

Iti noa ana, he pito mata: A critical analysis of educational
success through a Māori lens and two case studies of whānau
within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa

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Abstract

Throughout New Zealand history, successive governments' legislation, and policies such as the Education Ordinance Act 1847, followed by the Native Ordinance Act 1880; Native School Act 1858 - 1867 and revisions of the Education Act 1877, etc., have had a crucial impact on Māori educational achievement. In fact, the continual perpetuation of inequities in Māori communities has been exacerbated by the intergenerational transmission of Māori language loss within and across *whānau* (family), alienating many Māori from their culture and contributing to the changing and reshaping of mainstream schooling.

This qualitative research captures Māori *whānau* lived experiences and realities of education and provides deeper insight of the current truths for Māori *whānau* living within Ngāti Awa and/or Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. This thesis shines a spotlight on Māori *whānau* perspectives of the challenges and barriers to academic success they encountered on their educational journey in mainstream schooling. Insights yielded from Māori *whānau* offer an opportunity to rethink the overall role and purpose of educational success for future generations of Māori *whānau*.

Two case-studies of these *iwi* (tribe) examine the critical issues for *whānau* that are seen as roadblocks to educational success including the effects of the transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma has had on successive generations of Māori *whānau*, *hapū* (sub-tribe) and *iwi* from both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. Specifically, this research aims to discern why the effects and processes of colonisation within mainstream structures of schooling, and teaching and learning continue to have a compounding effect on educational success for *tamariki Māori* (children of Māori descent) over successive generations. There are three research questions: How do *whānau* conceptualise educational success for their children? What Māori values inform *whānau* views of educational success for their children? What other factors do *whānau* consider as imperative for the educational success of their children?

This research employs a *Kaupapa Māori* framework and sets up all material to be presented through an Indigenous Māori lens. It also facilitates the use of a *pūrākau* (myths, legend, stories) style of narrative.

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 (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Hazel Abraham

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Ethical approval

The Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) approved the ethics application (18/269) at its meeting of 6 August 2018 for this research.

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Preface

The motivation for this thesis

This research originates from my lived experiences and perspectives of succeeding as a Māori woman with a dual heritage. These perspectives are underpinned by my upbringing as a child, and as a teenager who had left home by 14 years, from my experiences as a roaming rural and urban teacher within many Māori communities, from my experiences as a teaching principal in a Māori rural community, from my involvement in higher tertiary education and from my experiences of being raised as *rāwaho*¹ outside the traditional *rohe*² of both my *iwi*, Ngāti Awa³ and Ngāti Tūwharetoa⁴.

As a starting point, how Māori⁵ define educational success in mainstream schooling is quite different to Western approaches of knowing and being. From a Māori perspective, success is more than academic achievement. It encompasses cultural values and intricacies, *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) and *te reo Māori* (Māori language) embedded within *te ao Māori* (Māori worldview). This is clearly illustrated by Durie's (2003) statement:

As Māori [means] being able to have access to *te ao Māori*, the Māori world – access to language, culture, *marae... tikanga...* and resources... If after twelve or so years of formal education, a Māori youth were totally unprepared to interact within *te ao Māori*, then, no matter what else had been learned, education would have been incomplete.

(p. 199)

Leaders, educators (teachers and school leaders) and policy makers are pivotal partners with Māori (*whānau, hapū and iwi*), in creating authentic, genuine partnership relationships that allow for Māori to access education and realise their aspirations and advancement in mainstream schooling. The collaborative potential of *Kaupapa Māori* (Māori approach) and *mātauranga Māori*-led research projects shows Western knowledge can be adapted, with

¹ A Māori cultural concept that locates an individual, in my case, who lives away from their tribal home but has links to the ancestral area through *toto* (blood) and *whakapapa* (genealogy) connections to *whenua* (land) and people.

² Ngāti Awa is an *iwi* of the Eastern Bay of Plenty descended from Awanuiarangi II of the Mataatua *waka* (canoe) (Ngāti Awa territory is bordered by other *iwi* within the region. There is Tūwharetoa Kawerau, Tūwharetoa from the Taupo region and Ngāi Tūhoe to the south, Te Arawa to their west and to the east are Te Whakatōhea (Source: <https://www.ngatiawa.iwi.nz/who-are-ngati-awa>).

³ A Māori tribe located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, North Island, New Zealand. Are the descendants of Te Tini o Toi, the original inhabitants of the region and people of Mataatua *waka*. They arrived at Kōhī, now called Whakatāne from Hawaiki around 1300 CE.

⁴ Tūwharetoa mai Kawerau ki te Tai represents the *kāinga* (home) and the collective interests of beneficiaries as a result of the WAI 62 Claim (Source: <https://www.tuwharetoakawerau.co.nz/who-we-are>).

⁵ An Indigenous New Zealander, person of Aotearoa/New Zealand - a new use of the word resulting from Pākehā contact in order to distinguish between people of Māori descent and the colonisers (Source: Te Aka Māori-English, English - Māori Dictionary).

mātauranga Māori being the norm in most cases (Abraham, Ka'ai, & Smith, 2020; Gilgen, 2016; Rewai-Couch, 2015). It is relatively unclear, what level of *mātauranga Māori* approaches are enacted in mainstream schooling⁶ in New Zealand and used to forge genuine partnerships with Māori, by educators and school leaders, supported by government agencies. If the highest performing education systems are those that combine equity with quality (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2012), why is it then, that Māori children have not realised their full potential in mainstream schooling?

It is suggested that the manifestation of the disastrous repercussions of the past stem from colonial education⁷ (Simon & Smith, 2001), institutional discrimination and racism through deficit theorising of Māori potential. Yet these forms of manifestations still exist within today's mainstream classroom environments (Abraham-O'Leary, 2015; Bishop, O'Sullivan, & Berryman, 2010). Māori continue to be educated in culturally unresponsive learning environments (Marie, Fergusson, and Boden, 2008) and are still being exposed to incompetent teaching and learning (Abraham-O'Leary, 2015; Bishop, 2003). The intergenerational impact of this unresolved *Historical Trauma* (HT) and *Cultural Trauma* (CT) through cultural assimilation in schools (Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006) and land alienation and confiscation have caused a rupture in the Māori way of life. Furthermore, this had led to the fracturing of the *whānau* kinship model⁸ (Pihama, Reynolds, Smith, Reid, & Te Nana, 2014; Waretini-Karena, 2019a & 2019b). This fracturing and disruption can be seen in the proportionate inequities and deficit statistics of Māori underachievement⁹ within primary and secondary education (Ministry of Education, n.d.-a, n.d.-b, n.d.-c) and crossing over into the tertiary education sector, where there are low participation and successful completion rates of masters and doctoral qualifications by Māori postgraduate research students (Abraham et al., 2020; Ministry of Education, 2014; Ministry of Education, n.d.-a, n.d.-b & n.d.-c).

In my role as an educator, I noticed a lack of understanding of *Kaupapa Māori* (Māori approach, Māori customary practice) concepts, and the use of Māori pedagogy between Māori

⁶ In the Aotearoa New Zealand context, mainstream schooling refers to the type of education that is framed by Western hegemonic notions of teaching and learning and Pākehā cultural norms and values. The dominant language of instruction is English. English Medium is also acknowledged as a form of mainstream schooling where a significant proportion of Māori students attend within rural and urban settings.

⁷ Formal national education schooling set up in New Zealand from 1814.

⁸ *Whānau* kinship is about the family arrangements used in traditional times. The phenomenon refers to the customary practices of Māori families and other kin in rearing their children from a collective approach. Typically, this includes children, parents and grandparents of a *whānau*. The model allowed for the transmission of intergenerational knowledge from one generation to the next successive generations and the shaping of Māori identity within the family social environment.

⁹ Western framing of difference used to describe Māori achievement in learning. These structural differences exist within mainstream schooling as a result of continuing control by dominant Western theorising and playmakers (educators, leaders, policymakers) over Māori.

and non-Māori educators, as part of enhancing Māori student achievement; an opportunity missed in my view. Many Māori student's spiritual needs were not met either as most teachers and educators did not recognise the significance of cultural and spiritual dimensions of a learner's personality as acknowledged in the Tuakiri Tangata model¹⁰ (Ka'ai, 1995).

A greater conscious effort is needed in the primary sector by educators, leaders, and policymakers to have conversations with Māori on how to embed and normalise the use of *mātauranga Māori* in mainstream schooling. This also includes properly addressing the issues relating to government not being a good Treaty partner and ignoring historical issues related to Te Tiriti o Waitangi¹¹ (Treaty of Waitangi) and Māori experiences of intergenerational historical trauma being properly addressed (Waretini-Karena, 2019a; Waretini-Karena, 2019b). Further questions should be asked of mainstream school leaders and educators in New Zealand regarding if they really truly uphold the principles of partnership, participation and protection contained within Te Tiriti o Waitangi or, are they just espoused as goodwill as part of meeting the expectations outlined in the revised National Educational Goals of 2004 (Ministry of Education, n.d.-d) and revised National Administrative Guidelines of 2017 (Ministry of Education, n.d.-e), required for effectively running schools by principals and the Boards of Trustees (BOT). In terms of the future, more must be done in and by mainstream schools, with the support of the government, to address this, including how mainstream schools make ontological shifts in Indigenous models that promote teaching and learning as culturally located pedagogy (Hohepa, 2010) and make greater shifts towards engaging in nurturing genuine partnerships with *whānau* and Māori communities.

Over the last 30 years, successive governments have attempted to better respond to the needs of *tamariki Māori* in order to boost educational achievement and outcomes for future success as Māori. However, nearly 30 years has gone by since the implementation of the self-managing model of Tomorrow's Schools¹², and there continues to still exist a myriad of issues for *tamariki Māori* and their *whānau* in mainstream education in New Zealand primary schools (Abraham-O'Leary, 2015). An urgent overhaul through a systems level shift across New Zealand's education system, requires incorporating more Māori pedagogical approaches placing emphasis on collective solutions than individualistic interventions and placing Māori

¹⁰ Tuakiri Tangata Model is a Māori-centric framework that deepens understanding of preferred cultural pedagogy and attributes of Māori learners/students, developed by Professor Tania Ka'ai.

¹¹ Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a founding document that outlines the formal agreement and partnership between Māori and the British Crown, signed on 6 February 1840 in the Bay of Islands.

¹² In 1988 "Tomorrow's Schools" reform introduced radical change to school governance. This reform gave localised control to lay members of the community as Boards of Trustees' members through a governance structure.

learners, their *whānau* and their communities at the heart of realising Māori advancement and aspirations (Abraham et al., 2020).

This doctoral thesis builds upon my master's thesis. It provides an 'insider' practitioner's perspective and a *whānau* and *hapū* perspective through two case studies, one from within Ngāti Awa and the other from within Ngāti Tūwharetoa. This 'insider' perspective provides a critical analysis of educational success for *tamariki Māori* in mainstream schools. This is called for as critical data highlights that educational achievement for Māori students from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa are well below that of other students in mainstream schools (Ministry of Education, 2014), and this continues to be an ongoing issue for *whānau* within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Orthographic conventions

For ease of reading, the English translations that directly follow a Māori word have been changed to a different font. In other instances, the reader may refer to the last time the term was used or alternatively go to the glossary, a list of Māori terms, located at the end of the thesis. Macrons are used to denote a lengthened vowel and direct quotes have been reproduced as they appear in the original source. The word, 'Indigenous' is capitalised to emphasise how it is used within the literature and to show respect. This is also done for 'Western' to acknowledge that I am speaking of a perspective related to understanding a field of knowledge related to Pākehā (European) ways of knowing and being.

It should be noted that any quotes contained in the interviews are from the transcript of the participants' spoken verbatim; it is not the participant's written word. The transcripts of the participants have been edited in some places, in order, to maintain a sense of fluidity and avoid repetition or irrelevant matters raised during their *kōrero* (discussion, talk). Hence the integrity of the information received has been maintained and no content has changed.

All Māori words are italicised in this thesis except in models or tables, and proper nouns such as Pākehā and Māori, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau and Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Acknowledging the use of tribal perspectives (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau) within Taku Mahere Rangahau

The design framework for this research is guided by Māori tribal perspectives that serves to uphold the *mana* (authority) and *rangatiratanga* (chieftainship, right to exercise authority) of

the participants, researcher, and research outcomes. The use of *Kaupapa Māori* theory (KMT), the cultural notions and principles of practice and protocols contained within each tribe's way of knowing and being, along with selected *whakataukī* (proverb) and *pūrākau* act to inform the care of the research topic and people (research participants, researcher, *kaupapa whānau* [non-kinship family]) involved in the research. The worldviews of each *iwi* for each case study ensures the validity and truth of this research thesis from a Māori perspective.

Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa including Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau history and values originate from our tribal *whakapapa* and *tikanga* (correct cultural procedure / practice). The information presented here is not to be compromised or interpreted by those without Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa *whakapapa* and *tikanga*. It is also important to note that the story of each *iwi*, comprises over several hundreds of years of knowledge and cannot be summarised here in detail, just as our traditional knowledge is regarded as *taonga* (treasure) and many aspects of this will not be commented on.

Ngāti Awa, and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau tribal perspectives normalise and privilege Māori ways of knowing and being that is located within their histories, culture, language, and narratives. Each will be explained further in Chapter One and as part of Chapter Two which introduces both *iwi* central to this thesis.

A clarification of terms and meanings used in the thesis

Aotearoa / New Zealand

This thesis employs the terms Aotearoa / New Zealand. It is a term that reflects the international view of New Zealand and the settling home for Māori following the migration of several waves of Indigenous Māori on their journeys and final passage to Aotearoa (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010).

Iwi

The use of Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau was a term adopted from during the WAI62 claim hearings and research preparation (Tūwharetoa Kaumātua, personal communication, 8.6.20). In the days of old, the tribe settled and lived within Waitahunui Pā in the area surrounding Onepū and Kawerau. Historically, some *tūpuna* (ancestors) in the tribe left the area to the Taupō and Turangi districts and is known as, Ngāti Tūwharetoa. This difference is acknowledged and recognised by the tribes as, "we are one of the same people" (Tūwharetoa Kaumātua, personal communication, 8.6.20). In the course of discovery, I have found there are many overlapping and interconnections which defines the relationships that exist between Ngāti

Awa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau and Ngāti Tūwharetoa to each other. In some instances, it has been challenging, at times even difficult, because of the conflict in understanding the differences between my two *iwi*. The guidance of *kaumātua* and my supervisors have helped me to keep culturally safe in such instances as I reclaim the lost knowledge of my ancestors during the PhD journey.

Trauma

Another clarification must be made between the interchangeable use of terms for trauma in this thesis. Trauma can be referred to traumagenic events, family and personal trauma, intergenerational trauma (IT) and the transmission of historical trauma (HT) and cultural trauma (CT). The literature has shown that CT over successive generations can also be known as Intergenerational Cultural Trauma (ICT) and has relevance to my doctoral journey of personal discovery and awakening. These terms will be elaborated on further in Chapter Four. Other terms used throughout this research are interchangeable, educational achievement, educational attainment, and educational success.

