NGA KAPUA WHAKAPIPI A TAMAMUTU – STRENGTH IN UNITY NURTURING FUTURE TURANGITUKUA LEADERS

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of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

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ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgements.

Evelyn Hirau Wharawhara Bennett
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> *"Ko ratou nga uri a Rea raua ko Hingaia Huruao nga kaitiaki tuturu o te whenua"*
>
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"Kotahi te kohao o te ngira e kuhana ai te miro ma, te miro pango, te miro whero"
"There is but a single eye of the needle through which white, black and red threads must pass": denotes all people, regardless of race or creed, working together.

ETHICS APPROVAL

The AUT University Committee Ethics approval was endorsed on 11 April 2005. Number 05/67.

ABSTRACT

Education is development. It helps to create choices and opportunities for people, reduce the twin burdens of poverty and diseases, and give a stronger voice in society. For nations it creates a dynamic workforce and well-informed citizens able to compete and cooperate globally – opening doors to economic and social prosperity.

This study examines how a small group of students coped under conditions of adversity. It follows in the tradition of a wide body of qualitative work that has investigated ethnic minorities and their educational experiences. Much of the existing work, however, focuses on merely describing thematically and/or conceptually, what goes on. This study aims to construct an integrated conceptual understanding of how a minority group engaged in the coping process. More specifically, this study seeks to develop a substantive theory that can help explain and predict human behaviour. Grounded theory methodology was used in aid of the theory development process (Glasser and Strauss, 1967). Put simply, grounded theory is an inductive methodology that attempts to understand action from the perspective of social actors (Brooks, 1998).

To uncover the coping process, the Turangitukua students and their Hapu (sub tribe) in New Zealand are used as the main data source. Two other student groups were used for comparative purposes. Data was obtained by a number of means; including interviewing, focus groups, hui (meetings), and documentary analysis. The collected data was summarised and analysed over a two- year period.

This study contributes to three areas of research. First, it adds to the small but growing body of work relating to Turangitukua hapu (sub-tribe) in New Zealand. Second, it contributes to research in the area of Maori and non-Maori relationships, especially work that focuses on interaction. And finally, it adds to

the formal theoretical literature on indigenous educational settings and its management.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Tuwharetoa e, kia ata whakatere i te waka nei kei pariparia e te tai, ka monenehu te kura.
Whakamarotia atu ano, Ka whakahoki mai ki te kapua whakapipi.
Ka mate kainga tahi, ka ora kainga rua."

O Tuwharetoa take care that the canoe is kept on an even keel lest it be overwhelmed and the plumes of the vessel drenched in the tide.
It is well to advance and stretch out, but in the event of reverses, return to those left behind where strength is reserved.
The man who has but one dwelling dies; the man with two lives.

(Grace, 1959. p. 23).

Globalisation

The world is undergoing a rapid process of globalisation in which the traditional definitions of 'developed' and 'developing' are becoming blurred and economies are becoming increasingly intertwined. Although distinctions do remain, expertise is no longer the prerogative of a particular group of countries. People live in an environment in which the sharing of the experience of change and development is vital for all countries. Countries and cultures need to know more about their neighbours, investing in a common future.

The process of transferring knowledge and expertise between and amongst countries is enhanced by the recognition of mutual benefit and mutual learning. The British Commonwealth and participating Governments have a function to assist their people to formulate and implement strategies by which communities build capability and capacity in key aspects of human resource development that contribute to lasting improvements in the quality of life for their people. Governments should be assisting their people not merely to develop useful solutions to the problems of today, but to think ahead, to develop scenarios and

consider alternatives so that choices can be made for the future. Such choices would build on present strengths and available expertise and would seek to promote solutions fit for the future

The vision should extend beyond traditional concepts of one-way transfer of skills and expertise. Governments need to recognise that they have a wider duty to the communities they serve and that they should be committed to assisting, wherever possible, the dissemination of knowledge and understanding between the countries and peoples of the Pacific region and the promotion of dialogue about the issues of common concern to those societies, placing an emphasis on mutual respect and benefit.

The Study

This study aims to describe how students, were supported through a two-year course of distance learning for youth development training (fully described below). One of the foci will be to examine the coping system that was developed and implemented over the two year period. The study will also discuss how scholarships were awarded to the indigenous people of the Commonwealth, with an emphasis on the scholarships for the indigenous (Maori) people of Aotearoa (New Zealand), followed by an explanation of how two Maori organisations award scholarships.

The British Commonwealth Secretariat's role will be discussed, along with the expectations and responsibilities of the host tertiary institution Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT), and the role of the Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP) New Zealand National Tutor. Any cultural imperatives that were taken into account when considering the needs of Maori students will be documented to show how two international organisations 'managed' their respective responsibilities. An account from pakeha (non-Maori) colleagues on their experiences with students in the programme will be documented, along with the significant contribution they made to the students achievements. An

explanation from the students who failed to complete the study will also be included.

The research methodology will embrace collaborative storying; an approach which facilitates communicating, interpreting and giving meaning to people's lived experiences. Collaborative stories allow research participants to select, recollect and reflect on stories within their own cultural context and language, rather than those chosen by the researcher. Collaborative story telling means that the stories of the research participants (and this includes the researcher) merge to create a collaborative text, a mutually constructed story created out of the lived experiences of the research participants. (Bishop,1996).

It is intended that this study will identify and promote a programme that could be a suitable model for other hapu (sub-tribes) to develop and implement all the while recognising that labelling a project or organisation as 'best practice' may be of limited value because of the diverse histories, cultures and situations of indigenous communities, and the fact that organisations rarely perform equally well across all areas of activity. With that in mind the thesis will strive to highlight the particular elements that contribute towards best practice, rather than uphold those components as perfect entities. Above all else, the study has the potential to show the relevance of a Ngati Turangitukua epistemological construct in education, and provide justification for the notion that it is the indigenous perspective that is crucial to good practice for an indigenous education setting. Chapters four, five and six of this report expand on this element.

History of the British Commonwealth

The British Commonwealth is a unique family of fifty-three developed and developing nations around the world. It is a voluntary association of independent states, which encompass many religions, races, languages and cultures. The Commonwealth Secretariat is the principal organisation of the Commonwealth implementing the decisions taken by the fifty-three member governments. It was

established by Heads of Government in 1965 and is located in London. (World Wide Web, Commonwealth, 2004)

Though the modern Commonwealth is just over 50 years old, the idea took root in the 19th century. In 1867, Canada became the first colony to be transformed into a self governing 'Dominion', a newly constituted status that implied equality with Britain. The empire was gradually changing and Lord Rosebury, a British politician, described it in Australia in 1884 as a "Commonwealth of Nations". Other parts of the empire became Dominions too: Australia (1900), New Zealand (1907), South Africa (1910) and the Irish Free State (1921). They all participated as separate entities in the First World War and were separate signatories to the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Subsequently, they became members of the League of Nations (Ibid).

After the end of the First World War, the Dominions began seeking a new constitutional definition and reshaping their relationship with Britain. The Conferences of Dominions begun in 1887 were resumed and at the Imperial Conference in 1926, the prime minister’s of the participating countries adopted the Balfour Report which defined the Dominion’s as autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, and in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This definition was incorporated into British law in 1931 as the Statute of Westminster. It was adopted immediately in Canada, the Irish Free State, Newfoundland (which joined Canada in 1949) and South Africa. Australia and New Zealand followed. India, Britain's largest colony at the time, had still not achieved self-government and remained a Dominion under the India Act of 1935 until its independence in 1947 (Ibid).

The London Declaration of 1949 was a milestone on the road to developing the modern Commonwealth. India provided an interesting test case: it desired to

become a republic yet wanted to remain a member of the Commonwealth and this posed a fresh challenge to the entire concept. Would Commonwealth membership only be for countries ‘owing an allegiance to the Crown’ as the Balfour Report had stated? A conference of Commonwealth Prime Minister’s in 1949 decided to revise this criterion and to accept and recognise India's continued membership as a republic, paving the way for other newly independent countries to join. At the same time, the word 'British' was dropped from the association's title to reflect the Commonwealth's changing character (Ibid).

The first member to be ruled by an African majority was Ghana which joined in 1957. From 1960 onwards, new members from Africa, the Caribbean, the Mediterranean and the Pacific joined, increasing the diversity and variety that has enhanced the Commonwealth to this day. With its commitment to racial equality and national sovereignty, joining the Commonwealth became a natural choice for many new nations that were emerging out of the decolonisation process of the 1950’s and 1960’s (Ibid).

Since then, the Commonwealth has grown in size and shape, expanding its reach and range of priorities. It is now involved in a wide spectrum of activities, all feeding the greater goals of good governance, respect for human rights, and peace and co-operation in the member countries and beyond (Ibid).

In 1966, the Commonwealth Foundation was launched to assist the growing number of Commonwealth professional associations and, subsequently, non-government organisations. Two significant events in the history of the Commonwealth occurred in 1971. The first was the Singapore Declaration of Commonwealth Principles, which gave the association a formal code of ethics and committed members to improving human rights and seeking racial and economic justice. The second was the creation of the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Co-operation (CFTC), which advanced the idea of technical co-operation among developing countries (Ibid).

The CFTC is the principal means by which the Commonwealth delivers development assistance to member countries**.** Established by Commonwealth Heads of Government in 1971 to put the skills of member countries at each other's disposal, the CFTC operates on the principle of mutual assistance, with member governments contributing financing on a voluntary basis and obtaining technical assistance as needed. The CFTC facilitates technical co-operation between Commonwealth member countries responding to requests from governments for technical assistance through the provision of experts (Ibid).

The Commonwealth Mission statement

"We work as a trusted partner for all Commonwealth people as a force for peace, democracy, equality, and good governance; a catalyst for global consensus building; and a source of assistance for sustainable development and poverty eradication" (Ibid).

The Commonwealth Secretariat

The Commonwealth Secretariat, established in 1965 is the main intergovernmental agency of the Commonwealth, facilitating consultation and co-operation among member governments and countries. The Commonwealth Secretariat is headed by the Commonwealth Secretary General and is located at Marlborough House in London. Its sister inter-governmental organisations are the Commonwealth Foundation (also based at Marlborough House) and the Commonwealth of Learning (in Vancouver, Canada). The work of the Secretariat is guided by the decisions of Heads of Government and governing bodies. It responds to global developments and the needs of member countries and its activities are results-oriented. The Commonwealth Secretariat’s strategic plan and work programme is directed by the mandates set by Commonwealth Heads of Government, who meet every two years (Ibid).

The Secretariat is governed by a Board of Governors on which all eligible member governments are represented. The Board meets annually in May to review the Secretariat's work and approve its future and budget. The Board is supported by an Executive Committee. The Executive Committee meets on a quarterly basis to monitor the implementation of the Secretariat's work programme. The Executive Committee comprises the eight largest contributors to the Secretariat's total resources, plus two members from each region of the Commonwealth: Africa; Asia-Mediterranean; the Caribbean and the South Pacific (Ibid).

The Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP) South Pacific Centre

Headquarters for the Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP) Pacific Centre sit within the Commonwealth Secretariat in London. The South Pacific Centre is one of four regional offices. The others are: CYP Asia Centre (Chandigarh, India), CYP Africa Centre (Lusaka, Zambia), and the CYP Caribbean Centre (Georgetown, Guyana). From 1994 until 2000, the South Pacific Centre was based in Honiara in the Solomon Islands. In the year 2000, the Centre had to relocate to Brisbane due to internal conflict within the Solomon Islands. In 2005, the Centre moved back to Honiara. The Centre works with governments, youth ministries and national youth networks in the fourteen Commonwealth member countries of the Pacific: Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and New Zealand (WWW CYP, 2004).

The range of commonwealth youth programmes include youth policy development, youth enterprise (job creation), youth participation, youth worker training and HIV/Aids awareness. In addition to member governments and youth networks, CYP Centres linked programme partners include regional and national universities (University of the South Pacific, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, and the University of the South Pacific and the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education); bilateral (Australia AID, New Zealand AID); and

multilateral development agencies (United Nations Development Programme, United Nations Children's Fund, Secretariat of the Pacific Community; and the corporate sector Aididem Group – The Body Shop, Accessorise). The core budget is approximately 400,000 pounds (Ibid).

For more than twenty years, the four sub-regional centres (in Melbourne, Australia; Goa, India; Nadi, Fiji and Honiara, Solomon Islands) of the CYP in the Pacific have been offering a diploma course to about thirty students nominated only by governments of countries in the region. The course was expensive to maintain and in many countries, demand for places exceeded supply (Ibid).

Investment in Commonwealth Youth

Youth work in the Commonwealth deals with the personal and social development of young people and uses informal educational methods. In addition, youth workers are taught interpersonal skills to help them work spontaneously and create learning opportunities for the young people they train. The CYP Diploma in Youth and Development course reaches youth workers on a Pan-Commonwealth basis. The course brings greater recognition to youth work by providing a professional qualification and setting a professional standard. (WWW, RMIT, 2005)

In 1999, the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) announced that they would offer a Diploma in Youth and Development to help meet the demand in Commonwealth countries for well-trained professional youth-in-development workers. Centred in the University's Department of Justice and Youth Studies, the university worked with the Commonwealth Youth Programme (CYP) for two years to get the diploma programme up and running. The RMIT course replaced the former CYP diploma, and was offered initially as a pilot to meet the shortage and open up opportunities for young people to contribute to the development of their communities. While this is an international qualification, it is not linked to the New Zealand Qualifications Framework (Ibid).

The Commonwealth Youth Scholarship Programme

In 1999, the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) was assigned ninety students on scholarships by the Commonwealth Secretariat to undertake the Diploma in Youth and Development Work to help meet the demand in Commonwealth countries for well-trained professional youth-in-development workers: forty from Papua New Guinea, twenty from New Zealand and thirty from Australia. Run as a distance- learning course from RMIT, and monitored by the University of Huddersfield in Britain, the Diploma is a portable, Commonwealth-wide qualification in the youth work field (Ibid).

The diploma is awarded through RMIT University and credited at the equivalent level of the first year of a Bachelor of Arts (Youth Affairs) degree. The qualification may cross-credit modules of the diploma to provide students with pathways to degree and possibly postgraduate study (Ibid). This study had intended documenting comment from the RMIT mentor however, the person concerned left RMIT in 2004.

How the course worked

The course was an eighteen-month distance education programme combining local seminars and tutorial support with practical training in youth work. It was delivered by RMIT's Department of Justice and Youth Studies and Department of Social and Community Services. The course was facilitated by four mentors from RMIT, and a regional (New Zealand) tutor (WWW.RMIT, 2004).

The course consisted of thirteen core modules, as well as regional-specific subjects. The core modules utilised uniform training materials, while the region-specific modules were designed locally. Each module took approximately four to six weeks full-time study. However, students were free to arrange a different schedule in their learning contract. Students were not expected to memorise facts, but to engage in discussion, give presentations, do problem solving exercises and fieldwork. Students were often required to work in a team. They

also worked with young people and developed programmes that could be used in their professional life. The core modules of the diploma were:

- Commonwealth values in youth and development
- Young people and society
- Principles and practice of youth in development work
- Working with people in their communities
- Gender and development
- Learning processes
- Management skills
- Project planning, monitoring and evaluation
- Policy planning and implementation
- Conflict resolution strategies and skills
- Promoting enterprise and economic development
- Youth and health
- Sustainable development and environmental issues (Ibid).

CYP Student selection

Irene Paulsen was the Senior Programme Officer for the CYP South Pacific Centre at the time the pilot was implemented. Irene writes:

> *"During the pilot period of the Diploma, the programme was delivered to New Zealand students by RMIT in Melbourne. RMIT then appointed the New Zealand coordinator using their recruitment procedures". "In terms of allocation it was the CYP who decided on the numbers to award to the Universities depending on demand and support that the respective university could provide. Three universities were asked to deliver the programme to South Pacific students. These were RMIT, University of the South Pacific and the Solomon Islands College of Higher Education (SICHE) in the Solomon Islands. In the pilot period New Zealand was allocated 20 places and 13 graduated. In the second offer, there were 40 places provided and 24 graduated. In terms of future offer in New Zealand, it is up to the New Zealand Government to request to CYP for it to be offered again but through a national university" (Personal communication with Eileen Paulsen. 31 August 2006)*

The validity and reliability of the next section has been confirmed by cross checking with other sources wherever possible.

The CYP National Tutor for New Zealand

The New Zealand National Tutor was recruited by RMIT in the year 2000 (Paulsen, 2006). She was described in INTERCOM (a newsletter for CYP students) as … "*a Maori with a background and many years of experience working in the welfare sector; one of the pioneer tutors; a cornerstone in the success in the diploma programme in New Zealand*" (INTERCOM, 2004. pg 5). Her work and commitment to the programme spanned four years and saw thirty-four young men and women graduating from the programme as qualified youth in development workers. Operating out of a one-bedroom flat in Papatoetoe in Auckland, the National Tutor held tutorials in her lounge, hosted many students, and was seen more as an aunt to her students (Ibid).

During her time in the role, she attended numerous regional and international meetings on the diploma programme which were organised by the CYP London and South Pacific Centre offices, and held in Melbourne, Australia (July, 1999), Goa, India (July 2000), and Nadi, Fiji (January 2003) (Ibid). The Turangi mentor saw the National Tutor as the conduit and link between the host university in Melbourne, the Commonwealth Secretariat office in Brisbane and the Turangi group. *"She sent me information and course material, she phoned me regularly, and assisted RMIT with weekend student workshops in Auckland"* (Personal communication with Eileen Te Rangi, 31 August 2005). Students recall attending four such weekend workshops where they sat an exam on the final day as part of their study programme (Personal communication with Wiremu Tawhiri, 31 August 2005). The students and their mentor recall visits by the tutor. However, they were unable to recall the frequency of those visits (Personal communication with Eileen Te Rangi, 31 August 2005).

In *Memories of Youth Development Work* published in the CYP student newsletter INTERCOM (April, 2004), the national tutor reflected on her involvement in the CYP.

> *"The two offerings of the diploma here (in New Zealand) I believe has had a major impact on the New Zealand community. I am still fielding enquiries about when the next offering is going to happen. I try to reassure them we are hopeful it will continue at this stage. Those are the ups of the experience. The downs have been more about maintaining cohesion and consistency in terms of receiving completed modules. By the second offering I was better able to identify from the first intake the gaps and how to fill them by encouraging community study groups with local community agencies as support people." (INTERCOM, 2004. pg 5).*

The intention was to document comment from the CYP National Tutor for New Zealand. Sadly, the person concerned passed away in 2004.

> *"Haere e te whanaunga*
> *Haere ki nga matua e whanga mai nei ki a koe."*
>
> "Farewell my relative, go to the ancestors waiting for you"

CYP Scholarship allocation in New Zealand

The twenty CYP Scholarships were awarded to Maori (indigenous people of New Zealand) and Pacific people who were working (paid or un-paid) with young Maori and/or Pacific youth. Students in Auckland and Whanganui were recruited by the National Tutor for New Zealand using local agency networks, and whanau (family) connections. Programme supporters were recruited in a similar manner (Personal communication with Anthea Temoana, 31 August 2005). Some students failed to start the programme. To avoid losing the scholarships to elsewhere in the Commonwealth it was suggested (by the National Tutor), that the study opportunity be offered to students living in Turangi because whanau (family) were willing to make the two year commitment to support their students. Consequently, six scholarships were assigned to Turangi (Personal communication with Eileen Te Rangi, 31 August 2005).

Student selection in Turangi

There were a number of reasons why the national tutor delegated the student selection process in Turangi to the mentor. First of all, the mentor was willing to commit her time and expertise to supporting the students over the two years of study. Next, the national tutor lived more than 350km from Turangi and therefore, had to rely heavily upon the mentor. As well, the mentor (at the age of 71), was still teaching full-time. This meant she was in a position to access information and to recruit colleagues to support the students in the programme. Finally, the mentor was a kuia (older woman) of Ngati Turangitukua, born and raised within the hapu (sub-tribe) (Ibid).

