'favourites'. Even though I wanted to learn, I felt that the "invisibility of privilege" (Borell et al., 2009, p. 29) meant that I was treated differently to other non-Māori students in my secondary school classrooms, which was exacerbated by also feeling like an outsider to the entire educative process.

The influence of teachers plays a significant part in whether Māori students engage in school, which then has implications for future learning (Hawk, Cowley, Hill & Sutherland, 2002). This is supported by Zyngier (2004), who offers three rationale for why students might choose to disengage from school; a lack of stimulation, limited community support, and negative student-teacher relationships. The debilitating effect of being at the receiving end of differential teacher treatment and the resulting

apathy towards school and life opportunities essentially meant that many Māori

students took their education into their own hands. That resolve came with some

consequent feelings, being a response of *fight* or *flight* such as violent behaviour and

resistance (fight) or social withdrawal (flight) (Friedman & Silver, 2007). I remember

going to a senior school assembly at Hawera High School, and a teacher who was

trying to reprimand one of his students. Without warning, the student stood up and

punched that teacher square in the face. Many of the student body present were in

an uproar; and having to witness this type of violence was a shock to the system. We

all knew what was going to happen to this student, and as predicted, he was expelled

from school. Afterwards though, quite a few of the Māori students remarked, mostly

to themselves, about the teacher who had been assaulted and how he was known for

his hostile treatment towards Māori students and especially of this particular Māori

student who, it seemed, finally took those matters into his own hands.

The influence that teachers have over whether Māori students positively

engage in education appears to be a deciding factor for many of these same students

exiting early from New Zealand classrooms. Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai and

Richardson (2003) argue that:

> The major influence on Māori students' educational achievement lies in the
> minds and actions of their teachers. The narratives clearly identified that

teachers who explain Māori students' educational achievement in terms of the students' deficiencies (or deficiencies of the structure of the school) are unable to offer appropriate solutions to these problems and as a result abrogate their responsibilities for improving the achievement levels of Māori students. Such deficit theorising blames others and results in low teacher expectations of Māori students. (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai & Richardson, 2003, p. 198)

As it relates to the whānau narratives, the potential impact that education might have on general Māori achievement is often largely quelled by the actions of indifferent teachers. By linking this to the experiences of my great-grandfather Wi Manawawai Wharehinga, what becomes clear is that the vocational orientation of the curriculum as taught by his teachers ultimately shaped the career path of carpentry that he would follow. My parents Ron and Te Wairingiringi Mitchell left their provincial secondary schools and their hometowns to pursue a Māori pre-employment course in the capital city of New Zealand, Wellington. Her teachers warned my mother that there would be no jobs for her in Hawera, and as such if she wanted to be employed, it would be better for her if she left Taranaki to attend this course in Wellington. As an already excitable 17-year-old, the anticipation of being presented with the opportunity to go to Wellington to attend a course was, in itself, a heady prospect. However, what sticks with my mother Te Wairingiringi about this conversation even to this day is the blunt response she received from two of her teachers who had already determined that she would probably just end up unemployed anyway, on leaving Hawera High School.

In New Zealand, if secondary school is the start point of the transition pathway, then the quality of that transition is inherently tied to the expectation teachers have of their students. A 2017 investigation into the impact of teacher expectations on the educational achievement of Māori identified that teacher bias does exist, and that Māori students suffer because of it (Jones, 2017). Based on findings from a New Zealand Treasury commissioned report on the impacts of teacher bias on Māori students (Timperley & Mayo, 2016), the research showed that the negative perceptions of teachers ultimately impacted on what learning opportunities were provided (Turner, Rubie-Davies & Webber, 2015). Research by Blank, Houkamau and Kingi (2016) went further to suggest that Pākehā teacher bias was in the main unconscious, and that these teachers were mostly well-intentioned but just unable to "perceive their own biases" (p. 13).

The significance of differential teacher treatment, especially when it involves the expectations for Māori students has resulted in it hindering progress, intuition, self-confidence and a number of other qualities necessary to be successful with education. The consequence is then that these students are less able to utilise any of those internal supports, in helping to seek out and engage in post-school opportunities. The impact of *hindering* progress is something that is not likely to be identified as a part that teachers play in the education of Māori students, and therefore

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it usually manifests as another obstacle that is taken into the transition and their exit from school.

Silencing

Silencing as a concept comes out of an analysis of high school drop-outs, and is described as an experience that signifies "a terror of words, a fear of talk" (Fine, 1991, p. 32), incapacitating students and rendering them passive or resistant towards their educational context. In regards to Māori, silencing has the ability to sideline Māori students, to make them less visible. In discussing the construct of race in Aotearoa New Zealand, Cooper (2012) uses the term 'silencing' alongside 'a reluctance to talk' (in this case about racism), and that it connotes a "stubborn, bad-faith…refusal" (p. 69). However, when Māori students choose to disengage from their respective schools and classrooms, inevitably the 'quality' of their transition becomes their responsibility. Māori students are more often left to their own devices, because they tend not to speak out about what is going on for them.

The idea of 'fight or flight' (Friedman & Silver, 2007) is a common feature among the themes for this analysis, with 'flight' being attributed to the concept of silencing. Foucault's (1979) concept of power and how that manifests in teachers and education institutions is considered here as the primary reasoning for students to

employ silencing as a means of disengaging with school. Of particular interest is understanding how different aspects of power contribute to silencing. These characteristics are outlined below:

Sovereign Power	Disciplinary Power
Specific visible agents	Diffuse in operation
Susceptible to resistance	Difficult to locate, difficult to resist
Affects small portion of life	Affects virtually all aspects of living

Table 5. Characteristics of Power (Adapted from Covaleskie, 1993).

When applied to the classroom and school environment (McNeil, 1986), the power characteristics outlined in the table above can result in some students being pushed out of school, especially if they or their families do not feel confident enough to talk through their concerns and their home and communities environments are not adequately represented in the classroom. Bolstad, Gilbert, McDowall, Bull, Boyd and Hipkins (2012) apply this thinking to a New Zealand context, and consider the possibilities that present themselves when children are given the opportunity to engage in meaningful learning. They contend:

In most formal contemporary learning situations, the "messiness" of real-world situations is simplified in the development of contrived learning tasks where the answers and outcomes are already known to the teacher. There is ample research evidence to show that even young children can engage in knowledge-generating learning, shaping new ideas and acting on their

> environment given the appropriate resources and learning supports. (Bolstad et al., 2012, p. 49)

In the class, the role of the teacher relates to both a 'sovereign' and 'localised' power by virtue of the teacher-student relationship and the physical aspects of the classroom. In theory, if there is an issue, the student can walk out of the class or talk to someone at the school about it. Disciplinary power is power over both the teacher and the student used by the school administration and management. One of my sixth form subject teachers would regularly take me out of the classroom and lecture me, on my own, about attending class and applying myself to my schoolwork. The first few times that it happened, I just shrugged it off. When it happened again, I spoke about it to the guidance counsellor, who told me to take it to the sixth form dean, which I did, hoping to be transferred to another teacher. The dean told me that my concerns would be followed up but they never were. So I stopped talking to the dean, the guidance counsellor and the teacher in question. For the rest of the year, I just never went back to that class.

It is the addition of disciplinary power through policy, the constraints of process and human error that students have to contend with, on top of also having to struggle with their own experiences of the classroom. Initially, in my experiences with the maths teacher who would take me out of the classroom, my response was to seek support

from school management only to find that my concerns were not sufficiently addressed. My second, swifter response was one of flight, to withdraw and to feel hard done by. This is an example of an encounter that acknowledges the sovereign power of the teacher and their ability to control what behaviours and actions they expect of their students within the classroom. It is when these same students exit the classroom out into the wider school environment is where it proves even harder to figure out who to turn to. What tends to happen to these students is that they find themselves in holding patterns, being 'managed out' of the school or being left to their own devices. Silencing students is assimilative because if you do not assimilate, your only recourse is to leave. Silencing creates a pathway of silence out of an education system more likely to blame them for their actions, instead of taking the time to understand why these students leave in the first place (Piazza, 2003).

Reconsidering Kūpapa

The term 'kūpapa' is a historical concept that became popular during the mid-1800s as a label to describe pro-government Māori who fought with the British and government soldiers in battles against other Māori (Keenan, 2009). These kūpapa, considered to be collaborators and sympathisers with the British/government forces were generally known as 'friendly Māori', opposed to those Māori people and tribes deemed by the colonialists to be resistant, rebellious, and who were fighting against

the armed forces during conflicts such as the New Zealand wars (Belich & Winks, 1989).

In exchange for their loyalty to the government, many kūpapa were given money and

authority, moreover their own lands were spared from the rounds of confiscations that

became a means by which land was seized from Māori who were fighting against the

colonialists.

What is less commonly associated with kūpapa is the role that many of these

historical figures played in foregrounding Māori politics during these changing times.