Ethical dilemma in Indigenous research

Privacy and confidentiality in this type of research is difficult to be maintained. Pseudonyms have been used to help but given the detail about each participant and the nature of small Indigenous community's people may know who people are. This is an ethical dilemma that as a Māori researcher, we all face in the face of Indigenous research.

Kaupapa Māori Ideology

Kaupapa Māori ideology is referred to as the philosophy, knowledge, skills, attitudes and cultural practices of being Māori. What this means, is this research has been guided by Kaupapa Māori Ideology and Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) which allows for the inclusion of, or interaction with, specific cultural concepts of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. KMT is considered a relevant and inclusive research methodology, particularly given its focus for researching with, alongside and on Māori (Berryman et al., 2013). Kaupapa Māori will be referred to within the thesis and later in more depth in Chapter Six.

Case studies

The *Kaupapa Māori* theory methodology followed a case study approach. The 18 participants chosen in this research included: *whānau* (one from each different generation); and experts (community and health professional, and *Mātauranga Māori* professionals; Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa *kaumātua* as repositories of tribal histories and *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori*

(the Māori language and culture) and specialist cultural knowledge and *Kaupapa Māori* practices for *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

Due to the extended nature of families from a Māori perspective, all participants came from different generations. For example, an Auntie or Uncle may be participants, or an older adult child or cousin were considered as being the best to participate. By selecting these three different generations enables perspectives from adults across a diverse age range to share their lived experiences and thoughts. Children were exempt from this study for this reason. The main criteria for selecting participants for this research were:

Whānau

- *Whānau* participants needed to be over 18 years of age;
- Must *whakapapa* to Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa; Live as either *rāwaho* (a person who lives away from tribal areas, outsider) or *ahikā* (a person who lives within the tribal areas); and have one member for each different generation.

Experts

- Expert participants needed to be over 18 years of age;
- Must be recognised specialists within the *whānau* participants region of either Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa; and
- Must *whakapapa* to Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty).

The participants' stories follow in Chapters Five, Six and Seven in the discussion of findings. Although these *whānau* all shared a common vision for the future generations to be happy, strong in their cultural identity as Māori, and successful in what-ever pathway they pursue, collectively as a group, they felt let down by how education had served them and other Māori families. Collectively, participants from both case studies reveal instances of trauma from engaging in mainstream schooling and shared the challenges in their communities as Māori and their aspirations for advancement as Māori from the two *iwi*.

What each section in the thesis will cover

The following sections provide an overview of the thesis flow. Beginning with the preface, then the chapters, concluding with references, the glossary and appendices.

The preface provides some understanding on the way I have structured the thesis to help with interpreting the narrative and the reasons for choosing to research educational success as Māori within my two *iwi*. Locating myself in this thesis is a critical component of educational

success within a Māori researcher's narrative. The narrative provided here attempts to guide the reader to see the thesis from my worldview, to understand how lived experiences have shaped my realities for interpreting the world and have contributed to my thoughts and reflections of educational success for Māori. Additionally, this section outlines the use of orthographic conventions and the clarification of synergies between terms used in the thesis.

Chapter One presents an understanding of the importance of a Māori worldview and Indigenous framework in locating this research within a *mātauranga Māori* and *iwi* context.

Chapter Two presents an overview of the impact of education on Māori children. The chapter outlines a chronological platform of events and periods during New Zealand that have contributed to the educational success of Māori in mainstream schooling.

Chapter Three introduces the two *iwi* and details the worldviews contained within each *iwi*.

Chapter Four introduces three key constructs related to informing this proposed study. The first construct is an important part of laying the foundation for understanding and defining CT and HT. The focus shifts and centres on how the transmission of CT and HT has contributed towards current statistics on Māori student achievement, and societal inequities for *whānau* and collectives of communities within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Chapter Five examines the discourses on how educational success from a Western perspective and Māori worldview is defined and measured. It includes a critique of how Māori ideologies, such as cultural practices and values, can be incorporated into models of healing and into mainstream school settings. Lastly, the discussion centres on how education can be used as a cultural recovery tool, as part of empowering *whānau* to address adversity in their daily realities.

Chapter Six of this thesis discusses the theoretical and methodological approaches relevant to this research study. This includes the methodological weaving of autoethnography and *Kaupapa Māori* and exploring the notions of self as a Māori researcher. The research questions are also included at the end of this chapter to move the journey forward.

Chapters Seven presents the data analysis from the schedule of interview questions in this thesis and presents the case studies of *whānau* from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The findings are the results of the participants' immersive experiences. It should be noted that

everything within this thesis is interconnected, and it is interwoven to produce a holistic work of findings.

Chapter Eight presents the findings and the combination of themes from Chapter Seven that are common across the participants' narratives located within each case study.

Chapter Nine highlights a model of intergenerational educational success called He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe and provides recommendations and implications of the study for *iwi* and schools within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau.

References: The sources used in this research.

Glossary: A list of Māori terms used in the thesis and their meanings

Appendices: Supplementary material that provides further understanding of the research. The interview schedule, participant information sheet, transcriber confidentiality form and additional sources.

Chapter One: Embedding *te ao Māori* and valuing Māori perspectives of teaching and learning, and cultural practices in mainstream education and schooling

Introduction

Chapter One sets the foundation of this thesis in privileging *te ao Māori*, the knowledge, values, *pūrākau* and experiences of Māori participants central to this research and that of the researcher by focusing on educational models that are preferred by Māori learners. This is followed by an examination of tribal perspectives central to this research, John Rangihau's conceptual model and introduces an Indigenous research methodology used to articulate the researcher's dual learning in this research. It introduces the He Pūtauaki model, an Indigenous model, that symbolises the *maunga* (mountain), Pūtauaki, which is used to provide a Māori worldview of the two *iwi* that are central to this research. This model also attempts to provide a deep understanding of the relevance of including Māori models of teaching and learning, and cultural practices within mainstream education and schooling.

Te Ao Māori and a Māori worldview

The Māori worldview is discussed by Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) as being:

Holistic and cyclic, one in which every person is linked to every living thing and to the *atua* (deity). Māori customary concepts are interconnected through a *whakapapa* (genealogical structure) that links *te taha wairua* (spiritual aspects) and *te taha kikokiko* (physical aspects)...For Māori, *whakapapa* extends beyond human relationships into connections between humans and their universe. This intricately woven *whakapapa* has often made defining individual customary concepts extremely difficult, as each concept is defined by its relationship with other concepts and not in isolation. It is this *whakapapa* between *te taha wairua* and *te taha kikokiko* that brings to life different aspects of Māori culture (p. 13).

In terms of this research, acknowledging a Māori worldview is critical to transforming outcomes for Māori in mainstream schooling and for those participants who come from the communities located within the two *iwi* case studies in this thesis; Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) present a table of key indicators that assist in understanding a Māori worldview. They further allude to that an important dimension of a Māori worldview evolving around "a shared power system within social hierarchical orders, rather than a top-down scheme" (p. 23). Therefore, Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) affirm that the critical mass in this research can be referred to the Māori participants being central to the shaping of the future of educational success for *iwi*. This approach allows for their voices to be validated and in *iwi* becoming self-determining in their futures. Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) table of indicators has

been adapted to highlight the researcher within this Māori worldview, as an insider, the view of the researcher is critical to this research. Ka'ai-Mahuta (2010) states:

...it is difficult to separate oneself from one's worldview, as it acts as a type of filter system (p. 12).

Table 1:

Key indicators to understanding a Māori worldview

Indicators	Descriptions	Locating the researcher within this framework
Tribal Identity	The importance of a sense of place and belonging through genealogical ties.	The researcher is from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. The researcher is an educator who is committed to making a difference for Māori students in mainstream schooling and transforming outcomes for whānau, so they too can achieve educational success in mainstream education.
Land and landscape	The recognition of the people of the need for respect for the harmony and balance of the land and the resources it provides.	The researcher is aware of the importance of safeguarding the harmony and balance of the land and the resources it provides. Although, the focus is on educational success, the researcher is committed to highlighting the potential issues for whānau related to the data collected from the research pertaining to the impact of Tasman Paper and Pulp Mill, and the mauri of both the Rangitāiki and Tarawera Rivers.
Spirituality	Based on a spiritual view of and response to the natural world.	The researcher observes the customary practices of engaging with people connected to the land where the research is located.
Elders	Elders serve as a critical link to the past in the present context to ensure cultural practices and tribal knowledge remain intact for future generations.	The researcher has been privileged to have spent time and had access to kaumātua who share their knowledge pertaining to my hapū and iwi, including the passing down of whakapapa of whānau.
Language	The recognition that language contains so many cultural indicators that enrich one's identity.	Within the field of Māori pedagogy for teaching and learning lies a rich language of cultural concepts and narratives that also bind the two tribes together who are central to this research. This wealth of language describes processes for engagement with whānau such as kanoiti kitea kanoiti, and rituals for honoring people (such as koha) when working alongside them.
Concept of time	Māori look to the past as a guide for the present and future.	The survival of whānau whakapapa and histories is reliant on the elders to pass on knowledge to their children and future mokopuna. The researcher is privileged to have been taught and given lines of whakapapa to share with her own people. This understanding is important in helping transform practices of teachers to realise their role in being culturally responsive when working with Māori students who are learning their whakapapa in mainstream settings for the first time.
Cultural knowledge	Cultural knowledge is viewed in a holistic framework with all aspects interrelated. It enables one to function with a degree of comfort in Māori contexts and to understand what is going on within that context. Hence, the connections between cultural concepts and a Māori worldview.	The transmission of knowledge between generations is critical for the advancement of whānau in realising their potential. The researcher has been involved in education for the last 20 years, working within mainstream schools in Māori communities. The preservation of whānau whakapapa and histories is an important feature of this research as it connects people to the land and captures the knowledge pertained within a Māori worldview.
Reciprocity	Based on the view that mutual respect is the cornerstone of human relationships and between humans and their environment.	As a child the researcher learnt very early about the notion of koha and manaakitanga from her mother and whānau. In terms of the researcher's role in education, as a teacher she has shown koha and manaakitanga through her actions in giving to both

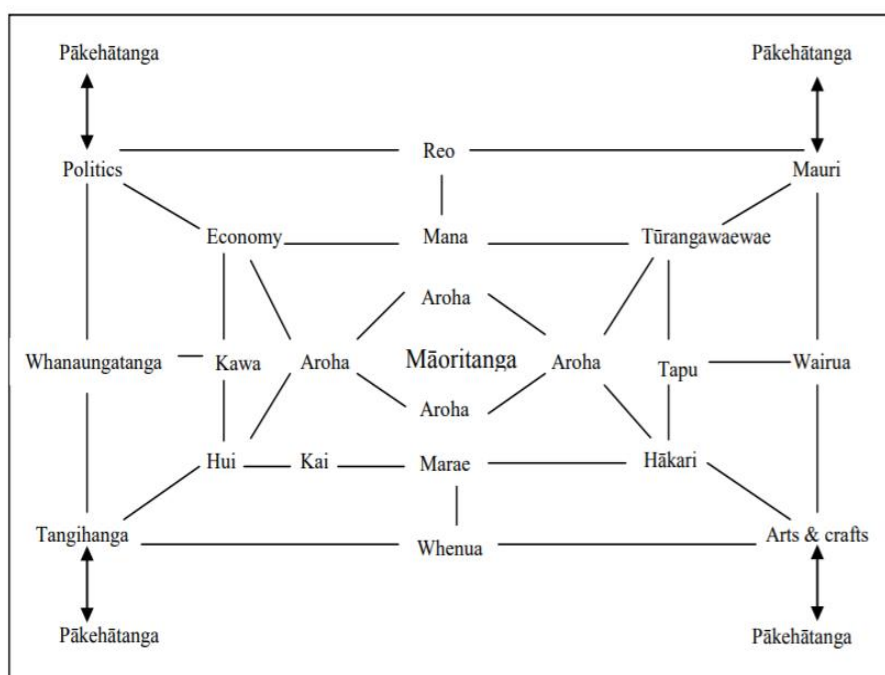
		students and colleagues she has worked alongside and across in mainstream schooling.
Self-determination	The recognition of the rights of Indigenous peoples to live as Indigenous people. To be healthy, Māori people need access to learning their language; to education and qualifications and quality learning environments; to employment and a high standard of living; to have their culture valued in relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi; to live as Māori and as global citizens; and to be active participants in determining their own futures.	The long-term impact of colonisation through land alienation, structural changes in the use of settler legislation, urbanisation and the recent Covid 19 pandemic in New Zealand has affected the transfer of knowledge across generations of whānau, caused disruption to the whānau kinship model and disrupted the intergenerational transmission of language and mātauranga Māori within many Māori families. As a first in family to go to University within both sides of my parent's families I am pathing a way for the next generation to come through the education system and to disrupt the hegemony that exists for Māori students and their whānau in mainstream schooling and education.
Culture	The importance of culturally determined ways of thinking, behaving, communicating and living as Indigenous peoples.	The researcher has been involved in teaching for twenty-two years. A critical aspect of this research is positing a Māori lens to educational success and making a headway in research that validates whānau voice in transforming outcomes in mainstream schooling.
Diversity	The celebration of tribal identity and rejection of non-Indigenous labels and definitions that homogenise Māori people.	The embedding of mātauranga Māori and Māori pedagogy related to teaching and learning should be a given in teacher's practices in mainstream schooling. This research highlights the changes and shifts needed across the system to support effective change in mainstream schools, in order to see Māori enjoy success as Māori.
Kinship structure	Based on a collaborative/shared power system within social hierarchies where cultural concepts manage people's behaviour and their relationships with each other and their environment.	The sharing of knowledge pertaining to my whānau histories and whakapapa is important so that it is never forgotten by generations; including that whānau can flourish from education that is culturally reflective of the Māori worldview, located within both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty). Whānau voices from the research also recognise the importance of the collective responsibility to look after the natural environment (rivers, mountains, forests, bush, geothermal areas) and the people who live within and outside the two tribe's boundaries.

Source: Adapted from Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) and Taituha (2014).

An Indigenous Methodology: He Pūtauaki Model

The challenge for me has been in searching for a model that reflects the innateness of being Māori and being grounded in a 'real', environmentally-located context across both my tribal lands of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. Therefore, I have chosen to apply and reflect the Rangihau Conceptual Model in the development of the 'He Pūtauaki Model', as part of my personal journey, alongside the PhD journey to inform my understanding and deepen my learning of *Kaupapa Māori* ideology in this research. Secondly, the decision to apply this model is related to acknowledging the whakapapa links and connections that I have with Ngāi Tūhoe through my Nanny Maramena Patangata and her mother, Nanny Mero Rameka; and through connections of intermarriage between my *koroua* (to old, elderly, elderly man) Te Kahu Hawea (Ngā Maihi) and *kuia* (grandmother, elderly woman) Hariata Te Houpepe, sister of Wi Patene Te Tarahanga of Ngāti Haka/Patuheuheu.

Figure 1: Rangihau's Conceptual Model.



Source: From *Te ao Māori: Māori world-view* (p.16), by T. Ka'ai and R. Higgins, 2004, Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Education.