Students were selected because they had a history of working (paid and un-paid) with young people in and around Turangi, and had demonstrated their commitment to helping to improve better life outcomes for Ngati Turangitukua rangatahi (youth). Students and mentor were closely connected through whakapapa (genealogy) – they all descended from the same 'uri' (progeny). The familial link was important because students met in her home. She thought it was also important to pass on her knowledge about the hapu (sub-tribe) to her own – descendants of Ngati Turangitukua (see the next chapter) (Ibid).

From the outset, the course was significant for the students because it provided an opportunity that was rare in a small rural town. To begin with, the study was affordable, locally based and supported, and the qualification in youth work was recognised throughout the Commonwealth. Further more, they had an opportunity to learn about their hapu (sub-tribe), from their own kuia (older, woman).

Maori scholarship allocation and selection

At this time there were other Maori scholarships available from Tribal organisations, in this case, Land Based Incorporations. In contrast to the CYP scholarship programme, Maori asset based scholarships were allocated

according to birthright and (in some cases), the strength of that connection. If both parents were shareholders in the land block, the allocation could be greater than if only one of the parents held shares. The amount of funding available was determined by the holdings of the land base, and the amount or percentage agreed upon at an Annual General Meeting or binding decisions made by tupuna (ancestors) in the past. The amount a student received was likely to be determined by the number of applications the fund had to be allocated against. In all cases, the application process was clear, forms were made available, and a closing date was set. Fundamental to Maori scholarship allocations, was the need to be Maori, and in the case of Maori owned holdings, the need to be linked through whakapapa (genealogy) to the land or asset involved (Appendix 5, 6 and 7 are examples of application forms for Maori land-based scholarships).

A Traditional Maori Learning Context

Traditional Maori thinking described three sources of knowledge. Firstly there was the experience of the senses. Secondly, there was an understanding of what lied behind sensory experience. Thirdly, there was the experience, particularly in ritual, of oneness with each other and with the past. These three sources of knowledge were spoken of as the three baskets of knowledge brought down from the heavens (Marsden, 2003, pages 58 - 62).

According to most Maori traditions it was Tane (god of the forest), the spiritual power responsible for the trees and the birds and the spiritual power who separated Ranginui and Papatuanuku, (Heaven and Earth). It was Tane (god of the forest) who climbed to the highest heaven and brought back the three baskets (or kete) of knowledge. The names of the three baskets varied from tribe to tribe. The names generally used within Ngati Tuwharetoa are te kete Aronui, te kete Tuauri, and te kete Tuatea. The understanding of what is contained in the three baskets also varies from tribe to tribe. What is presented here is the understanding of the baskets and their contents given by Maori Marsden (Ibid).

According to Marsden, te kete Aronui is the kit containing the knowledge of what is seen, *Aro-nui,* 'that before us', or the natural world around us as apprehended by the senses. The second basket, te kete Tuauri, is the basket containing the knowledge that is Tuauri, 'beyond, in the dark', the knowledge which understands, 'stands under' our sense experience. It is the understanding that is built up of "the real world of the complex series of rhythmical patterns of energy which operate behind this world of sense perception". The third basket is te kete Tuatea, the basket which contains the knowledge of spiritual realities, realities beyond space and time, the world experienced in ritual. Of particular importance to the Maori people, if they are to grasp the worth of the human person in their terms, is the knowledge contained in both the second and third baskets of knowledge (Ibid).

The Second Basket of Knowledge, Te Kete Tuauri: this is the knowledge of the reality behind the colours, shapes, smells and sounds perceived by the senses. It is the knowledge of the 'real world', which is:

> *"…. The seed bed of creation where all things are gestated, evolve, and are refined to be manifested in the natural world. This is the world where the cosmic processes originated and continue to operate as a complex series of rhythmical patters of energy to uphold, sustain and replenish the energies and life of the natural world" (Marsden, 2003, pages 58 - 62.)*

The Third Basket of Knowledge – Te Kete TuaAtea: this is the knowledge that is 'beyond space and beyond time'.

> *"Tua-Atea is the world beyond any space-time framework, it is infinite and eternal. This is the realm of Io, the supreme God whose attributes were expressed in the various names attributed to him. Io-taketake, 'the foundation of all', Io-nui, 'almighty' , Io-roa, 'eternal', Io-uru 'omnipresent', Io-matakana, 'omniscient', Io-mataaho, 'glorious one', Io-wananga, ' all wise'…… "(Marsden, 2003, pages 58 - 62.)*

It is especially in taking part in the Maori rituals and in using the ritual *karakia,* the ritual chants, that there is movement 'beyond space and time' and into the

‘eternal present’ of the rituals. What then of the Maori model of the universe and the place as human beings in the universe? The Maori model of the universe presents us with at least a two-world system, a material world and a spiritual world intimately connected (Ibid).

Turangitukua Learning Context

The final section of this Chapter gives a snapshot of a Ngati Turangitukua learning construct that forms a context out of which Ngati Turangitukua origins, customs, and traditions are considered in their totality. The illustration below (figure 1) was developed by Te Kanawa Pitiroi, spokesperson for Ngati Tuwharetoa. It depicts Ngati Tuwharetoa ancestors and Ngati Tuwharetoa ‘gods’. They in turn present the generic big picture issues such as worldly origins, beliefs and values, rituals, identity, social structures and responsiveness to change. Chapters Three (on whanau) and Chapter Four (on Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Turangitukua) expand further, and collectively, pose the rationale for the students to leave the western construct behind to embrace Ngati Turangitukua ‘life-models’. This in turn, was the context within which this research was conducted.

Figure 1: A Ngati Turangitukua Learning Framework

Source: Te Kanawa Whatumaunga Pitiroi (2004)

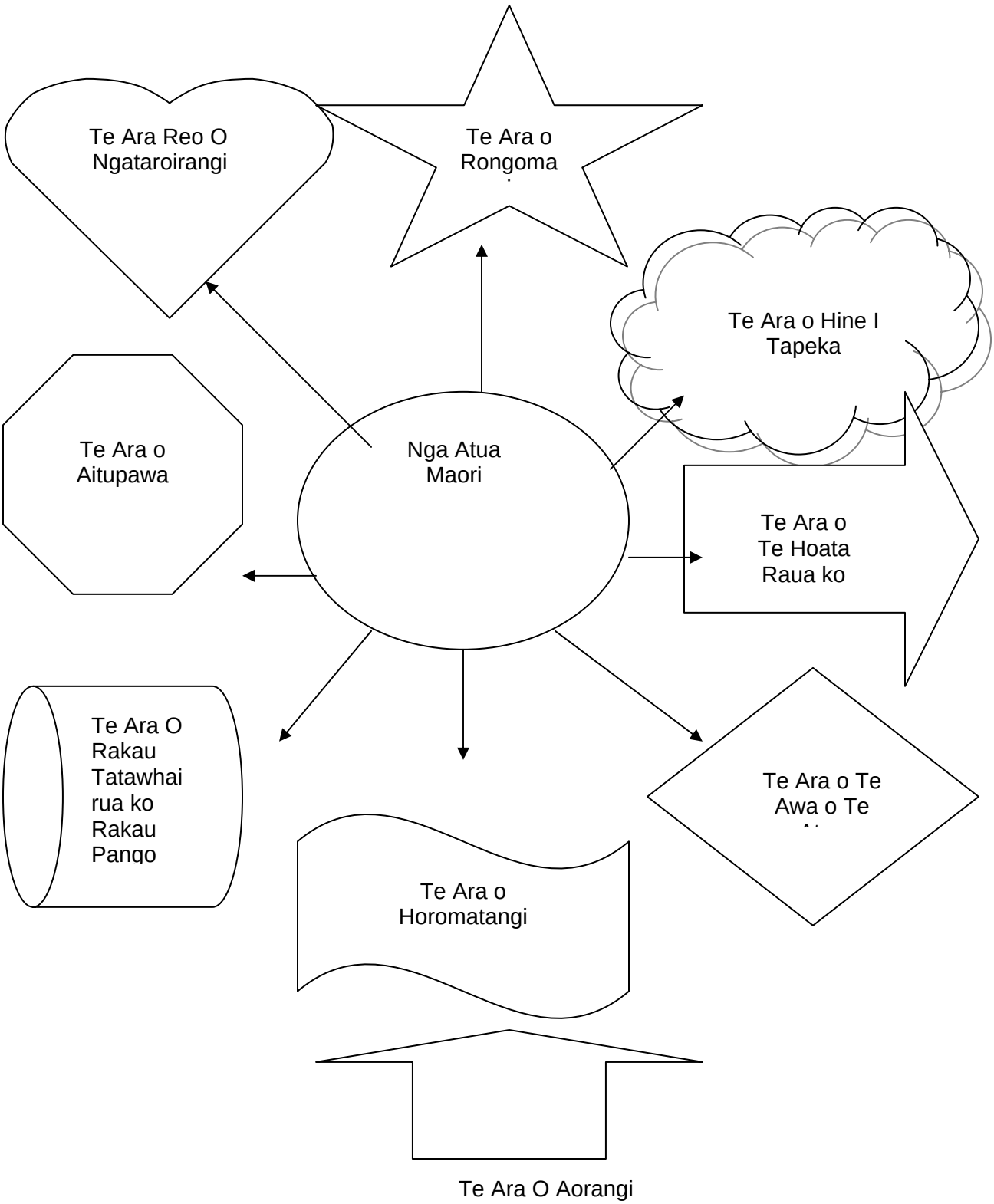
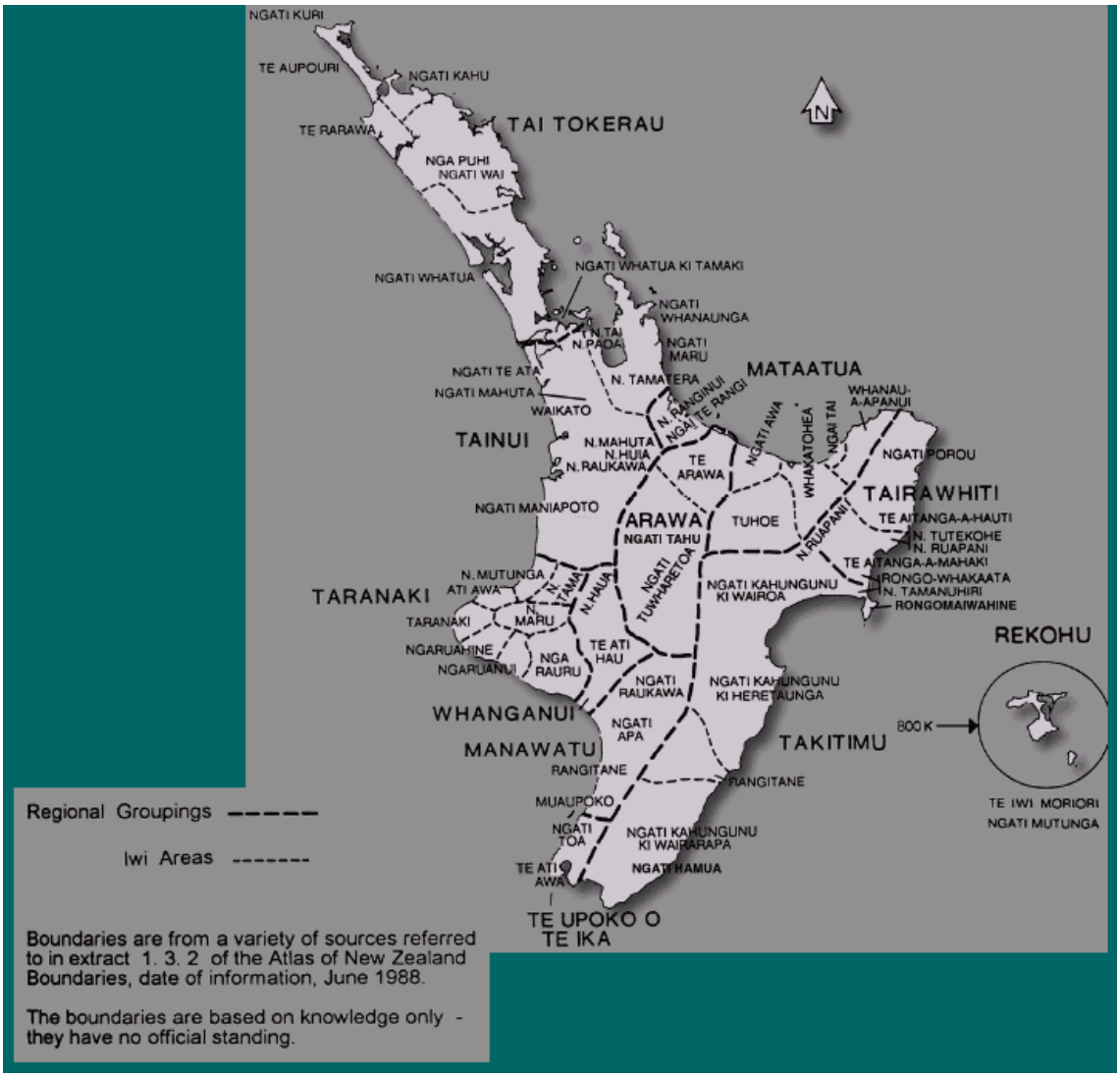


Figure 2. North Island of New Zealand Iwi (tribal) boundaries

The map shows Iwi (tribal) boundaries in the North Island of New Zealand. Ngati Tuwharetoa occupies the Central Plateau. Ngati Turangitukua is a hapu (sub-tribe) of Ngati Tuwharetoa. The primary subjects of the study are descendants of the tupuna (ancestor), Turangitukua. Origins of Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Turangitukua are described fully in Chapter Four of the study.



Source: http://www.takoa.co.nz/iwi_maps_north.htm

Summary

The next Chapter deals with methodology and methods. It gives both a philosophical account of grounded theory and a description of how the research was actually conducted. A step by step account of procedures is given, from the collection of data through to the final write-up.

Chapter Three is the first of the theoretical chapters. It attempts to establish the context and overriding conditions that gave rise to the emergent processes discussed, and the problems identified later in the thesis. This Chapter also reviews the relevant literature especially covering Maori and Education topics in New Zealand.

Chapter Four specifically describes the settings and people of Ngati Tuwharetoa iwi (tribe) and Ngati Turangitukua hapu (sub-tribe).

The next Chapters link the elements of the youth training programme within the context of the people of Ngati Turangitukua and this is followed by a description of the surveys and findings. In essence, these two Chapters attempt to integrate the elements of the education programme within the Maori context.

Finally, the conclusion (Chapter 7) includes an overall assessment of the project model with suggested recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

This chapter explores the approaches used in the study, it provides an explanation of grounded theory, and discusses ethical considerations.

Boundaries of the Study

The author of this report is Maori, born and raised in Turangi, of Ngati Turangitukua descent. Many writers argue that identity, that is being Maori and identifying as Maori and as a Maori researcher, is a critical element of Kaupapa (practice) Maori Research (Smith, 1999). This does not necessarily preclude non-Maori researchers from being involved, but *"not on their own and … they would have ways of positioning themselves as a non-indigenous person"* (Smith, 1999. p. 184).

The study is conducted within the New Zealand context because that was where the programme was located. More specifically, it will focus mainly in one small rural town: Turangi. The selection of the study location in the centre of the North Island of New Zealand and its confinement to a specific locale (i.e.Turangi) is based on pragmatic as well as theoretical criteria. Practically, easy access to Ngati Turangitukua hapu (sub-tribe) and resource management makes the study location feasible. Theoretically, the infrastructure that supported the students is indicative of hapu throughout New Zealand. They are a combination of young and old, professional, working class and unemployed, linked through genealogy and so on. Many emerging sampling categories are likely to be found within this locale.

Opportunities to engage in tertiary education for people living in Turangi are limited to distance courses. Tourism and forestry are the main industries and the prime source of employment. Although the small town of 3,500 people is sited on State Highway One, it is isolated and distanced from a tertiary institution. As a

result, locals grapple with affordability, limited access to resources (libraries, mentors) and technology. Further details and background of Ngati Turangitukua are described in Chapter Four.

Figure 3. Map of New Zealand.

Turangi is on the southern shores of Lake Taupo in the Centre of the North Island.

Source: http://www.nzis.msk.ru/index.html Map of New Zealand

Theoretical and Pragmatic Significance

The study is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it fills a void in theoretical understanding. There has been a plethora of research investigating the positioning of hapu (sub-tribe) and the specific difficulties they encounter within educational settings (Durie,1998). There is a dearth of literature however, concerning how hapu (sub-tribe) 'manage' their circumstances. The intricate details of hapu-host interactions are often glossed over in favour of imposing structural models on hapu (sub-tribe) relations. (Ibid). Within these models, hapu (sub-tribe) are often seen as homogenous entities. The variation within these communities is never accounted for (Ibid).

Research that seeks to understand the perspective of hapu (sub-tribe), their communities, and the variation within these communities, without the imposition of preconceived structures serves a useful purpose. It offers the potential for the emergence of new theoretical perspectives. It acknowledges the role of hapu (sub-tribe) as active agents rather than as passive recipients of overarching structures. Moreover, it offers insight into the dynamics of hapu (sub-tribe) communities, and the role they play in the "management' exercise.

Another reason why this research is significant lies in the nature of the group being researched. Although the focus of the study is on process and less concerned with the group that actually carries those processes, it is evident that the motivating force behind the process derived from hapu (sub-tribe) history and Maori concepts. Therefore, this body of work will add to the current literature on Maori achievement in indigenous education settings.

Finally, this study is significant for its' general applicability. Globalisation goes beyond the transportation of goods and services – it also sees the transportation of social trends, issues and movements. Struggles in one part of the world can initiate or influence struggles elsewhere. In regards to hapu (sub-tribe) concerns, the processes involved are likely to be similar: they may vary only by degree and

intensity. A study that attempts to uncover processes that relate to hapu (sub-tribe) concerns can be seen to have far wider application than the localised units from which they were discovered. Studies of process therefore, are studies of general applicability.

Definitions

A number of definitions need to be made at the outset to help clarify the use of certain terms and labels as they can be found throughout the study. Firstly, defining 'whanau' (family), hapu (sub-tribe/collection of whanau from common ancestor) and iwi (tribe or grouping of hapu); these define the New Zealand understanding of the term 'Maori' (tangata whenua or people of the land). These definitions are important because they identify the "critical boundaries around which [a] grounded theory can be seen in its substantive context" (Charmaz, 1994) The use of whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and Maori labels identifies the distinctive histories of these groups and highlights the impact of structure on the shape of a community. (Walker, 1990). Similarly, to use the New Zealand definition of 'whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and Maori', identifies a power relationship that whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and Maori must deal with in everyday life. This is very much an imposed definition and thus indicates the context of powerlessness and indeed the struggle whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe), iwi (tribe) and Maori go through for self-definition.

These definitions also identify a dualism within the research itself. Such imposed labels can be seen as *etic* definitions: that is, universalistic labels presumed by researchers. Such definitions were seen as important in research disciplines like anthropology when there was a movement away from merely describing communities to comparing different types of communities (Paton, 2001). Quite simply, *etic* definitions allowed easy comparison and therefore connects to an important aspect of grounded theory – to be generalised beyond the substantive unit. This contrasts with *emic* definitions, which refer to the self-definitions of the

group under study. These are culturally relevant to groups but have limited utility outside the cultural context. Within the research is revealed the interplay between self-definition (*emic*) and imposed definition (*etic*) and the process by which informants deal with this problem. Both points of view are reflected in this study, but the *etic* definitions define the boundaries of the substantive study.