Keenan (2009) maintains that Māori strategies to enlist loyalist troops to fight with the

British against other Māori during the mid-1800s were the forerunner to such Māori

units as the Pioneer battalion and the Māori battalion. A sizeable number of kūpapa,

many of them from chiefly and warrior bloodlines, were leaders in their own right,

comfortable with both strategising with officers and government officials as well as

being in the field, commanding troops of pro-government Māori volunteers. One of

those Māori leaders was Ropata Wahawaha from Ngāti Porou who was known to be a

'British loyalist' (Belich, 2015). His political astuteness and prowess as a fighting warrior

were what he would be mostly remembered for, namely for the part he played in

hunting down and the eventual capture of spiritual leader and fighting warrior Te

Kooti. The respect he received from his Ngāti Porou people was mainly due to the

many tracts of East Coast lands that were saved from confiscation because of his

'loyalist' status. His legacy would also include being a major influence on the life and political leanings of Sir Apirana Ngata.

Kūpapa features in this chapter due to the success of assimilation in achieving the specific goal of 'civilising' Māori into "European ways of thinking and behaving – including, especially, the use of the English language" (Simon & Smith, 2001, p. 198). As was noted by the Under Secretary of Native Affairs in the 1906 census report (Registrar-General, 1907) "[i]t is an idea of many people that the ultimate fate of the Maori race is to become absorbed in the European" (p. iv). Kūpapa in a modern day context describes the product of this assimilative regime; Māori people who do not identify as Māori. For many, it is an uncomfortable term that requires significant critical engagement, and it is through opportunities such as this that work can be initiated.

My first experience of being called 'kūpapa' was as part of a small group that I was participating in during a professional development training while working for a large Māori tertiary education provider. It was awful. The guilt that I had held onto for a lifetime because I could not speak the Māori language just added to the insult. It seemed obvious that I must have been kūpapa because I felt that I lacked what it was to be Māori. There was also a genealogy to back that up, of parents who became urbanised in the pursuit of employment and educational opportunities for their

children, none of which involved the Māori culture or language in any substantive way (Nightingale, 2007). In addition, there was a great-grandfather who was educated to become a carpenter despite being part of a long line of traditional wood carvers. I ended up mulling over these deficits for the rest of the day of training, which involved much reflection and many cups of coffee.

The next day is when I got angry. I wanted to find that accuser and tell him that he had absolutely no right to speak in that manner. I questioned the whole training and the presenters who let the insult go unaddressed. I asked for forgiveness for my thoughts about my family members who I jointly blamed for my predicament. I acknowledged their honourable intentions to do what they believed to be right for their children and family. It proved to be a soul-searching exercise, and I forgave myself for all my failings and for being assimilated so successfully. I continue to try to improve my grasp of te reo Māori, and decided to learn more about what kūpapa meant in both a historical and contemporary context. I also reconciled with the fact that many people misuse the term kūpapa, without fully appreciating the connotations relating to that.

Conclusion

State policy has entrenched the ideologies of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration into the systems that have educated Māori for employment. In that these have all been described as individual policy eras through this study, they have also been identified as one seamless, assimilatory approach. Vigilance is required as the experience of assimilation continues to attach itself onto the potential of present-day Māori students in their education-employment transitions. The experience of education for Māori has been fraught with issues that have contributed to Māori educational disadvantage and have limited education-employment transitions. These issues/sub-themes have been identified in this chapter as deficit thinking and the New Zealand education system, subtractive schooling, the impact of whakamā, differential teacher treatment, silencing and reconsidering the term kūpapa.

Since the establishment of New Zealand as a nation state, Māori have experienced intergenerational, structural inequalities. Gaining an insight into these themes has given my whānau the opportunity to make sense of how education has influenced the type of employment we have collectively gravitated to as a family. What this opportunity also affords us is the chance to do something different, which has resulted in all of my urban-based siblings and many of my extended whānau sending their tamariki to total immersion Māori schooling. Thinking outside the box has been

a sporadic process for my family, but one that has produced satisfactory results; one being the reclamation of te reo Māori fluency for our children. Change has been an emancipatory process as individually and then collectively, our whānau have woken up to our own potential and capacity to make it happen.

Chapter Nine: A Game Without Gutters

All forms of knowledge in all societies create a specific relationship between the immaterial inner self and the material outer world; and (in)equities lie in how, for individuals and groups, inner and outer relate. The main issue for social justice is the extent to which people have access to the capacity to be agents who can change the inner/outer relationship so that 'an alternative order, an alternative society and an alternative power relation' might be imagined and realised. (Bernstein, 2000, p. 30)

My faith in the possibility that education can serve as a vehicle of individual transformation, and even social change, is rooted in an understanding that human beings have the ability to rise above even the most difficult obstacles, to become more than just victims of circumstance. I have seen education open doors for those who lacked opportunity, and open the minds of those who could not imagine alternative ways of being and living. (Noguera, 2003, p. 10)

Introduction

Envisioning strategies that offer Māori a way to be successful in education and

through employment is predominantly the rationale for writing this chapter. There are

very few opportunities for populations who experience inequity such as Māori, to think

'outside' of the world that has been created for them (Bernstein, 2000). This is a space

where Māori educational success appears to be accidental.   It is transformative

learning in action, as a result of 'talking back' (hooks, 1989) to the systemic and

structural inequities present in state policy. It is through becoming conscious of these

inequities and sharing our stories and our counter-storying (Yosso, 2006) that Māori

can work towards liberating ourselves, so that eventually we will stop passively

accepting the failings of the New Zealand education system (Walker, 1991). This docility is what Bowles and Gintis (1976) attribute to capitalism:

> The education system helps integrate youth into the economic system… The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the workplace, but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self preservation, self image, and social class identifications which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy. (Bowles & Gintis, 1976, p. 131)

Already these systemic shortcomings have proven to be catastrophic for generations of Māori whānau, setting many families up for a lifetime of impoverishment through unemployment or jobs that do not sustain families, and the experience of what it is to be a second-class citizen in a country where Māori are indigenous to the land. However, as with all good stories, the story of Māori education-employment transitions does not stop here. It is a chance to re-write part of the script that has taken for granted Māori acceptance of such ideological themes as assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration. There are ways to re-imagine learning being transformative that creates positive Māori education-employment transitions, especially when we give ourselves the opportunity to do that.

A Conversation about Ten-pin Bowling

In challenging the status quo relating to the education of Māori, there presents itself the opportunity to think about alternate solutions (Penetito, 2009) and the 'unthinkable' (Bernstein, 2000). One of these ideas came in the form of an analogy about the game of ten-pin bowling. I had been reflecting on how long it had taken me to figure out how to play the game. It took me at least a dozen goes at it, of bowling gutter balls and losing dismally, which culminated in an all-time low when I soundly lost to my 11-year-old niece. So I began to study the techniques of the game, whether it was the flick of the wrist, the positioning of my body or my fluctuating energy levels, the more I played the more I could see the progression in my game. There were a whole lot of gutter balls, a few pins down here and there, throwing my first spare, to regularly bowling strikes. It was good to see that with a lot of practice I could even begin to consider being competitive. However, there was one thing that I could not lose from my bowling technique. Frustratingly and without fail, I would randomly throw a few gutter balls. It got me thinking, was it me or was the ball gravitating to the gutters? Then I started to think that the gravitational downward pull of the gutters must have more of an influence on where the ball went, which was especially true if I did not bowl the ball hard, straight and true.

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It was visualising the power of the gravitational pull towards the gutters that shifted my thinking about ten-pin bowling from being just a game to becoming a metaphor for Māori students and their pathway from education into employment. I imagined the systems of education and employment as the bowling alley, the bowling ball as Māori experiences of education and employment and the gutter as what Māori young people fall into when, for whatever reason, they are unable to stay on the alleyway. In relation to policy, I see this in the expectation of how many pins there are to bowl. In a typical ten-pin bowling game, there are ten pins. Historically policy has limited the amount of pins available to Māori, so for the metaphor, instead of the ten pins we should see in the distance, there are only five. In current times, there are still only five pins, however through an optical illusion, the people playing on the other alleys look over and think they see all ten pins. The owner of the establishment regularly insists that there are ten pins despite you telling them otherwise, and then it suddenly dawns on you that you actually have to be actively playing this game to know this is not true.

As interesting as it is to understand Māori transition between education and employment as a game of ten-pin bowling, what I want to highlight is how to navigate these systems so that collectively, Māori can be successful. The crux of playing ten-pin bowling came from an observation of my then five-year-old daughter, and her first

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go at bowling. Specifically, it relates to the inclusion of buffers that helped her to keep the ball on the alley so that the only choice became how many pins to scuttle—one, some, or all. So after I had my turn at bowling, and it came to be my daughters turn, these magical buffers automatically popped up and the gutters disappeared. As my daughter started playing the game, it became a *game without gutters*. All she needed to do was concentrate on hitting the pins and getting as many strikes as she liked. Subsequently, the more strikes she got, the more confident she was at playing. Perhaps she could have even been seen as 'over confident', throwing balls closing her eyes, through the legs, you get the picture. Getting strikes became a bit blasé for her. After watching this a few times, and knowing that reality bites, I suggested that she try bowling with the gutters present and because of her trust in me, she gave it a go. Her couple of attempts at bowling without the buffers ended with her balls going straight into the gutters. This was a feeling that she did not particularly care for. She instantly hated the gutters and wanted the buffers to be put back up. So up went the magical buffers again, however, during this time around my daughter was a bit more cautious because even though the buffers were going to stop her balls from going into the gutters, she knew that the gutters now existed, she had had a taste of them and it was a taste she did not care much for. The knowledge that the gutters were there, and that she was fortunate that she was able to have buffers for her game, stopped her overconfident behaviour and possibly her innocent enjoyment of the game.