One of the most effective ways to understand the holistic nature of a Māori worldview and the interconnectedness of Māori cultural notions is depicted within the Rangihau model developed by the late Tūhoe *rangatira* (esteemed, high rank, revered), John Te Rangīāniwaniwa Rangihau (1919-1987) (Rangiwai, 2018). This model provides non-Māori with a portal to deepen their understanding and knowledge of a Māori worldview more effectively (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010). In Rangihau's model, he locates Māori at the centre under the term Maoritanga (explanation, meaning), with Pākehātanga, or the Pākehā world located on the periphery of the framework, thus depicting an interface with the Pākehā world (Ka'ai, 2008). As Rangiwai (2018) points out, there is a need for Māori to make shifts which locates their Māori epistemologies and theories of understanding to the centre of their research practice, rather than relying on Western ideas.

Another view offered by V. Smith (2017), suggests that Rangihau's Conceptual Model highlights, that it is possible to create connections between Māori and non-Māori worlds, but the challenge is to identify those connections. As part of understanding the relevance of Māori worldviews, particularly, within this research and in my personal journey, the challenge has been to understand the cultural notion of *tūrangawaewae* (place of belonging, standing, place where one has the right to stand) and how as Māori we can re-connect to the world of *te ao Māori* within mainstream schooling and do this within a dominant Pākehā society. This

interface also proposes that non-Māori can engage with the Māori world, and how this can be done is through the portal of *tūrangawaewae*.

The term Māoritanga was commonly used in the 1970s to describe what we now know as a Māori worldview (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010). The Rangihau conceptual model provides an effective way to understand *Kaupapa Māori* ideology (Ka'ai, 2008) and how embedding *Kaupapa Māori* ideology can be applied and placed at the centre, the forefront of teaching and learning pedagogies and practices within mainstream schooling. As noted by Ka'ai (2008), the placement of the different cultural concepts in Rangihau's conceptual or ideological model reflects pivotal relationships between the concepts. Ka'ai and Higgins (2004) explain for example, the interpretation for *aroha* and the portal behind it, exemplifies a Māori way of being linked to a Māori value that is seen in practice by Māori culturally. Furthermore, the first layer from the centre outwards identifies '*aroha*', which emphasises the ideal that *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* are committed to the survival of the kinship group/s to ensure their identity as *tangata whenua* (Indigenous people – are people born of the land/*whenua*) for future generations.

Many of the cultural concepts entwined within Rangihau's conceptual model are intrinsically linked to Māori advancement and are important for *tamariki Māori* in their development of understanding Māori culture, language and identity, elements needed for achieving Māori educational success within mainstream schooling. This is illustrated in the following model which has evolved during my personal discovery journey, alongside this PhD journey. As my mother grew up as a child in the tribal region of Ngāti Awa, once she left the tribal region, the full impact of this shift away from the region did not impact on her generation. However, it impacted on her children's generation and her grandchildren's generation thereafter, as there is a knowledge gap that occurs intergenerationally especially if *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori* (the Māori language and culture) are not transferred to successive generations. As for my great grandfather, Koro Pikitu Wanikau, once he moved away from the *rohe* of Tūwharetoa in Turangi to Te Teko, the full impact of this shift has been felt by my mum's generation, my generation, and those *whānau* who possibly come after. I knew nothing of the rich Tūwharetoa history until I engaged in my PhD journey, where I was willing to be re-conscientised, and became engaged in tribal events, *whenua* events and sporting events within the Taupō and Turangi region. The issue here as reported by Doherty (2009) is that those generations growing up outside the tribal region, (as applied to me and my tribes of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau), who are removed from their tribal context, like myself, would need to be re-conscientised and decolonised from Western forms of knowledge construction. This shift would entail removing the values and principles that have been learnt from non-Māori,

Western forms of knowledge construction, in order to be able to comprehend *mātauranga Māori* and *mātauranga-ā-iwi*¹³ (Doherty, 2009).

The cultural concept of *tūrangawaewae* in Rangihau's Conceptual Model has been identified as best aligning with my study. By using it as a portal the researcher has created a new research model called, 'He Pūtauaki'. This model is used as a cultural lens to understand the integration of the primary researcher's knowledge of *te ao Māori*, *Kaupapa Māori* theory and ideology, *mātauranga Māori* and *mātauranga-ā-iwi* and enables her to present her research through this lens throughout the thesis. The Pūtauaki model is informed by an oral narrative making an explicit link to the people of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau.

Pūtauaki - The cementing of the people

According to Māori belief, mountains were considered supreme ancestors (Carter, 2019).

In the days gone, as the old people used to say, mountains could move, provided it was done under the night. Pūtauaki had originally resided with the other mountains, Tongariro, Ngauruhoe, Ruapehu in the middle of Te Ika-a-Māui (the North Island). After a dispute over the beautiful Pihanga (next to Hirangi Pā), Pūtauaki fled to the west. There Pūtauaki married Tarawera, where they lived happily for some time and had a son, Whatūira. As time went on Tarawera became moody and irritable. Pūtauaki became frustrated with her mood swings and looked over yonder to the beautiful Te Puia o Whakaari (White Island). The two would call to each other at night while Tarawera slept. One night, Pūtauaki was enticed away by the beautiful Te Puia o Whakaari. He was unaware that his son Whatūira had followed him. He told Whatūira to return to his mother, but the little mountain would not. Before Pūtauaki could reach Whakaari, the sun began to rise, and the two mountains were frozen. Pūtauaki did not reach the coast before sunrise and was stuck on the plains. Tarawera awoke to find her husband and son had gone. Distraught, her tears filled the hollow where Pūtauaki once stood (Lake Tarawera) and flowed down the valley formed by her fleeing husband (Tarawera River). To this day Tarawera still cries and Whakāari still calls out for her lover, who remains frozen to the spot near Kawerau. This tribal legend is often told to school children in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Awa region. It is part of the collective tribal knowledge of both *iwi* and cements the people to their mountains and the environment (Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Awa Kaumātua, personal communication, 2018).

***Tūrangawaewae* as a portal applied from Rangihau's Conceptual Model**

Rangihau (2008) acknowledged *tūrangawaewae* is an important component of Māori culture and referred to it as always being centred around the *marae* (the open area in front of the *wharenuī*, where formal greetings and discussions take place). Often also used to include

¹³ tribal knowledge operates within tribal context (Doherty, 2009).

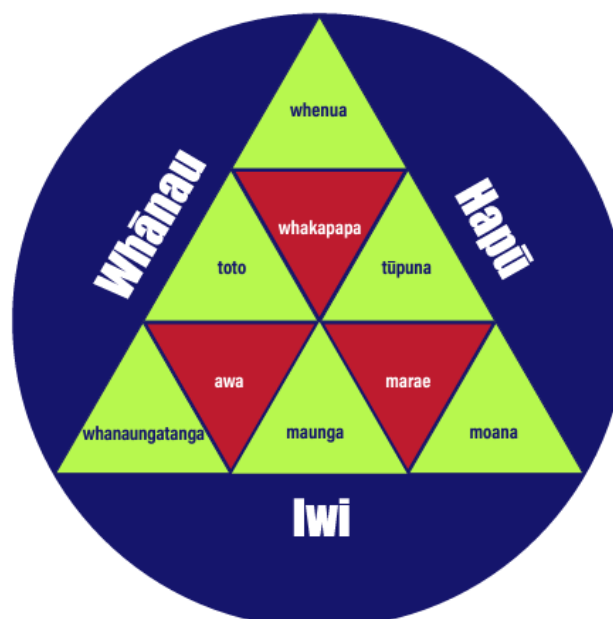
the complex of buildings around the *marae* (for example the *wharekai*, and *wharemate*) (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004). He further added that *tūrangawaewae* for Māori, has a physical and emotional element connected to land. In Doherty's (2009) Raranga Framework, he defined *tūrangawaewae* as:

A physical and cognitive element to it. The physical connection to a space and place illustrated as a place of standing. The cognitive position is best described as the comfort zone, or a person's point of view. This is also the place one cognitively and/or physically returns to when challenged or feeling uncomfortable in order to regain their thoughts. In this sense *tūrangawaewae* establishes the base to enable the *whakapapa* connections to occur and links to appropriate knowledge of *mātauranga-a-iwi* (p. 78).

Tūrangawaewae can also be interpreted to locate the very source and origins of a person's *whakapapa*, sometimes known as one's roots. For example, this refers to knowing your *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* narratives, aspirations and genealogy (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004). Doherty (2009) articulates that *tūrangawaewae* is achieved when an individual can define their identity by linking themselves to the wider *iwi* community, their environment and the tribal knowledge base. In this instance, *whakapapa* identifies my genealogical connections identified from ancestors through the *whānau* kinship model outlining links within *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, and the environment.

He Pūtauaki model

Figure 2: He Pūtauaki model



Source: Researcher's design (2020)

The large outer triangle of the He Pūtauaki model symbolises Pūtauaki *maunga* (mountain). The nine inner triangles represent nine inter-relating concepts required to strengthen an individual's understanding of a Māori worldview. The half-circles on the inner perimeter of the larger circle, represent the *whānau* and *hapū* of the two *iwi* the researcher is affiliated to, that is, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. Storytelling is an ancient art of the researcher's *iwi*, and the love story of Pūtauaki that the tribe's both share, connects the two *iwi* to their tribal landscapes and environments, and the interconnecting relationships that exists with each other.

The nine concepts represented by the nine smaller triangles are significant concepts in a Māori worldview. Some of these are also located in the Rangihau Conceptual Model. The nine concepts are: (1) *whenua*¹⁴; (2) *toto*¹⁵; (3) *whakapapa*¹⁶; (4) *tūpuna*¹⁷; (5) *whanaungatanga*¹⁸; (6) *awa*¹⁹; (7) *maunga*²⁰; (8) *marae*²¹; and (9) *moana*²². The placement of these nine cultural concepts in the model reflect primary relationships with each other. For example, the first tier is the foundational base (*whanaungatanga*, *awa*, *maunga*, *marae* and *moana*) which emphasises the interrelated connections between people and the environment. These relationships also strengthen the bonds one has to their kinship group to ensure their identity as *tangata whenua* (Ka'ai, 2008). The middle and top layers form the mountain peak (*whenua*, *toto*, *whakapapa* and *iwi*) which are essential to the intergenerational transmission of

¹⁴ The researcher respects the physical, cultural, and spiritual significance of *whenua* as a critical part of identity to her *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, acknowledging the connections to the past (Karetu, 1990). Te Kahu Hawea was a founding ancestor of Ngā Māihi and an original owner of Pūtauaki. A known cultural belief passed from generation to generation, is land is considered a *taonga tuku iho*, to be held in trust for future generations (William, as cited in Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reily & Mosley, 2004).

¹⁵ Through the intermarriage of my *tūpuna* (ancestors) I have strong ancestral connections to my *hapū* of both *iwi*, that allow me the right to stand and work with my people. This spiritual and physical relationship helps to strengthen my place to stand amongst my people of both *iwi*.

¹⁶ *Whakapapa* helps to connect people to knowledge through stories and narratives, it is an acknowledgement of genealogy and lineage and heritage of the surrounding area. It can connect us to our *tūpuna*, *whānau* and the *marae*. *Whakapapa* can strengthen social relationships through opening-up a person to communicate with kin connected to one's *turangawaewae*, *Whakapapa* connects me to different generations to inform a Māori worldview and different categories of knowledge for Māori (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004).

¹⁷ The stories of our *tūpuna* from both tribes can inspire, motivate, connect and teach us on our journey in life. All of the *tūpuna* identified share a common *whakapapa* connection in both my Abraham and Waikato family and our connection to the mountain, Pūtauaki. Many stories connect the people to the land and to the surrounding environment of Pūtauaki. Pūtauaki is central to both *iwi* and their beliefs and knowledge systems.

¹⁸ The Rangitāiki and Tarawera rivers flow through the boundaries of each *iwi*. The story of Pūtauaki cements the spiritual and physical relationship that each *iwi* has to the environment. The Rangitāiki river was used as a gateway to the Eastern Bay of Plenty and contained an abundance of food for the people, such as eels and fish (Arapere, 2002).

¹⁹ *Whanaungatanga* describes a kinship network which links Māori to their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. In the story, my ties are cemented to each *iwi* through the connection I have with my people through *whakapapa*, to the *marae* and connections between my *tūpuna*.

²⁰ Pūtauaki cements the common interest held by both my *iwi*. The mountain is important in both tribes' histories and of the people of the area.

²¹ The people of Ngā Maihi once were known as Te Marangaranga and have lived around Pūtauaki in the days of old and along the Rangitāiki river near Te Teko.

²² The *moana* (sea, ocean) was where he first met Whakaari but return to where he is now situated near Kawerau. This spiritual and physical element further strengthens the tie to my *turangawaewae*.

knowledge connected to one's *tūrangawaewae* and the histories of the people. In a genealogical sense, the framework provides an understanding of the historical descent, pattern and linkages whereby everything is interconnected to each other. All these elements form the 'He Pūtauaki model' and collectively reflect the basis of how this research can be understood and read by connecting the journey taken in reconnecting and strengthening her relationships with her *iwi* and her allegiance to her *tūrangawaewae*.

This PhD journey is one of personal discovery for the primary researcher and secondly, acknowledges how her personal lived experiences as well as how *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* can further contribute to deepening understanding of insights into the interconnectedness between educational success for Māori and CT and HT which has contributed to transgenerational epigenetic inheritance across successive generations. The emergence of epigenetic research acknowledges how people affected by trauma, if left unresolved, are unconsciously reliving the patterns of trauma and suffering in successive generations of families (Lehrner & Yehuda, 2018b; Wolynn, 2017). As such, the researchers personal lived experiences including her professional background as a Māori educator in mainstream education, will provide further insight into this aspect of the study.

What can be said is that ICT has been a feature of my own family upbringing and has contributed to my understanding of how mainstream schooling and experiences has impacted on Māori student's educational success. For many participants involved in this research, ICT has also been captured in their narratives and likewise, their own experiences of success have been affected by mainstream schooling. During the 1980s and 1990s my *kaumātua*, from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau sought to bring the government of the time to account for historical breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Green, 1995; Marr, 1991; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a; Waitangi Tribunal, 2003). The catastrophic events detailed in each report highlight the detrimental effects on Māori, our *tūpuna*, on *te reo Māori*, on Māori knowledge and on the *whenua*.

Table 2 below is an example of my family genogram table which outlines some of the characteristic traits and behaviours that have been passed from one generation to the next generation.