Collectivism clashes with Individualism

Prior to colonisation, Maori society was collectively focused and organised on the basis of whanau (family), hapu (collection of whanau from common ancestor) and iwi (tribe, or grouping of hapu). (Walker, 1990) Of particular importance is the notion that access to land was the critical basis of social well-being for Maori. Land was the economic base for all iwi (tribes) as well as possessing cultural and spiritual importance. (Ibid). Maori society was holistic in nature, caring for the land as it cared for them and their needs. Hence, Maori were tangata whenua, people of the land. After the arrival of the English settler's post 1840, and the establishment of the colonial settler state of Aotearoa (New Zealand), the Maori concept of collective social well-being clashed with the Pakeha notion of social well-being. The colonial settlers brought with them the western notion of an individualistic society. Though Maori were successful participants in the early days of colonisation, individualism served to weaken their competition. Maori became dispossessed of their land and thus of their social well-being, instead being forced into assimilation within the state. Land use was to be restructured under a framework that promoted individual profit rather than communal need (Hazelhurst, 1993). Maori people and their society suffered tremendously under the regime of the colonial state, whose primary objective was to destroy their collectivist system (Cheyn, O'Brien and Belgrave, 1997).

Underlying Philosophies

The philosophical basis of grounded theory is not well conceived. Clearly it does not abide by the traditional canons of positivist research, but neither does it

abandon many of positivism's general assumptions. Similarly, it can be seen that grounded theory incorporates elements that are phenomenological, while also maintaining elements of pragmatic utility. So how can grounded theory be philosophically perceived? Grounded theory incorporates all the philosophies mentioned above and each perspective is dependent on the research phase. These consist of: a) the discovery phase, which employs phenomenological principles, b) the conceptualisation phase, which employs positivistic understandings, c) and the assessment phase, which employs pragmatic criteria. Of course these phases are not distinct. They occur simultaneously as the analyst collects analyses, conceptualises and slowly discovers the emergent theory. In the end however, the theory is judged by criteria such as "fit", workability, modifiability and relevance (Glaser, 1978).

Methodology

Grounded theory is the method to be used for this research project. The method emphasises the discovery process in theory development as opposed to logical elaboration, which uses pre-established theoretical frameworks for guidance (Charmanz, 1994) "The general aim of grounded theory is to generate "new" theory, driven by constantly emergent data, while the data collection itself is dependent on continually emergent hypotheses. It is a cyclical motion. Ultimately, grounded theory projects tend to produce substantive theories that explain how a perceived problem is resolved. The theory tends to be psychosocial in nature and reveals social processes, strategies, types and the like. These in turn describe, explain and predict human behaviour. Grounded theories often provide a new twist on an old problem, or open up entirely new areas for study". (Glaser, 1992).

The method is inductive. Simply put, grounded theories are built from the ground up. At the start of a grounded theory study, there is no theoretical structure to interpret data. The analyst builds theory by engaging the data and attempting to understand it. Inductive approaches lend themselves to qualitative data and theory generation (although not exclusively). Deductive approaches however,

work in the opposite direction. Here, established theory imposes itself on the data. It provides a framework for interpretation. Deductive approaches lend themselves to quantitative data and theory testing (although not exclusively). Large data sets tend to be the norm with an array of elaborative statistical instruments to verify established hypotheses. A deductive means of theorising occurs through logically elaborating from existing theory, logico- deductivism.

Although grounded theory is inductive, it differs from the descriptive inductivism of ethnography, life history and phenomenology. These methods attempt to capture the world through “thick description”. Such methods deal with people, places and events, and explanation tends to be conceived through the extant literature. Theorising is not their primary focus. By contrast grounded theory is aimed at discovering theory. The explication of processes, strategies, type and the like is its purpose. Thus people, places and events are seen as the agents that carry processes, reveal strategies and indicate types (Glaser, 1978). Grounded theory aims to conceptualise data, lump these concepts into broad categories, and integrate all through emergent hypotheses. The discovery of general patterns, relationships and the conditions under which these vary is what grounded theory is all about. Grounded theorists want to know what is going on. They look at areas that have either never been studied before or those that are inundated with disparate theories.

The discovery process in grounded theory is an elaborate one. It requires a different logic to that which drives verification studies. In verification studies there is a linear movement from question development, sample selection, data collection, to data analysis. Once analysts have established their theoretical framework, they know what questions to ask, whom to ask them of, and generally, when they are going to analyse the data. In grounded theory however, these stages occur simultaneously so questions are constantly changing, the sample selection (at least at the start) is unpredictable, and the analysis is constant throughout. Grounded theorists do not know what they are looking for.

There can be no problem statement. Grounded theorists want to understand how informants see the world. They want to know how they define the problem and how they seek to resolve it (Ibid).

This is indicative of one of the key components of grounded theory – emergence. Everything emerges in a grounded theory study. There is no preconception. The research problem emerges, the sample emerges, concepts emerge, the relevant literature emerges, and finally, the theory emerges. A grounded theorist simply cannot say prior to the collection and analysis of data what the study will look like. The transformation is a remarkable one (Ibid).

It is a transformation achieved through an extremely tight connection between data and the emergent theory. The data drives the emergent theory, but the emergent theory also drives data collection. An underlying assumption grounded theorists make is: the data is always right. The theory therefore, is in a constant state of flux as the analyst attempts to find an emergent fit between data and theory. In this way, grounded theories are never really finished. They are in constant need of minor modifications as new data continue to emerge. But grounded theories are not representations of a universal truth. Rather they are part of a process to understand reality. And given that reality is in constant motion, then so too should social theories.

As grounded theory is a tool for qualitative investigation, the commonly referenced forms of data collection are social interaction, field studies, participant observation and semi-structured interviews. This is not to suggest that other techniques for capturing qualitative data on human interaction may not be as or more appropriate in a given situation.

Grounded theory focuses on the constant comparison of the data leading to coding and then categorising and analysing of the data. Hypotheses formulation can (and is perhaps expected to) occur before during and after the initial process

of data collection has occurred. Constant comparison focuses on “the simultaneous conceptualisation and assessment of the similarities and differences in social interactions” in search of a “core idea that could explain variability in interactions” (Wells, 1995). This process of data collection, data analysis and hypotheses is inter-related and cyclical in that each may influence the other. To assist the researcher in coding/categorising of data and the selection of the core idea that explains the phenomena under investigation. Schatzman’s model (1991), taking very much the symbolic inter-actionist approach, arguably offers greater operational guidance to the researcher in categorising or scoping the data through a process of inductive and deductive reasoning.

Once the core ideal has been identified, new data on interaction is sought to “confirm and refute the elaborated concepts and the relationship among them”. (Ibid). This process is continued until no new insights into these relationships in terms of the core idea or dimension are revealed. Schatzman (1991) refers to this process as theory delimitation.

Definition of the theory is the final stage of the process. The resulting grounded theory is intended to be a rich, “powerful and parsimonious explanation” of the investigated phenomenon. (Ibid). The better view seems to be that, as it is a form of inductive reasoning, once a theory has been arrived at, the process itself is complete and testing of the theory is not required to confirm its status as validly grounded (Miller and Fredericks, 1999).

Details of Analysis

Grounded theory employs a constant comparative means of theory development. This involves four stages: (1) comparing incidents applicable to each category; (2) integrating categories and their properties; (3) delimiting the theory, and: (4) writing the theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:105). These stages can occur simultaneously, but each eventually leads onto the next as they become

developed. The constant comparative means of theory generation also incorporates four key components; these are, a) coding, b) memos, c) theoretical sampling, and d) theoretical sorting. Emphasis will be given to theoretical sampling because it is here that grounded theory diverges most from “conventional” research.

Coding is the fundamental building block of a grounded theory study. Codes are conceptualisations of data. Coding is not a description of the data; it involves capturing the meaning of a particular data “chunk”. Coding organises the data and delimits the theory. Each “chunk” or incident is given a label or “code”. Each occurrence of an “incident” is recorded and compared to discover higher levels of abstraction. A series of incidents may be united under a categorical umbrella. These incidents are similar, in that they can be lumped together, but they may be different in that they represent divergent aspects of the given concept. These divergent aspects of a given concept are referred to as its “properties”. The theory will be delimited as incidents are compared with each other or with a concept (Glaser, 1992).

Throughout the process of coding and sorting is the writing of memos. Memos are theoretical notes about the data; they connect concepts and ultimately connect the entire theory together. The theoretical nature of memo writing means that it raises the conceptual level as the analysis proceeds. Data leads to memos which lead to concepts, which leads to more memos, which leads to categories. Gathering memos never stops; it is constant throughout. Within memos are the theoretical accounts of the data. Through memos, theoretical codes diminish as they become grouped under ever abstracting concepts. Thus as Brooks (1998) has noted, as codes decrease, conceptual memos increase.

The process of collecting data for comparative purposes is theoretical sampling. Although preconceiving sampling categories is not permitted during the study, gross pre-selection is obviously necessary at the start (Glaser and Strauss,

1967). For example, given that the interest is in Ngati Turangitukua students, it is obvious that at least a sample within this group will be used to start with. After this pre-selection has been made however, further sampling choices are guided only by the emerging theory. That is, the emerging theory reveals theoretically relevant categories that are then used for comparative purposes. With this in mind, initial sampling will focus on the Ngati Turangitukua students, their whanau (family) and members of their hapu. Later sampling groups may include supportive pakeha (non-Maori) living in Turangi, while a number of other subgroups may also emerge as relevant. Comparison groups may also be sampled during the final phase of the research to elaborate the emergent theory and indicate its relevance at a theoretical level. Thus other comparison groups may include students in Auckland. The main focus however, will be Ngati Turangitukua in Turangi. This is where data collection will begin.

Ethics in Educational Research

This chapter is a snapshot of ethics in research. Crotty (1995) argues that much of what passes for codes of ethical conduct is just professional etiquette and that to attempt to derive a code of ethics which is absolute is outmoded. Postmodernist theorists would assert that, looked at independently of context, nothing can be said to be true - morality is a matter for conscience. Informed consent is discussed in Evans and Jabucek's (1996) overview paper. They see informed consent as the key issue in research with human beings. The paper also discusses the traditional foundation of research ethics in Kantian philosophy and also notes recent challenges to that way of thinking from post-modern philosophy. Research code of ethics put in place a certain universality which compels every person to recognise universal rights for all persons as a constant norm. However, emerging post-modern ethical norms raise new problematic issues, going beyond traditional basic concepts of research ethics where empirical universality is assumed to be the one appropriate approach.

Kantian moral philosophy, which guides much of the writing on research ethic, allows that individuals cannot be used as a means to an end but there must be a respect of persons. Research conduct is judged by the extent to which it is aligned to moral agency recognising the principle of respect of persons. It is not ethically permissible to violate participants self-purpose or self-determination. Codes of ethics are useful where there are conflicts to be faced which need to be settled. This represents guidance from colleagues and direction from institutions which both have a responsibility to act as guardians. This view allows the flexibility necessary to judge particular research on its own merits, while at the same time paying attention to certain universal principles such as the respect of persons. Evans and Jabucek (1996) do acknowledge the conflict between the rights of the individual to privacy and the public's right to know. A book by Punch (1986) in qualitative methods in fieldwork sets out a strong case that in some instances covert research is justifiable depending on the public benefit to be gained. He uses the analogy of the social scientist being like an investigative journalist exposing a practice or organisation. Other writers on qualitative research argue for the centrality of a special relation between researchers and researched, and consequently reject covert research as an appropriate method. Punch's line of thinking seems to have little relevance for educational research and is both explicitly and implicitly challenged in much of the literature (Ibid).

Another article by a feminist researcher who does take as a central issue the rights of subjects and the power relations of women in society, discusses an unusual case where she decided to use material collected in a non-research context. The situation was one where Fine (1992) uses an interview between herself as a volunteer rape counsellor and an emergency room patient. Ethical dilemmas arise because no research was originally anticipated. The subject was therefore not informed and information was given in a situation assumed to be private and confidential. In answering the question of whether researchers then have a right to use such information, Fine (1992) gives the qualified response that it depends on the element of risk involved for the subject. There is also a

question of how the subject would feel, what harm would be involved, if information provided confidentially turned up in a journal article. Other authors and education researchers would claim that this type of covert research is never justified.

An article by Kiegelmann (1996) is written from the perspective of a research subject. The article discusses the sense of betrayal of trust involved when the author was involved as a subject of covert research while undergoing analysis by a psychiatrist. A special relationship assuming confidentiality is developed in this situation and Kiegelmann (Ibid) shows that it is currently an accepted practice for therapists to conduct single-subject research without getting the informed consent of their clients. The author argues that this is in itself unethical and that retrospective disclosure is no answer to the initial betrayal. Clients may be manipulated into giving consent and one case is cited where although confessing that they failed to gain informed consent, some researchers went ahead and published anyway, gaining the advantages to their academic careers that this entailed. Kiegelmann (Ibid) argues that research agendas need to be disclosed. This is particularly important in situations where the power imbalance puts the research subject at a disadvantage. In the teaching of qualitative methods this is the only ethical method. Another complaint of Kiegelmann (Ibid) is the inadequacy of current literature on ethics in qualitative research. He (Kiegelmann, 1996) stresses that foremost considerations should be given to the dignity of research participants and that covert research should be avoided. Researchers need to question the ethics of their own projects from these perspectives. Informed consent is problematic because of the power imbalance between researcher and participant, which raises the question, how informed can participants be? Ethical misconduct may be portrayed as a necessary or common aspect of field-work by some researchers (Punch, 1986). Kiegelmann (1996) argues that “the entire framework of a research project needs to be under ethical scrutiny, not just dilemmas that arise in the field...the choice of the research topic already is an ethical decision”.

There are problems with obtaining prior informed consent in the case of qualitative and ethnographic styles of research as set out by Cassell (in Sieber, 1982). It is, she claims, self-contradictory to secure informed consent before research is initiated, since the direction of and conclusions drawn from research are unknown at the beginning of the research. This is consistent with Fine's justification for using data collected before any research was anticipated. Cassell (ibid) argues that a better approach ethically is to judge fieldwork in the context of respect for autonomy based on the fundamental principle that persons should be treated at all times as ends in themselves and never merely the means to an end. This is not meant to replace minimisation of harm but to supplement it in situations where harms are relatively few and difficult to predict. The respect for autonomy should be extended to the autonomy of the group as well as the individual; fieldworkers need to respect and even attempt to augment the authenticity and independence of the communities they study (Ibid).

That informed consent is open to a range of interpretations is raised by Raffe, Blundell and Bibby (Burgess, 1989). They ask how fully respondents should be informed. What opportunity should be given to withhold consent? To what extent should researchers persist in relation to non-respondents with follow-up questionnaires? The authors argue that there is conflict between ethical and technical considerations in research and that codes of ethics are generally written by professionals for professionals who are motivated not just by concerns to protect the public but to leave the field clear for other researchers. Burgess (1989) points out that informed consent occupies a central place in ethics literature and that it has a wider application than just field relations in ethnographic work but also applies to survey work, statistical investigation and action research. It is not a universal principle that is unproblematic to use in research investigations. When discussing his own fieldwork, Burgess (Ibid) points to a situation where some of the observation could be construed as spying by some teachers and points out that there are many "grey" areas and that fieldwork

often has to be internationally “deceitful” in order to survive and succeed. It involves compromise and negotiation and demands reflective practice.

Clark (1995) claims that informed consent from participants in research should be secured although there is some debate about how binding this requirement should be. Underpinning this requirement is the idea that participants should be respected as persons. There are some qualifications where studies are conducted in a public place such as a school playground, where parents of children need to be consulted and where informing the participants and obtaining their consent will affect their subsequent behaviour and so, the results of the research. Where it can be demonstrated that the results of the study will generate more-good than harm to the participants informed, consent may be withheld but Clark (Ibid) claims this is difficult to envisage being justified in an educational setting.

The Relationship between the Researcher and Researched – Ownership of Data

Bogdan and Biklen (1992) claim that ethics in qualitative research is dominated by two concerns: informed consent and the protection of subjects from harm. Here it is clear that in fieldwork in education the emphasis is on the relationship between participant and researcher. The issues involved in establishing and maintaining the rapport in this relationship are essentially ethical ones. Hollingsworth (1991) characterises the research relationship as collaborative, implying a mutual engagement with the research process on the part of teachers, students and researchers. Paterson and Thomas (1993) go further and claim a special relationship between classroom teachers and university-based researchers where the research needs to be designed with particular attention to including the voice of classroom teachers. The argument for a collaborative style of research places quite difficult ethical concerns at the centre of the research process and moves away from the older concerns about disinterested

detachment on the part of the researcher. Ethical practice centres here upon the relationship between researchers and researched.

A problem which may arise in the development of collaborative control over data is what Jenkins (1993) has described in his critique of the Success and Failure and Recent Innovation (SAFARI) ethical statements. The right to know is often seen to be in conflict with the central rights of the individual. The proposed solution of the SAFARI project was joint ownership of data, where data is progressively negotiated between informants and researcher. Jenkins is suspicious of this rhetoric and believes it has the effect of seducing respondents into revelation because of the suggestion of rapport and the masking of real power relations operating. A more general point raised by Cornett and Chase (1990) is that the degree to which a study is ethical or unethical does not ultimately rest with the scientific research community, some abstract canon of ethics or even an ethics checklist. Rather it is the result of a process of continuous interaction between the researcher and participant. This process must be based on an element of trust that may be built up through the participant finding the researcher approachable, communication that is two-way, a sense that the researcher is “human” and able to reveal personal aspects of him/her and assurances of confidentiality. Trust is the foundation of an ethical study.

While a guarantee of anonymity may protect participants from negative consequences, it also excludes them from public ownership of the data and input into its use. The power imbalance between researcher and teacher is thence accentuated and opportunities for a mutual collegial process lessened or missed. Although this process may be tedious and time-consuming it is essential to think of education as a separate discipline with a code of ethics different from other domains such as psychology and sociology. Starting from this premise means that research ethics in education would include democratic and emancipator principles by which teachers are listened to closely and involved significantly as partners.

Cultural Sensitivity

Weis (1992) explores what it means for a researcher to work in a bicultural environment, an environment often far removed from the researchers own original cultural location. The ethical imperatives for such research in this environment include know who you are before going into the field. By this the author seems to mean that the researcher should have an identity outside, within the researching institution or body or else engage in “true community studies” where researchers actually move into the area and conduct a full community study rather than a study in a school. In the latter situation, Weis claims there is less “fracturing of the self” which comes about as a result of imposed definitions from those being researched. This may be considered an ethical as much as a methodological issue since as a researcher “you will be what people in the field define you as and you have little control over this since you are entering their cultural totality – they are not entering yours”.

A second imperative here is to acknowledge your perspective. In dealing with cultures not our own it is critical to be honest about where we are coming from theoretically and personally. This is important since all behaviour observed in fieldwork is interpreted through this biographical lens, what leads one to “see” things about others.

A third imperative is to exhibit integrity. This is both methodologically and ethically sound since people will talk to you as a researcher if they trust you. The length of time spent in the field will in part determine this relationship. It is important to establish oneself as a trustworthy member of the community before attempting to conduct interviews. Weis does not elaborate on what might be deemed ethical behaviour other than to stress that this trust must not be broken. Issues such as informed consent are not discussed but confidentiality in relation to the information shared with the researcher is stressed as central to ethical behaviour (even when the subject matter may be itself illegal or immoral). The researcher’s job is to record and later analyse, not pass judgement. (Ibid).

Osborne (1995) raises other kinds of questions about his position as a researcher in the Torres Strait. At the written policy level there is strong support for training and employing indigenous researchers to research indigenous education but Osborne believes that simple indigenisation of those who make representations is not enough and that the role of non-indigenous researchers should be one of speaking not about, not for, but with oppressed minorities.

Kaupapa (practice) Maori Research

In kaupapa (practice) Maori research, the researcher becomes part of the community he/she is researching and all decisions about how the research will proceed and, in particular, what will be done with the findings must be made in full negotiation with this community. Further, the researcher's membership of the community, with all the rights and responsibilities this entails, continues after the research is finished. Kaupapa (practice) Maori research is occurring across the disciplines and out in the communities. Methodologies are being taken up from every paradigm – oral histories, action research, case studies, large scale surveys, discourse analysis, hermeneutics – and re-framed and re-shaped within a Maori worldview to achieve the central aim, that is *"to make a positive difference for the researched"* (Smith, 1999. p.191).