All of what transpired got me thinking. If I said no to her request to have the buffers reappear, and then backed myself up by telling her the gutters were an important part of the real game of ten-pin bowling, would that have changed her mind? If I had not paid any heed to her request and had made her play on, with the gutters intact, and she continued to regularly and consistently throw balls into the gutter, how would that have impacted on her considering how young she was? The point of the exercise was well and truly spent. I did not want her to feel bad because she was throwing balls into the gutter. Why would I intentionally make her do that? This got me thinking about the game as it related to education and employment linkages. Why would we intentionally make our young people play a game on a system that was not designed for them, in a way that does not really appreciate who they are, and with which is constantly used to put them down? I came to the understanding that somehow, when we focus on the system it becomes harder to see the pins at the end of the alley, only the omnipresence of the gutters, looming larger than life, ready to gobble up the ball. So knowing what they know, does that stop Māori from even throwing the ball in the first place? Or, are Māori students intentionally throwing their balls into the gutters because in doing that, it ends the game even if that means they have lost?

The structure of the system is unchangeable and like the bowling alley it is constructed from a proven Eurocentric design, which is entertainment in regards to ten-pin bowling, but in reality these are systems of education, employment, justice, health and welfare as they impact on Māori students. What could possibly be transferable between the metaphor of this game and these systems is the concept of buffers and gutters. What strategies or support people can be put in place as a buffer so that Māori students can stay on the alleyway? Is there potential for coaching to be put in place to work on technique? There is an opportunity to change the odds of the game, to make it a *game without gutters*, and to prepare Māori to understand all facets of the game through practice and participation. Through this chapter, a case study will be examined that will advance the idea of supports/buffers through which the intent is to outline a strategy currently being developed as a whānau-led, whānau-delivered educational opportunity based at a total immersion Māori school in the form of a community-based education hub. This case study will also focus on the counter-storying that was utilised to prepare Māori to engage with education systems, and to highlight the inherent worth of being critically reflective of what is going on for them within this system.

A Community-based Education Hub

A holistic approach that engages the whole family into education is the premise behind a community hub of education that caters for whānau and specifically parents who may have previously had a negative experience of schooling. Blankstein and Noguera (2011) consider that parents have these type of negative experiences re-triggered if schools are not adequately engaging with them. They contend that:

> This feeling of being unwanted and shut out sometimes stems from parents' own early experiences in school. Those parents who struggled in their own academic careers may feel resentment, distaste, or even anxiety about interacting with school authorities. In other cases, language and cultural differences create barriers that make meaningful parental involvement in schools difficult, if not impossible. (Blankstein & Noguera, 2010, p. 4)

The concept of a community education hub that engages the whole family, and not just its school-aged children, is a response to an education system that has failed to make the connection between students, their parents and home life, but also a resolution that innovatively looks to the same education system to provide the answers. Much of these types of strategies that seek to improve home-school relationships, focus on engaging the parents into the learning and educational achievement of their children, either through increasing parental access to school, or by improving on parental involvement in their children's studying while at home (Harris & Goodall, 2008). Internationally, the 'hub' concept also has involved

collaborative initiatives that have brokered relationships with community and external funders to establish such things as health clinics, gardens, and exercise programmes at the schools through a 'one stop shop' design (Blankstein & Noguera, 2010). In New Zealand, the implementation of the education hub philosophy has been sporadic and has followed similar lines to international examples (Haig, 2014).

However, the community hub concept to educate the 'whole' family is another step in the evolution of parental engagement in education, which looks specifically at educational opportunities for parents *alongside* what is provided to the children. On his 2015 trip to New Zealand, American educationalist and 'urban sociologist', Pedro Noguera advocated for the idea of a community education hub that serves whole families. This hub concept provided programmes around nutrition, health and social services, and included adult education classes, after school programmes and extended school hours; with one New York-based school staying open to 11pm at night to meet the needs of its parents (Noguera, 2015, July 10). The underlying philosophy for educating parents is about replacing the negative experiences that parents may have of their own education with an educational experience that is engaging and supportive of their specific needs. In doing so, parents are then able to contribute positively to the educational needs of their children, through a lived experience of the power of

education for transformative change, and by modelling this transformative process for their children.

In a New Zealand context, the idea of a hub that educates parents has been undermined by the National government's decision to significantly reduce funding for community education courses (Haig, 2014). There are also some conflicting perspectives as to how to establish adult education classes for parents, which sit alongside their children's education. One of the difficulties, as pointed out by research undertaken by Biddulph, Biddulph and Biddulph (2003), is that the concept of partnership between schools and parents is one that needs to be addressed at multiple levels, and not as a result of trying to 'fix' a problem. They argue that:

> In terms of *partnership*, a lack of constructive links between home and school has been found to adversely effect children's achievement. Partnerships initiated by the school on the basis of deficit assumptions (for example, developing a programme for parents), tend to be counterproductive for those involved. The research indicates that partnerships between school and home need to be built on a genuinely collaborative basis if children's achievement is to be enhanced. (Biddulph et al., 2003, p. 179)

The community education hub for whole families is a philosophy that needs to include the means by which to re-induct willing parents into a mode of education. This, ultimately would be through an education strategy that would not only enhance the

learning of their children, but one that could potentially support parents to think about other educational opportunities such as tertiary education, and for Māori parents, an education that encompasses Māori cultural knowledge and language. The research suggests that to avoid 'deficit assumptions' being made, these strategies need to be driven by parents in negotiation with the school (Biddulph et al., 2003).

Parents are Important = Like Minded Pākeke (LMP)

From six-months-old, my daughter Waimirirangi was enrolled in a mainstream generic-as-they-come childcare centre. Because I was studying and working fulltime, my requirements of a childcare facility were that they opened early, closed late and did not shut down over the school holidays. The preference would have been to put her into a Kōhanga Reo, but those few in the area were not able to cater to what I needed, so I eventually settled on a well-established childcare centre, which opened during the weekdays at 7am, closed at 6pm, and that only shut down for statutory holidays. It felt as if my needs were being met, but there also remained an uncomfortable feeling about having my daughter there. I put this down to my own identity journey, and that perhaps I was giving up an opportunity to commit our family to learning more about Māori language and culture. Meanwhile, I still needed a childcare facility that catered for those early morning drop offs and late night pickups

just to be able to function, and even before I fully could comprehend it myself, my daughter had been in the same childcare centre for three and a half years.

Waimirirangi was about four when I started to notice certain things that began to test my discomfort about being at a childcare centre that was not Māori-centric, misgivings that I had successfully glazed over for three and a half years while attempting to work, study and have a life. My daughter loves to sing. When she would come back from childcare, she would sing all these wonderful songs. She came back one day singing an Indian song, which I thought was amazing. It was when she came back and sung for me the Māori waiata/song 'Pōkarekare ana' with pronunciation that I did not expect from my daughter, is when I started to be concerned. Her pronunciation of place names became an issue too. She would say, "Mummy, are we going shopping in Tower today?" which I would correct her on and say, "No baby, it's not Tower, it's Tawa". It was not until I heard her say her own name is when I knew that the bubble had well and truly been burst. This was her beautiful name, an ancestral name, and her connection to Te Tai Tokerau, to the Far North from where her father and their family originate. Waimirirangi was imitating how people at childcare were pronouncing her name, and it was not being spoken with its proper Māori pronunciation.

Bishop and Berryman (2002) note through their research that Māori children in non-Māori educational institutions were consistently having to deal with situations where "their cultural knowledge was unaccepted or belittled, their intentions and motivations misinterpreted, and their language and names mispronounced" (p. 2). It was not that I felt that the childcare centre staff were intentionally mispronouncing my daughter's name, but I was rattled enough by the experience to start challenging myself and what I had accepted in regards to how my daughter was being educated. I was propelled into action. This was not what I had wanted for my daughter. While attempting to make life better for our family through working and studying, I had neglected the everyday experience of life, and how that had affected who we were and how we identified ourselves. My intention and philosophy had always been to be a proactive Māori person, but that had obviously become lost in my everyday reality, which had become more about making sure I was able to do the things I thought were helpful for the wellbeing of my family. I had missed the waka, but I became determined to get back on it.

The first thing I did was to take my daughter out of the childcare centre she had been at since she was six months old. This decision was not made lightly, but it challenged me to think about who and what I was accommodating through allowing other people to care for my child with a homogenised perception of who she was, of

which I did not agree with. I found a kōhanga reo that opened at 8am and closed at 3.30pm and I enrolled her there when she was four and a half years old. It was extraordinarily hard trying to work fulltime, study fulltime and commit to having a child in kōhanga reo, but it was also extremely gratifying. My daughter's journey in learning the Māori language had begun. She loved being in kōhanga reo, and I loved that I was able to do this for her, for our family and for myself too. This compelled her father and I to send her onto total immersion Māori primary schooling, and at the beginning of 2015, she started wharekura at the same kura she had been at since she was five, in her first year of total immersion Māori secondary schooling.