Table 2
Genogram – Traits of my immediate family

Genogram - Traits of my immediate family			
	Mum	Dad	Hazel
Ethnicity of parents	Māori descent.	Pākehā dad & Pākehā mum.	Māori mum and Pākehā dad.
NZ Honors	Father – WWII & Jayforce. Mum – NZ Karate 2 nd in championship.	Father – NZ Brass band member 1964 and great swimmer; His Uncles were WWII veterans. Dad was a Member of the Territorial Forces (NZ Army); Somes Island Winner, Wellington Water Polo and Rowing Champion.	Master's graduate and PhD candidate.
Grandparents	Met grandparents.	Never met they emigrated to New Zealand.	No relationship with grandparents passed away before I was born.
Born during	1955 Rural Urban Drift	1954 Rural Urban Drift	1977 Māori Renaissance
Schooling	Marae (te Ao Māori). Te Teko Native School (Primary).	Primary, Secondary, Tertiary.	Primary, Secondary, Tertiary.
Similarity 1	Large family of thirteen siblings; affected by family trauma. Nanny Hazel (Mother) passed away at 36 years old in 1968.	Youngest sibling; affected by family trauma.	First born and eldest of four children; affected by family trauma.
Similarity 2	Spent several years at Middlemore Hospital, Auckland. Went to live with the Hills after being seriously burnt.	Grew up with his brother, Uncle Pat's family as a child/teenager.	Left home at 14 to live with Aunt June (Uncle Pat's wife) in Otaki. Currently, living in Papatoetoe (not far from Middlemore Hospital) in Auckland.
Similarity 3	Married Pākehā. Her Aunty – married Pākehā.	Upon discovery, great grandfather, Victor Toussaint Joseph Abraham was a chef by occupation, and I married a chef.	Married Irishman (Pākehā), who is a chef. Followed in the footsteps of my mother.

Source: Abraham personal records, 2020.

Māori pedagogy of teaching and learning

The use of Māori pedagogy can inform and guide the development of pedagogy in mainstream schools that caters for Māori students. The literature reports Māori pedagogy can be defined in many ways. Smith (as cited in Pihama, Smith, Taki & Lee, 2004) defined Māori pedagogy as ways of teaching and learning that are preferred by *ākongā Māori* (Māori student, learner). Smith's seminal work explored how cultural tenets enabled and supported Māori pedagogy (Pihama et al., 2004). Additionally, Hemara's (2000) research explains in detail, that Māori pedagogy is seen as ancient pedagogies of the *tūpuna* which resonates within contemporary educational best practice and support. Furthermore, Hemara (2000) adds that traditionally, Māori believed that the learning process was reciprocal between students and teachers. Teaching and learning experiences were co-operative ventures in which the teacher and

student learnt something new. Learning was known to be a gradual process. The term, *ako* (to learn) is mentioned widely in the literature as a preferred style of learning for Māori (King, 2014; Stucki, 2010), but from my own teaching experience is not fully understood by educators or utilised within their own teaching practice in mainstream classrooms in primary and secondary schools.

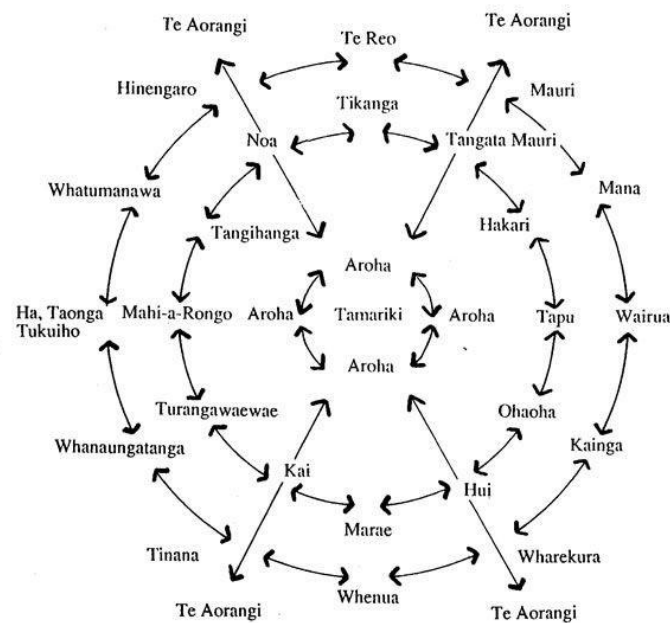
Hemara (2000) acknowledges that in pre-European times the invaluable worth of informal socialisation within pre-European Māori family groups. Hemara (2000) describes the use of games, songs and proverbs as tools used in teaching and learning. Other areas of learning content were associated with learning male and female roles in *whānau* activities, for example, food gathering for women, hunting and fishing for men, and learning *whakapapa*. Further themes extrapolated from within the informal socialisation process by Hemara (2000) include: intergenerational teaching and the use of *whakataukī*.

Features of Māori pedagogies draw on traditional teachings (Pihama et al., 2004; Pihama et al., 2019); application and understanding of *tikanga* (correct procedure, cultural practices), *kawa* (customs and values, marae protocol) (Higgins & Moorfield, 2004; King, 2014), engagement in Māori-framed research (Glynn & Berryman, 2015; & Stucki, 2010) and assisting Māori to be self-determining, achieving *mana motuhake* (separate identity, autonomy) and becoming empowered as collectives of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (L. T. Smith, 2012). This list provides an overview of some of the unique features entwined in Māori pedagogy and how these unique features can be adopted within teaching and learning theories, pedagogy and practices to support Māori educational success and outcomes. Embedding of Māori worldviews into teaching pedagogies is known to have transformational possibilities (Pihama, Lee-Morgan, Smith, Tiakiwai & Seed-Pihama, 2019; Stucki, 2010). This is also reported by Tahau-Hodges (2010), if educators use Māori conceptual frameworks such as *Kaupapa Māori* and the Māori potential approach in their mentoring practice, it positively contributes towards Māori learners' success, specifically, in tertiary education. This notion has the potential to further aid insights within mainstream schooling in the primary education sector where the majority of Māori students are located.

Māori models are privileged within Māori education settings. Many Māori frameworks have been designed for Māori, with Māori for the benefit of Māori and implemented in communities such as Kōhanga Reo (early childhood language nest), Māori medium schools and in secondary schools that participated in Te Kotahitanga Project (Barrett, 2018). One example is Pere's 1991 "Te Aorangi Model" which shows a Māori way of being for *tamariki* (young children) with their *whānau*. Pere developed this educational framework to acknowledge the

complexity of *te ao Māori*. At the centre of the 'Te Aorangi Model' is the *tamaiti* (child). Pere establishes a glossary of key cultural concepts, institutions, values and beliefs that are essential to the Māori child. Pere's model integrates cultural notions of *wairuatanga* (spirituality), *tinana* (the physical body), *hinengaro* (the mind), and *whanaungatanga* (the extended family). Further adaptations of Pere's Model have seen it applied as the 'Te Wheke Model' within Māori Health in New Zealand (Stucki, 2010).

Figure 3: Pere's Te Aorangi Model – The universe



(Adapted from Pere, 1991)

Kaupapa Māori principles and Māori cultural practices are the basis of Māori educational pedagogy (Pihama et al., 2004). The idea of Māori pedagogy sits within the wider discourse of *kaupapa Māori* (Stucki, 2010). Stucki (2010) refers to how socio-political and cultural forces impact Māori pedagogy. *Kaupapa Māori* reiterates key notions of a way of life for Māori (Stucki, 2010). It is relatively unknown what Māori pedagogical models, *Kaupapa Māori* principles and Māori cultural practices are naturally used within the mainstream education located in primary education schools for Māori students, let alone for Pacific students. This highlights the need to explore the effectiveness of teachers and school leaders working with Māori students, and how well as mainstream schools are tracking and monitoring effectiveness of their leadership towards supporting teachers in their roles and capacities to engage and support Māori students.

In Stucki's doctoral research (Stucki, 2010), he synthesised the literature into several key sections, including,

- methodologies and techniques in non-school settings;
- methodologies and techniques in early childhood, primary and secondary school settings; and methodologies and techniques in tertiary settings (p. 48).

Stucki's synthesis of the literature revealed an extensive list of teaching and learning methods preferred by Māori and was acknowledged within the *Te Kotahitanga: The experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori students in mainstream classrooms* (Bishop, Berryman, Tiakiwai, and Richardson, 2003). Examples from these two sources highlighted preferred teaching and learning methods for Māori learners:

- Ako (to learn, reciprocal teaching);
- Rote memorisation;
- Storytelling;
- Routines;
- Look, listen, imitate;
- Scaffolding;
- Co-operative teaching and learning; and
- Critical reflection.

What is clear from Stucki's and Bishop et al. (2003) is that these sorts of learning methods are student-centred and involve working collectively together with others. In summary, Māori pedagogy presents a multitude of possibilities for those willing to commit to bringing transformative change for Māori in education (Pihama et al., 2004). Pihama et al. (2004) affirm that there are a range of pedagogical forms used as part of the Māori way in the transmission of Māori knowledge. For example, there has existed many forms of *whare wānanga* (place of higher learning), whether it be through *wānanga* (residential hui, intense discussion, gatherings), daily experiences of relationships through *whakapapa*, learning as an apprentice by observing and attending *hui* (to gather, assemble, meet, meetings), and even learning within the context of *tangi* (funeral) based on my own personal experiences as a child and adult.

Cultural concepts and preferred approaches to learning for Māori students

Māori students' distinctive preferences and approaches to learning. In Māori pedagogical traditions (Stucki, 2010) and Māori and *iwi* contemporary educational contexts, *whakawhanaungatanga* (the process of establishing and maintaining relationships) transfers *whānau* concepts to the educational context, forming the basis of teaching and learning practices (Tahau-Hodges, 2010).

Kerehoma, Connor, Garrow and Young (2013) reported invaluable insight into the approaches to learning that supports successful Māori workplace learners. Although, this refers to *rangatahi* (youth) students, it still has much relevance for Māori students in primary education sector. Kerehoma et al. (2013) project explored experiences of Māori learners and identified distinctive features of Māori learning preferences and behaviours. Key features and principles, include:

- *Ako*: the concept that recognises the knowledge that both teacher and student bring to learning interactions and affirms the value of collective learning approaches.
- *Whakapapa*: Connections though *whakapapa* are vitally important to Māori and firmly connect learners to their *marae*, *hapū* and *iwi* as well as their cultural heritage, which they bring with them into the learning space.
- *Whanaungatanga*: the concept of maintaining and fostering relationships that emphasises the importance of togetherness and the co-operative nature of learning. Strong relationships, based on trust, respect and reciprocity, are essential are deemed essential to effective learning for Māori.
- *Tuakana-teina*: the concept of mentoring relationships which is closely linked to traditional *whānau* practices. This approach supports Māori learners to develop a sense of belonging within their learning environments and includes other support mechanisms that learners may require, such as vocational and personal support (p.3).

The He Pūtauaki model utilises such Māori values and cultural concepts, to support the strengthening of Māori students' language, culture and identity as Indigenous peoples within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty). The *tuakana-teina* relationship concept is linked to traditional *whānau* practices which in turn can be applied in the contemporary context to the teacher and student relationship in mainstream classrooms. Based on my personal teaching experience, learning can take place between an older student as the *tuakana* (*elder sibling/student*) with the *teina* (a younger sibling/student) or the teacher. The *tuakana* is typically someone more experienced and has had more experience in the classroom; this allows for reciprocity between the student and their peers and their respective teachers.

Insights of *Pūrākau* and anchoring in a *Kaupapa Māori* Framework

Pūrākau as a methodology allows for the storytelling, the distributing of knowledge, values, protocols and worldviews pertaining to Māori (Lee, 2008). Lee (2008) states:

Pūrākau, a traditional form of Māori narrative, contains philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori.

(p. 1)

Throughout the thesis, Māori *whakataukī* and *pūrākau* highlight key points pertinent to informing the organic nature of the construction of Māori knowledge made by Māori researchers and participants located in this research study. The *kaupapa* for this thesis was chosen because of a growing passion to make a difference for Māori in mainstream education and a desire to know more about who I was as Māori. The idea came to me during a Māori and Pacific Postgraduate Students *Wānanga* (a setting to meet and discuss matters) being hosted at the Auckland University of Technology. I had the opportunity to sit with Professor Ka'ai who took me through a culturally responsive pedagogical supervision process, which is also an emergent model of postgraduate research supervision known as, Mahitahi²³. During our in-depth *kōrero*, (which lasted sometime into the night), I had an epitome, which led me to my current area of research. I wanted to combine my passion for Māori educational success while learning more about who my people were, my grandparents and *whakapapa*, and the stories of my *hapū* and *iwi*. Therefore, locating myself in this thesis is a central part of the narrative on mainstream education also known as mainstream schooling²⁴, needing to transform and make ontological shifts in serving *whānau* needs and embedding *mātauranga Māori* into shifting how schools, educators, and leaders better cater for Māori students. By locating myself within the educational success for Māori narrative legitimates my personal experience and perspectives as an educator within mainstream education is valid.

Locating myself - Living outside of my tribal lands

My personal reflections of Māori leadership and education come from the perspective of growing up outside the traditional place, my *tūrangawaewae* of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, North Island of New Zealand. By the age of 17 years old, this Māori girl had followed a pathway into education, totally oblivious to where it would lead her. By the age of 34, she had spent most of her working life in teaching roles across the primary, secondary, and tertiary sector. Growing up and learning in these vast roles, the Māori girl, now a woman, experienced the realities that exist for Māori who are unable to access education for whatever reason. Being raised in a rural community for the first 20 years of her life and then a move to urban-living for employment purposes was a time for reflection and a decision to pursue an educational pathway, and an aim to be the best educator and educational leader and practitioner I could possibly be. These self-reflections expose an intriguing journey of peaks and troughs of highs and a few lows, where I have flourished and grown personally in being within Māori-based environments during my masters

²³ An emergent model of postgraduate research supervision developed by Professor Tania Ka'ai. This Māori cultural concept used by *kaupapa* Māori-centred postgraduate research supervisors focuses on enhancing Māori (and Pacific) postgraduate students' engagement and educational success based in Te Ipukarea Research Institute at Auckland University of Technology.

²⁴ Mainstream schooling in New Zealand refers to English Medium curriculum. Numerous studies have shown that this approach in education continues to perpetuate inequities for Māori.

and doctoral journeys. I had been operating at the interface of education and Māori and found a deep passion for positive Māori outcomes for *whānau* in education and leadership.

Reconnecting and reclaiming my Indigenous self through *whakapapa*

The following *pepeha* (tribal saying) are introductions which positions and identifies me as being Māori. The inextricable links with the mountains, lands and waters are expressed below.

Ko Pūtauaki taku maunga	Ko Pūtauaki taku maunga
Ko Rangitāiki taku awa	Ko Tarawera taku awa
Ko Ngāti Awa taku iwi	Ko Tūwharetoa taku iwi
Ko Mataatua taku waka	Ko Te Arawa taku waka
Ko Ngā Maihi	Ko Ngāti Umutahi taku hapū
Ko Ngāi Tamawera	Ko Waikato Tarewa te tangata
Ko Pahipoto	
Ko Poroporo ngā hapū	
Ko Tom Waikato rāua ko Hazel Wanikau ngā tūpuna	

The above *pepeha* connects me to sacred mountains, rivers, tribal *waka*, *iwi*, *hapū*, *tūpuna*, *wharenuī* (ancestral house) and the people of which I am connected to genealogically. The intricacies that exist and the interconnections are a result of *whakapapa*, blood relationships and intermarriage. Through these connections, the one commonality both tribes have is of Pūtauaki the *maunga*. What binds and connects the people of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau together, is contained in their significant histories, narratives, and landmarks within the Eastern Bay of Plenty region. More detail of these intricacies will be elaborated upon in Chapter Three that focus on introducing the two *iwi*, acknowledged in this thesis. In this PhD journey I have regained lost knowledge of place names, cultural histories and *pūrākau* associated with *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. The above *pepeha* provides a location of where history, events, landscapes, relationships, and people are remembered.