The Research Process for this Study

First, an application to the AUT Ethics Committee seeking approval to conduct the research was submitted. As part of the process, a consent form, letter of invitation to participate in the research and a brief questionnaire to guide the questions were developed and appended to the application (Appendix 1,2,3 and 4).

Secondary source information and research was collected from New Zealand and overseas. The most helpful overseas information was about the British Commonwealth, the Commonwealth Secretariat, and RMIT because:

- Knowledge pertaining to the relationship between the host institution (RMIT) and the Commonwealth Secretariat Regional CYP Centre Scholarship Programme pilot is held by the New Zealand coordinator. Unfortunately, she passed away in 2004.
- The RMIT mentor left RMIT in 2004.
- Although the Senior Programme Officer for CYP at the time no longer worked for the Secretariat, she was never-the-less, willing to provide some comment. (Personal communication. Paulsen, 2006).

The most valuable information from New Zealand came from the mentor of the group. The oral transfer of history, stories, whakapapa (genealogy), whakatauki (saying), waiata (song) that differentiates Ngati Turangitukua from other hapu is priceless. It was this aspect of the programme that the students valued, more than the qualification itself. Structured interviews were conducted with five students in Turangi, and two students in South Auckland. Three students from Whanganui participated in a focus group. Other people that were interviewed included the Turangi mentor, the Whanganui mentor, the teachers, and two students who failed to complete the study.

Over the course of the research, a number of unstructured discussions took place, usually at tribal and hapu (sub-tribe) hui (gatherings). While these occurrences are less likely to happen within a non-Maori research project in New Zealand, it is never-the-less, a common occurrence in Maori research, especially when the researcher shares the same ancestors, history, and whakapapa (genealogy) as the researched. (Smith, 1999). The next chapter is an overview of relevant literature on Education and Maori for this study.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews the relationship between Education and Maori in New Zealand, and this is followed by an overview of relevant international literature on modern education.

Improving Educational Outcomes for Maori

In August 2000, the Government set a number of challenging targets to raise educational participation and achievement for Maori, from Early Childhood to Tertiary Education. (Nga Haeata Matauranga, 2002). These targets form part of the Governments Maori Education Strategy that has three core themes, to:

- Develop concepts of authority and partnership as a way of ensuring Maori can be more actively involved in and responsible for education.
- Raise the quality and responsiveness of education providers as a way of ensuring high-quality teaching is provided to all Maori children and students
- Support quality education to ensure all children who receive an education based on kaupapa Maori (Maori practices) and in te reo Maori (Maori language) benefit positively. (Ibid).

The Government's outcomes and targets for Maori education guide the work programme of the Ministry of Education. These challenges have required the Ministry to put far greater emphasis on the assessment of Maori student achievement, and ensuring the foundations of learning are in place.

The Ministry now places more emphasis on outcomes (Ministry of Education, 2004) Achieving good quality education outcomes for Maori is part of that emphasis. Focusing on outcomes means being more explicit about what needs to change and what needs to be done to achieve change. A stronger focus on

outcomes requires increased monitoring and evaluation, including the development of a range of indicators and other means, to help measure progress towards achieving outcomes. For Maori education, this has meant developing goals, indicators and targets for tracking Maori educational achievement. It has also involved the development of assessment tools and a review methodology for kura kaupapa Maori (Maori practice school) (Ibid).

To help improve those outcomes the Ministry of Education introduced programmes to help improve the role of parents in the community. Examples include books at home, study resources and support from parents for children's learning. Research shows that where those components exist, children are more likely to achieve. (Ibid). Supporting Maori whanau (family), to take part in their children's learning has been a focus for the Ministry of Education. Some examples of initiatives that support home-based learning and parental engagement include: the involvement of Maori parents and whanau (family) in a range of parent support and development programmes such as Family Start and Parents as First Teachers (PAFT); schooling improvement; literacy projects; suspension reduction initiatives such as the restorative practices project implemented in the Opotiki College ; study support centres; community based initiatives such as te kohanga reo (Maori language nests) classes to support Maori language, and iwi (tribal) partnerships (Ibid).

Learning and behaviour difficulties at school can be attributed to the wider social, family or personal problems facing a student and it is essential that those problems are addressed. Within the education system, initiatives have been developed to improve co-ordination between families, schools and social services. In the Budget 2001, $34.8 million over four years was announced to make alternative education programmes available to an extra 820 student, bringing the total to 1820 students. In 1999, 73 percent of students in alternative education programmes were Maori. In 1999, there were twelve social workers in the Social Workers in Schools (SWIS) programme covering 58 schools. This was

extended in the year 2000 with the addition of 55 social workers working with a further 130 schools across the country. In 2000/01 there were 20,313 Maori students in schools with the SWIS programme – this was just over 50 per cent of students in those schools. (Tertiary Education Advisory Committee (TEAC), 2002) These two programmes and others like Tu Tangata are all responses involving schools, whanau (family) and communities that are designed to support students facing a variety of difficulties impinging on their learning.

To also help increase the involvement of parents, whanau (families) and communities, The Think Learning (Whakaaro Matauranga) programme is an initiative designed to ensure Maori are fully informed about education. Started in 2001, the programme aims to ensure information connects with whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe), and with education providers at a community level, through a communications campaign (Te Mana Ki Te Taumata), and twenty-three community liaison people (pouwhakataki) (Ibid).

Despite innovation, Maori continue to be under-represented in tertiary education. (Ibid). To improve Maori participation and achievement at all levels the government has developed a Maori Education Strategy (2003) that has targets specifically focused on increasing participation and achievement of Maori in tertiary education institutions to match that of non-Maori students.

Access to and success in tertiary education is critical for individuals to realise skills, employment prospects and adequate income levels. It is also essential that Maori are more engaged in tertiary education for the country as a whole as the economy becomes more knowledge-based. As Maori will make up a growing proportion of the future population and the workforce, it is imperative their learning needs are directly addressed (Hui Matauranga, 2001)

There are diverse pathways into tertiary education. Providers of tertiary education include:

- Public providers such as tertiary education institutions - universities; polytechnics; colleges of education and wananga (Maori school of learning).
- Private providers such as private training institutions
- A small number of government training institutions and 'other' providers that deliver programmes of national significance such as Te Kohanga Reo National Trust
- Formalised workplace and industry training (Nga Haeata Matauranga, 2002)

Wananga (Maori school of learning) provide a uniquely Maori path into tertiary education based on tikanga (protocols) and matauranga (learning) Maori. The path caters for Maori going directly from school to tertiary study, and for adults returning to gain further education. One quarter of the private training establishments specifically cater for the needs of Maori learners, and around one fifth identify as Maori providers. (Ministry of Education, 2004)

In August 2001, the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) was instigated to shape the future direction of the tertiary sector. The first TEC report, *Shaping a Shared Vision,* in July 2000 provided advice on the future shape of the tertiary sector, increasing collaboration and cooperation across the sector and on developing links with communities and the wider economy. Problems that particularly impacted on Maori such as inequity of access to tertiary education and difficulties in meeting Treaty of Waitangi obligations were identified in the report resulting in the adoption of five national strategic goals for tertiary education. One of those was "fulfilling the obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi". There has been a steady increase in Maori tertiary education enrolments. In 2000, Maori made up almost 14 percent of all tertiary education enrolments. (TEC report, 2002). This growth outstripped that of European/Pakeha from 1999 to the year 2002. Because the Maori population has increased, future projections

are such that this is likely to result in further growth of Maori students in the tertiary sector. (TEC Report, 2003)

Participation of Maori women in tertiary education has grown considerably (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2001 pages 27-28). Maori women are more likely than Maori men to go directly from school to some form of tertiary education. They are also more likely to be enrolled at university than their male peers. Comparing school leavers in 1997 with those who left in 1995, Maori women had the greatest increase in tertiary participation, more than Maori men, and non-Maori women and men. In the age groups 30 – 39, and 40 years and over, Maori women were more likely to be enrolled in tertiary education institutes in 1999 than Maori men, and non-Maori women and men. For the population aged 16 years and over, women made the greatest gains in enrolment, proportionate to population. Their participation rate increased from 7 per cent in 1994 to 9.2 per cent in 1999 (Ibid).

However, Maori are still under-represented in tertiary education, mainly because of their under-representation in the younger age groups in education and training. According to the 1996 census, only 15.3 percent of Maori aged 18 to 24 years were participating in tertiary education compared to 30.6 percent of non-Maori in the same age group. When school leavers are considered, it is apparent that fewer Maori than non-Maori go directly on to further education and training. In July 2000, just over 46 percent of Maori school leavers from 1999 were in some type of further education or training, compared to over 52 percent of non-Maori (Ibid).

There is a tendency for Maori to participate in tertiary education later, rather than taking a pathway directly from school. Fifty eight percent of Maori students enrolled in tertiary education are over 25 years old, compared to 48 percent of non-Maori students. The needs of those mature, adult students are very different from the needs of young Maori straight from school. Bridging programmes are

starting to fill the gaps for a group of these older students returning to education from a range of backgrounds (Ibid).

Maori are more likely to study at Private Training Establishments (PTE's) than in Tertiary Education Institutions (TEI's). In 2000, Maori comprised 13 percent of those enrolled in all programmes in TEI's and 27 percent of those enrolled in all PTE programmes. This difference is partly due to the heavy involvement of private training providers in targeted training programmes, the strong community links many of them have with Maori communities, and the range of certificate and diploma level programmes they offer.

Maori are over-represented in level one programmes of study. In 2000, 66.6 percent of all Maori tertiary students were enrolled in diploma or certificate programmes, and 33.4 percent were enrolled in degree or post-graduate programmes. By comparison, 45 percent of non-Maori were enrolled in diploma or certificate programmes and 55 percent were enrolled in degree or post-graduate programmes in 2000.

The most preferred programmes for Maori men are commercial and business fields of study but they are also opting for humanities. Maori women are more likely to be engaged in education, business and humanities. (Ibid).

Although Maori are under-represented in tertiary education, more Maori are now graduating, and with higher level qualifications than previously. Since 1994, Maori have increased from 11.8 percent of all graduates to 14.6 percent in 2000. In 1994, 24 percent of Maori graduates completed a degree or post-graduate qualification, and by 2000 this had increased to 32 percent (Ibid)

The majority of Maori graduates are women. In 2000, they comprised 63 percent of all Maori TEI graduates. However, despite achievement gains, Maori students

still tend to graduate with a certificate or diploma, rather than a degree or post-graduate qualification (Ibid).

To help improve Maori achievement and increase positive responsiveness a significant amount of innovation and change has taken place. This was signaled in tertiary education reports in 2000/01. For Maori students, progress has occurred in areas such as the settlement of the Treaty of Waitangi claim with wananga (learning centre) and vocational training and apprenticeship opportunities. (Ministry of Education, 2004)

An important new direction was the introduction of programmes for greater responsiveness among tertiary institutions to the particular needs of Maori students. Maori students are also expected to benefit from the work done on the adult literacy strategy and reviews of adult and community education and industry training (Ibid).

Strengthening Maori in Education

One of the core elements of the New Zealand government's approach to Maori education is to develop Maori authority and partnership as a way of ensuring Maori can be more actively involved in, and responsible for education. A key factor in raising the educational achievement of Maori is to enhance Maori influence in education, at all levels, from the home to iwi (tribal) organizations (Durie, 2001).

The Ministry of Education has continued to devote considerable effort and resources to working with Maori parents and whanau (family), iwi (tribe) and Maori communities to enhance Maori influence and authority in education. The Ministry has set targets to achieve:

- Greater whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) involvement and authority in school governance.

- Greater Maori involvement and authority in tertiary education.
- More, and better partnerships between iwi (tribe) and education providers. (Ministry of Education, 2004).

Significant events that shape the Ministry's thinking on Maori education were the Hui Taumata Matauranga (Summit on Maori Education) called by Maori, for Maori with a focus on improving educational achievement. As well as the sustained impetus from the Hui Taumata Matauranga (Summit on Maori Education), important education initiatives were being undertaken by iwi (tribe). The developments indicated a sustained focus on and positive environment for raising Maori achievement in education (Nga Haeata Matauranga, 2002).

The Hui Taumata Matauranga (Summit on Maori Education), held in February 2001, resulted in 107 recommendations that were expected to form a basis for joint action by Maori and Government. This Hui (gathering) of over 400 people, which was called by Ngati Tuwharetoa, involved Maori leaders and educators discussing their views, goals and aspirations for Maori education with the Ministers of Education. The Hui (gathering), and subsequent meetings, represented a significant opportunity for Maori influence in education. (Ibid). The Hui (gathering) focused on five themes for improving Maori educational achievement. Those involved:

- Maori participation with authority and partnership
- The family, the education cornerstone
- Maori language and custom
- Striving for quality in education
- Educating for what? (Ibid).

Some of the pressing issues that the Hui (gathering) covered included:

- Greater access to learning te reo (language) Maori, and for safeguarding te reo (language) and tikanga (protocols) Maori;
- Greater recognition of the importance of early childhood education, and support for whanau involvement in their children's teaching and learning;
- Lifting of expectations about Maori achievement, development of professional capacity, and establishment of quality measures that are meaningful to Maori;
- Greater Maori authority and partnership in education, including the consideration of Maori education agencies;
- The challenge that teaching and learning must equip Maori to enter both the Maori world and the global world. (Ibid).

The Ministry of Education has worked with Ngati Tuwharetoa to develop responses to the recommendations from the Hui Taumata Matauranga (Summit on Maori Education) series. Ideas from the hui (gathering) are being incorporated into the Ministry of Education's work programmes to ensure that effort is focused on making policies work for Maori. New areas of work are being considered as part of looking at how to develop an ongoing relationship between the Government and Maori on education issues and priorities.

There has been increased activity with iwi (tribal) involvement in education. The Ministry has been involved in further development of partnerships with iwi (tribe). Several iwi (tribal) initiatives are showing positive results. Maori are encouraged to participate in school boards of trustees, through a campaign to increase the proportion of Maori standing for election.

Education Partnership between the Ngati Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board and the Ministry of Education - Hei Ara Kokiri mo Ngati Tuwharetoa ki te Taumata Matauranga – *A Pathway to Educational Excellence (2001).*

Historically the Ngati Tuwharetoa Trust Board has maintained a focus on supporting educational achievement within the Ngati Tuwharetoa rohe (district or boundary). The Board recognised the importance of Education as an important element in achieving and sustaining cultural, social and economic development for its people. It is because of this commitment a Memorandum of Understanding between the Minister of Education and the Ngati Tuwharetoa Trust Board was signed in 1999 to provide a structure that would … "*establish a strong, stable partnership which will produce positive outcomes, efficient deliveries and improvements for all learners" (The Draft Education Strategic Plan, 2001)*

The Draft Education Strategic Plan (2001) is a development of that partnership that focuses on improving the achievements of all students, especially Maori, living in the Ngati Tuwharetoa rohe (district or boundary). Findings of the many reports and research that have highlighted poor Maori achievement in comparison to European and other ethnic groups had helped to formulate this Iwi and Ministry initiative. "Education in NgatiTuwharetoa – *A Survey of students, parents, schools and communities" (*Mikaere & Loane, 2001) highlighted important success indicators that encouraged achievement. A subsequent report, "An Education Strategic Plan for Ngati Tuwharetoa – *A Partnership between the Ngati Tuwharetoa Trust Board and the Ministry of Education" (*Pitama & Rangi, 2001) was commissioned by the Ministry of Education and the Ngati Tuwharetoa Trust Board. These reports and relevant baseline data encouraged the next phase, planning and development of a Ngati Tuwharetoa Education Strategic Plan. Its main goal would help to improve achievement and greater participation in education at all levels for learner living within Ngati Tuwharetoa.

This partnership is starting to show positive signs of change. For example, in 2004, Te Kura (school) o Hirangi in Turangi was established to provide total Maori language immersion education for students in years one to fourteen. The special designated character of the kura (school) encompasses aspirations to promote, celebrate and support the tikanga (protocols) and te reo (language) Maori of Ngati Tuwharetoa. There is a school-wide focus on the achievements of significant ancestors such as Ngatoroirangi. On the 22 March 2006, twenty-seven tauira (students) received their Diploma in Maori Studies from Te Wananga o Raukawa (Personal communication with Eileen Te Rangi, 31 August 2006).

Barriers to Maori Achievement

Although there have been massive changes in the education sector over the last decade, including the growth and development of kaupapa (practice) Maori and immersion education, there is very little evidence as to what the effects of these changes have meant for Maori. This then, perpetuates the status quo of the 1970's and early 1980's when large numbers of reports were produced with very little fieldwork being conducted to substantiate the claims. Despite the ongoing failure of Maori in the system, the situation remains. The Picot Report (1988) and the subsequent Education Act (1989) was a major feature of change and brought about mainstreaming that affected the delivery of services previously provided to meet the particular needs of groups such as Maori. For example, Maori Trade Training was abolished and moved into the mainstream. As the word mainstream implies, it has meant providing a relatively level playing field for all, despite the differences in need or ability.

Hirsh's (1990) report, which relied primarily on the commentary provided by predominantly Maori providers, suggested more research into a range of factors that affect Maori participation and achievement in the education system should be conducted. Hirsh (ibid) made three recommendations regarding further research:

- There is a need to increase the number of Maori researchers who are trained to be involved in all aspects of research
- There is a need for research findings to be made more available, in a readily digestible form, to teachers and administrators
- There is a critical need right now to begin studies and monitoring of innovations and developments in Maori education which are already underway. (Ibid).

Anecdotal evidence suggests Maori benefit from kaupapa (practice) Maori education initiatives, particularly Maori immersion programmes. These new and bold initiatives have been in place for some time without a single piece of substantial empirical work on their pedagogy, content, and results. This is difficult to understand and is an indictment on those responsible for research in education. A number of constraints and factors need to be taken into account if any empirical investigation into the effectiveness of these programmes is undertaken. For instance, Maori immersion programmes have limited access to high quality, standardized resources. The majority of what is available are low level readers produced by Learning Media, and there are virtually no non-fiction resources available for children operating above Level Three of the Maori Language Curriculum Document, which, theoretically means there is almost nothing available for children learning in an immersion environment past Standard 4-Year 6 (Personal communication with Eileen Te Rangi, 31 August 2006).

Funding issues

At the end of the 1980s, following major reviews of education, changes to the funding regimes were introduced to reduce the burgeoning cost to government, increase the effectiveness of institutions, and increase levels of participation. For Maori with historically lower levels of participation, and being over-represented in lower socio-economic groups, the increased costs associated with enrolling in a tertiary course caused concern. Hence, changes to Student Allowances and the

introduction of the Student Loan Scheme were designed to improve levels of participation while reducing the costs to government.

While the Hawke Report (1988) recommended that “formulae (funding) should include targeting for particular groups whose participation in PCET the government wishes to encourage" (Ibid), Manaki Tauira is the only government fund available to provide extra tertiary financial support to Maori. Manaki Tauira is a capped fund with very wide application criteria. With the large increases in Maori students enrolling for tertiary study, the amount received by successful applicants is diminishing. In 1994, there were 6,679 applications for Manaki Tauira of which 6,300 received an average of $612 each. In 1995, 8,234 Maori received an average of $522 each. Student fees average $3,000 each per year. (TEAC, 2002).

These sums represent a small proportion of the total costs of study for many students. A number of the providers interviewed suggested the fund should be increased to provide more meaningful support to students. Others suggested Manaki Tauira would be of more value if it were targeted to where the need is greatest. They suggested there was a need for some form of means testing to ensure larger amounts are provided to those who can least afford a tertiary education.