In New Zealand, sending children off to school is a time-honoured tradition. For many parents, it is also a time of divergence, where students are given the opportunity to engage and participate in their educational pathways, through which parents either have the choice to actively or passively support this pathway for the sake of their children's learning. This is not an uncomplicated choice for parents. It is a choice that is fraught with indecision and disengagement, dependent on their own experiences of schooling, and other variables such as whether the languaging of their children's schooling is conducive with the everyday language of their family and communities (Bernstein, 2005). For those non-Māori speaking parents who send their children to total immersion Māori schooling, this becomes doubly problematic.

Experiences of failing through their own educational pathway sits alongside the inability to communicate with teachers in the Māori language, which then contributes to why some parents disengage from their children's education where that education is taught in the Māori language.

However, this susceptibility for disengaging from the education system also sits alongside the initial commitment that compelled parents to send their children to a total immersion Māori school in the first place. This itself is generally not an easy process and requires some form of buy-in, whether it be a commitment to the aspirations of Māori education, or for personal reasons such as a deep-seated need to be proactive in enhancing Māori cultural identity. The complexity involved in this undertaking for parents who have forged ahead on this personal and cultural quest, has been cause for an 'unevenness' of experiences. This has involved great pride and satisfaction in knowing that their children are receiving an education in Māori, even when parents may not enjoy the same kind of access to the Māori language themselves.

Due to their own negative experiences, parents may also be working through their own insecurities regarding education and whether they are even able to adequately support their children's learning. Being willing and able to contribute to

your child's learning eventually collides with the reality of *what* knowledge parents bring to this relationship. Having had a bad experience of mathematics at school, when my daughter would bring maths homework back, I would send her to her father. Since my Māori language skills are limited, anything related to that would also be directed back to her dad, or to 'Aunty' Google, social media or extended whānau. The experience of education is an experience of a lifetime, and of many lifetimes. With each step forward comes further clarity, and more questions.

Having committed myself and her father to sending our daughter to a kura Māori, with an absolute passion to be part of a Māori kaupapa, and for me, the obvious missing link that was my lack of competence in the Māori language, I breezed through eight years of her education, as engaged as I felt that I needed to be. That meant carrying some whakamā about not being able to understand te reo Māori, while still not trying hard enough to correct that (Kearney, 1998). It was enjoyable being a mature student in tertiary education during this time, and despite some earlier misgivings and an indifferent experience of secondary schooling, I went on to achieve graduate and postgraduate qualifications. I would then go back to my daughter's kura, and still be frozen in the same rut. This inertia caused me to increase my commitment to the kura, and through that, I began to form the opinion that there needed to be a vehicle for kura parents and whānau whānui to connect and talk

through what was going on for them. With help from my sisters, we began to meet

with the principal and with other parents and whānau whānui of the kura to establish

a group. At the first official meeting, this group was given the name 'Like Minded

Pākeke', like-minded, which represented the group's intention towards a shared vision

to support the kura; and pākeke, which is a Māori term for adults.

The makeup of this particular kura Māori is representative of the families that

are within its catchment area and areas further afield, with similarly located schools

sitting at the lowest decile rating of 1 to 2, and the kura being decile rating 3. This

reflected the diverse socioeconomic and cultural circumstances of its students, but

also acknowledged the reality of the deprivation that exists in this area. It was

established in 2001, so is a relatively new school that located itself into the existing

buildings of an old intermediate school that had been closed for a number of years.

The kura is a designated special character school under section 155 of the New

Zealand Education Act 1989, and is run under the auspices of a Graduate Profile,

mātāpono or principles of whai wahitanga, kaitiakitanga, tino rangatiratanga and

whanaungatanga, and the whakatauki 'He kura te tangata'.[93]

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[93] In the context of the kura/school, these four principles/mātāpono represented the following: whai
wahitanga (students developing positive interpersonal skills including respect for people's differences);
rangatiratanga (students developing a sense of respect for themselves and others); whanaungatanga (valuing
the kura and whānau working together); kaitiakitanga (supporting a community-based and holistic kura). As

The kura have parents who come from a varying range of socioeconomic circumstances and educational attainment. As a parent there for eight years, one of the observations I was able to make was the lack of parent engagement with the school, through consistent and ongoing low turnouts at whānau whānui meetings, and no other means for parents to network with other parents besides the limited opportunities provided by the school. Weissbourd (2009) associates this lack of engagement with low-income families and to parents who are still dealing with their own experiences of schooling. He argues:

> [P]arents are often suspicious of schools—they frequently have bad memories of their own time as students—and they commonly have little experience advocating for their children in school. The challenge in low-income communities is often to help parents overcome these suspicions and barriers, whereas the challenge in well-off communities is often to keep overbearing parents from disrupting school functioning. (Weissbourd, 2009, p. 236)

Before the establishment of the 'Like Minded Pākeke' (LMP) group, the kura had enjoyed mixed results when it came to engagement with its parents and whānau whānui. With the establishment of the group, the number of parents who actively participated in monthly forums and through its social media forum increased. The aim of the group was to support the kura to support our tamariki, and LMP have raised

the underpinning whakatauki/prover for the kura, 'He kura te tangata' figuratively translates into 'The human being is precious'.

funds for the school through raffles and stalls, organised morning teas for staff, and have engaged the tamariki in sports and activities through coaching, lunchtime skipping and other organised events.

Some of the topics that are inevitably discussed by parents of children taught through a total immersion Māori schooling facility, is the lack of competency that many of these same parents have in the Māori language, and the lack of opportunity there is to be taught the language alongside their children. The tendency was for there to be a 'parting of the ways', where parents felt they were left behind as their children flourished and became more competent in their Māori language skills and their place in the Māori world. As their children became more poised and self-assured, the confidence of their parents appeared to wilt away, and for many having already experienced communication issues with a school that operates through the medium of total immersion Māori, it became a reason to disengage from their children's learning and from the Māori language.

For those kura students who stay on for secondary schooling, there are also opportunities to study towards undergraduate degrees with Māori tertiary education provider Te Wānanga o Raukawa, with the aim being that when students graduate from wharekura, they also leave with a Bachelor's degree in Mātauranga Māori. The

graduation ceremony at Te Wānanga o Raukawa is an auspicious affair, where families and friends are able to support their child/ren as they receive their degree, with haka, karanga or waiata. What was becoming obvious for Te Wānanga o Raukawa and the kura was that many of the parents and whānau were not taking up this opportunity, and the reason for this in most of these instances, was that the whānau lacked the confidence to do this in the Māori language.

The tertiary institution saw this, alongside examples of parents disengaging from their children's education due to their lack of Māori language, as a chance to offer parents and whānau whānui the same education pathway as what the senior secondary school students of this kura were being offered. This initiative would be led and delivered by the whānau and the 'Like Minded Pākeke' group put their hand up to support parents and whānau whānui to take up this opportunity. In line with its whakatauki 'He kura te tangata', the school committed to having this initiative operate under the kura, who already had accredited teachers who could deliver this. The vision of educating parents and whānau whānui in mātauranga and te reo Māori, alongside their children and fellow students of the kura was seen to be an opportunity of a lifetime, and one which sought to give Māori control over how this initiative would be developed and maintained (Penetito, 2005).

As part of the marketing plan devised by LMP, six mothers of children at the kura decided to post video messages to the kura social media page to show the benefits of being part of this education initiative. Each of the mothers had a key message, with themes focused on:

1. The dream of sending our children to a total immersion Māori school can also in part be the parent's dream as well—of learning, speaking and being confident in te reo Māori.
2. Instead of feeling whakamā about the lack of te reo Māori, parents can learn te reo Māori and feel more engaged in all aspects of their children's education.
3. A university qualification can help to financially support the whānau.
4. Completing a zero fee paying undergraduate degree would not place any further financial burden on the whānau.
5. Being educated at the kura through after school, night classes and noho/wānanga based studies worked in with busy parents who needed flexible education programmes to meet their needs. This would also be a chance for whānau of the kura to support each other in their learning.
6. Parents would be able to support the learning of their own children as the tamariki went through their own Te Wānanga o Raukawa studies.

In being able to share their stories with other 'like-minded' parents and whānau whānui of the kura, these parents were able to engage in an organic process of counter-storying. This entailed working through their own self-doubts to discover their own need to engage with education and the Māori language, which had been established as the driving force behind why they had put their children into a kura Māori in the first place. Up until this initiative, a number of these parents had instead felt guilty due to their lack of the Māori language, and were moving away from the

promise of education and learning te reo Māori for themselves, just thankful that their children would attain the language and cultural protocols, even when they could not. Instead, many of these members of LMP chose to support the kura with their time and energy, establishing good relationships with the principal and school management in the process. It is this connection established with the kura in support of their children's education that has initiated this collaborative effort between LMP members and the school.