Kingship, *whakapapa* and connectivity to *te taiao* (the natural world)


The Rangitāiki river lies at the heart of our local *hapū* of Te Teko. I have many fond memories of being connected to the river as we would go fishing with our Nanny Mei as children; it was a place to swim; and a place for *mahinga kai* (food gathering place) as we would watch Auntie Kuikui, Auntie Julie and our mum spend hours white baiting in Thornton, at the mouth of Rangitāiki River. On our holidays to Te Teko we would always go to Awakeri Hot Springs

(originally called Pukaahu Springs) and the Savage Hot Springs²⁵ in Kawerau. I was born in Lower Hutt and spent most of my life away from our *tūrangawaewae*. I grew up in Wainuiomata, lived rurally in Wairoa, and in my latter teen years I lived in Otaki with my Aunt. As a young child we grew up without the influence of kaumātua or extended *whānau* to fall on for support. Exploring my *whakapapa* has allowed me an opportunity to grow my knowledge of *te ao Māori* and *te ao Pākehā*. I have discovered new insights on such knowledge and of my *tūpuna*, which have included discovering their interconnected relationships and commonalities amongst them.

Table Three below provides a summary of key facts about each primary *tūpuna* and their connections to either or both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty and Turangi). Table Three also connects the researcher to Tūteao Marae that is central to the identity of Ngā Maihi, a primary *hapū* of Ngāti Awa ki Rangitāiki. Hirangi Marae that is central to the identity of Ngāti Tūrangitukua, a prominent *hapū* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, whose ancestral connections and links are closely related with Umutahi Marae that is, the central identity of Ngāti Umutahi a *hapū* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau and of Ngāti Awa.

Table 3

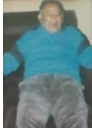





Diagrammatical schema of elementary kinship connectivity

Tūpuna	Name	Important facts	Iwi affiliation	Hapū
	Tame Waikato also referred to Tom, Tane, and Tommy	Farmer Cultivator Corporal/Private in the Jayforce (Japan)	Ngāti Awa, Whakatohea, Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau, Ngāi Tūhoe	Ngā Maihi Pūkeko Umutahi Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu
	Hazel Ngahiwi Waikato (nee Wanikau) also referred to as Ngahiwi Putiputi	Mother Hockey player	Ngāti Tūwharetoa Ngāti Awa	Ngāti Tūrangitukua Ngāti Kurauia Ngāhere Ngāi Tamaoki Pahipoto
	Nane Waikato ²⁶	Drover Cultivator	Ngāti Awa Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau Ngāi Tūhoe	Ngā Maihi Umutahi Ngāti Haka Patuheuheu
	Puti Watarawi ²⁷	Fish and Chip Shop	Ngāti Awa Whakatōhea	Pūkeko Ngāhere (Whakatōhea)

²⁵ Also known as Te Waikaukau o Umutahi or Te Umupokapoka (Pū Kāea, 2010)

²⁶ Son of Puao also known as Puau (daughter of Te Kahu Hawea and Hariata Te Houpepe) and Waikato Tarewa. Father to Tom Waikato.

²⁷ Descendant of Tamaati Waaka, Rawinia Koiwi and Patoro Watarawi. Daughter of Warito Watarawi and Ruiha Herewini (Ngāti Pūkeko & Ngāti Awa Kaumātua, personal communication, 10.9.18).

	Pikitu Te Wanikau	Ratana Follower Cultivator Tasman Worker	Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Taupō region)	Ngāti Turangitukua Ngāti Kurauia
	Maramena Hunia Patangata	Daughter of a great chief 19 th century – Te Kakara & Mero	Ngāti Awa	Ngāi Tamawera Ngāi Tamaoki Pahipoto Ngāi Tūhoe
	Rangipoia te Marotoa ²⁸	High ranking <i>kuia</i> 1930s Maori land activist	Ngāti Tūwharetoa	Ngāti Tūrangitukua
	Wanikau Hohepa ²⁹	Ratana Apotoro/Follower	Ngāti Tūwharetoa	Ngāti Tūrangitukua
	Victor Abraham ³⁰	NZ 1962 National Band of New Zealand World Champion Brass band; Lower Hutt Municipal	Ngāti Pākehā Ngāti Wīwī (French-Jewish)	Wellington
	Patrick Abraham ³¹	Wellington and Petone Representative Rugby Player	Ngāti Pākehā Ngāti Wīwī (French-Jewish) Irish	Wellington

²⁸ Rangipoia was a high ranking *kuia* of Ngāti Turangitukua, and is buried at Hirangi Marae, Turangi. She was Koro Pikitu's mother (Ngāti Tūrangitukua Kaumātua, personal communication, 18.2.16).

²⁹ Wanikau is buried at Ratana Marae, he was one of Ratana's first 12 Apostles (*Apotoro*). He was Koro Pikitu's father (Ngāti Tūrangitukua Kaumātua, personal communication, 18.2.16).

³⁰ Victor Abraham is the eldest son of Victor Toussaint Joseph Abraham who was born in France, 1867. Victor is the father of Terry Abraham.

³¹ Brother of Terry Abraham and my most favourite uncle and rolemodel in the world.



Image 1: Tūteao Marae (Te Teko) (Abraham, personal collection)



Image 2: Hirangi Marae (Turangi) (Abraham, personal collection)



Image 3: Umutahi Marae, Matatā, Eastern Bay of Plenty. This is one of Koro Waikato Tarewa primary *kāinga*. From Pū Kāea, 2010. Copyright unknown.

The three *marae* above are connected through *whakapapa*. When you step outside Tūteao and Umutahi Marae and gaze upon Pūtauaki, one will see a different face of the mountain. Hirangi is connected to Umutahi through the *iwi* narratives. Turangitukua was the *tēina* to Umutahi, the *tuākana* and they shared the same father but had different mothers.

Ngāti Umutahi is a sub-tribe of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Ngāti Umutahi are direct descendants of Toroa and Ngatoroirangi (Grace, 1959; Pū Kāea, 2010). Inter-marriage between Ngāti Umutahi and Ngāti Awa people of Mataatua has always occurred. An example of this is reflected in my *whakapapa* of the marriage between Puau also known as Whakaheke to Waikato Tarewa. Umutahi, the ancestor, had strong connections to both Mataatua and Te Arawa (Mead, Ngaropo, Harvey & Phillis, 2017). He was the son of Tunono and Te Kirianinga who resided at Matatā, Te Umuhika and Kawerau. His name translates to mean, one oven. The name of Umutahi was given by his father in memory of a battle where 100 warriors were killed by Maruiwi and their bodies were cooked and eaten (Pū Kāea, 2010).

The mother of Umutahi, Te Kirianinga had formidable links with Ngāti Awa and Ngātai of Tainui (Mead et al., 2017). Umutahi was the elder brother of Tūrangitukua; Tūrangitukua descendants intermarried with the original tribes of Taupō and became known as Ngāti Tūwharetoa of the Taupō region (Mead et al., 2017). Umutahi was well known as an expert in weaponry such as the *taiaha* (long wooden weapon) and the *patu* (to strike, club). He was considered to also be an expert in gathering food of the land and sea (Mead et al., 2017). This is well reflected in the saying following saying:

Umutahi kai o uta, kai o tai
Umutahi the ancestor who gathers food from the land and food from the sea.
(Mead et al., 2017, p.215)

In relation to this PhD journey, my immediate Waikato *whānau* have inherited their ancestor's traits as they are all experts in *mahinga kai*. An illustration of the strong connections between Umutahi Marae and the two *waka*, Mataatua and Te Arawa is highlighted by the two *amo* (upright supports of the lower ends of the *maihi*, facing boards on the gable of a house, the lower ends of which are often ornamented with a carving, of the front of a meeting house):

Rongomaitengangana

Tutapiriao

Rongoteahu

Piri

Tunono

Umutahi

(Mead et al., 2017, p.215)

As Matua (B) from Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau shared with me, “we share and have expressions of interests” to help explain the connections that exist between my two-*iwi* connected to this thesis. Through *kōrero* with kaumātua of both tribes, Table 4 (see below) was constructed from *kōrero* with my *kaumātua* of both tribes that helps to understand the worldviews of each *iwi* regarding these historical connections between Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau.

Table 4

The tribal connections between Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau

Identity Markers	Ngāti Awa lens	Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau lens	Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Taupō/Turangi)	Outlining the commonalities and differences
Landmarks Pūtauaki	A taonga tuku iho of the people connecting us to the environment (taiao). Pūtauaki caught the gaze of Whakaari (White Island).	A taonga tuku iho of the people connecting us to the natural world/ environment (taiao). Tarawera married Pūtauaki and they had a son Whatuira.	Pūtauaki left Te Ika a Maui after a conflict over Pihanga (Turangi).	This is a shared commonality identified in the whakapapa linking Pūtauaki as an important landmark with the people.
Te Awa o te Atua	This sacred place refers to the river of God. It was named after the menstruation of Wairaka at the mouth of the river. The landing place for many waka including Te Arawa and Maatatua.	A sacred place where part of the Te Arawa waka became stuck and Toroa undertook an ancient chant/karakia to release it from being unstuck.	Shared story with Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau.	Outlines the significance of the landmark within the histories of each iwi.
Whakapapa Land confiscation from Raupatu	The siege of Te Kupenga 1865.	Whānau came to the aid of Ngāti Awa.	Whānau came to the aid of Ngāti Awa.	All iwi suffered from the confiscation of land arising from raupatu in 1865 across the Bay of Plenty iwi. This redress is acknowledged in each iwi WAI claims. This impacted on changing

				tribal boundaries for each iwi.
Intermarriage alliances (Toto; tatau pounamu)	Ngā Maihi were eased out near Onepū and had to hurriedly go back to Te Kupenga.	Our connections - We are married relations. Raki connects us to Onepū. Waikato Tarewa connects us to Tūwharetoa.	Koro Pikitu Wanikau married Maramena Patangata. Nanny Maramena was also from Pahipoto.	Called upon the connections by rangatira to maintain the peace between people of each tribe
Pūrākau Tarakura te taniwha	Tarakura of the Rangitāiki Plains. The chief, Iratumoana consulted with his tohunga (expert) and carvers. He went to battle with the taniwha (water spirit) and overcame the creature. The legend is said that Tarakura died at Te Umuhika and is buried near Iramoko marae.	Feared taniwha that lived in the swamp lands in the Rangitāiki plains to Onepū. The main mode of transport in the day was by canoe.		Story that shares a common tale within each iwi and understanding of te ao Māori.
Hirangi Marae Complex Tūwharetoa-i-Te-Aupouri the ancestral house named after the ancestor	A well-known carver from Te Teko went to Turangi to carve the meeting house.	Umutahi connection through the two brothers, sons of Tūnono, descendants of Tūwharetoa-i-te-Aupouri. The iwi based in Kawerau-Onepū-Matatā-Rotoma areas and Turangi share the same eponymous ancestor, Tūwharetoa.	Te Hau-o-Tūnono is the carved waka. Signifies the genealogical ties with close relatives of Ngāti Umutahi residing in Matatā.	The connection with the tribe that moved onto Taupō and Turangi region from Kawerau with the town of Te Teko. Keeping those relationship links with each other. Knowing the genealogical ties of Tūrangitukua with Ngāti Umutahi, Tūwharetoa near the shore.
The carved gateway of Te Aotahi at Te Kura o Te Teko	The entrance signals the historical and spiritual connections and relationships between Māori.	The entrance recognises the connections and agreeances between the two iwi. Te Aotahi is from the third wife of Tūwharetoa i te Aupouri	The mana and mauri (life force) were given from Tūwharetoa to Te Aotahi.	The connections between the two iwi from the past who lived there.

Tribal perspectives and frameworks: Ngāti Awa and Tūwharetoa

The worldview of the researcher is intrinsic, holistic and Māori, therefore, it affects the way the research unfolds. As the researcher is of Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau descent, it is fitting to use the Māori narrative of Pūtauaki³² to show the connections between Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. The researcher's *whakapapa* identifies the ancestral connections and relationships to the research context located in the traditional *rohe* (boundary, district, region) of each *iwi*. By doing this, it positions symbolically *mātauranga-a-iwi*³³, the connecting of the people of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau under the foot of Pūtauaki to their landscape and within the

³² Ancestral mountain of both tribes Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa Ki Kawerau.

³³ In the modern education system, the term is used to define Māori identity and Māori knowledge. It symbolises an *iwi* based knowledge system which connects the people central to this thesis, to the many interconnections within the landscape, and their relationship with the environment and with each other (Doherty, 2009). A common interest inherent held by both *iwi* is their shared connection to Pūtauaki.

environment (the rivers, lakes, and oceans). My *whakapapa* on all fronts and the ancient stories of the past had inspired me towards pursuing advancement of educational success for *tamariki Māori* in mainstream schooling, but also in deepening my understanding of the people I come from.

Summary

This chapter provides a platform to understand what a Māori worldview is, including understanding what a Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau worldview is and the influence this has on understanding educational success and transformation from both the participants and researcher's perspectives. The researcher recognises the importance of highlighting the systemic changes needed to be inclusive of Māori worldviews, and Māori pedagogy of teaching and learning within mainstream schooling as part of transforming the praxis that exists in mainstream education in New Zealand. The next chapter reviews the literature on approaches to Māori education, major changes that have shaped Māori language education, the impact of education and government policy on Māori and how the acts of the past arising from colonisation continue to cause disparities for Māori across successive generations. The purpose of the literature review for Chapter One (The Origins of the research), Chapter Two (The impact of education on Māori children), Chapter Three (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau), Chapter Four (Understanding educational success for Māori in mainstream education) and Chapter Five (The impact of 'trauma' on Māori outcomes and success in education) is to acknowledge the existing research and identify any gaps in the field.

Chapter Two: The impact of education on Māori children

Introduction

This chapter introduces historical information about several changes in New Zealand's approach to Māori in education and how major developments have shaped education and language for Māori students in mainstream education. These elements are the concerns and nature of an evolving state of power where government legislation has been used on Māori for the benefit of the colonial settler society. This form of cultural trauma has significantly impacted on Māori and educational outcomes for *tamariki Māori* in the Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau region. The chapter concludes with a summary of current legislation and education policy related to lifting and transforming the education system to better provide for Māori in mainstream education.

There are very few *whānau* and/or *iwi*-centric studies that examine how *whānau* conceptualise educational success from a Māori perspective and explores other factors, such as the contribution of trauma and the process of transitioning through mainstream schooling hinders educational success for *tamariki Māori*. There is also the added viewpoint, that the findings will contribute to a better understanding and advancement of *mātauranga Māori* and culturally located pedagogy (Hohepa, 2010) in mainstream schooling, for the benefit of a system's level shift across the entire education system.