Iwi grants and scholarships have been made available in an uneven manner throughout the country. In most instances, small amounts (usually $1,000) have been given to hapu (sub-tribes) or iwi (tribe) members to assist in meeting the costs of their education. (Ibid). A handful of iwi (tribes) are now gearing up to deliver substantial amounts through their scholarships to tertiary students. The Tainui Trust Board is making a substantial commitment to their beneficiaries. The Board intends targeting their scholarships towards the top end - Masters and Doctoral level students (Tainui Maori Trust Board Annual Report, 1995)

For those wanting to, or only able to, attend a course on a part-time basis, there appears to be very little available in the way of Student Allowance, Student Loan or any other form of support. Maori are over-represented in the figures for students attending on a part-time basis so it is likely that a larger proportion of Maori are not able to gain financial support. As discussed further below, with Maori more likely to have dependents and more likely to be a sole parent, part-time study will be a more realistic option for a larger proportion of Maori - the same group who need more financial support as a result of those same circumstances.

The Concept of Whanau (family)

The following section explores the concept of whanau (family) and the relationship of whanau (family) with education.

The rito, the centre shoot or heart of the harakeke, the flax, must be cared for to ensure new life and new shoots. It symbolises the need of each person to be nurtured in a whanau hapu (sub group) environment. According to Maori, te (the) whanau (family) hapu (sub-tribe) is the heart of life for a person. It is the ground in which kinship and social relationship obligations and duties are learned, and enabled to flourish and flower (Henare, 1994).

Apart from its fundamental meaning, to give birth, whanau (family) is a word that has changed as Maori society itself has changed. Mason Durie (2003) has described two broad concepts of whanau (family). A whanau (family) can be said to be made of people who share descent from a common ancestor – whakapapa (genealogy) whanau (family), or alternatively, Maori who do not have blood ties but share a common sense of purpose – kaupapa whanau. Generally the members of a whanau (family), no matter how conceptualised, are Maori, though not always, and generally their association together is mutually beneficial, though that is not always true either (Ibid).

Apart from sharing physical traits, whanau (family) who boast a common line of descent are often joint shareholders of assets including land and buildings. They are also likely to have shared stories about childhood and their older relatives. There is no fixed formula to decide how many generations constitute a whanau (family). However, one working definition is that a whanau (family) is made of all the descendants, and their partners, of the grandparents of the oldest living relative. (Ibid). In this definition, there is a clear distinction between a hapu (sub-tribe) where the ancestor in common may have lived some ten or more generations previously. In contrast a whanau (family) is descended from one or more ancestors who were known by a living whanau (family) member, either directly or through the first hand accounts from their parents. Usually, the oldest living relative would have acquired some knowledge about a grandparent; so that within the whanau (family) culture, the ancestor in question would be recalled as part of a personal memory, a matriarch or patriarch whose legacy was still felt. The shared heritage may extend back five or six generations (Ibid).

In a variety of publications including several government reports, the concept of whanau (family) has other meanings. Increasingly, because there is no specific Maori word to describe family, the tendency has been to use family and whanau (family) as if they were synonymous. The use of the term whanau (family) in He Korowai Oranga the Maori Health Strategy (Ministry of Health, 2002) is not limited to traditional definitions but recognises the wide diversity of families represented within Maori communities. It is up to each whanau (family) and each individual to define for themselves who their whanau (family) is.

Yet despite the many meanings that are now associated with whanau (family) there are enough common elements to identify the key characteristics of whanau (family). Whanau (families) exhibit behaviour that enforce mutuality, reciprocity, and shared responsibilities within a Maori cultural context. A whanau (family) provides opportunities for identity to be strengthened and Maori styles of communication and behaviour to be reinforced. In this sense, there are

significant differences between whanau (family) and family or whanau (family) and household, though there are some striking similarities between whakapapa (genealogical) whanau (family) and kaupapa whanau (family who adopt the same practice) (Ibid).

The Modern Application of Whanau (family)

So what is conjured up in our minds when we talk of whanau (family)? In many Maori environments people talk about the 'a feeling'. In contemporary Maori society it is common to hear mihi (greetings) to groups as 'whanau' (family) in environments ranging from the school room to work groups, sports teams to lecture halls – where those present may be in no way related by whakapapa (genealogy). The use of this term is employed even when there are many other terms in Maori for referring to groups that suggest it is because of the behaviours and expectations that are inherent in an understanding of whanau (family). Those are based on notions of collectively and collective responsibility, of looking after each other, the sharing of common goals and values. What has emerged today is the need to import or transport those behaviours into the collective groupings with which people are associating in today's world (Ibid).

It is these inherent characteristics of whanau (family) in Maori society that differentiates the concept of whanau (family) from family. It could be argued that the characteristics of the whanau (family) are becoming less and less apparent in contemporary Maori society due to the breakdown in communities through urbanisation, land loss and assimilation in to the power culture. This has often meant that modern day whanau (family) are becoming increasingly aligned to a standard definition of the western family nucleus (Ibid).

The Principles of Whanau (family)

The concept of whanau (family) in the fullest sense is the articulation of the relationship between whakapapa (genealogy) and behaviour. The underlying

principles as described by Durie (2003), that lie at the base of whanau (family) include:

- Whakapapa (genealogy – family ties)
- Mana and tapu (authority and sacredness)
- Manakitanga (Caring for each other)
- Kotahitanga (Collaboration – working together as one)
- Kaitiakitanga (Responsible for the caring of 'things')

From these principles we derive the principle of whanaungatanga – which can be crudely translated as a way of treating others around us, the nature of relationships. The question, however, does not start or stop with an articulation of 'what is whanau (family)' – it extends to what or who is Turangitukua, and what or who, are Maori. To understand what a whanau (family) is, necessitates an understanding of what a hapu (sub-tribe) is, an iwi (tribe) is, or a Maori is (Ibid).

Whanau (family) and Identity

Identity is about difference. Cultural emblems, and cultural flags must be identifiably owned and they must be of substance. In the same way, notions of whanau (family) must be rooted in something more than just being a family – different from any other family – if the term is to encapsulate the broader concept that it represents.

For identity as iwi (tribe) and Maori to be meaningful and positive in the 21st century – it has to adequately reflect who Maori are – and unless that identity is rooted in unique whakapapa (genealogy), values and behaviours, then it is not necessary to define Maori as whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe) or iwi (tribe) – as they are really no different from anyone else – any other urban group, church group or sports team who share common interests. Whanau are simply families with no greater or lesser peculiarities than other families in society.

Whanau (family) – the Change Agent

The biggest danger of such a path is the loss of what is potentially Maori's greatest and strongest asset – the whanau (family) in its fullest sense. As a vehicle the whanau (family) is the best positioned grouping within our society to affect change. When whanau (family) are functioning in positive and meaningful ways internally they are likely to be positive contributors to their community or hapu (sub-tribe). When hapu (sub-tribe) function in the same manner they then contribute to the health and positive nature of the iwi (sub-tribe). If a sense of cultural identity is strong at the whanau (family) level, then this too will be the case at the hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) level.

For that reason iwi (tribe) and hapu (sub-tribe) politics have to remain constantly focused on achieving positive outcomes for whanau (family). All the economic wealth and status in the world will mean nothing to tribal development if it does not impact upon the education, health, culture and well-being of whanau (family). Therefore, in the 21st Century – whanau (family) are a major agent of change and as such are a resource to be used in efforts to bring Maori out of the trenches of colonialism and re-establish as viable economic, political and cultural leaders in society.

Whanau (family) – the Heart of Hapu (sub-tribe) and Iwi (tribe) Development

Focus on the whanau (family) as the heart of iwi (tribe) and hapu (sub-tribe) redevelopment, is the basis of the implementation of the revival of Maori culture. For culture to survive, it is necessary to ensure that there is intergenerational transmission. Unless culture is practised, it will only ever be used for ceremonial purposes on the marae. Its relevance to the everyday life of Maori will over time fade away into the realms of nostalgia. This position is supported by the Te Puni Kokiri draft Maori Language Strategy (2003) and reports on the Health of the Maori language.

Intergenerational transmission of culture simply means practice is passed down from one generation to the next – or to a certain degree for many, today's Maori reality is about one generation passing it 'up' to the next. For instance, there are approximately three generations of Maori who struggle to converse in Maori, who are trying to trace their identity and belonging, and for whom Maori culture and customs are unknown. With the advent of te kohanga reo (language nests), and kurakaupapa (Maori language schools), children are now teaching their parents.

Language, identity, values, customs, beliefs and behaviours are all primarily fostered and developed in the whanau (family) environment. The whanau (family) is the main vehicle for the transmission of language and culture. Ideally it is the first place where a child learns how to engage with others in terms of language and personal interaction, the rules of behaviour/ protocols that will provide them with the tools necessary to participate in the wider community.

Determining Membership – Who and what is Whanau (family)?

The key challenge is to take the next step beyond theory and identify who those whanau (family) actually are. Just as Maori have been forced to rethink the characteristics of an element of our society which many take for granted, Maori are also being forced to think about how they incorporate those definitions in to their tribal policies and practices. Turangitukua have clear policies about tribal identification – they can clearly state who is Turangitukua and who is not by tracing one's whakapapa (genealogy) back to tupuna (ancestors). That mechanism is then employed to decide which individuals are beneficiaries of the iwi (tribe).

When though, Maori start to engage in the identification of whanau (family), the task is somewhat confusing due to the inclusive nature of whanau (family). A whanau (family) may not be made up of all people there may be other iwi (tribe), other groups that combine to make up the whole whanau (family). Ordinarily this is not a problem – indeed it is natural. The difficulty arises when policies of

exclusivity have to be employed because of the distribution of limited resources. On an individual level this may involve issues of resource allocation such as direct inheritance, or succession to Maori land title. On a tribal level it may be the fishing rights or benefits deriving from land claims. Ngati Tuwharetoa are addressing those questions right now as they consider the resources needed by whanau (family) as part of an educational strategy.

Maori Leadership

For Maori, leadership is both ascribed and achieved. Two leaders who fit the first criteria are Tumu Te Heuheu, paramount chief of Ngati Tuwharetoa, and Dame Te Ata-i-rangi Kahu, head of the Maori King Movement. John Te Herekiekie Grace in his book "Tuwharetoa" explains ascribed leadership within the Ngati Tuwharetoa Iwi (tribe):

> *"….. the paramount chieftainship of Ngati Tuwharetoa was not obtained as a matter of right. It was conferred on the most desirable chief by the ariki of the tribe. If that chief was later found unsatisfactory he was deposed and the rank given to someone more suitable. The main qualification for this position was leadership in war. Ariki rank was a hereditary one. In some cases a senior ariki, because of the lack of certain essential qualities such as wisdom in council and forcefulness, was superseded by a junior of his line; but his rank was never taken from him. It was not usual for a chief to hold the dual position of senior ariki and paramount chief". (Grace, 1959. p 22)*
>
> *"It was the custom with Ngati Tuwharetoa, from the time of Turangitukua until the close of the nineteenth century, to select from a panel of high-born men the paramount chief and war-leader of the tribe. This rank was not necessarily a hereditary right. It was conferred by the tribe on the most suitable man, irrespective of seniority. The ariki of the tribe were the direct descendents of the senior male line from the tibal ancestor Tuwharetoa himself, and it was the senior ariki's prerogative on behalf of the people to install the paramount chief. The rank of ariki could not be removed as was the case of the paramount chieftainship" (Grace, 1959. p 222.)*

When making reference to Tumu Te Heuheu, you will see a long and honourable lineage. A whakapapa (genealogy) dedicated to serving their people.

There is another leadership who, in the first instance, gain recognition through their deeds and achievements, with their whanau (family) and their hapu (sub-tribe). Another leadership has emerged out of western universities. Some of those leaders are strong in their tikanga (protocols) and have adapted well to western academic and intellectual pursuits. Those people are recognised by their own whanau (family) and hapu (sub-tribe) as leadership material. They have not cut themselves off, nor have they ever been divorced from the marae settings of their parents.

Maori leadership also comes from the universities, profit seeking chief executive officers, faceless bureaucrats, vote seeking politicians and government appointments, and are often recognised as leadership material by others, other than whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe). The criteria for this leadership are often vested within their being acceptable to Pakeha people. Too often others are defining who the Maori leadership is, but the question is: would members of whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe), acknowledge those same people?

Power is often confused with leadership. There are many people who do not have the opportunity to utilise their leadership abilities for the benefit of their hapu (sub-tribe). There are people in positions of influence and power who are not acting for the benefit of the hapu (sub-tribe), and the idealism among Maori and the argument that emerging Maori capitalists will be “patriotic” and progressive because of the inborn “ideas” and “culture” of Maori people – “tikanga” (protocols) is often not demonstrated. A materialist would agree that there are indeed different cultural realities, and would want to look at all of the material realities that will impact upon an emergent Maori middle-class. Traditional cultural values might be one factor. But the cultural values of the boardroom will also impact on those individuals (maximizing profit, maximizing exploitation, and the belief that a BMW is a basic necessity of life). Above all, the “patriotism” of

any sector of the middle-class (Maori or Pakeha - non-Maori) will largely depend on fundamental economic factors like: where they obtain their capital (from city activities, or as a local agent for a multinational corporation), and what sector of the economy they are working in (for exports or for the local market). In other words, the likelihood that a sector of the Maori middle-class will contribute effectively to a patriotic project like hapu/iwi (sub-tribe/tribe) infra-structural development will be determined by a whole range of material realities.

The next chapter continues the above general issues into the world of the specific iwi (tribe) and hapu (sub-tribe) that are the subject of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: NGATI TUWHARETOA AND NGATI TURANGITUKUA

Explanation of Whakapapa (genealogy) from Maori Natural Lore

This section has been taken from The Draft Ngati Tuwharetoa Environmental Plan prepared by Chris Winitana for the Ngati Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board (1991). It is included in this report to show how Ngati Tuwharetoa Iwi (tribe) applies the 'two-world system', a material world and a spiritual world intimately connected.

> *'Ma te Rautawhiri e tohu mai me pehea ra te whirii i te taura here i te tangata mai, mai te whenua ki te rangi, mai te rangi ki te whenua, mai te tangata ki tana whänau, ki tana hapü, ki tana iwi, ki tana ao; ko taku whakapapa tonu te here.'*
>
> *"The Rautawhiri tree shows me how to plait the rope that binds me from the land to the sky, the sky to the land, to my family, my sub-tribe, my tribe, my world; Indeed, my lineage is the binding rope (Winitana, 1991).*

General Explanation

Whakapapa (genealogy) or lineage is the axis upon which the Maori world spins. It is not confined to people alone; it is the domain of all things no matter how small, large, simple, or profound. Whanaungatanga (form relationships) is the way whakapapa (genealogy) is given life. It is the way one relates to kin. Because blood-lines are shared, responsibility for member's well-being is collective – born by Ngati Tuwharetoa. Those principles apply equally to all within Ngati Tuwharetoa whakapapa (genealogy) – human and non human (the world around us). No differentiation is made between the two because their lives are inextricably tied together. If individuals do not relate with the kindred people around them (whakawhanaunga), they become sterile and isolated and in time their hearts wither and die. At the same time, if they do not relate appropriately with their non-human kin (nature) in the whakapapa (genealogy), such as the trees and the birds, the water and the wind – ultimately their physical form withers and dies (Ibid).

Tuwharetoa lineage goes back to the beginning of time to the very first seed that produced the universe. Papatuanuku is the earth, Ranginui is the sky; their seventy children are the original custodians of all its parts. Trees were the first born, birds the second, fish, insects and animals followed, and then people. Humans are the junior, the last born, the babies of the family. Relationship to people around us (kin and non kin) is dictated by specific tikanga (protocols) or social mores and lore; they govern the types of things that must be done to maintain good relationships with people. This is at both a daily mundane level and also a higher esoteric level (Ibid).

The same principle applies to non-human kin. The tikanga (protocols), set in place to establish how a person relates to the natural environment in the best interests of all parties, are laid down in the lore of the maramataka, or natural calendars. The children of Rangi and Papa (Taane Mahuta, Tangaroa, etc) oversee as guardians, the natural systems whereby all things live in harmony and are protected and nurtured. Maori translated those systems into natural calendars which organised the reaping and replenishing of all food resources and the guardianship of the specific environments within which those foods were produced.

The maramataka (natural calendar) is the traditional resource management system of Maori people. Its basis is whakapapa (genealogy) and whanaungatanga (relationships). Its implementation is holistic; based firstly on blood whakapapa (genealogy) to nature and secondly on the principle and lore of whanaungatanga (relationships). The responsibility built innately within whanaungatanga (relationships) run at a physical, spiritual, psychological and social level. And this responsibility stands forever! (Ibid).

The next section has been referenced from the book Tuwharetoa, *The History of the Maori People of the Taupo District* (1959) written by John Te Herekiekie

Grace of Ngati Tuwharetoa. The story given by Grace is that of the Taupo people (Grace, 1959. p. 21).

Ngati Tuwharetoa

In keeping with Maori natural lore (outlined above), Ngati Tuwharetoa Iwi (tribe) is identified by a significant ancestor, and the natural boundaries of the land they are said to occupy. Boundary lines may differ from iwi (tribe) to iwi (tribe), and hapu (sub-tribe to hapu (sub-tribe). However, the tribal saying below serves to make clear, the link between the Ngati Tuwharetoa people and the Central North Island region of New Zealand (refer to Map No: 1 & 2)

Te Pepeha (tribal saying) o Ngati Tuwharetoa

'Ko Tongariro te Maunga
Ko Taupo-Nui-a-Tia te moana
Ko Ngati Tuwharetoa te Iwi
Ko te Heuheu te Tangata.'

'Tongariro is the Mountain
Taupo-Nui-a-Tia is the Lake
Tuwharetoa is the Tribe
te Heuheu is the Man.'

Ngatoroirangi

The Ancestor to whom Ngati Tuwharetoa traces descent for rank and prestige is Ngatoroirangi, the high-priest of the Te Arawa canoe. Tuwharetoa, the tribe's eponymous ancestor, was his direct descendant and eighth in line. The ancestors to whom the tribe traces descent for rights to land in the Taupo district are Tia and Kurapoto, who both came in Te Arawa, and the sons and certain grandsons of Tuwharetoa. Through Tia occupation rights were obtained, hence the name Tauponui a Tia. Through the others the tribe obtained rights by conquest. Because Ngatoroirangi was priest and senior chief on Te Arawa he is the ariki-ancestor (chiefly ancestor) of all the tribes of that vessel; and since Te Arawa was his canoe it is also that of Ngati Tuwharetoa (Grace, 1959. p 29).

The Ancestral gods from whom Ngatoroirangi gets his mana (prestige) are: Tupai, the son of Tangaroa, god of the ocean; Te Tohioterangi, which changed itself and others into rocks and trees; Rongomai, his personal guardian; Te Rakaupango and Te Rakautatawhai, descendants of Tumatauenga, god of war; and Te Aitupawa, the most powerful of Maori gods. The visible signs of this latter god were thunder and lightning; and his keepers were Te Rakaupango and Te Rakautatawhai. When Ngatoroirang left Taupo for the Bay of Plenty he left the gods, with the exception of Rongomai, in the lake (Grace 1959. p 67).

The god Rongomai eventually became Ngati Tuwharetoa's protector and is said to watch over the fortunes of the paramount chiefs of Ngati Tuwharetoa (Grace 1959. p67); the keeper and guardian of the tribal god Rongomai was Turangitukua (Grace, 1959. p 132).

Ngati Tuwharetoa Iwi (tribe)

Tuwharetoa is the tribe's eponymous ancestor who flourished during the sixteenth century. The tribe originally settled on the Bay of Plenty coast and during the sixteenth century, found its way into Taupo. The original occupants of the Taupo district were a great tribe of fair-skinned and flaxen haired people called Ngati Hotu. They lived by the lake alongside Ngati Ruakopiri and a third tribe, Ngati Kurapoto whose eponymous ancestor came in the Te Arawa canoe. The Ngati Kurapoto tribe arrived in Taupo two generations ahead of Ngati Tuwharetoa and occupied the area east of the lake. The first alliance made by Ngati Tuwharetoa was with Ngati Kurapoto, as blood relationship already existed between them. Ngati Hotu was not easily conquered and it was several generations before Ngati Tuwharetoa finally took complete possession of the area of land to the east of Taupo. Ngati Tuwharetoa occupation of the areas east of Taupo and south of Tarawera came about following an encounter between Ngati Kurapoto and Ngati Whiti and inter-marriage between Ngati Kurapoto and Ngati Tuwharetoa. That union brought about an alliance with certain sections of the Hawkes Bay tribes who in later years became allies of Ngati Tuwharetoa

hapu (sub-tribes) living on the east and north-eastern areas of Taupo (Grace, 1959. p. 19).