In entering into new territory with LMP and whānau whānui through this collaborative relationship, the kura were quite clear about their expectations of this new undertaking to educate parents alongside their children. The commitment was to whānau, and to ensuring that the school could successfully educate its students in te reo me ona tikanga, while also embracing the educational needs of parents who were not confident speakers of the Māori language. Addressing these learning needs were a primary concern, and so a dedicated space, support with resources such as photocopying, and access to the internet and computers were made available at the school. This undertaking was embraced by the kura as a long-term social investment into the whānau whānui of the school, and therefore the principal and selected teaching staff actively participated in ensuring that this initiative remained viable, sustainable and well supported. It is an initiative of the heart, a work in progress, still

to go through its fullest growing pains or even to fulfil its promise as a means to educate the whole whānau. However, it is also a beginning and a way forward, led and delivered by whānau who have realised a better opportunity for their children but have also imagined a better life for themselves.

Conclusion

By forging ahead and through the principle of tino rangatiratanga, self-determining Māori parents are coming to terms with their collective angst when it comes to education, and utilising this same system to change the script—upgrading the narrative of their own and their children's' stories regarding the transformative potential of education. This discursive process is intense because it requires parents to believe in the same education system that has failed, and is still failing significant numbers of Māori students. For many of my own family, and the LMP parents, this commitment to education started out as a leap of faith through sending our children to kura Māori, kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura. It has culminated in a continuing relationship of trust and connection with Māori-medium education, to return back to education through this community education hub initiative.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

> Who are better prepared than the oppressed to understand the terrible significance of an oppressive society? Who suffer the effects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who can better understand the necessity of liberation? They will not gain this liberation by chance but through the praxis of their quest for it, through their recognition of the necessity to fight for it. (Freire, 1997, pp. 26-27)

> In the acquisition of knowledge, one progresses from a condition of ignorance or darkness to enlightenment (Ao Mārama). Tūmatauenga (god of man and war) was the procurer of light. His wife, Tahutapairu, was the 'goddess of night and of the state of transition or change'. (Barlow, 1991, p. 5)

Historically, state policy has limited what Māori have come to expect from school-to-work transition. The classroom is expected to be the site where children are gradually equipped with the knowledge required for adulthood and an eventual career (Ashton-Warner, 1963). It is considered a bastion of hope. However, the experiences of Māori people transitioning between the classroom into adult life would suggest otherwise. The experience of systemic and structural inequities through state policy and its repetitive and cyclic nature has meant, frustratingly, that the impact has been intergenerational and damaging. It is a discourse of failure that has endured and continues to lower the expectations and hopefulness of future generations of Māori people. This ideology stems from New Zealand's colonial past, and deficit-based policy has been the means by which that has been maintained. Through this study,

the experiences of my family have provided a cultural perspective of this structural paradigm that continues to educate Māori towards eventual employment. It is a transition fraught with difficulties; however, it highlights the enduring nature of whakapapa, the genealogy of my family as we continue into the future to critically reflect on and improve our collective school-to-work transition experiences.

So, there are emerging stories and re-imaginings of what hope looks like; evolving narratives that show the determination and strength of Māori to keep the postcolonial 'throwback' in check, and to disrupt the "colonialist voice" (González, 2003, p. 80). More stories and more whānau are needed to bring about social change, to change discourse to better reflect the efficacy of Māori responding to the fallacy of deficit theorising. The narratives of my whānau, my great-grandfather Wi Manawawai Wharehinga, my parents Ron Moana Mitchell and Te Wairingiringi Charmaine Mitchell (nee Luke), and my own contribution have been applied here as a collective autoethnographic account of how policy shaped our lived experiences. In each instance, the transition between school and work was coloured by the ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration that underpinned the experience of policy in each narrative.

Through establishing a whakapapa link between my great-grandfather, parents and myself, what is woven together is a cohesive story about our whānau experiences. What is priceless is the collation of an uninterrupted family narrative that has emerged out of the research. The learning gleaned from each of these experiences of school alongside the tenacity to try something different to improve their lives meant that even when transition may have been fraught, my whānau just made do with what they had. Through these family stories I get to appreciate the extent to which policy has shaped my life. There are more questions, such as, now that our family have this information, will it help create an education strategy for our whānau? Does having this kind of awareness even alter the 'failure mentality' that does not ever seem to want to go away? Or, is this the same incessant, generational loop that keeps churning out failure, and parents who are hopeful that their own children will not end up with the same fate? Given the available statistics, the gamble appears more stacked towards Māori educational underachievement, as the data would suggest that it is more a 70/30 inevitability that Māori children will not do well in New Zealand's mainstream schools (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).

However, research studies such as this one are there to keep advocating for change. It is about pushing the issues and making some noise about it. Following on from the findings, analysis and discussions must come action. There must be more

attempts at shifting the 'long tail of Māori educational underachievement'. The only way to do that is to act. More grassroots, whānau-led, educational initiatives would help, especially in instigating counter-storying opportunities for parents, students and whānau whānui. This could be a particularly transformative exercise that encourages family research to describe and explain one of the most foundational Māori questions that of 'Ko wai au?' (Who am I?).

Because Māori people regularly experience the disparities encountered through state policy and systems, the next step is to share these insights with others. The colonial mindset embedded into Māori education in the form of assimilative, deficit-based policy has continued on its course of creating further inequity. It is an integral part of the standard story of Māori education and it is information that must be known and shared widely, to reach out to those who thought they were either 'too dumb' or 'too naughty' to be educated, and therefore only suited to becoming labourers and service workers opposed to any careers that were professional or academic. This is a challenge to the way that we educate Māori. Our children and young people have gifts that need to be recognised. Teachers play an important role in that, as does schooling. Breaking down those educational barriers by engaging parents back into a positive experience of education is part of an alternative approach. The transformative potential of education encourages parents to support their

children to be excited about the pursuit of knowledge, rather than a narrow, short-sighted view of education being just about schools, curriculum and assessment.

In the sharing of stories and of insights it gives others the opportunity to think about their own experiences. The moral of this story is to talk, and through talking and expressing oneself it invites others to do the same. Taking ownership of these stories gives others the permission to own their stories. Fine (1998) identifies this as emphasising self over other in the "Self-Other hyphen" (p. 131). Perhaps Māori have thought of themselves as 'other' for too long, and that through owning our stories, there is a real sense of owning 'self', an agentic self keen to be part of a wave of Māori people invigorating and instilling a passion for education into our children and whānau (Walker, 1996). There are real disparities that need to be addressed for Māori education employment transition but without knowing the stories and without these intimate portals of storytelling, there is no way or inclination to want to connect. These are stories within stories and many generations of stories, all of which can speak to Māori education-employment transitions, and the impact of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration.

By recounting my great-grandfather's schooling through the manual/agricultural education policy of the early 1900s, my parents' teenaged lives on

Māori pre-employment courses based in Wellington in the early 1970s and my own secondary school transitions into employment, I have endeavoured to understand how we have lived through these periods of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration. I have viewed these periods as events that have marginalised Māori people. What became obvious about these measures is that although relentless, they were not unstoppable in that they may have controlled the scope of the experience but not necessarily the experience itself. The two excerpts that confirmed this for me was my great-grandfather becoming a carpenter from his education at Te Aute College, from which he was able to become a vital and productive member of his community. The second realisation was that without the Hunn Report, my parents would never have had met in Wellington, period.

The analysis of the impact of these policy eras on the historical narratives contained in this study utilised a 'series of letters' as a framework based on a hypothetical dialogue, which sought to include Sir Apirana Ngata and Professor Basil Bernstein. In choosing these two specific historical figures to support the critical analysis of the narratives of my great-grandfather and parents, I wanted to establish a platform from which to further appreciate the nuances embedded in the past that until this time had eluded me even when they have substantially contributed to my own lived experiences. It is counter-storying that has opened the proverbial floodgates to

the past allowing me to delve into the information that was locked up in those bygone eras, which has permitted me this occasion to share these education, employment transition stories across a treasured segment of my genealogy. Kaupapa Māori theory has been a fitting research methodology for such an undertaking, championing the authenticity of the 'Māori experience', a lived experience that has captured treasured memories that can now be understood through a wider socio-historical context.

Kaupapa Māori theory also paved the way for incorporating the voice of Sir Apirana Ngata to help me understand the impact of education on what it meant to be 'culturally' Māori, and whether employment is the actual goal, especially if it comes at the expense of sacrificing what it means to be Māori. Māori people are being educated. Māori people are going into employment. Many Māori are doing this without ever identifying culturally with being Māori. Does this fit into a future where Māori are just another New Zealand-based minority population because the unique cultural markers that make us indigenous in Aotearoa New Zealand are not being asserted? Ngata wrote '*E tipu e rea*' to remind Māori people that to be Māori and to be successful you need to retain both your language and heritage, while also seeking to attain all that comes with education. Through the creation of this statement, I consider Ngata to be one of the first kaupapa Māori theorists, in his advocating for a way forward in particularly turbulent times for Māori. This period has included an

assimilative, deficit-based education system that has created profound disadvantage for a significant proportion of Māori who have struggled in the attainment of education as Māori. What has been realised is that it is far easier to try to fit into this system without the baggage that comes with identifying culturally as Māori. It is far easier to be educated and not identify culturally with being Māori, rather than to be educated and proud to be Māori.