Over the last 184 years, the hegemonic actions, disrespectful behaviours and negative attitudes of educators, leaders and policymakers have marginalised Māori through mainstream schooling and subsequently, continues to impact on the survival of *te reo Māori* (Doerr, 2009; Hill, 2017; Waitangi Tribunal, 1986) and on Māori achievement (Abraham-O'Leary, 2015). There is evidence of ICT impact on Māori outcomes and no efforts made by the education system to address this with *whānau*. So *whānau* have sought to find solutions to these issues by establishing Māori Medium Education³⁴ (MME) where the curriculum was delivered in and through *te reo Māori* for a significant proportion of the time. An expression of MME is Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. MME plays a central role in supporting the language revitalisation effort (Hill, 2017) and in ensuring that Māori children have access to learning *te reo Māori* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Other initiatives that later followed, saw the emergence of Māori Language in English Medium (ML in EM) where the curriculum is delivered between 1 – 50 percent of the time (Ministry of Education, n.d.-f). More recently,

³⁴ MME include kōhanga reo (Māori language preschool), kura kaupapa (primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction) and kura reorua (bilingual and Māori language immersion classes in mainstream schools).

kura kaupapa Māori, aho Matua within Māori immersion units³⁵, kura-ā-iwi³⁶ based on *mātauranga ā-iwi*³⁷, and charter schools³⁸ were established to provide further options for Māori in New Zealand education system.

The position as an ‘insider’ researcher of Māori ancestral connections to Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Turangi and Kawerau), and as a Māori educator in New Zealand’s education system, refines the perspective of this thesis. Privileging Māori perspectives with Western theory in mainstream education and trauma on Māori is significant for the research approach. This research approach provides a platform (a) for *whānau* voices from their respective *iwi*; (b) for transforming the way the education system shifts to redress ICT through mainstream education for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand; and (c) for Indigenous peoples in other countries addressing the impact of mainstream education on their children, families and communities.

Maramataka o te kaupapa: Māori educational policy and developments since 1816 within Aotearoa New Zealand

Increasingly, Māori continue to be dominated by an antagonistic Pākehā system that normalises Western ways of knowing, doing and being (Moeke-Pickering, 1996; Rameka, 2015). Long-term use of political-legal systems by settler colonial and modern government in Aotearoa New Zealand continues to cause disenfranchisement for Māori, which has resulted in material poverty and further, contributed towards the antecedents of current-day inequities in health, education and social wellbeing, experienced by Māori resulting from colonial settler societal experience (Borell, Moewaka-Barnes & McCreanor; 2018; Pihama et al., 2014; Reid, Rout, Tau & Smith, 2017; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). In the Waitangi Capital Establishment Report (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999b), it would not be difficult to argue that the seeds of Māori underachievement were ingrained by some of the past education policies and officiated by policymakers, such as Hunn in the ‘1960 Hunn Report’ who attacked parental apathy and Māori indifference to post primary and university education (Cumming & Cumming, 1978).

New Zealand’s education system has not delivered success for many generations of Māori (Gilgen, 2016; Johnston, 1998; Milne, 2013). Evidence provided by Dr Judith Simon

³⁵ Provision of culturally unique education based on Indigenous philosophical beliefs.

³⁶ Kura-ā-iwi are tribal schools that resulted as part of a movement for advancement of Māori and growth within the Māori Medium Movement. These schools range from composites of Year 1-13, they support the identity and aspirations of their *iwi*, *hapū*, *whānau* and communities their students come from.

³⁷ Understanding about the place of *mātauranga-ā-iwi* in the education system based in environmentally located knowledge within tribal lands.

³⁸ An alternative to public education. These schools also known as Partnership and Kurahourua. They receive government funding like state schools but subject to fewer rules and regulations. These schools argued that education underachievement was caused by regulation (Source: <https://www.ppta.org.nz/dmsdocument/207>)

acknowledges how past legislative action has played a significant role in disadvantaging Māori within the state education system, leading to the deficit statistics related to how educational success is measured (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999b). Key reasons for this brokenness in the education system is the perpetuation of over 150 years of negative attitudes from Pākehā towards *te reo Māori* (Hill, 2017); the different interpretations and perspectives related to ‘what counts for educational success’ and ‘whose point counts’ (Johnston, 1998); and the continued privileging of white streaming in mainstream schools in New Zealand (Milne, 2013). Since the inception of colonial education in New Zealand, there is a lack of genuine acknowledgement to Māori for the wrongdoing that has been done and still continues to happen to them today.

This difference in education exists because mainstream schooling promotes individualism and neoliberal ways whereas from a Māori lens it is about *māhiti*, collaborative approaches that are centred on shared power relationships and collective solutions. Not surprisingly, mainstream schooling is where most Māori students are located and the struggle is for these educational organisations to make the cultural and educational practice shifts required of them to strategically improve Māori outcomes (McKinley & Hoskins, 2011). Hence, Māori continue to have a complicated relationship with Western schooling educators, leaders and those in charge because of how education privileges and tacits Western knowledge and values over *mātauranga Māori* ways of teaching and learning.

Much of this complication is a result of the historical framing of education and schooling resulting from the inception of colonial settler’s model of administration where education was mainly in the hands of churches or private enterprises (Abraham-O’Leary, 2015; Cumming & Cumming, 1978). Since the arrival of Pākehā to New Zealand, the history of mainstream schooling for Māori has been one of cultural dislocation, deprivation, and subjugation (Rameka, 2015). The colonial attitudes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries continue to permeate and seep through some leaders and educators within today’s primary schools and into other sectors of the education system in Aotearoa New Zealand (Abraham-O’Leary, 2015; Abraham et al., 2020; Gilgen, 2016).

Early legislation and Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi) in New Zealand

Te Tiriti o Waitangi was first signed between Māori *rangatira* and the British Crown on the 6th of February in 1840. Te Tiriti o Waitangi guaranteed to Māori the ‘full, exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands’ (Barnes, Eich & Yessilth, 2018; Wynyard, 2019). Further signings of the Treaty in the Māori version were taken around the country for different *iwi* (Waitangi Tribunal, n.d.-a; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). The signing of the English version of the Treaty only took place at the Waikato Heads and Manukau (Waitangi Tribunal, n.d-a).

A flourishing literature acknowledges how Te Tiriti o Waitangi should be applied in New Zealand following the last 184 years of grievances held by *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, collectives of Māori seeking redress from the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, 1986b, 1999a, 1999b, 2003, 2016).

Te Tiriti o Waitangi refers to the English and Māori versions of the Treaty which led to significant debates specifically on what rights and understandings were agreed upon and particularly over the terms, sovereignty, *kāwanatanga* (governor, government, authority) and *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination) (Barnes, et al., 2018). Ka'ai-Mahuta (2010) takes the position that the misunderstandings and differences occurred due to the way the Treaty was produced, interpreted by Pākehā missionary and how Māori words were translated into English, including the sole reliance of the government to view all decisions only from the English version of the Treaty.

With the advent of Eurocentric ways of knowing and being laid the foundation for the implementation of capitalism through the English Laws Act, passed in 1858 (Barnes, et al., 2018). This Act entitled all English Laws that existed on 14 January 1840, predating Te Tiriti o Waitangi, come into force in New Zealand, particularly, consolidating the notion that land is seen as property in New Zealand Statutes 1858 (Barnes et al., 2018). This ideology caused the separation of Māori from their land and from ownership of their land (Barnes et al., 2018; Wynyard, 2019). Further legislation that impacted on Māori land and Māori ownership included the Suppression Rebellion Act 1863, that punished Māori for rebelling against the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a) and the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 which entitled the Crown to confiscate more than three million acres of land (Orange, 2011; Voyce, 1989). The Native Lands Act 1865, removed pre-emption, enabling land to be transferred to individualised titles which could then be sold (Waitangi Tribunal, 2007). This act specifically ended Māori communal land tenure and facilitated Pākehā land buying (Wynyard, 2019); allowed the Native Land Court to implement land ownership to 10 owners or less, which essentially did not make provisions for land to be held in trust for the rest of the *hapū* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2016).

The rights and guarantees in the Te Tiriti o Waitangi were violated by the British Crown, and later, by the Pākehā settler government (Wynyard, 2019). In the decades following the signing of the Treaty (including the Māori Land wars), the government did not do what they stated and so Māori were systematically dispossessed of all but a fraction of their land through a variety of political mechanisms, such as *raupatu* (confiscated, confiscation), the individualisation of title, excessive Crown purchasing and the compulsory acquisition of land for public works.

Māori were left culturally, materially, and spiritually impoverished (Reid et al., 2017a; Wynyard, 2019). With the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, it became possible for a permanent commission of inquiry to decide on issues raised by Māori with regards to hearing grievances and seeking redress (Waitangi Tribunal, n.d.-b). Using this framework, the Treaty claim of Ngāti Awa (WAI 46) was lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal and progressed over a 30-year period (Mather, 2014) resulting in a settlement agreement in 2005, consisting of reimbursement of cash and assets valued at \$42.39 million (New Zealand Government, 2003).

The official Waitangi Tribunal reports feature in-depth Māori claims; that attempt to provide a historical explanation about Māori land and other natural and cultural resource losses from the time of the Treaty to the present (Warbrick, 2016). Following, the 1975 enactment of legislation many Wai Claims³⁹ have been made by various *iwi* and Māori collectives. In 1986 an amendment was made to the act which allowed the tribunal to extend their jurisdiction to cover events dating back to 1840 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999b), later on contemporary claims were referred to matters that occurred on or after 21 September 1992 and raised nationally significant issues for Māori as a collective body (Waitangi Tribunal, n.d.-c). The Wānanga Capital Establishment Report (Wai 718) and Ko Aotearoa Tēnei Report (Wai 262) are examples of a contemporary claims received before the Waitangi Tribunal.

Land wars, land alienation, *raupatu* and assimilative agenda of Pākehā

During the 1850s, Māori in several regions across the North Island became concerned about the severity of sales and settlement pertaining to land. A tragic result of the land wars was the destruction of many Mission schools, which lead to the rebuild of the current two-fold education system (UNESCO, 1972). The Land Wars of the 1860s arose out of the Crown's overt actions to purchase land at Waitara in Taranaki (Office of Treaty Settlements, n.d.) and to gain control of fertile lands (Ka'ai-Oldman, 1988). Other armed conflicts occurred throughout the North Island, including the *raupatu* of lands in the Bay of Plenty, that led to the siege at Te Teko (Harvey, 2018; Mather, 2014). The wars provided an effective way to separate Māori from their land and to put an end to Māori communal ownership of land through use of the 1862 and 1865 Native Land Acts (Simon, 2000).

The early settlers brought had an attitude of superiority towards Māori (Ka'ai, 2017) and an urgent need for mass settlement (Lee & Lee, 1995). By the 1850s the European population

³⁹ Wai Numbers represent a case file given for allegations made by *iwi* and Māori collectives regarding the Crowns' breaches and particular action, inactions, laws and policies that dishonoured the Treaty of Waitangi and partnership with Māori.

exceeded the Māori population and unfortunately, meant a loss of native speakers of the language (Ka'ai, 2017). The impact of land confiscation detrimentally impacted on Māori. In the case of Ngāti Awa, the purchasing of Ngāti Awa land between 1879-1884 was part of a period of Crown purchasing of Māori land which began in 1870 and lasted for the next 40 years (Harvey, 2018; Mather, 2014). A key purpose of this was for Crown economic benefit and military advancement (Walzl, 1996). The confiscation of over 245,000 acres of land forced several *hapū* to relocate to blocks away from their ancestral habitations where they were kept under military surveillance, as the *iwi* were seen to be in rebellion to the Crown (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a).

The prolific use of structural mechanisms, such as the passing of legislative acts, The New Zealand Settlement Act 1863⁴⁰ and its amendments, Native Lands Act 1862⁴¹, the Outlying Districts Police Act 1865⁴² were morally illegal and non-constitutional in terms of upholding the principles and obligations contained within Te Tiriti of Waitangi. Early assimilation policies on Māori such as the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907⁴³ was an abusive use of legislation authority and power to suppress Māori spiritual basis to healing and treatment (Dow, 2001). In Voyce (1989) a *tohunga* is considered as an expert. In this Act, the *tohunga* was referred to as a practitioner of traditional medicine. Voyce (1989) acknowledges that Māori considered most sickness or illness was an infringement of some *tapu* (sacred, restricted). Voyce (1989), further argues that the enactment of the Act was to bring an end to the Rua Kenana⁴⁴ movement within Tūhoe. Rua was considered as a threat to settlers for their desire of land and to the Liberal party hopes and aspirations for an educated Māori elite. The intention of the Act was to outlaw and force *tohunga* into keeping their activities away from authorities such as healing *mākutu*⁴⁵ (Voyce, 1989).

***Te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori* legislation and Māori education policy**

After considering the various perspectives presented in the literature on the socio-historical, and economic impacts on Māori, the Māori language in Aotearoa New Zealand suffered

⁴⁰ Allowed for the confiscation of Māori land during the Māori Land Wars. The confiscation allowed Pākehā settlers to occupy the land. (Source: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/the-new-zealand-settlements-act-passed>)

⁴¹ The Native Lands Act 1862, was the first act to provide for the allocation of titles and alienation of land from communal to individualised titles, had detrimental consequences for generations of Māori.

⁴² Outlying Districts Police Act 1865 allowed for enforcing the law and for arresting criminals in certain districts of New Zealand Colony. As part of the Ngāti Awa WAI46 research team, this act was seen as a deliberate move away from the New Zealand Settlement Act from military conquest for obtaining land to land being confiscated from criminals rather than rebels.

⁴³ The 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act was intended to stop Māori using traditional Māori healing practices which had a supernatural or spiritual element (Source: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/document/28223/tohunga-suppression-act>)

⁴⁴ A Māori leader located within the tribe of Ngāi Tūhoe.

⁴⁵ *Mākutu* refers to omen, inflict physical or psychological harm spiritual and even death through spiritual powers, cast spells and bewitch (Source: <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/>)

trauma and oppression before gaining the respect, recognition, and revitalization efforts that it is legally entitled to today (Barr & Seals, 2018). In 1913, 90% of Māori students were still native speakers of *te reo Māori* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, n.d.-a). Eventually the dominant English-speaking Pākehā population overtook Māori which led to the introduction of an English only education policy during the mid 19th century and into the early 20th century (Barr & Seals, 2018).

The education authorities of the early 1900s took a hard line against Māori language used in the playground and corporal punishment was administered to children (Ka'ai-Oldman, 1988). The hostile attitudes of many teachers, leaders, and policymakers towards *te reo Māori* being spoken in schools had debilitating effects on generations of Māori-speaking children (Reedy, 2000). Reedy (2000) argued that key important steps needed to be taken in the revitalisation of *te reo*; returning to a healthy state in homes by parents socialised their children in the language; flooding of environments where the language is promoted could be applied to English medium schools (mainstream schools); and careful monitoring of the language change process, applied in mainstream schools. Ka'ai-Oldman (1988) identified two decades ago, a mismatch between what is noted in legislation, to what is implemented in practice by teachers and schools. Ka'ai-Oldman (1988) suggests that primary schools will be required to become bilingual to attract kōhanga reo children as student rolls change in Kōhanga Reo and shifts in attitudes from teachers and schools to ensure students and *whānau* needs are met as part of the obligations inherent within the Treaty of Waitangi.