About four generations following the arrival of Ngati Tuwharetoa in Taupo, certain alliances were made with descendants of the chiefs of the Tainui canoe. Those affiliations began with the marriage of Te Rangïta, a Taupo warrior-chief to Waitapu, a highborn chieftainess of Ngati Raukawa. This and subsequent unions resulted in Ngati Tuwharetoa becoming strengthend in western Taupo. The sections of Ngati Tuwharetoa that lived on the northern shore of Taupo inter-married with Te Arawa tribes and established themselves in those areas. Also in the early period, people from the Whanganui River moved toward Taupo and joined forces with sections of Ngati Tuwharetoa living on the southern shores of the lake and around Lake Rotoaira. The diplomatic ties affected with tribes situated to the north, south, east and west of Taupo established the people of Ngati Tuwharetoa firmly on the lands they occupied. The tribes immediately outside them became their allies, but they also served to cushion the thrusts of ambitious tribes from the coastal districts (Grace, 1959. p.20).

When Ngati Tuwharetoa was in the Bay of Plenty it occupied the territory along the Coast from Matata to Otamarakau and inland to Mount Edgecumbe, and at that time, formed part of Ngati Awa and was known as Ngati Rongomaihuia. Later, in the time of Turangitukua, sixth in decent from Tuwharetoa, when the tribe was established in the Taupo district, it assumed its present name. The settlement in Taupo was sporadic until the time of Te Rangitautahanga, the son of Turangitukua (Grace, 1959. p 21).

Ngati Tuwharetoa claims descent from Ngatoroirangi of Te Arawa canoe, it does not form part of Te Arawa tribe. It is independent and occupies territory as extensive as Te Arawa. Te Arawa claims descent from the captain of the vessel, Tamatekapua. Because the two tribes live adjacent to each other and form the two tribes of Te Arawa canoe, the vessel is said to stretch from Tongariro

Mountain to Maketu in the Bay of Plenty, hence the saying …. "*Mai Maketu ki Tongariro."* The stern is at Tongariro because Ngatoroirangi, the high priest of the vessel had his deckhouse at that end of the canoe, and Maketu is the bow where Tamatekapua, the captain, had his quarters (Grace, 1959. p 21).

In a move away from Grace, Te Kanawa Pitiroi, kaumatua and spokesperson for Ngati Tuwharetoa indicated that more often now, Ngati Tuwharetoa speakers are reciting …. *"Mai Matata ki Tongariro"* given the tribe occupied the Coastal area from Matata to Otamarakau. (Personal conversation with Te Kanawa Pitiroi, 2006). A large section of Ngati Tuwharetoa still reside in Te Teko and Kawerau; and another group is found living in the Rotorua district about Whakarewarewa and Hinemoa Point, hence the saying … *"Tuwharetoa at Taupo; Tuwharetoa at Kawerau; and Tuwharetoa at Waiariki"* (Grace, 1959. p 21).

At the time when alliances were being created with Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Tuwharetoa had formed two divisions. One, under the name of Te Aitanga a Huruao, occupied the southern half of Taupo under the leadership of Te Rangitautahanga, and the northern area, named Ngati Whanaurangi under the leadership of Te Rangita. Both were of ariki (chiefly) rank and descendants of Rongomaitengangana, the ariki (chiefly) son of Tuwharetoa. Rongomaitengangana had two sons: Tutapiriao and Whakatihi. Te Rangitautahanga descended from the elder brother and Te Rangita from Whakatihi. Te Rangitautahanga remained as the recognised upoko ariki (senior chief) of the tribe, and Te Rangita assumed the position of war chief and leader. This was agreed to by the other chiefs of the tribe, and to bind the arrangement, Te Rangitautahanga gave his daughter, Te Waiparemo, in marriage to Manunui, one of Te Rangita's sons. The war-canoe Te Reporepo, and the god Rongomai, were the taonga (precious gifts) that were given by Te Rangitautahanga as part of his daughter's dowry.

Ngati Turangitukua

It was the custom with Ngati Tuwharetoa, from the time of Turangitukua until the close of the nineteenth century, to select from a panel of high-born men the paramount chief and war-leader of the tribe. This rank was not necessarily a hereditary right. It was conferred by the tribe on the most suitable man irrespective of seniority. The ariki (chief) of the tribe were the direct descendants of the senior male line from the tribal ancestor, Tuwharetoa himself. And it was the senior ariki's (chief) prerogative on behalf of the people to install the paramount chief's. The rank of ariki (chief) could not be removed as was the case of the paramount chieftainship.

Those leaders formed the kahui ariki (most senior chiefs) of Ngati Tuwharetoa. Four generations following the death of Rongomaitengangana, Tunono was ariki (chief) as well as paramount chief. He married Te Rangihuruao, a person of very high rank, and by her, had a son, Turangitukua. This son had four children whose descendants became the most senior of all Ngati Tuwharetoa lines in Taupo. They formed what became known as the Aitanga a Huruao sub-tribe. The first of the four children was a daughter, Hingaia; the second, Te Mahaoterangi; the third, Te Rangitautahanga from whom descended the senior line or mana tuakana; and the last was a daughter, Hinerangi.

The brief history of Ngati Tuwharetoa and Ngati Turangitukua described the people and social structure. The whakapapa (genealogy), whanaungatanga (relationships), and the stories illustrated the importance of connectedness and relationships. The next Chapter is about the coping system and how the group that was studied applied aspects of Ngati Tuwharetoa history, whakapapa (genealogy) and whanaungatanga (relationships) to their formation, and to their study.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE COMMONWEALTH YOUTH PROGRAMME AND THE COPING SYSTEM AT TURANGI

This Chapter discusses the student coping system that was implemented in Turangi taking into account local characteristics and the special nature of distance learning. It also relates the Commonwealth Youth Programme to Maori World views (chapter three).

Distance learning

Worldwide the demand for education is outstripping facilities and resources available. It is, therefore important to create and use innovative ways to provide education. Distance learning is largely dependent on the state for physical, financial, and technological resources, human capacity, and an enabling policy environment, all well coordinated in an innovative manner. In other words, for the CYP programme to work well in Turangi, first-rate materials and an excellent infrastructure was necessary. Moving information to people at their doorsteps rather than moving students to the information source required a great deal of innovation that demanded close working relationships between all stakeholders to harness all available physical, financial and technological resources. For this reason, distance learning proved to be a suitable option for students in Turangi.

Developing the coping system

One of the main life principles of Ngati Tuwharetoa is illustrated by the following:

> Mauri (life principles): *"Nga kapua whakapipi a Tamamutu." Kapua (clouds) which gather over the Kaimanawa Ranges drift around over the mountains, around the western side of Lake Taupo back to the Kaimanawa. When clouds drift from east to south to west to north then back to the east, they are reminding us of the unity of the tribe. When clouds drift from the west and cover Pihanga we get rain" (Personal communication with Eileen Te Rangi, 31 August 2005).*

The message here is *"Strength in Unity."* (Ibid).The achievement in establishing the coping system was through building on the conceptual value of working together.

From the outset, a lot of energy was spent creating a '*culture of enquiry'* – creating demand from the students, mentors, teachers and others for 'quality' evaluated activity, producing good and relevant analyses, and using the findings to inform their work. This was driven by:

- A coping system incorporating a Maori world view that was maintained throughout the programme.
- Decisions that sought, shared and supported robust discussion
- A clarity of purpose, action and intended results
- A willingness to question the utility of everything they did

More importantly for Turangi students, was the determination to use (where appropriate), traditional Ngati Turangitukua reference points for all the work that was undertaken, and to progress students desire to learn about 'their hapu (sub-tribe)' and 'their place within the hapu (sub-tribe)'. For example, applying stories, landmarks, places and tribal events to their work, comparing and contrasting Ngati Turangitukua principles and practices with academic theory and models, all the while being mindful of the responsibility they each had for retaining the integrity of Ngati Turangitukuatanga (that which belongs to Ngati Turangitukua).

The student coping framework incorporating a Maori world view is illustrated in the following table:

Table 1: The Student coping system framework (Te Rangi, 2006)

Turangitukua component	**Concept/philosophy**	**Explanation**
Manakitanga	Caring for students	• Foster a strong knowledge of self

	as culturally located human beings above all else.	within Ngati Tuwharetoa, more importantly, as Ngati Turangitukua. • Provide stimulating tutors, mentors, and physical environment for learning. • Recognise the importance and appropriateness of feelings in relationship to the path students are now taking i.e. recognise prior previous structured education knowledge. • Treating everyone with dignity. • Professionalism at all times.
Mana motuhake	Caring for the performance of the students.	• Kinship ties - responsibilities and obligations. • Compassion for self; for the group and for others. • Be able to recognise the importance of time and space in dealing with situations that arise.
Whakahaere; Wananga; Ako	A Maori centre of learning involving a rich and dynamic sharing of knowledge; an exchange of views; gives life and spirit through dialogue, debate and careful consideration in	• Multi intelligence; teaching and learning strategies of tupuna (ancestors). • Able to nurture own wairua (spirituality) which benefits others to care for their own wairua (spirituality). • Draw on Maori conceptual frameworks and knowledge to impart learning.

	order to reshape and accommodate new knowledge. Able to engage in effective teaching interactions with the students as Ngati Turangitukua. Strategies to promote effective teaching interactions and relationships with students.	• Be confident and comfortable applying own expertise. • Able to interact successfully with other organisations in the community. • Importance of asking questions to maintain understanding of the study. • Direct monitoring and assistance at all times. • Be creative – take risks. • Focus on win/win solutions • Establish and maintain positive and beneficial relationships. • High standards. • Help others to achieve – share. • Model leadership and behaviour. • Use available resources; technology; people; wharepuni (ancestral house); marae; whakapapa (genealogy); whakatauki (proverbs); pakiwaitara; waiata (songs); and other institutions (libraries, schools). • Willingness to extend skills. • Evaluate own performance • Learn from mistakes. • Seek help and advice to improve performance. • Relate with Maori feelings – an holistic approach.
Mauri	Life principles.	• High standards

		• Wharepuni (ancestral house) • Marae • Whakapapa (genealogy) • Whakatauki (proverbs) • Pakiwaitara • Waiata (songs)
Iho matua	Ties to family.	• Ties to family (before birth through the umbilical cord). • Spiritual connection through 'Muka the Sacred thread'. • Point of contact between our spiritual and physical worlds.
Wairua	Spiritual	• Spiritual side which permeates our whole life principles.
Hinengaro	Mental.	• Mental well-being.
Whatumanawa	Affection.	• Feelings of affection.
Ahuaha	Passion.	• Feelings of passion.
Pumanawa	Inner strength.	• Your inner strength (ihi/wehi) Ka mau te ihi me te wehi.
Ngakau	Mind/Memory.	• Using the mind
Tinana	Physical body.	• Looking after the body – food, exercise, cleanliness.

Students received additional guidance and advice from whanau (family) and hapu (sub-tribe) members, on the application of Ngati Turangitukua references to their work. Students were transparent and accountable for what they wanted to achieve. The aim was to create a management culture that was fact-based, results-oriented and open, and where students were accountable to each other. The pivotal role in the coping system was the mentor. A respected Ngati

Turangitukua and Ngati Tuwharetoa kuia (older, wiser woman) with a depth of knowledge about Ngati Turangitukua history and people, a dedication to imparting knowledge to those willing to learn, and a commitment to education – she also provided a meeting place, and guided students through their learning.

> *"How the group worked together was very important to me given the students were all my 'uri' (progeny), and they were coming to my home every week. The coping system is based on respectful relationships and a Maori world view. The concepts are not specific to Ngati Turangitukua but should be applied in all learning situations. I taught in the Primary school setting until I was 73 years old. In my whole teaching career, I applied the same philosophy that was engendered into my nieces, nephews and my mokopuna while they were doing the CYP. Not surprisingly, the students I have had the privilege of teaching, did well" (Turangi mentor).*

Managing the knowledge 'gap' within the hapu (sub-tribe)

It was clear from the start that additional people would need to be enlisted to strengthen the coping system beyond the mentor, and to meet RMIT expectations. Firstly, there was a need to recruit a locally based study group tutor who was able to attend a minimum of two (weekly) study group sessions each month, and to assign an examiner that met RMIT criteria. Two persons who were not whanau (family) or kin but friends and colleagues were approached. Both women were Pakeha (non-Maori) school teachers, colleagues of the mentor. Both women were ideal because they:

- Had the qualifications and experience – they both taught at the local primary school and were well respected in the community.
- Were known to the students and the students had confidence in them.
- Accepted the limited resources and lack of remuneration
- Were committed to raising the educational status of local Maori.
- Were aware of the academic rigour required as they had supported other tertiary students in the past.

An additional benefit to the recruitment of both teachers was that they lived and worked in Turangi and had some knowledge of the local people, issues and events. The tutor was born and raised in Taupo and had lived and taught in and around Turangi for more than fifteen years. She knew generations of local families including the families of the students. The initial examiner was a relatively young (27 years) Masters graduate who brought a youthful approach to the study. The tutor remained with the programme for two years. The initial examiner supported the programme for twelve months, at which time she relocated to another district. A second examiner (school counsellor) joined the group. He held similar characteristics and credentials. He supported the students through to graduation.

All the students and their mentor thought the concept of a student coping system represented an ideal, but they had doubts about their own commitment. For example, one student said …. "*I was a 55 year old participating in formal study group sessions and enjoying the work. I didn't think the sessions would get off the ground and at times I wanted to be elsewhere" (Student)*. In the interview, the mentor commented … "*In terms of the coping system, a lot of what was agreed was simply good practice in a Maori educational-setting" (Mentor)*

Input from others

This following comment made by the mentor showed the Territorial Local Authorities commitment to community development, and to profiling local initiatives. It illustrated independent or external views of the programme.

> *"The student's first module was to do with researching the demographics of Turangi. The students chose to document the information they had collected through a collage depicting the 'life sources' – significant waterways, mountains and forests. Shapes of mountains and waterways were moulded from various materials to form the back-drop to the symbols (pylons, heavy machinery, shopping centre etc) of the power project development that occurred in the 1960's. Thanks to a councillor friend, the students were able to access the information they needed from Council records. She also sought permission for the students work to be displayed in a local council owned building" (Te Rangi, 2006).*

In summary, the study raised five points:

- Distance education requires sound planning. Students commented that a regular weekly study group session at the same venue over the two year period was vital to their success.
- Such boundaries as understanding critical relationships are important to maintaining order and promoting a supportive learning environment. Table one presented earlier in this chapter was the framework developed by the group to engender respectful relationships within the group.
- Non-Maori are committed to advancing Maori education as well. This was demonstrated by three Pakeha (non-Maori) teachers who gave-up their free time to support the students over the two years of study, and the local government councillor who helped students gather study material.
- Voluntary work is critical to community development – in this instance, developing future Ngati Turangitukua leaders.
- Although familial connections were important, this was not at the expense of relevant knowledge and skill. To illustrate, non-Maori were recruited to fill a 'gap' in the knowledge-pool of the hapu.

Connectedness through whakapapa (genealogy) was critical to student success

There is evidence that connectedness, as a process, was central to the functioning of the success of the coping system. Key examples of the process of connectedness drawn from the interviews were the use of intergenerational transfer of knowledge between the mentor and students, an explicit concern for locating education within the broader context of Maori development and a Maori world view, whanau-focused (family focused) delivery, strengthening of whanau (family) relationships, and the use of tribal and Maori networks.

It is also worth noting here that customary Maori knowledge transmission practices, which are still relevant today, have implications for the distinction between ontology and epistemology, in that 'what can be known' is to some extent, dependent on the credentials of the 'knower'. According to customary practice, access to knowledge was not universal. Knowledge was owned by a group for a specific purpose and was not transmitted outside of that context. As survival was linked to safeguarding knowledge, provisions were necessary to ensure that specialised knowledge was transmitted intact. Tohunga (specialists) were selected on the basis of genealogy and, following intensive education, proven ability (Walker, 1990).

Given that Maori consider knowledge to be culturally bound and hence values based, the epistemological position of a Maori enquiry paradigm is values-mediated. The nature of the relationship between the researcher and researched participants was interactive, and the values of the researcher influenced the research. This view is supported by Walker, who is cited in Bevan-Brown (1998. pg.241) *"Maori always recognise research as being culturally and therefore values based. Maori do not see research as being 'neutral'"*. In order to develop Maori knowledge the researcher must work within a Maori inquiry paradigm and, therefore, in a way that is consistent with the themes identified above.

> *"We were all from Ngati Turangitukua and we all grew up in Turangi and that made the study special – It's one of the reasons we worked well together" (Turangi student).*
>
> *"It was a proud moment for me to see my niece and nephews graduate – they didn't realise the significance of what they had achieved alone and together. The Deputy Secretary General of the Commonwealth, Faculty from RMIT and staff from the South Pacific CYP came to the graduation ceremony – that made it special for my students" (Turangi mentor).*
>
> *"I was proud of my daughter. We had no idea how important the study was until we went to the graduation. For the two years, we were just happy that she was going to our cousin's (mentor) place to learn with her cousins from Hirangi" (Parent of a student).*

"It's thanks to my cousin that I did the study –she organised for Aunty (mentor) and I to attend a meeting in Tauranga to hear about the course. She got the scholarships and Aunty volunteered to be the mentor. In the beginning, she photocopied the modules for us. She also sourced youth focused resources such as the New Zealand Youth Strategy and the Youth Suicide Strategy and couriered them to Aunty's home" (Turangi student).

In summary, the study illustrated that:

- Whakapapa (genealogy) was an important factor. Students were chosen because they were Ngati Turangtukua and were 'uri' (progeny) of the mentor who wanted to learn about their hapu (sub-tribe). They had also demonstrated a willingness to improve 'life chances' for Ngati Turangitukua youth.
- Whanau (family) who are located away from the haukainga (true home) continue to support each other. Some examples are: the advocacy work that was done to secure scholarships for Turangi students; gathering resources such as the New Zealand Youth Strategy, to courier to the students; and keeping students informed and engaged via the internet.
- Without whanau (family) support, the student coping system would have had difficulty getting established and maintained.
- Students relied upon financial, intellectual and moral support from whanau (family).

Best practice

The teaching of skills and ideas consisted of instruction and demonstration, and of providing the students with opportunities to practice their skills and have their work monitored. To achieve best practice in Turangi, each of those had to be catered for. Choosing the right media and pedagogy for the programme, supported by proactive intervention systems, helped to produce best practices in general for the student group that was studied. Limited or uneven distribution of resources coupled with high poverty levels in the rural community in question conspired against the best will to adopt and adapt innovative or best practices. In

small places like Turangi in particular, the constraining conditions led to missed opportunities. For instance, the local library did not have books relevant to the study and they were difficult to obtain in a reasonable timeframe through the loan system. Without a regular income, students were unable to travel to the library in Taupo.

Instruction and demonstration is easily done through video, while language and interpersonal skills can be taught by audiotapes. Lessons about the hapu (sub-tribe) were through oral language and observation – historical events, stories and the interpretation of symbols in carvings and on the landscape, told to them by the mentor. The significance of the high priest, Ngatoroirangi, and the part tribal history played in shaping hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) thoughts and actions, provided students with a meaningful backdrop against which they wrote their assignments. Students had to visit the hapu (sub-tribe) meeting house Tuwharetoa-i-te-Aupouri, to learn about the carvings, patterns and symbols on the house, the history behind each symbol, and what each symbol represented. Content for their assignments was drawn from hapu (sub-tribe) history, stories and events, and applied to the theory and practice in the modules. One example was the Ngati Turangitukua whakatauki (saying): *"Ka tuohu ahau ki te wahine." "I will bow before a woman."* (Te Rangi, 2006) The whakatauki (saying) described below, was the basis upon which they did the assignment on gender (module five).