The inclusion of my own education-employment transition narrative was an attempt to bridge that gap. I was that Māori person who was educated not to be culturally Māori; however, instead of accepting the deficit-based education that many Māori drop out of, I slowly and intermittently progressed through the system to the point where I was able to understand what it had done to me. This realisation also opened up new possibilities for me, to want to learn what it means to be culturally Māori, to learn the histories, the protocols and the language. For me it has meant coming full circle. In providing my own narrative, I was also able to reach out to those generations that I have an understanding of, Māori people who are parents themselves and young Māori who have just gone through or are going through their own transitions between education and employment. This prompted me to write a letter to my teenage daughter who will soon be going through her own education, employment transitions. The analysis of these experiences have been positioned

squarely in a discourse of structural and systemic inequity, created by the ideological

themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration. As these entities have

persisted, the inequity has become more indistinct. It is this ambiguity that needs

challenging head on, which has been one of the purposes of sharing these narratives

and this research embedded unquestionably in kaupapa Māori theory, to 'out the

public secret'. Taussig (1999) asserts the ambiguity of the 'public secret' in the

following statement:

> Yet what if the truth is not so much a secret as a *public* secret, as is the case with most important social knowledge, *knowing what not to know*? ...What we call doctrine, ideology, consciousness, beliefs, values, and even discourse, pale into sociological insignificance and philosophical banality by comparison: for it is the task and life force of the public secret to maintain that verge where the secret is not destroyed through exposure, but subject to a different sort of revelation that does justice to it. This is the verge of "a thousand plateaus," resolute in its directionless stasis, my subject, my just subject: the characterization of negation as sacred surplus whose force lies entirely in the mode of revelation we seek and seek to make. (Taussig, 1999, pp. 2-3)

My response in the form of this thesis has been to engage in a reverse form of social

disruption (Ritchie, 1990), to test the capacity of the 'public secret' while also finding a

space from which to give voice to the missing information as it relates to Māori

education employment transitions and also my own genealogy. This knowledge has

prompted a transformative response in the form of an emerging consciousness that

has come out of "*knowing what not to know*" (Taussig, 1999, p. 2).

This research was intent on tapping into the potential of networks that support young Māori through their education employment transitions and chose to illustrate this by counter-storying the lived experiences of establishing a community hub that educates whole families. As a community project, the parents and whānau whānui that were part of the LMP initiative were under no illusion that they should just wait for a major structural overhaul to happen that could potentially be beneficial in turning around Māori education employment transition. Instead, their investment of time, energy and limited resources has been focussed on making small changes that could sit alongside these deficit-based systems. These changes may have looked small but aim to leave a massive imprint in that educating the whānau and educating parents as well as their children has been transformative. These are the support buffers for keeping our children on an educational pathway. It is an indication that by changing the script that many Māori parents have in regards to their own history with education, there is potential to change the limited horizons that many Māori families have had to live with. This initiative has also helped to address the whakamā experienced by parents who were not fluent in the Māori language but who still took the extraordinary measure of putting their children in total immersion Māori schooling. Our children belong to the context of their whānau first and foremost, so it seemed an oversight that a more holistic approach to educating the whole whānau unit would not be seen

as the answer to generating success for Māori in education, and the natural spill over into employment.

Recommendations for Future Research

There needs to be more scrutiny placed on the education system and at all levels from early childhood through to tertiary that draws attention to why these systems continue to fail Māori, and then equal focus on what strategies need to be put in place that result in success for Māori in education. Much of what young Māori understand about potential careers and employment opportunities directly stems from their schooling experiences (or subsequently, lack of experience). Many strategies that are implemented to tackle Māori educational underachievement look to give young Māori a positive experience of schooling. These strategies are more evident at the secondary school level but after Year 13, the support appears to dwindle and stop. Young people are then left to fend for themselves in tertiary education institutions or further training, in the employment markets or require jobseeker assistance, all of which have the potential to miss the mark. More research needs to be conducted that highlights these transitioning points as so much energy and resource is put into specific education systems such as secondary schooling only for that momentum to come to a standstill due to support systems that are just not

supportive. A more seamless system is required so that the investment into these young people can be fully realised.

There are international programmes and strategies that are shipped into New Zealand and expected to remedy the negative statistics associated with Māori education. Research that compares some of these foreign educational models that have been established in Aotearoa New Zealand with more home-grown strategies would be an area of research interest that should be pursued. Examples of these international models might include charter schools (secondary schooling), and the American early childhood programme HIPPY (Home Instruction for Parents of Preschool Youngsters) (Westheimer, 2003; Buchanan & Fox, 2004). Grassroots initiatives such as the LMP collaborative project discussed in Chapter Nine could provide a more comprehensive model for other Māori communities to follow. In providing some form of rationale for this type of research, the following quote is a reminder of why the past is an important part of the solution. I believe this to be the downfall for many international programmes that attempt to establish here, as many of them do not have nor care about fostering a historical understanding of Aotearoa New Zealand:

> If we hunt them [Māori] into education as we have hunted them into selling their lands, a spirit of resistance will naturally be engendered ... Make

education part of the Runanga; give the direction of it to themselves. Let them feel it is their own work" Hugh Carleton, Auckland School Inspector, MP for Bay of Islands. (Barrington, 2008, p. 19)

I cannot help but think of Hugh Carleton when I hear about Māori educational initiatives, whereby Māori are successfully educating their own. However, complacency aside, the challenge and vision is to have the majority of Māori students receive their education through Māori-medium and not mainstream schooling. Māori people have had such a mixed bag of experiences of education but the transformative stuff has occurred because the education that many of us have come to know has failed in its attempt to educate. Of course, there are Māori who will resist an education system that is inherently flawed. Māori have been falling out of this education system since its inception. It was the same education system then that is being continually rolled out today, well over a hundred years later. However, more needs to be known about what works and what does not for Māori. Perhaps many of these foreign models can fit the Aotearoa New Zealand context, if they can commit to genuinely engaging in good relationships with Māori. Being able to come up with answers or insights into these matters would be an excellent way to continue on with some of the themes that have arisen from out of this thesis.

Where to from here?

For this particular thesis, being able to share it with members of my whānau is important to me. There are still so many stories to listen to and acknowledge. What has become increasingly apparent is that being able to engage in this process and share these insights and stories has been a healing journey. Inadvertently, what has been provided here is an opportunity to engage in legacy kōrero through this collection of stories and critical reflections about my family that I can pass onto my daughter and my extended whānau. The politicised nature surrounding the systemic education of Māori people needs to be offset by the narratives of our people, to counteract the deficit representation of Māori. Some form of rethink needs to be engaged in so that Māori can continue to have faith in the power of education. The historical trend of the New Zealand education system and its goal to assimilate and westernise Māori continues to be at cross-purposes with the positive effects associated with staying at school. There remains considerable scepticism that Māori continue to experience the enduring nature of a bygone assimilative agenda, which clearly manifests itself through inequities experienced by Māori students in most aspects of education. To counter this inherited baggage, Māori parents and whānau whānui need to have more of a connection with their children's education, to act as the 'buffer' to balance out the limitations of the system with the positivity of learning together as a whānau unit. It is not the generic magic formula for all Māori but it does offer a way

forward, and something to talk about in the long passage of uncomfortable silence that is education employment transition for Māori.

What must be acknowledged is that the New Zealand education system is essentially racist. The racism stems from its original intention, which was to assimilate Māori into a system created to disadvantage Māori people and represent the Māori culture and language as deficient. This ideology and discourse needs to be continually challenged as it persists in its efforts of churning out more educational failure and underachievement across education and employment for Māori whānau. It also needs to be made answerable for creating generations of 'brown labourers' who tend to be the easily expendable in depressed labour markets. Generations of Māori children have failed secondary school for a various numbers of reasons. One of those reasons looks to the failure of the education system to engage children in learning because the learning was so far removed from their own lives. Bernstein (1975) understood this as the tendency "to abstract the child's personal biography and local context from his cultural biography and institutional context" (p. 25). Ngata believed that being Māori meant that the practise of culture and language would be predetermined, which is why he was so impassioned in his desire that more Māori should pursue western education. What Ngata would soon come to realise though was that the influence of

an education system that did not cater to the lived experiences of its Māori students would not only make Māori more westernised but it would also make them less Māori.