Since the beginning of 1816, the school system has enforced the assimilation of Māori into Pākehā culture and suppressed *te reo* up to the late 1970s (Barrington, 2008b; Doerr, 2009). The Native Schools Code 1880 was one form of policy that promoted institutional racism against Māori and was used within the New Zealand education system (Ka'ai, 2020; Walker, 1990). According to Walker (1990), the 1880 Native Schools Code outlined the expectation that teachers have knowledge of the Māori language, but only in the format of teaching English to junior classes (Walker, 1990); and this code aided the process of assimilation by placing restrictions on the Māori language in schools (Ka'ai-Oldman, 1988).

In some cases, accessing *te reo Māori*, and *mātauranga Māori* continues to be an ongoing issue for Māori students in English medium schools because of the burgeoning gap in teacher's pedagogy related to using *mātauranga Māori* and teachers limited cultural competency skills in speaking and acquiring of Māori language and understanding of *tikanga*, whilst they are situated in dominant monolingual school environments (English dominated speaking schools) (Hill, 2017). Furthermore, the challenges that exist are often because Māori

students must accommodate for many non-Māori speaking students and teachers in English dominated speaking schools (Hill, 2017).

Missionaries influence on Māori schooling from 1816-1940s

Church Schools

In 1816, the first church missionary school was open at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands (Ka'ai-Oldman, 1988; Lee & Lee, 1995). The arrival of the missionaries, the first Pākehā teachers, signalled a clear intent that they were here to civilise and Christianise Māori (Stephenson, 2013). The establishment of 'Mission Schools' in 1816 and the 'Native Schools' in 1867 was the result of initiatives undertaken by the Crown (Barrington, 2008b). The central purpose of these schools was the assimilation of Māori into the Pākehā world (Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006). In the primary researcher's master's work, she identifies the impact and trauma that colonial education had on Māori. *Abraham-O'Leary* (2015) states:

The colonial period can be interpreted as a significant period in New Zealand's education system that possibly ignited the beginning of the wave of deficit theorising regarding Māori students' ability to succeed in life (p. 8).

During the nineteenth century, the effects of European colonisation, and the social and educational ideas earlier colonists brought with them, severely impacted on the educational and wider social experiences of the Indigenous Māori (Bishop, 2003; UNESCO, 1972). Barrington (2008a) and Simon and Smith (2001) are of the view that the educational reforms in New Zealand from 1860 to 1960 had an impact on Māori educational achievement and Māori outcomes. Similarly, Marie et al. (2008) state that, because of colonisation, the education system failed to acknowledge and cater for Māori, who had been educated in culturally inappropriate learning environments. The unsettling conditions during and after the Land Wars of the 1860s led to the demise of the mission schools and the Native Schools Act 1867 accelerated their expiration, due to the loss of support for the mission school system (Moorfield & Johnston, 2004).

Development of compulsory education in New Zealand

Native Schools

In the first 70 years, the native school system delivered only primary education and later in 1880 scholarships were offered for the most proficient Māori students for secondary schooling at church run boarding schools for two years (Walker, 2016). The earliest period of Western education development for Māori was a period of colonial thinking, that believed the best way forward for Māori was to give up their language, knowledge, and culture for the superior ways of Pākehā (Doherty, 2009). The settler government used schooling of Māori as a means of

social control and assimilation, including enforcing of British law on them (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999b). These types of schools were used to diminish and replace traditional Māori culture with European concepts and values (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999b). *The Native Schools Act 1858 outlined that schools funded by the Act must include:*

Instruction in the English language and in the ordinary subjects of primary English education and industrial training, shall form a necessary part of the system (section ix, p. 409).

Furthermore, Dr Paul Christoffel suggests as there was no clear prescribing of the language to be adopted in schools and the perception that little English was taught in mission schools was identified as one explanation for placing stricter English language provisions in the Native Schools Act 1867 (Waitangi Tribunal 2011c). In turn, the Native Schools Act 1867 placed disadvantaged on schools as outlined below:

No school shall receive any grants unless it is shown to the satisfaction of the Colonial Secretary by the report of the inspector or otherwise as the Colonial Secretary shall think fit that the English language and the ordinary subjects of primary English education are taught by a competent teacher and that the instruction is carried on in the English language as far as practicable (section 21, p. 471).

The Native Schools Act 1867 established the national system of village primary schools under the control of the Native Department (Lee & Lee, 1995). This act was heavily influenced by racist perspectives as noted above by school inspector, Henry Taylor (Hetaraka, 2019). Attempts by teachers and principals to turn Māori into Pākehā citizens spiralled a wave of deficit theorising of Māori student's potential to succeed (Simon & Smith, 2001). Following instructions from the Secretary of State for Colonies, Lord Edward Stanley, Governor George Grey was firmly of the belief that New Zealand should become a politically unified colony, rather than a loose federation of racial and settler groups (Lee & Lee, 1995). State government policy on Māori education became assimilationists, the impetus was for the European culture to be imposed upon and adopted by Māori (Lee & Lee, 1995).

According to Lee and Lee (1995), Grey's education policy was directed towards the amalgamation of the two races, Māori and Pākehā, to create one society. The use of *te reo Māori* in schools was first legislated against in 1847 with the Education Ordinance, and later in the 1867 Native Schools Act which required schools to use solely English as language of instruction if they were to receive government funding (Lee & Lee 1995). Ka'ai (2017) argues that the Education Ordinance Act provided the foundational base for education in New Zealand that exclusively privilege Western ways of knowing through inclusion of religious education,

industrial training, and instruction in the English language. The Education Ordinance 1847 encouraged the establishment of more industrial training boarding schools (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011), supported the missionary work amongst Māori, which was to expediently place their children in boarding, rather than day mission schools; removing them from their traditional villages (Lee & Lee, 1995; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999b).

Māori experienced much institutional discrimination and personal racism in mainstream schooling and is reflected in the extent to which Māori participated in the establishment of the 1867 Native Schools Act (Barrington, 2008b). *Barrington (2008b) states:*

Māori had to request a school in writing, gift a piece of their land to the Crown for a school site, and provide a share of the teacher's salary and the cost of the buildings (p. 15).

Native schools were often located in isolated rural Māori communities where Māori was the main language, but all the teachers were Pākehā (Walker, 2015). In 1871, an amendment was made to the Native Schools Act, which relaxed some of the provisions of the 1867 Act (Lee & Lee, 1995). These provisions meant that Māori communities no longer had to provide money for buildings and salaries. However, the governor of the time required the native villages to gift land for a school site and the Department of Native Affairs would meet the other reasonable costs such as teachers' salaries (Lee & Lee, 1995). Evidence of Māori discontent with the European provided schools centred on the severe discipline of Māori students who were whipped by their headmaster and undertook hard manual labour as punishment for being absent from school (Lee & Lee, 1995). Additionally, regulations requiring Māori children to attend school were not introduced until 1894, which reflected the low expectations held by the Crown and teachers of this period (Barrington, 2008b).

The Native Schools Code 1880 was prepared by the first inspector, James Pope and laid the foundations for how schools were to operate (Simon, 2000). As highlighted by Pope, the role of the Native Schools was:

...to bring to an untutored but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with our civilisation and by placing in Māori settlements European school buildings and European families as teachers, especially as exemplars of a new and more desirable model of life.

(AJHR, E-2: 16 as cited in Simon, 2000, p.49)

This act ratified that the assimilation policy was to continue to have priority in the schooling of Māori. Furthermore, the Māori population was struggling due to severe epidemics and spread

of diseases and schooling only served instead to reinforce their subordinate status in their own lands (Simon, 2000).

The Provincial Schools

For the first twelve years since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi as a Crown colony was politically controlled by Great Britain (Simon, 2000). In 1852 under the Constitution Act, the country was divided into six provinces (Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury and Otago) each with its own council who gradually took control of the running of schools and responsibility for education (Simon, 2000; UNESCO, 1972). Most of these provinces relied heavily on endowments and taxes from those living in the early colonial settlements to provide for education services to children (UNESCO, 1972). Education was rather left to the provinces to implement and was solely secular in nature (Simon, 2000; UNESCO, 1972). An example of this is seen in the Common Schools Act 1855 which enacted instruction in public schools be strictly secular in the Wellington Province (UNESCO, 1972).

The Nelson Province became a model for other provinces, where they collected taxes for education and made grants to denominational schools (Simon, 2000). Nelson was settled mostly by English colonists and the early years were of great hardship as funding was not available until 1857 from the education reserves (UNESCO, 1972). Otago and Canterbury provinces had been settled under religious auspices by Presbyterians and later by Anglicans (Simon, 2000). The Otago system reflected its Scottish heritage and decreed that secular instruction should be made accessible to all children of religious denominations (Simon, 2000). By 1876 in the Otago Province, there was a well organised schooling structure of primary, secondary, and higher education (UNESCO, 1972). In Canterbury, the provincial government made grants directly to the Heads of the Anglican, Wesleyan and Presbyterian churches; yet, in the Wellington and Auckland provinces schools most experienced financial difficulties, and only the wealthy could afford schooling for their children (Simon, 2000).

Post-primary education in New Zealand: Māori mission boarding schools

The 1877 Education Act was the foundation for New Zealand's national state-run centralised primary schooling system (Hetaraka, 2019; Simon, 2000); yet it did not provide for a free state funded national secondary school's system (Manning, 2017). Additionally, Hetaraka (2019) argues that the Act also:

was not explicitly designed to provide equality of education for Māori and Pākehā children; the purpose of the act was to provide equitable education for wealthy and poor settler children (p. 160).

What Hetaraka (2019) highlights is the argument that by doing this allowed the progression for egalitarian ideals for Pākehā and a separate schooling system aimed through the Native Schools to control education for Māori, which in turn, led to Māori children becoming the underclass of that egalitarian society.

Under the Education Act 1877, the Department of Education was established to centralise schooling and be administered by 10 regional boards controlled by the Department of Education (Simon, 2000), while the Native schools were being phased out (Walker, 2016). However, Māori interest in wanting their own schools was prevalent, there was more Māori attending Board schools than Native schools in 1909 (Walker, 2016). Due to the increasing pressure to assimilate by Māori, many schools expected cultural surrender and denied the use of *te reo Māori* and culture (Walker, 2016). In light of this many Māori found school to be a site of resistance, an arena of cultural conflict, exacerbated by teachers encouraging students into manual labour and domestic service (Walker, 2016).

A major alteration occurred following the Secondary Schools Act 1903 which provided free secondary schooling to students passing proficiency certificates (Manning, 2017). The Education Department responded to establishing Native District High Schools located in rural Māori communities, controlled by the Department (Walker, 2016). The curriculum revolved around metalwork, home management, cookery, decorating and infant welfare for girls (Walker, 2016). No school certificate courses were included in these schools until 1945, Māori *whānau* requests to have the same access to School Certificate like other schools was adhered to by the government (Walker, 2016).

In most cases, only those who could afford secondary school attended (Manning, 2017), which was seen to limit entry into secondary education (Collins, 2003). However, the negative attitudes of official education policy makers and leaders continued to impact on Māori in the early years of formalising New Zealand's education system. This is highlighted by one of many incidences, where it is apparently obvious of the depth of institutional racism and unconscious bias attitudes of the Crown. *William Bird, Inspector of Native Schools, argued:*

...the whole idea of Māori education - to fit them for life amongst Māoris...
You are educating Māori boys and Māori girls for Māori people only, and not
to mingle with Europeans and compete with Europeans in trades and
commerce
(Royal Commission, 1906, p. 94).

Initially, Māori participation in secondary school was considerably low; those who progressed on typically attended secondary schools maintained by churches (Doherty, 2009). Boarding schools were established during the 1840s and 1850s to teach Māori youth outside their home

environment (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c). It was these types of church run schools that the government sought to subsidise once government money became available in the mid-1840s (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c). The Education Ordinance 1847 provided subsidies to church schools on the condition that they did not exceed one-twentieth of the revenue of the colony for each year (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c).

A network of church run boarding schools provided post primary education for Māori until 1940s (Ka'ai, 2020). Walker (2016) points out that church boarding schools were making the best out of the dismal outlook of schooling by designing their own curriculum. In the late 1800s, Te Aute College lead by the headmaster, John Thornton helped to prepare students for the matriculation exam to enable Māori to go to university (Walker, 2016). On most occasions, three to four students would pass and the vanguard of Māori graduates to come out of Te Aute were Apirana Ngata BA, LLB (1894), followed by Māui Pōmare MD (1899) and Te Rangihīroa (Peter) Buck MD (Walker, 2016). However, at the time there was much pressure by education officials to restrict the advancement of Māori in boarding schools and was made explicit in the 1906 report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Te Aute and Wanganui Collegiate School Trusts (Royal Commission, 1906). The oldest church-run boarding schools that started as mission schools, were St Stephen's School located in Bombay, South Auckland founded in 1844 by the Anglican Church; Wesley College founded in 1844 by the Methodist Church; and Te Aute College founded in 1854 in Te Hauke, Hawkes Bay by the Anglican Church (Ka'ai, 2020).

Additionally, sister schools for Māori girls were opened. Hukarere Māori Girls College (founded in 1857 in Napier) and Queen Victoria College (founded in 1901 in Auckland) were established by the Anglican Church (Ka'ai, 2020). Both Queen Victoria and Hukarere were sister schools to Te Aute and St Stephens (Ka'ai, 2020). These girls' schools were ideally set up to domesticate the girls for their future roles as mothers and housewives (Walker, 1990), while on the other hand, the boys were trained in agriculture and manual training, after changes in promoting Māori boys through the matriculation exams for entry into universities (Ka'ai, 2020). Ka'ai (2020) also noted other Māori church based boarding schools that followed included:

Waerenga-a-Hika College, Poverty Bay (Anglican 1856-1937); St Joseph's Māori Girls' School, Taradale, Napier (Catholic, 1867-current); Hikurangi College, Clareville, Wairapapa (Anglican, 1903-1932); Turakina Māori Girls' College, Marton (Presbyterian, 1905-2016); Otaki Māori College (Anglican, 1908-1938); Te Waipounamu Māori Girls' College, Christchurch (Anglican,

1909-1990); Hato Petera College, Auckland (Catholic, 1928-2018); and Hato Paora College, Fielding (Catholic, 1948-current) (p. 54-55).

Much of the Māori boarding and residential schools have resulted in dramatic changes and challenges over the years. The challenges have often involved the merging of two arms; the educational arm governed by the Boards of Trustees and funded by the government and the other arm being the residence of the students which is centrally governed and funded by the Church (Ka'ai, 2020). Other reasons for closure of schools related to natural disasters, such as fires for Hikurangi College in Clarendon and Waerenga-a-Hika College, financial issues, such as in the case of Ōtaki Māori College, or for performance related issues as in the case of Hato Petera in Auckland, despite their integration into the state schooling system (Ka'ai, 2020).