> *"Behind Tuwharetoa-i-te-Aupouri (Turangitukua ancestral house) is a very high hill called Pihanga. She is our whaea (mother) and our Turangitukua story is that Ngatoroirangi stubbed his toe on Pihanga before he climbed our sacred mountain Tongariro. When Ngatoroirangi stubbed his toe on Pihanga he said "Ka tuohu ahau ki te wahine – I will bow before a woman" From this saying comes the female ancestor Manawa carved on the front poupou (pole) of our wharenui (large house). Other people find it strange when coming onto our marae that they have to greet the women first, everywhere else in Ngati Tuwharetoa, men greet men first. This carving makes Ngati Turangitukua women strong mentally but we do not overshadow our men because carved on their side of the wharenui (large*

house) are the symbols of warfare, their messages of strength and duty to the whole hapu (sub-tribe)" (Te Rangi, 1996).

A second example was a hapu (sub-tribe) reference for science and technology. The story, recited by Eileen (Duff) Te Rangi (1996) in her presentation to the World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education, related to the navigational skills of the Senior High Priest, Ngatoroirangi:

> *"Ngati Tuwharetoa Iwi are descended from Ngatoroirangi, the senior High Priest of the Arawa canoe. As he was a great navigator, the designs in our wharenui tell of navigation, of the constellations by which he plotted the journey to Aotearoa (New Zealand). The designs tell me that the sun rises in the east so when my ancestors sailed north they kept the sun to their right. Certain stars rise in certain places in the sky therefore different constellations of stars are celestial road maps. My ancestors followed one group of constellations then another as the stars rose. Waves came from the east so when the sun was over-head they knew where they were going. The swells are a meeting of waves a log way away. My ancestors had names for the swells so they knew how to adjust their sails to keep their canoes on course. They used island blocks when voyaging not the main island they wanted as their destination. With this knowledge of technology the success of the voyage was planned before they left" (Duff, 1996. p.6).*

Written work comprised of thirteen modules which are outlined in chapter one. Workbooks were dispatched by the New Zealand national tutor to students and teachers. A mix of workshops, questionnaires and assignments had to be completed within a timeframe set by RMIT. Each module took (on average) six weeks to complete. Students were expected to prepare for study sessions and to participate in discussion and debate. Students said they worked hard to meet assignment due dates because they were hugely appreciative of the voluntary hours the teachers had given to their learning. Students also felt that they had a responsibility to be role models for future generations of rangatahi (young people), as well as the need to uphold the mana (prestige) of Ngati Turangitukua hapu (sub-tribe).

"One of our modules was about learning processes. I was able to apply the theory about how people learn to our study group dynamic – it made theory real for me." (Turangi student)

"Aunty (mentor) did the whakapapa (genealogy) for our Waitangi Tribunal Claim – she got me involved for our whanau (family). She helped me to recognise the lessons in planning and management that was applied to the gathering of whakapapa (genealogy) for the Waitangi Tribunal. I used the experience in my assignment. I was fortunate to have had the opportunity to learn about us, our people – getting the tohu (qualification) was great but the stuff I learnt about me and my tupuna (ancestors) was more important." (Turangi student)

"I struggled to finish the assignments on time sometimes but I knew I couldn't let the group down so I worked hard to meet the deadlines." (Turangi student).

"Nothing like this (CYP study) had come to Turangi before so I knew I had to do well and do it right so that other cousins get an opportunity like I had." (Turangi student).

"At times, when the modules didn't arrive on time we had to hold longer study sessions so that my students could complete the work and meet the deadline." (Turangi mentor).

"I learnt a lot about group dynamics when I was on the programme. I learnt that by talking about the things that were on my mind contributed to the whole discussion and other peoples learning – aunty (mentor) made me see that what I had to say was relevant to many of the topics that we discussed, and that I could write about them. I now bring the young people together to discus and reflect on problems that affect them and I try to show them how important their thoughts are to the solutions." (*Turangi student*)

To summarise, the study showed:

- Pakeke (elders) continue to see their role as one of transferring tribal knowledge to members of the hapu (sub-tribe). For this study, pakeke (elders) included the mentor, whanau (family) elders and senior hapu (sub-tribe) members. The mentor introduced students to Ngati Turangitukua constructs, concepts and beliefs that were applied to their study. For example, the formation of the coping system framework was

drawn from one of the main life principles of Ngati Tuwharetoa – "*Strength in Unity*". The module on gender was referenced from a hapu (sub-tribe) story about Ngatoroirangi and Manawa (outlined earlier in this section).

- For all the students, upholding the mana of Ngati Turangitukua (sub-tribe) and Ngati Tuwharetoa iwi (tribe) was important. Students said they were acutely aware of the responsibility they had to whanau (family) and hapu (sub-tribe) members who supported them and so made every effort to meet deadlines and to attend weekly study sessions. Students were also aware that they would be acknowledged as Turangi students and therefore, likely to be identified as belonging to Ngati Turangitukua and therefore, Ngati Tuwharetoa iwi (tribe).
- All the modules were sent from RMIT to the New Zealand tutor who was responsible for despatching the material to the group. This did not always occur on time. Despite the intention (of the group) to meet deadlines, some things were beyond their control.
- The study highlighted the significance of whanaungatanga (relationships) and the benefits of group work in an educational setting. Throughout the interviews, students talked about the sharing of information, food, and travel that occurred. They also commented on their own contributions (such as shared travel) to the collective and their input into study group sessions. Teachers highlighted the benefits of the group sessions, in particular, how the group engaged in discussion and debate on points related to their course. Teachers also commented on student's commitment to completing pieces of work in readiness for study group sessions. Teachers said the preparation enabled students to participate in discussions, and to make a meaningful contribution to the lessons.

Physical resources

Distance education systems demand substantial capital investment at the initial stages in order to establish specialist facilities for the design, production and delivery of a programme. In Turangi, this required maximum coordination and use of existing resources and facilities, and included the development of an effective and flexible learner support system. This did however, require innovative approaches.

> *"We met at my Nan's house. It was choice – I use to take my son (4years) with me so he had some time with my Nan and he could hear the stories she told us. I know he might have been too young – you never know what they might learn." (Turangi student)*

> *"Our Pakeha (non-Maori) tutor and examiner use to come and we would share kai (food). It's a good way to get to know each other better, and to get people talking." (Turangi student)*

In summary, the study found that in this regard, the overall strategy included collaborating closely and facilitating cooperation, partnership and networking with all stakeholders within the programme, including whanau (family) and hapu (sub-tribe) members. One of the examples was the regular study sessions held at the mentor's home over the two year period.

Technological resources

In an era in which technology advances at unimaginable pace, and information circulates at a phenomenal rate, people need to take the time to experiment, develop their own comfort level, and adopt technologies in what ever way suits them, not the other way around. Technology-mediated learning helped to provide access to the students and thus created much needed capacity to meet demands in the Turangi community. A whole series of technological developments ranging from the traditional print and audio, to present day electronic, have had a profound effect on education and training in general and certainly on the delivery of the CYP programme in the community that is at the centre of this study. As is

often the case, the technology is available but people may not emotionally completely embrace it from the onset. For five of the people involved in the programme (including those that did not complete), the means posed the biggest barrier.

> *"Thank goodness we didn't have to use a computer. I didn't have access to a computer but they said I could hand-write my assignments. I know some whanau (family) doing university and everything is on a computer." (Turangi student)*
>
> *"No-one in Turangi had access to internet and email. I relied on my daughter to get all the course material, panui (notices) from RMIT and information from the New Zealand tutor." (Turangi mentor)*
>
> *"We relied on the cousin to send us stuff off the internet." (Turangi student).*

In summary, it appeared that individual students appreciated being able to hand-write assignments. Whänau (family) members gathered information and passed it on to the group.

Financial resources

Careful financial planning was necessary in order to maximise the benefits of the CYP scholarship programme. Course material was photocopied and distributed by family members who had the means to do so. Students were hosted in Auckland, and travel was supported. In this regard, the study illustrated three things:

- Turangi students would not have been able to undertake the study programme if they had not received a CYP scholarship;
- Without whanau (family) support, students would have had difficulty attending workshops in Auckland; and
- Familial relationships extended beyond the community being studied and were equally supportive.

CHAPTER SIX: KEY FINDINGS AND DISCUSION

The study involved two 'waves' of data collection: the first was between January and June 2005 at times when the author attended hapu (sub-tribe) hui (gatherings) in Turangi. The second followed one year later. One on one interviews were undertaken, and one focus group was held. A questionnaire (appendix 4) was used to guide and gather information on:

- The student's connection to Ngati Turangitukua
- Student's knowledge of the CYP programme and what it entailed
- Who provided the support for their study and how
- What difficulties they experienced during the programme of study
- What helped to overcome or cope with those problems or difficulties

The analysis is based on those participants who agreed to be interviewed at both time points and those who participated in the focus group (n=15). The largest group in the sample came from Turangi: five students, one mentor, one tutor and two students who failed to complete the programme. Three students from Whanganui took part in a focus group. One mentor from Whanganui was interviewed, separately, and two students from South Auckland were interviewed.

The age of the primary sample groups ranged from 30 years to 75 years, with a mean age of 38 years. 66% percent were female.

Table 2: Location of sample groups

Turangi	Whanganui	South Auckland
9	4	2

Table 3: Gender and Age

Age	Female	Male
30 – 40 years	6	3

41 – 55 years	3	2
56 + years	1	

Ngati Turangitukua Group

This was the largest of the sample group of students and teachers (tutors and mentor). They constitute the group who are at the centre of this enquiry. By and large, the findings have been aggregated. In instances where there was a clear delineation between the views of teachers and views of the students, they have been recorded separately. All participants were interviewed individually.

As expected, the student group were well suited to the coping system described fully in chapter five - the framework was founded on a set of Maori world values that they understood, and they were supported by well-informed people. An unexpected benefit of bringing students and teachers together, was the learning opportunity for non-Maori teachers – they were exposed to in-depth history of Ngati Turangitukua and Ngati Tuwharetoa, and the two-world system of Maori (see chapter one and chapter four). They had a part in supporting students make the link between a Maori paradigm and academic writing. Aspects of a strong cultural base, such as respectful relationships, collaboration, leadership, united direction and connectedness were demonstrated over the study period and were positively highlighted in the interviews. The group considered those attributes to be congruent to strong whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe), and to the coping system that supported them over the two years.

Another benefit identified was unity. The Ngati Tuwharetoa whakatauki (saying) *"Nga kapua whakapipi a Tamamutu" (Strength in Unity)* helped to focus and unite the group from the outset, and set the scene for respectful relationships to occur, whereupon information and resources were shared, study sessions were attended, rights and responsibilities shared, and where 'doing the right thing' was normal. People were agreed that hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) whakatauki

(sayings) kept them to task and therefore, had the potential to work well among Ngati Turangitukua youth.

Perhaps the most surprising response from the student group was how little in-depth knowledge they knew of Ngati Turangitukua and Ngati Tuwharetoa. All the students in the group were active members of the hapu (sub-tribe). All made significant contributions to marae activities, and had an understanding of the day-to-day management and of their individual role in activities and events such as tangi (funerals), hui-a-hapu (meetings of the sub-tribe), hui-a-iwi (meetings of the tribe). Despite being raised within their own hapu (sub-tribe) setting, students had very little in-depth knowledge of hapu (sub-tribe) history. Their understanding and interpretation of the carvings, patterns and symbols on the meeting house, the significance of tribal landmarks, and the collection of historical stories was limited. That could be attributed to their own pakeke (elders) lack of knowledge and or ability to impart that knowledge, or to the student's preparedness to learn.

Not surprisingly then, all the group expressed strong support for the leadership role of the mentor and grateful admiration for the knowledge about Ngati Turangitukua and Ngati Tuwharetoa that she shared with them all. In this regard, the most overwhelming finding was the importance students placed on what they had learned about their hapu (sub-tribe) and their iwi (tribe) and the value of *"Me titiro whakamuri i mua i te haerenga whakamua" "You must always look back before going forward".* The reference here is the learning that occurs from tribal history and how history can be applied to the present day. Two comments demonstrate the student's insight:

> *"I've been going to our pa since I was a child. I've never had those things explained to me before and if aunty (mentor) hadn't been there for us, I would never have known. For instance we have patterns in our meeting house that I have only seen at Hirangi – they are not even in other Tuwharetoa marae. The stars for instance – we learnt about how our Tüpuna applied technology when they made the voyage from Hawaiki. We did an assignment on sustainable development and the environment*

and we focused on the Tongariro Power Project, and the destruction of our Hirangi stream. We could all remember picking watercress and catching trout in that stream. Now, it is a slow trickle – almost stagnant." (Turangi student)

"Aunty (mentor) helped me to see that our old people had it all figured out – they knew about science, they knew about navigation – when we were told the story about 'Te Whakawai i te Waka a Te Reporepo' (trialling Te Reporepo) (Te Rangi, 1999. p. 6.) and how our people dammed the river to get Te Reporepo down to the lake, it was obvious to me they knew about using a system Pakeha (non-Maori) call loch's – from this story, I wrote about how our people organised themselves in one of my assignments." (Turangi student)

Te Reporepo was the pride and flagship of the Ngati Tuwharetoa fleet of war canoes. Its ownership was one of the visible signs of paramount chieftainship. It was built in the forest above the source of the Tokaanu River under the direction of Te Rangitautahanga (Grace, 1959. p 60).

As mentioned previously, students specifically attributed much of their success to aspects of whanaungatanga (relationships) and Maori focused practices (see Chapter five). The supposition suggests that language, culture and customs that engender a strong identity are best centred within the cultural setting of the individuals concerned, and in situations where the learning is applied, all the while guided by those who hold the knowledge.

A further finding of the study was that access to resources to support tertiary learning can be a deterrent in itself. However, a sound infrastructure with elements of academic rigour can substitute for resources such as student peers, lecturers, reference libraries and electronic information. In this instance, the model that was applied in Turangi i.e. engaging well-informed people, holding regular study sessions, and working within prescribed boundaries was a good example that worked well for the student group that was studied.

Overall there was considerable pessimism among participants about the dissemination of information about the CYP. Not one student or teacher knew that the Commonwealth Secretariat had allocated scholarships to indigenous people who work with indigenous youth. Some people felt very strongly that the Commonwealth Youth Programme South Pacific Centre could have published information more widely – for example, via Maori Trust Boards, Maori Service Providers and Maori publications. They also felt the way in which the CYP assigned scholarships, was not well thought through. They felt rural communities should have been targeted because very few learning opportunities are centred in those areas. When the question *"does the youth population in small towns warrant allocation of scholarships?"* was asked, participants commented that they could identify a number of children and young people who have been placed in Turangi by the Statutory Agency, Child Youth and Family, and the enormous difficulties youth workers encounter when working with the young people. Teachers in the group agreed. They have similar issues with children and young people who had been placed in Turangi. Consequently, there was some discontent with the scholarship allocation process. In terms of student support from the CYP South Pacific Centre participants views were bleak. The group recalled two visits were made by the national tutor over the two year period. They thought they had attended four national workshops where they met with RMIT. The group wondered if the Commonwealth Secretariat were committed to ensuring indigenous people succeeded.

On the other hand there was considerable optimism among participants about the course material. They felt the course content gave them a sound theoretical base for youth work in the future, and that they would be able to apply theory to practice.

An overwhelming unexpected finding from this group was how they viewed the tohu (qualification). All agreed the course raised their skill levels and knowledge about young people and the work they do in the youth sector. At the same time,

they gained insight into the Commonwealth in general. They also talked about the tohu (qualification) being a means to get into well-paid employment. The most surprising outcome was that students considered the qualification to be a secondary benefit compared to the learning about their place in their hapu (sub-tribe) and in their iwi.

Turangi Students who did not complete the course

This was a small sample (two students). Both students were active members of the hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) and their contribution adds another perspective to this body of knowledge. One student was recruited into the scholarship pilot in the year 2000. He remained on the programme for one year and in that time, successfully completed eight of the thirteen modules. He was certain that he would complete the CYP at a later date. The other was offered a scholarship because someone had withdrawn from the programme. She partially completed the first module but failed to pass. Overall they spoke positively about how the group structured themselves, and the support they had received for the time they were involved in the study. The common theme for both students, and the reason for their withdrawal from the programme, was the need to find paid employment to support their families. One student went on to work at two jobs in Turangi, and the other relocated to another city. In this instance, the finding showed that families are the priority.

Whanganui Group

Individual one on one interviews were planned with the Whanganui mentor and the students. The mentor was interviewed separately, but the students decided they wanted to meet as a group. Consequently, the structure of the interviews changed to a focus group discussion. The questionnaire was used as a guide, but the topics changed constantly throughout the session. The change was congruent to the methodology that was used for the study in that … "*the general aim of grounded theory is to generate 'new' theory, driven by constantly emergent data, while the data collection itself is dependent on continually emergent hypotheses. The process is cyclical and opens up entirely new areas for study"* (*Glaser, 1992*). Chapter two of this report details grounded theory.

The session took longer than anticipated because the group were eager to talk about their experiences as students, and to revel in their individual and collective achievement within the CYP. Whanganui students were supported by their mentor, a teacher and mother of one of the students. She had indicated from the outset that her teaching time was limited to two hourly sessions each month. With this in mind, she worked with the group to draw-up a study support framework based on values of manakitanga (caring), wananga (centre of learning), mauri (life principles), wairua (spiritual) and iho matua (kinship ties). With a framework in place, students were confident in their own leadership and ability to maintain the sessions themselves.

Two of the points raised in the interviews were the hypothesis of connectedness, and the notion of respectful relationships. To demonstrate the first point, students were linked through whakapapa (genealogy) that also connected them to Ngati Turangitukua students. For the Whanganui students, entry into the programme was via the mentor's cousin who was a student in Turangi. He raised the possibility of assigning scholarships for whanau (family) in Whanganui with the national tutor, and arranged for the students to visit Turangi. In this way,

connectedness played a valuable role in one of the CYP initiatives being centred in Whanganui, and the support from whanau (family) members in Turangi. Further evidence of connectedness centred on the support students received from whanau (family) that was demonstrated by the following comment:

> *"It's thanks to my mum and aunties that we got through – they persevered with us, they never gave up on us, they helped us with petrol money to get to the hui (meetings) in Auckland. My cousins in Turangi also supported us – we went to visit them to see how they got themselves together – it was awesome". (Whanganui student).*

References for assignments were drawn from iwi (tribal) history that linked the students to the Whanganui River. Accounts of Roman Catholic settlement along the river, and the occupation of Moutoa gardens in 1995 (Maori Law review, May 1995) were also used as reference sources for the work they did on 'young people and society', 'conflict resolution strategies', and 'sustainable development and environmental issues'. An additional benefit was the internet access, and contact with relatives who were studying at the local polytechnic. The time spent with those students gave them greater access to study material and resources. They said the topics and events such as the Maori occupation at Moutoa Gardens in 1995 prompted lively, candid, and colourful debate. (Ibid).

A further point that was raised, related to the status of the study programme. The group had no prior knowledge of the CYP, and therefore, had no idea of the significance of the pilot scholarship programme, the academic discipline that the programme required, or the status of the tohu (qualification). All their information was relayed via a relative in Turangi.

The difficulties students encountered were commitment, time, and un-preparedness. In all instances, students found themselves less enthused in the second year. The drive to complete the course came from whanau (family). The finding proves the hypothesis of this study that the course depended on whanau (family) input.

In summary, a number of findings from this sample group align to the key findings of the students who are at the centre of this enquiry - familial links, collaboration, leadership, cultural strength, cultural frameworks and the use of iwi (tribal) history. The difficulties that they experienced reaffirmed those of the primary sample group – time, commitment, and un-preparedness, and the reliance upon family to help them overcome the barriers. Those themes are discussed in the overview section.