In my own family, although we have a history of schooling it was a history of limited opportunities. Though we have a history of employment, it was a history of vocational employment. Slowly our whānau have changed the script to include academia, largely due to luck and tenacity. What we have lost through this process though is much of our culture, identity and language. It is a sore point that slowly is being clawed back through the education of our children and our collective push to learn the Māori language. The power of education is compelling and dynamic. It has developed into tino rangatiratanga and determining our own pathway or understanding it as "radical far-reaching strategies for change" (Poata-Smith, 2005, p. 214), because we have come to know the system for what it is. Being able to succeed in it is to claim back the mana of our family and our whakapapa. As Penetito (2011a) outlines "if the system was not going to provide the education Māori wanted and needed then Māori would provide it themselves" (p. 10). It is a heartfelt thank you to all the generations that have gone before us, who toiled, learnt and survived so that we as a whānau can continue to learn and to be better people for our ongoing, future generations. Finally, it is the certitude that in the face of adversity, in being able to educate ourselves and to think outside the paradigms that continue to define our

education and employment experiences that we as Māori people can rise above this viewpoint and that we can and will survive:

> Indigenous peoples throughout the world survive policies and practices ranging from extermination and genocide to protection and assimilation. Perhaps more than any other feat, survival is the greatest of all Indigenous peoples' achievements. (National Organising Committee of the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education, 1993, Article 3.1)

So will there be a successful conclusion? Or does it suffice to say that another revolution of the cycle is in progress that through conversations such as these, things are shifting. The more we know and the more we seek to understand are all ideas that contribute to a change in our collective outlook when it comes to education. It is not just waiting for things to happen or even expecting that the system will change. It is about Māori giving themselves the permission to make things change for themselves. Mostly this change is a change in mindset, a return to Māori cultural values and principles and a willingness to work with families, parents and children to inspire them to do things differently. Māori culture is an asset and a strong Māori identity can only support Māori educational achievement (Walker, 1989). The counter-narrative is about recognising this and about maintaining these stories. Māori communities, parents and students are consistently being blamed for things they do not have and which the education system did not provide them with. The deficit thinking attached to this makes Māori culpable for this oversight. By sharing these experiences and through

creating alternate identities and strategies, Māori give themselves a choice to either define education for themselves or be defined by education. With that choice comes a sense of 'radical hope' (Lear, 2006) that education can be the pathway to better employment options for Māori and that education can lead to a more just society. However, it will not happen with the education system that we have always put up with. It is happening though, through an evolving, transformative education system that our children and families are designing for themselves.

Epilogue

You are my grandmother
Bastion of love
Consistent and caring
Missed by all.

Fast forward
To me and now
The mantle is passing
Please let it land on solid ground.

Here is my daughter
The legacy of a great-grandmother
She is a seed and will grow
From within the realm of loving arms.

My grandmother Mereana Luke (nee Wharehinga) passed away during the writing of this thesis. In 2014, at 84 years of age, she decided that she did not want to live anymore. Nan was in indescribable pain, the arthritis that she had silently suffered with over many years had become excruciating. However, our Nanny never made a fuss of it and mostly what she did was live with this chronic pain. That was until it became too much for her and so over a matter of weeks she slowly stopped eating and drinking, and she passed away peacefully with her family by her side. It was extremely hard to say goodbye to my grandmother as she had been a constant presence in my life for my whole life and she had had a loving relationship with my daughter Waimirirangi as well who was 12 when her Nanny passed away. My

grandmother is the reason why I have written this thesis in this particular way and with this particular subject. She always thought I would go to university and that I would be successful. However, she also told me to be myself and never try to be anything or anyone that you are not. This was from a woman who barely went to school herself and who had many jobs from factory work and cleaning to working at the Post Office. As children living in Taranaki, when my siblings and I would stay with our grandparents in Wellington for the school holidays, our grandmother got us jobs selling the Evening Post newspaper on the streets of Wellington CBD. That way she figured we would not have time to cause any trouble and we would also have spending money. It is fitting that this thesis is dedicated to her memory and that these last words are for her. She is an amazing role model who gave birth to my mother, who gave birth to me.

    And so I have produced my own contributions, one is a daughter Waimirirangi, the continuation of a legacy and the other is this thesis, a physical and spiritual journey bordering on the realms of academia and te ao Māori as a means to express my absolute uniqueness. It is fulfilling its purpose, to add another story, a story within a story, to my contributions to this world. In sharing this kōrero-ā-whānau, perhaps other kōrero will be sought out and be told, to honour our whakapapa and our Māori heritage and the importance of knowing and validating that knowledge through its continued use. Kua ea…It is done (Mead, 2003).

My mother was the Earth. My father was the Sky. They were Rangi[nui] …
and Papatuanuku, the first parents, who clasped each other so tightly that
there was no day. Their children were born into darkness. They lived among
the shadows of their mother's breasts and thighs and groped in blindness
among the long black strands of her hair. Until the time of separation and
the dawning of the first day. (Ihimaera, 1984, p. 204)

Ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea…
Tihei mauriora!

APPENDICES
Appendix A: Introduction Letter—Wharehinga Whānau

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui

Kia ora e te whanaunga
Nga mihi aroha kia koe
My name is Moana Mitchell. I am the great-granddaughter of Wi Manaawai (Manawawai) Wharehinga, who was the father of my grandmother Mereana Pero Luke (nee Wharehinga). My intention is to write about Wi as part of my whānau narrative, which is an important part of the PhD thesis in Education that I am completing through Victoria University of Wellington. I am following up a conversation I had with you regarding your help with my PhD research project, which is proposing to provide whānau narratives to the topic of Māori education employment transitions. This letter is to formalise our relationship and your support of this project. I am looking at conducting in depth interviews and a wānanga with some of Wharehinga whanaunga who are able to meet with me.

In a few days, I will make contact with you again to see whether you can support me by (1) sharing your own experiences of my great-grandfather Wi and/or my grandmother Mereana, (2) perhaps share this project with other Wharehinga whānau members to ascertain whether they would like to participate in this research also by allowing me to interview them, and (3) arranging a hui with whānau so that I can provide information regarding my research project and to establish whether other whānau members are willing to participate in it.

I have included the information sheet for your information. In regards to the actual information gathered from participants, this will help to inform my PhD thesis and other publications I may potentially write about Māori education employment transition. You can contact me on (021) 049 1126 or through email moana.mitchell@vuw.ac.nz.

I look forward to working with you and thank you for your time.

Noho ora mai, nāku noa nā,
Moana Mitchell

Appendix B: Introduction Letter—Parents

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui

Kia ora korua
Nga mihi aroha kia korua
I am formally writing to you both to introduce to you the research that I want to do, that I would like you to be part of. Firstly, I am very happy that you have taken time to read my letter. I am really interested in hearing more from your teenage experiences of school-to-work transitions. This is the research that I plan to do, which I plan to talk about throughout this letter.

The purpose of my research is looking at whānau experiences of school-to-work transition for Māori. As part of that, I am seeking more information from the Wharehinga part of our whānau, as I am seeking to write a narrative of my great-grandfather Wi Manaawai (Manawawai) Wharehinga. I will also be adding my own education employment transition experiences to this study. As part of my project, I would like to interview you both about your experiences of school-to-work transition. The interview may be across several days, and could take a total of three to four hours. I will seek your consent for this process. You will be consenting to my use of the information you share for my PhD, for me to audiotape the interview and that you are able to withdraw from providing any information within a two-week timeframe. This covers your consent to being identifiable within my research. You will also be given an opportunity to check your story and I plan to keep in touch with you so that you are fully aware about what is happening with your interview. The information that you provide me will help me write up my PhD thesis and other publications about school-to-work transition for Māori.

In a few days, I will make contact with you both to see whether you would be willing to help me out. I have included information the process that I intend to take with this research project. I also have a consent form for you to fill out and am willing to talk to other whānau about this research if that would helpful. For further information you can contact me on my cellphone (021) 049 1126 or email moana.mitchell@vuw.ac.nz.

Noho ora mai, nāku noa nā,
Moana Mitchell

Appendix C: Introduction Letter—Like Minded Pākeke (LMP)

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui

Kia ora koutou
Nga mihi nunui kia koutou
I am formally writing to you all to introduce to you the research that I am wanting to do, that I would like you to be part of. Firstly, I am very happy that you have taken some time to read my letter. I am really interested in hearing more from your teenage experiences of school-to-work transitions. This is the research that I plan to do, which I plan to talk about throughout this letter.

The purpose of my research is looking at whānau experiences of school-to-work transition for Māori. As part of that, I am seeking more information from the Wharehinga part of our whānau, as I am seeking to write a narrative of my great-grandfather Wi Manaawai (Manawawai) Wharehinga. I will also be adding my own education employment transition experiences to this study. As part of my project, I would like to interview you both about your experiences of school-to-work transition. The interview may be across several days, and could take a total of three to four hours. I will also bring food and refreshments to your house, or at a location convenient for you.

You will be given an opportunity to check your story and I plan to keep in touch with you so that you are fully aware about what is happening with your interview. The information that you provide me will help me write up my PhD thesis and other publications about school-to-work transition for Māori.

In a few days, I will make contact with you both to see whether you would be willing to help me out. I have included information the process that I intend to take with this research project. I also have a consent form for you to fill out and am willing to talk to your support people or other whānau about this research if that would helpful. For further information you can contact me on my cellphone (021) 049 1126 or through email moana.mitchell@vuw.ac.nz. I look forward to working with you and thank you for your time.

Noho ora mai, nāku noa nā,
Moana Mitchell

Appendix D: Research Consent Form

Research Project Title: Ka Ao, Ka Ao, Ka Awatea: Emergent whānau narratives about education employment transition

I have read the Information Sheet about this research and have had details of the research explained to me.

1. My questions about the research have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.
2. I agree/do not agree that these interviews can be audio-taped. (delete one)
3. I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the research within two weeks of receiving the information sheet, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the research.
4. I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and that I will not be identified in the research or any reports on the project or to any party.
5. I understand that I will have an opportunity to comment on the research findings and check the accuracy of any interviews.
6. I understand that the information collected for the purposes of this study may be used in other research projects.
7. I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Participant's Name:_____

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: /   /

Contact details:_____

_____

Researcher's Name: _____

Researcher's Signature: _____

I would like my information: (circle one)

a) returned to me
b) returned to my family
c) other (please specify)..

I would like to receive a copy of the final report: YES   NO   (circle one)

Appendix E: Information Sheet—General

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui

Kia ora,

My name is Moana Mitchell. I have been in social services in Porirua for about 20 years. Currently, I live in Otaki and have a daughter who goes to Te Kura Māori o Porirua. Also, this year I am doing my PhD in Education at Victoria University of Wellington. As part of that, I am undertaking a research project. The purpose of this research will look at emergent whānau narratives about Māori education employment transitions. I am really interested in knowing more about how whānau have experienced and negotiated secondary school transition. This research will be done over the next six months, from August to November 2011. The outcome of this research will help inform my PhD thesis and other publications about Māori education employments transitions.

If you are able to be part of this process, you can expect that the following things can happen. Someone (or myself) has made contact with you to ask if you would like to meet with me. From there I will talk a bit about who I am and what I am doing with my research. I will formally ask you whether you would like to participate in my research and you will sign a consent form, if you choose to participate. From here, I will make contact with you to make a time and date to meet up for an interview. This interview could take between one to two hours, or another negotiated timeframe. I will also provide a kai/light refreshments for you. This interview will also be taped to ensure that what you tell me is recorded correctly. Your recorded interviews are important to me, so I have to make sure that the data collected is safe. I will do that by storing the recordings in a locked file. I will also have the recordings available for five years after which they will be destroyed. If you have any questions regarding the storing of your interviews, please ask me about it. After this and with your blessings, I will write up this research, and will have a copy of it available for you to read.

I am really interested in your being fully informed about this process and understanding what you are consenting to, so I will spend some time in ensuring that this happens. This is so that you choose to consent because you are interested in my research and how it will help with getting information out there about how Māori transition between school and work. You will be able to withdraw from this research, up to two weeks after signing the consent form, if you so choose. There is no

compulsion for you to participate in this research if you do not want to. Also, the Human Ethics Committee at Victoria University of Wellington has approved this research.

If you have any questions about the research, please feel free to contact me on the contact details listed below.

Researcher:
Moana Mitchell
(021) 049 1126
moana.mitchell@vuw.ac.nz

I am excited to be doing this research about emergent whānau narratives as they relate to Māori education employment transitions, and I look forward to engaging with you about this project.

Nga mihi mahana, nā
Moana Mitchell

Appendix F: Research Questions

The main research questions are: what influence has the ideological themes of assimilation, cultural adaptation and integration had on state policy and the education-employment transitions of Māori? In addition, how might Māori education-employment transitions be contextualised and theoretically understood through family-based narrative?

The following are contributory questions that may be extended on and are, due to their flexible nature, in a constant flux of change, as is the premise of phenomenological-based research (Creswell, 2003):
• What western and kaupapa Māori theories explain the impact of policy on Māori education-employment transition?
• How are structural disadvantages manifested within Māori education-employment policy and policy practices?
• How have whānau experienced education employment transitions?
• What are their actual experiences?
• Have their experiences changed their aspirations? If so, why and how?
• Who has influenced whānau about school and transition? How have their ideas been influenced?
• Does Māori culture play a part in Māori education employment transition? If so, what part?
• Does whānau/family have a role in Māori transition aspirations? If so, what role?
• Do Māori think their experiences of transition are different from other cultures? If so, what experiences have been different and why? What experiences do they share?
• How might transformative learning contribute to the ongoing conversation about Māori education and employment?

These questions relate specifically to the whānau narratives:
• What was your experiences of growing up in rural areas?
• What were your educational experiences?
• How did the education you received impact on your understandings of career/employment?
• Did your identity as Māori influence your transition between education and employment?

These questions relate specifically to the LMP parents group:
- What are your experiences of education as an adult?
- What would be some of the educational aspirations you have for your whānau?
- How have educational barriers impacted on your whānau?
- What has been the advantages/disadvantages of being part of a parent group?

Appendix G: Introduction Letter—Ngata Whānau

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wananga o te Upoko o te Ika a Maui

Kia ora te whānau o Apirana Ngata

Ko Moana Mitchell tōku ingoa. My Nanny Mereana Luke (nee Wharehinga) grew up in Anaura Bay and Tolaga Bay, and is the reason my family are able to whakapapa back to the East Coast, with our Waru and Wharehinga whakapapa (from Uawa and Tikapa). I have a great respect and love for my Ngāti Porou and Te Aitanga a Hauiti whakapapa, and even though my whānau have mainly lived in Wellington, we are continually trying to re-connect ourselves back to our 'Coastie' heritage. As part of that re-connecting, I have been writing a PhD for the past seven years about the education-employment transitions of my great-grandfather Wi Manawawai Wharehinga, my parents' Ron Moana Mitchell and Te Wairingiringi Charmaine Mitchell (nee Luke), and my own. The reason for my letter is to share with you a hypothetical conversation I developed as part of my PhD, which features Sir Apirana Ngata. The conversation is hypothetical because I created part of the text from archival material featuring Sir Apirana and his writings.

To explain how the idea for this came about, in 2011, when I first began this PhD journey, I spent a lot of time in Archives New Zealand, wracking my brain around how I was going to include this archival material into my thesis to support the school-to-work transition stories of my great-grandfather. I sat in Archives New Zealand so scared because I'd read so much, but nothing made sense. However, Sir Apirana and his writings pulled me out of my funk, because he mapped out what had happened to my family, both the positives and the negatives. This is why I felt so compelled to include him into my own writing, because he spoke directly to my great-grandfathers experiences of being at Te Aute, where he was enrolled in 1904 during the time that it changed to a manual/agricultural curriculum.

I was drawn to Sir Apirana and his passion for advocating a way forward for Māori to have the best of everything, of being culturally grounded in tribal communities, as well as being able to advance through western mechanisms such as education. A light switched on, and I was hooked on the idea of capturing Apirana and his passion for the advancement of Māori people. I wanted his writings and his whakaaro to be the lens through which to understand what had happened with my family as they were

being educated, and why we collectively gravitated to career paths that were mainly vocational.

So out of the very sterile surrounds of Archive New Zealand, my imagination ran riot with this amazing conversation (much like the exchanges of correspondence I'd already seen Sir Apirana have with a number of people, Sir Rangi Hiroa being one of those). At the Archives, it was a conversation between Sir Apirana and myself. However, I realised earlier on that it needed to be an exchange between theorists of that historical era. So it then became a dialogue between myself, Sir Apirana and a British sociologist named Basil Bernstein, who wrote about how power and control exists in systems that educate minority students. Sir Apirana and Bernstein, both very important figures, have been able to make sense of what happened with the historical experiences of my great-grandfather, and also with my parents. This is why I have positioned them as I have in my PhD.

I understand that the timing of this letter could have been better because I am coming to the end of completing my PhD, so I apologise profusely for this. It was always my intention to make contact with the descendants of Sir Apirana to express to you my gratitude and to share this with you. It just took me awhile to figure out how to do that. What I really wanted to tell you though is that Sir Apirana saved my doctoral life (literally I did consider discontinuing with my PhD, as my Nanny Mereana passed away in 2014 while I was in the midst of writing it). The only thing that kept me going was that my Nan gave me her stories about my great-grandfather, and that the conversation developed between Sir Apirana and Bernstein has provided so many insights into my great-grandfathers education, and his eventual employment as a carpenter when he went back to Tolaga Bay in Te Tairāwhiti.

What I also feel I need to assure you is that what I've written is not an attempt to talk for Sir Apirana. What I've done is my very best attempt to include Sir Apirana and his amazing writings into my PhD. There is never any doubt as to the fact that I have written these letters and created this hypothetical conversation, and that I have referenced the writings of Sir Apirana as part of my development of an analytical framework from which to understand the transitions of Wi and my parents Ron and Te Wairingiringi.

So, I really wanted to write to you to tell you that I am indebted to Sir Apirana and to you as his descendent/s, and that I was always going to be in contact with you to share this kaupapa. What I have hoped to do is to honour his contribution with the utmost respect. In this very brief outline to you of what I have created and why, I also share

with you that I am forever humbled and grateful for this chance to incorporate him into my writing. I pray that you will see that my intentions are pure, and that I have written my PhD in this manner because of the love I have for my whānau, and for being Māori.

If meeting with you to present what I have written and to talk more about this sounds feasible, I would be absolutely keen to do that.

Thank you again for reading my letter.

Mā te atua koe e manaaki, nā
Moana Mitchell

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