South Auckland Group

Two students were interviewed, three themes emerged. They were to do with relationships, student support and economic potential. One student's comments highlighted a difference in Maori people raised in the city whereby the notion of belonging to an iwi (tribe) and a hapu (sub-tribe) was acknowledged but little attempt was made to connect with relatives or kin living in the haukainga (true home) – his known links did not extend beyond Auckland. Support for that student centred with his siblings, access to the internet, and a helpful librarian.

The other student that was interviewed had very strong links to her haukainga (true home) in the Eastern Bay of Plenty even though she had been raised in Auckland. Her parents had made a determined effort throughout her life, to ensure her and her siblings knew their iwi (tribe) and hapu (sub-tribe) history, cultural practices, and whakapapa (genealogy). The downside for her was distance between she and her primary support system – her whanau (family) lived in Ruatoki. Despite the distance, that student took an active interest in significant tribal events, tangi (funerals) and celebrations that helped her develop a deeper understanding of whanau (family) and hapu (sub-tribe), and the benefits of both. It's not surprising therefore, to find that she gained entry to the CYP via a family connection – her partner's brother lived in Turangi and was a student on the programme. In that regard, the notion of connectedness was critical.

> *"My brother-in-law was in the Ngati Turangitukua group – that's how I got on the programme. His mother contacted Betty (national tutor) and she put me on the programme.". (South Auckland student)*

The interviews were guided by the questionnaire, and followed a line of enquiry to do with what they had found was helpful, and what they had considered was difficult over the two year period of study. Both students that were interviewed had undertaken tertiary study previously and so were aware of the rigour and discipline that was required. For their group, study sessions were irregular; students did not prepare for each session and therefore, had very little to contribute to the discussions. Tutors and examiners changed several times over the two year period – people volunteered and dropped off. Consequently they felt that very little was achieved from the student study sessions, and that they got more value from organising and managing their own learning. Two further comments illustrated how the South Auckland students managed:

> *"Initially, my group met at the New Zealand tutors home in Papatoetoe. I don't think we were as organised as the Turangi group – they had the same mentor for the whole time and they met at the same venue. Our mentors' volunteered but then they dropped off after one or two months and our venue changed to the coordinators office. It was cold." (South Auckland Student)*

> *"Some groups met in the Manurewa library. The examiners changed often and so we were assessed differently as the changes occurred. I found this to be unsettling." (South Auckland student).*

In difference to the other two sample groups, the Auckland group highlighted the advantage of attaining the tohu (qualification) in respect of work opportunities and level of income. Both students were in the 30 to 40 years cohort and had worked in the youth sector on a voluntary basis prior to embarking on the CYP. One student is now in paid employment as a youth worker and considering his next study options. The other student is in her final year (part-time) of a degree in accounting. Immediately following graduation, she secured temporary employment with the Youth Justice Unit of the New Zealand Statutory Agency,

Child Youth and Family. She found the work stressful, and the statutory nature of the role did not suit her. Never-the-less, she was pleased to have had that opportunity. The student is now employed as a community liaison tax officer with the Inland Revenue Department. Her primary role includes building the capacity and capability of the not-for-profit sector. Her focus is on Maori Service Providers and her preference is for working with providers who work with young people. In this instance, her tohu (qualification) has enhanced her employment opportunity.

In summary, the South Auckland sample were not as well organised as the previous two groups, and whanau (family) support was not readily available. The tohu (qualification) enhanced employment and economic opportunities, and helped the student focus on another aspect of youth work.

Key themes

A number of key themes outlined below were identified from the study and are reflected in the above areas:

- Connectedness
- Collaboration
- Leadership
- Economic potential
- Drawing from the past
- Distance learning
- Cultural frameworks

The main finding from this study: “respectful relations” that is valued in relationships of the Maori world can help facilitate tertiary education programmes when they are working together. Further research could usefully investigate and clarify those other elements that help in the education and training of young Maori people.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

This study set out to examine how a group of students coped under conditions of adversity. It aimed to construct an integrated conceptual understanding of how a minority group engaged in the coping process of how a group of Maori students managed the process of a “foreign” course of study through Distance Education by utilising features of their Maori culture. Chapter One covered the British Commonwealth and the Commonwealth Youth Programme. This chapter also introduced a Maori and a Ngati Turangitukua learning construct. Chapter Two was the first of the theoretical chapters. It established the context and overriding conditions that gave rise to the emergent processes and problems discussed in the thesis. Chapter Three reviews the relevant literature especially covering Maori and Education topics in New Zealand. Chapter Four specifically described the settings and people of Ngati Tuwharetoa Iwi (tribe) and Ngati Turangitukua hapu (sub-tribe). In Chapter Five, the coping system that was developed to assist the students who are the focus of the study is described, followed by an analysis of findings in Chapter Six. Finally, Chapter Seven draws together some ideas for future research.

The main evidence for the strength of the coping system was found in the whanau (family) and in whakapapa (genealogy) - the birth ties that linked students and teachers. Students achieved academic success and enhanced identity largely because of their familial ties. A critical aspect of the coping system was whakawhanaungatanga (relationships): allowing time and space to grow relationships. The dynamics of whakawhanaungatanga (relationships) were critical in determining teacher support (including non-Maori), student participation and student success. Through the process of engagement, relationships were developed and those connections meant that each person was committed to upholding the mana (prestige) of the other, the mana (prestige) of the hapu (sub-tribe), and the mana (prestige) of the iwi (tribe).To act in a way that diminished the mana (prestige) of each of those connections violated the principles of

whanaungatanga (relationships). The expression of whakawhanaungatanga (developing relationships) was most perceptible during weekly study sessions where the primary function was the gathering and sharing of information. As a consequence, each member of the group had a genuine connection with the other. This is consistent with the traditional principle of whakawhanaungatanga (developing relationships), which included relationships to non-kin persons who became like kin through shared experiences (Mead, 2003). Allowing the time and space to develop and support those relationships was not an extravagance, overindulgence, a luxury, or an optional extra: it was absolutely fundamental to the success of the coping system.

A related concept that was fundamental to the student's success was manakitanga – "nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being careful about how others are treated" (Mead, 2003). In this instance, Ngati Turangitukua students and teachers nurtured non-Maori teachers through a number of different processes, including appropriate rituals of encounter (such as powhiri (formal welcome), whakatau (introduction/welcome) and karakia (prayers)). Consequently student's successes hinged on the Maori world of collectivism rather than that of the individual (non-Maori) world of individualism. The finding raises the question of whether Tertiary Institutions (such as the Universities and Polytechnics) provide ways of socialising and support suitable for the particular needs of Maori students.

A further conclusion was that the Commonwealth Secretariat's investment in Aotearoa (New Zealand) produced a significant result. Thirteen of the twenty Maori and Pacific students involved in the Aotearoa (New Zealand) Commonwealth Youth Programme Pilot (2000) graduated. All the students that were interviewed have moved into paid employment such as a social worker in schools, a tax community liaison officer, a kaiako (teacher) at a te kohanga reo (Maori language nest), community youth workers, health promoters with Maori service providers, iwi (tribe) social service social workers, and working among

youth gangs. In terms of on-going learning, one South Auckland student is enrolled and due to complete a business degree in accounting. The Whanganui student's are learning to speak Maori and to develop their knowledge of Whanganui iwi (tribe) history at tribal wananga (schools of learning). Ngati Turangitukua student's options are limited due to their rural isolation and lack of easy access to learning institutions. However, they continue to spend time discovering further in-sight into Ngati Turangitukua and Ngati Tuwharetoa history with their aunty (CYP mentor).

With this in mind, it is important to remember that in Maori society, knowledge and learning are associated with being tapu (sacred). In discussing learning and tapu (sacredness), Te Uira Manihera (1992. p 9) of Tainui describes the sacredness of learning and the struggle elders have in the "*handing down of knowledge*". The fear is that "*by giving things out they could be commercialised. If this happens they lose their sacredness, their fertility. They just become common. And knowledge that is profane has lost its life, lost its tapu*." Ngoi Pewhairangi (1992. p 11) of Ngati Porou also reflects that "*only certain people, certain families, inherit these different aspects of our Maoritanga and are entitled to pass them on*". Thus the gathering of information as a Ngati Turangitukua person involves mutual respect, and trust and often occurs "a te wa", when the time is right. That means that consideration must be given to strengthening whanau (family) to avoid further fragmentation and alienation of hapu (sub-tribe) and iwi (tribe) society. Whanau (family) circumstances are rapidly changing, and if pakeke (elders) are to remain involved and to continue to play essentially positive roles, active policies for whanau (family) development are needed. In effect, the transmission of knowledge is best facilitated when the individual and their whanau (family), hapu (sub-tribe), and iwi (tribe) are in a position of strength.

Another conclusion of this study was that people from rural areas face a range of deterrent factors to continued participation in higher education. Never-the-less,

rural people do value and aspire towards post-compulsory education. Moore and Thompson (1990) in their research comparing distance education to traditional face-to-face instruction indicated that teaching and studying at a distance can be as effective as traditional instruction, when the method and technologies used are appropriate to the instructional tasks, when there is student-to-student interaction, and when there is timely teacher-to-student feedback. An important variable in learning effectiveness in Turangi was the preference of the students for a particular mode of learning, i.e. cooperative, collaborative or interactive. (Johnson and Johnson, 1974). The Ngati Turangitukua project incorporated cooperative learning, collaborative projects, and interactivity within the group of students as well as between sites. The most important factor for successful distance learning is a caring, concerned teacher, who is confident, experienced, at ease with the material, and maintains a high level of interactivity with the students. In the Turangi experience, the teacher became the facilitator of discovery learning for her students, through progressive discourse. In this instance, supported distance learning was successful because of the coping system that was implemented.

One thing that is clearly evident is that Ngati Turangitukua whanau (family) are continuing to evolve over time. Indeed, many of the most interesting shifts concern members of the 30 to 55 year age cohorts, most of whom are women. It is clear that those changes should not be seen as historical shifts that have arrived at a new model of Ngati Turangitukua hapu (sub-tribe). Rather, the Ngati Turangitukua hapu (sub-tribe) is in the midst of ongoing processes of change, some of which will have consequences that are yet to emerge. This indicates a strong need for continuing research in this field. It is hoped that, in addition to throwing light on some aspects of Ngati Turangitukua hapu (sub-tribe) changes that have not been well documented to date, this study will also provide a stimulus for future research. For example, how does Ngati Tuwharetoa keep their whanau (families) engaged in the learning process? What provisions are made to ensure the significant role of pakeke (elders) is supported?

Overall, the findings here are congruent to the points on the importance of culture raised by Ngugi Wa Thiong'o:

> *"A people's culture is an essential component in defining and revealing their outlook …. A sound educational policy is one which enables students to study the culture and environment of their own society first, then in relation to the culture and environment of other societies …. For the education offered today to be positive and to have created potential for (a people's) future it must be seen as an essential part of the continuing national liberation process" (Ngugi Wa Thiong'o 1986 p.100).*

And; the importance of partnerships introduced by Schlosser and Anderson:

> "*Distance education enterprises are partnerships; they are characterised by the integration of a great many parts working towards a common goal"* (Schlosser and Anderson, 1994. p. 39).

For the Ngati Turangitukua students who were the focus of the study, the significance of the report comes from the wise words of Tamamutu, a sage and chief of Taupo of over two hundred years ago who, on the eve of a certain battle, advised the tribe to advance cautiously and not waste their substance (Grace, 1959. p. 23).

> *"Tuwharetoa e, kia ata whakatere i te waka nei kei pariparia e te tai, ka monenehu te kura.*
> *Whakamarotia atu ano, Ka whakahoki mai ki te kapua whakapipi.*
> *Ka mate kainga tahi, ka ora kainga rua."*
>
> *("O Tuwharetoa take care that the canoe is kept on an even keel lest it be overwhelmed and the plumes of the vessel drenched in the tide.*
> *It is well to advance and stretch out, but in the event of reverses, return to those left behind where strength is reserved.*
> *The man who has but one dwelling dies; the man with two, lives!") (Ibid).*

The overriding message is "*Strength in Unity".*

Therefore, perhaps the final recommendation about further research lies in the pursuit and clarification of the key characteristics in the interaction between education and culture.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Glossary of Government Organisations

Ministry of Education (MOE)	Provides policy advice to the Minister/s of education and oversees the implementation of approved policies. Covers all areas of education: early childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary.
Te Puni Kokiri (Ministry of Maori Development)	The Ministry that provides policy advice to the Minister of Maori Affairs. Other roles include working with Maori to build their capacity, audit programmes delivered to Maori, and work with other government departments.
Ministry of Health	Provides policy advice to the Minister/s of Health and oversees the implementation of approved policies. Covers all areas of health.

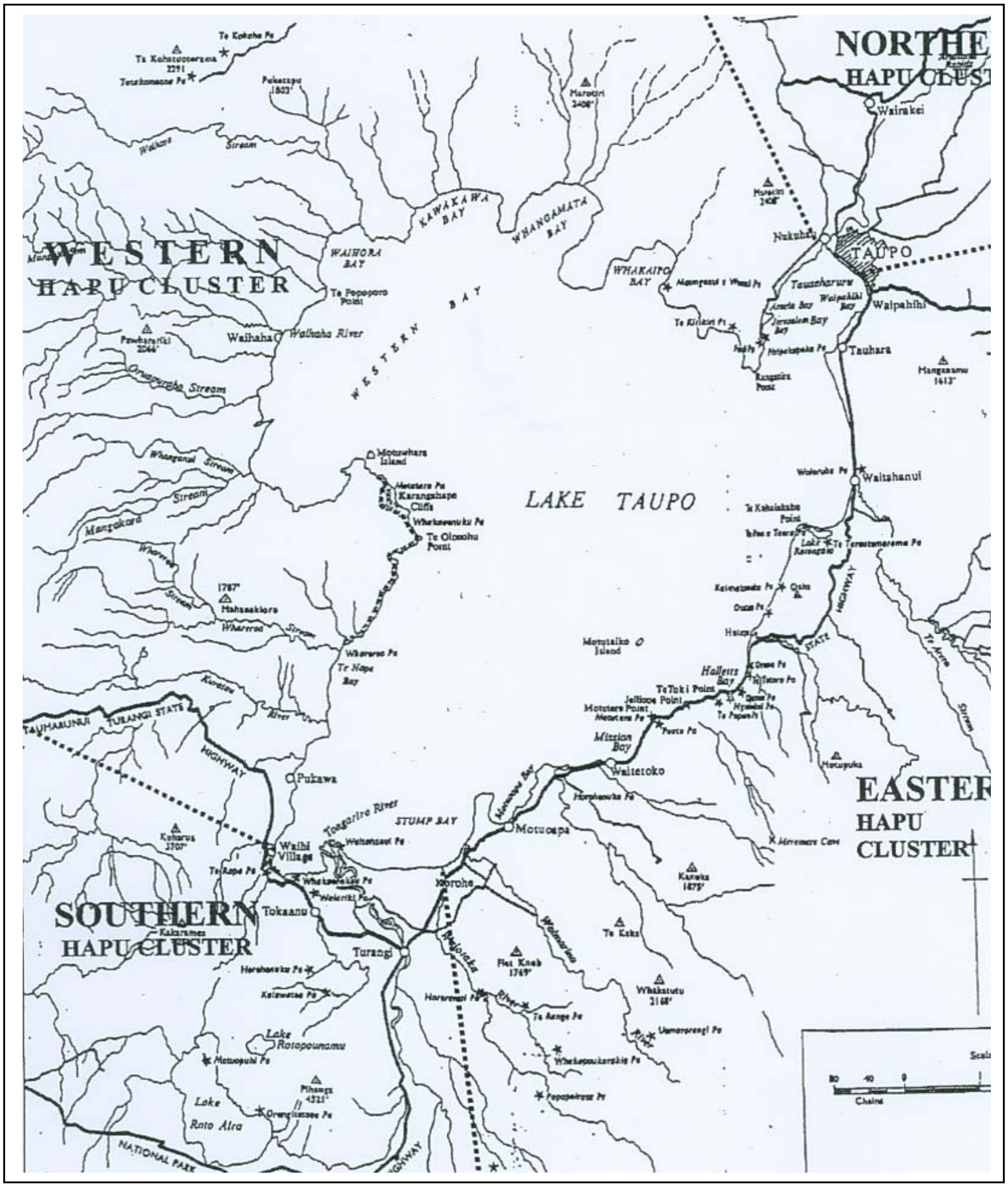
Appendix 2: Glossary of Maori Words

Ariki	Chief/chiefly; upoko ariki – senior chief; kahui ariki – most senior chief.
Hapu	Sub-tribe
Hui	Gathering or meeting
Iwi	Regionalised tribal grouping that may be Constituted by several hapu (or sub-tribes); linked by whakapapa (genealogy) to a named ancestor.
Kaupapa	Rules; basic idea; topic; foundation
Kura	School
Maori	A socio-social construct denoting both the collective of tribal entities and the ethnic labelling of the indigenous people of New Zealand.
Mana	Prestige; influence
Manakitanga	Caring for one another
Maramataka	Maori calendar
Matauranga	A generic and overarching term for the learning and teaching nexus
Pakeha	A socio-cultural construct denoting New Zealander's of largely European (or British) origin. The term is an ongoing source of debate.
Rangatahi	Modern youth
Reo	Language/discourse. Te Reo Maori - the Maori Language
Rohe	Boundary; district
Tangata Whenua	Used to describe the native inhabitants of New Zealand

Te Ao Maori	The Maori or indigenous world
Tikanga	Customary practices and organising principles
Wananga	Higher or specialised learning. Can be used as a verb to denote the act of specialised learning, usually in a group.
Whare Wananga	School of higher learning (in the traditional sense). Denotes context rather than process
Whakapapa	Genealogical table; cultural identity
Whanau	Family, families

Appendix 3: Map of Tuwharetoa hapu clusters

Source: Tuwharetoa Strategic Education Plan (2003)



Appendix 4: Tuwharetoa hapu clusters

HAPU CLUSTERS BASED ON THE TUWHARETOA MAORI TRUST BOARD HAPU & MARAE ORGANISATION

NORTHERN			EASTERN			SOUTHERN			WESTE	
HAPU	MARAE	PLACE	HAPU	MARAE	PLACE	HAPU	MARAE	PLACE	HAPU	MARAI
Tuwharetoa ki Kawerau	Hqhuru	Kawerau	Ngati Hineure	Piri Wiri Tua	Te Haroto	Ngati Turangitukua	Tuwharetoa i te Aupouri	Hirangi	Ngati Kapawa	
Ngati Tahu	Mataarae	Reporoa	Ngati Hinerau	Kurapoto	Waipahihi	Ngati Karauia	Puhaorangi	Tokaanu	Ngati Te Kohera	Pakake Taiari
	Tahu	Ohaaki	Ngati Tutemohuta	Pakira	Waitahanui	Ngati Turumakina	Tapeka	Waihi	Ngati Wairangi	
		Te Toke	Ngati Te Rangiita	Te Kapua Whakapipi	Waitetoko			Pourongo	Ngati Whaita	
		Mihi	Ngati Hine	Rereao	Korohe	Ngati Waewae/Hikairo/ Rakeipoho		Papakai Otukou Tokorangi	Ngati Tarakaiahi	Haukapuanu
Ngati Rauhoto	Te Rangiita	Nukuhau	Ngati Rongomai	Rongomai	Waiotaka	Ngati Tamawhiti		Moawhango	Ngati Parekawa	Parekawa
		Nukuhau						Taihape	Ngati Te Maunga	
						Ngati Parewahawaha	Parewahawaha	Bulls	Ngati Manunui	
									Ngati Hinemihi	Te Ohaaki

EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN EACH HAPU CLUSTER

Rangitaiki	Tauranga Taupo	Hirangi	Kakahi
Wairakei	Te Kura o Waitahanui	Kuratau	Ngapuke
KKM o Whakarewa	Waipahihi	Tongariro H. S.	Marotiri
Taupo Primary		Turangi Primary	Tirohanga
Taupo nui-a-Tia College			
Tauhara Primary			
Taupo Intermediate			

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