Participation in secondary schooling did not increase until 1941 where twelve native primary schools were extended to include secondary departments, forming the Māori district high schools (UNESCO, 1972). The inclusion of these secondary schools was intended to produce Māori elite who would return to their Māori communities and assist in the assimilative policies of the government (Simon & Smith, 2001). Two forms of secondary education existed, originally high school for students with academic tendencies and in 1905, technical high schools for students interested in pursuing manual types of employment (Simon, 2000). The staple of the new curriculum was based on a report provided in 1941 by Thomas Fletcher, Inspector of the Native Schools, identifying homemaking, building, furniture-making, cooking, child-rearing which further limited opportunities for Māori, particularly, those who attended Native District Secondary Schools (Hokowhitu, 2004). By 1944 the secondary school leaving age was raised to 15 years, ensuring compulsory secondary education for all (UNESCO, 1972).

By 1944, the Thomas Report highlighted recommendations for changes to New Zealand education and remained until the 1990s (Doherty, 2009). This report acknowledged the need to establish a common, core and free secondary curriculum for all (Collins, 2003). The report introduced School Certificate, a set of examinations sat at the end of the Fifth Form year; and the abolishment of Matriculation, replacing it with University Entrance, a set of examinations sat at end of the Sixth Form year (Collins, 2003).

The move to monolingualism in education

The massive use of English in mainstream schools over the last 150 years has hugely impacted on the use of *te reo Māori* by Māori children in their families and in mainstream

schools (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The move to monolingualism in education was further exacerbated by the movement of many Māori to urban centres from their rural homelands. Māori had become demystified with missionary schooling and began to move their children from missionary schools (Simon, 2000); and wanted their children to become bilingual, not for the English language to replace the Māori language and be the only language for instruction (Doherty, 2009). Urbanisation was a period which rapidly eroded at the Māori *whānau* kinship model. The changing nature of Māori language use in the family and within their homes can be seen in the plight of the survival of the language (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986a).

One of the greatest difficulties for a Maori teacher was confronting the attitudes of those in authority and being compulsorily part of a education system designed to treat one as Pākehā (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). Māori children were receiving a part, sometimes quite a small part, of their education through Māori (Benton & Benton, 2001). Another major problem of mainstream schools is if the teacher is monocultural then the class learning programme reflects this (Benton & Benton, 2001).

The impact of World War I and II and Urbanisation

During the First World War, 2227 men of Māori ethnic identity served as soldiers in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) (Gould, 2013). A significant contingent of native speaking Māori men fought in both World Wars I and II (Ka'ai, 2017). Many Māori men did not return which dramatically changed the intergenerational transmission of the Māori language (Ka'ai, 2017). Following Post World War II economic climate forced previously rural, isolated communities to become urbanised (Barr & Seals, 2018). This urbanisation in conjunction with the assimilationist policies in education, saw a decline of the Māori language over the course of the twentieth century (Benton & Benton, 2001; Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2011; May, 2012), thus eventually impacting on the use of the language in Māori homes where native speakers were reluctant to transmit their knowledge onto their children and therefore chose to only speak English (Ka'ai, 2020).

As the demand for employment in the rural communities outgrew the supply of work, more emphasis was placed on formal education to guarantee employment (Doherty, 2009). During the 1950s to the 1970s a great migration of Māori, including Ngāti Awa move away from the regions to urban centres for employment (Harvey, 2018; Ka'ai, 2020; Mather, 2014). Urbanisation meant that large numbers of young Māori families relocated to state housing schemes located in places like Otara and Porirua (Hokowhitu, 2004). During the 1980s the shift in Māori population is now being seen in urban centres (Benton & Benton, 2001).

Legislation, reports, and policies that have shaped a new direction for the revitalisation of te reo Māori in mainstream schools

Several key legislative acts, reports and policies have shaped the way education and society supports Māori language and the use of *mātauranga Māori*. This is identified in the following summaries relating to details of the Māori Language Act 1987, Ko Aotearoa Tēnei - Wai 262 Report, Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016 (Māori Language Act 2016), and Ka Hikitia Accelerating Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2013 - 2017 (Ministry of Education, 2013b).

The Māori Language Act 1987

Inherent within the Te Tiriti o Waitangi is the clause that protects the Māori language (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). *Te reo Māori* is a *taonga* which the Crown is obliged to recognise as it is an essential part of Māori culture and is regarded as a valued possession (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). The guarantee acknowledges that the Crown is required to take active steps to ensure that Māori have and retain the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their language and culture (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). In the Waitangi Tribunal Report, Professor Hirini Mead is of the view that in Article II of the Treaty of Waitangi, the phrase, “o ratou taonga katoa...” covers both tangible and intangible things and can best be translated by the expression ...all their valued customs and possessions” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 20).

Examples provided by the claimants acknowledge the following breaches in acts contradicts the principles contained within the Treaty of Waitangi (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986):

The Māori Affairs Act 1953 (s. 77A), the Broadcasting Act 1976, the Education Act 1964, the Health Act 1956 and the Hospitals Act 1957 and broadcasting and educational policies are inconsistent with the principles of the Treaty and as a result (the claimants) are prejudiced in that they and other Māori are not able to have the Māori language spoken, heard, taught, learnt, broadcast or otherwise used for all purposes and in particular in Parliament, the Courts, Government Departments and local bodies and in all other spheres of New Zealand society including hospitals (p. 19).

The Waitangi Tribunal Te Reo Māori Report (1986) noted that many people would have found it difficult when they had to go onto their *marae* because they could not understand what had been said in *te reo Māori* and then having to respond to the discussion in English. The report predicted that a growing trend would see more Māori becoming reinvigorated to learn their genealogies and return to visit the *marae* of their ancestors as part of rebuilding their *mana*. Over time, progress has seen the implementation of Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016 (Māori Language Act 2016).

Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016

The Māori Language Act 1987 was replaced with Te Ture mō Te Reo Māori 2016 (Māori Language Act 2016). The Act acknowledges that the Māori language is an official language of New Zealand. A point of difference is the Crown makes a conscious effort in partnership to work with *iwi* and Māori to protect and promote the Māori language for future generations as part of the Maihi Karauna, the Crown's draft strategy for Māori language revitalisation 2019 – 2023 (Te Mātāwai, n.d.; Te Puini Kōkiri, n.d.-a; Te Taura Whiri, n.d.-a). *Iwi* will drive language revitalisation at a local level, with the Crown focusing its efforts on national issues. Te Mātāwai was established to provide leadership on behalf of *iwi* and Māori, and to support and influence the Crown's initiatives. The previous 1987 Act gave people rights to use *te reo Māori* and it also made *te reo Māori* an official language but did not make a specific Crown commitment to revitalisation (Te Taura Whiri, n.d.-a).

Ko Aotearoa Tēnei-Wai 262 report (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011a, 2011b)

Ko Aotearoa Tēnei (This is Aotearoa) is the first Waitangi Tribunal whole-of-government report, addressing the work of 20 Government departments and agencies (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011a, 2011b). The report called for evolvement of the Crown-Māori relationship to move beyond grievance to a new era based on partnership. The report acknowledges that current laws and government policies negate the ideal of partnership and reinforce the marginalisation of Māori and allow others to control key aspects of Māori culture (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011a, 2011b). Of particular interest, has been how contemporary issues arising from historical actions such as the loss of tribal land, Crown suppression of the Māori language, knowledge and culture through the New Zealand education system and laws such as the Tohunga Suppression 1907 Act have had a detrimental effect on educational outcomes for Māori students including exacerbating *te reo Māori* language loss within and across generations of *whānau* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011a, 2011b). According to Skerrett (2012), the WAI 262 report documents the need to work towards designing different models of bilingual education for *te reo Māori*, and the decline of Māori children in early childhood and in Māori medium education.

Tau Mai Te Reo: The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013-2017

The current government policy for *te reo Māori* in educational contexts in New Zealand is Tau Mai Te Reo: The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013–2017 (Ministry of Education, 2013c) (henceforth referred to as Tau Mai Te Reo). The goal of Tau Mai Te Reo is to promote *te reo Māori* success through:

Delivering strong coordinated effort and investment... [by] work with and for *iwi*, communities and Māori language providers to support Māori

language in education...support Māori language in the English medium sector... build the evidence base for Māori language and *mātauranga Māori*...increase accountability for Māori language in education (Ministry of Education, 2013c, p. 5).

The educational focus of Tau Mai Te Reo is particularly relevant for this study, as it aims to increase funding for instruction, resources, and promotion of *te reo Māori* in English-medium schools (Barr & Seals, 2018).

Education in tribunal reports

As part of a report provided by Dr Paul Christoffel for the Waitangi Tribunal's Te Rohe Potae inquiry (WAI 898) (Waitangi Tribunal 2011c), he found several Waitangi Tribunal Reports had highlighted education issues which had been addressed in some way by the Waitangi Tribunal (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c). The Te Reo Māori Report 1986 dealt briefly with education and the report urgently called for an inquiry into the way Māori language and culture was taught in schools (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986 & 2011c). The intent, of the report affirmed and endorsed that equality of outcome as a Treaty right. *Furthermore, the report noted:*

The education system has operated unsuccessfully because too many Māori children are not reaching an acceptable standard of education. For some reason they do not or cannot take full advantage of it. Their language is not adequately protected and their scholastic achievements full short of what they should be. The promises in the Treaty of Waitangi of equality in education as in all other human rights are undeniable. Judged by the system's own standards Māori children are not being successfully taught, and for this reason alone, quite apart from a duty to protect the Māori language, the education system is being operated in breach of the Treaty (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986, p. 38).

The Te Reo Tribunal heard of evidence on official attitudes towards the use of Māori language in schools, including the New Zealand Correspondence School (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986). It summarised that for the first quarter of this century Māori children were forbidden to speak Māori in schools, including in the playground, and were punished for doing so (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986).

In the 2004 Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report the claimant argued poor education outcomes for Māori were a related consequence of Crown Treaty breaches related to loss of land as a result of material poverty (Waitangi Tribunal, 2004). *Ngāti Pahauwera third statement of claim noted:*

As a consequence of their land loss, Ngāti Pahauwera have been left with insufficient land for their present needs have suffered the destruction or erosion of their economic base, social patterns and traditional leadership

structures; have been prevented from developing or hampered in the development of, their remaining land and resources; have suffered from unemployment and other adverse consequences to their health, welfare and education; and finally, have suffered a loss of *mana*

(Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, p. 674-675).

The Tribunal alluded to the fact that based on the evidence available there are immense difficulties in:

Establishing a direct causal relationship between, on the one hand, land loss and, on the other, poverty, social dislocation, poor health, and low educational attainment. However, there is, ipso facto, a connection between land loss and poverty in cases where insufficient land has been retained for subsistence and insufficient income is available from intermittent part-time work to make up the deficit

(Waitangi Tribunal, 2004, p. 679).

The Wananga Capital Establishment Report contained a brief historical account of Māori education since 1840, premised on evidence provided by research fellow, Dr Judith Simon (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999b). Due to insufficient time in an urgent inquiry, the Tribunal accepted the argument that central to the native school's philosophy was the limitation of the curriculum, a major emphasis on manual and domestic training for Maori, designed to restrict Māori to manual labour (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999b). Of significance, Dr Judith Simon acknowledges the unconscious bias and discrimination that existed within the education system in the following quote:

William Watson Bird, the Inspector of Native Schools, who declared that the purpose of Māori education was to prepare Māori for life amongst Māori, not to encourage them to mingle with Europeans in trade and commerce

(Waitangi Tribunal, 1999b, p. 7).

The Hauraki Report Volume III provided wider coverage to education (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006). Several issues raised by the claimants noted the serious wrongdoings of the state related to donating of land to enable a native school to be established, then the school later had been turned into a board (general) school (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006). *The Tribunal commented that if a general school was built on Māori-donated land, or the land reverted to other uses:*

The Māori donors of the land should be compensated for that land, and that if the land ceases to be used for a school or other public purpose it should be returned to the donors: without cost, if no compensation has been paid meanwhile (Waitangi Tribunal, 2006, p. 1195).

Other areas of concern noted by the Tribunal included the underserving of rural school children for secondary education in rural communities, particularly in the pre-World War II period; and the discouragement from using *te reo Māori* at school, which they did not think was a primary reason for the decline and use of the language. No recommendations on this last issue was given as it had already been canvassed in the *1986 Te Reo Māori report* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c).

The Te Tau Ihu Report 2008 on northern South Island claims briefly noted education concerns, as part of an overview of socio-economic issues (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c). Key issues identified by Dr John Barrington were the use of the 'tenths' reserve fund to partially fund native schools for capitation and school medical supplies in Whangarae and Okoha in the district (Waitangi Tribunal, 2008).

The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report was released, and contained a wide coverage on education, primarily on specific local issues (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Reflecting on the past in the Wairarapa ki Report has highlighted the traumagenic circumstances Māori students and their *whānau* lived in. A deep entrenchment of discrimination existed in the education system and the perpetuating of unconscious bias by educators, leaders and policymakers towards Māori students, their *whānau* and communities. Background provided on Māori education in an 1862 education report speaks to the inherent discrimination, and the cultural assimilation of Māori into the Native schooling system. This Pākehā attitude was reflective of the nineteenth century and is best illustrated by a quote from Inspector of Schools, Henry Taylor:

I do not advocate for the natives under present circumstances a refined education or high mental culture; it would be inconsistent if we take account of the position they are likely to hold for many years to come in the social scale, and inappropriate if we remember that they are better calculated by nature to get their living by manual rather than mental labour
(Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 294).

Issues were associated with teachers being paid less than those at general schools, native school committees had limited powers, and the differential treatment not required of Pākehā to establish schools, such as the gifting of land and money needed for teachers' salaries and upkeep of the school (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010 & 2011c). The Wairarapa ki Tararua Tribunal accepted and repeated the perspective presented that the native schools and church run boarding schools presented concerted issues for the schooling of Māori children in the English language and had a limited curriculum (Waitangi Tribunal, 2010). Furthermore, the limitation of the curriculum was:

Designed to restrict Māori to working class employment
(Waitangi Tribunal, 2010, p. 296).

Māori language legislation and Māori education strategy

New Zealand mainstream schools are in fact key community and neighborhood hubs that are subject to a degree of community influence and control (Benton & Benton, 2001). In mainstream New Zealand schools, monolingual bias is the norm; *te reo Māori* is on the decline within the region of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. Monolingual bias is described where English as a language is used more than other languages (Statistics New Zealand, 2020a; Statistics New Zealand, 2020b). There is a discrepancy with the Tūwharetoa census data as it does not differentiate with the Kawerau group. However, this data clearly shows significant declining levels of speaking the language. A key fact presented in the WAI 11 case report featured the decline of *te reo Māori* amongst school children. In 1913, 90% of Māori school children could speak *te reo Māori* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986a, 1986b). Forty years later, this percentage had dropped to 26%. Then twenty years following that, in 1975 the percentage dropped to 5%. These figures show how education policy had been effective in shaping how students heard English predominantly, around them (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986a, 1986b).

Public policy has been slow to keep up with the pace of change and work with ground root movements in regeneration of *te reo Māori* (Māori Language Act 2016; Skerret, 2012). The 1970s renaissance movement was carried by Māori communities and there had been a lack of support from the government to support language development and investment into well qualified teacher supply for *te reo Māori* (Skerret, 2012). Educational institutions that promoted Māori language zones were typically in kura kaupapa and kōhanga reo (Māori medium pre-school) (Te Taura Whiri, 1995 as cited in Benton & Benton, 2001). In the New Zealand school context, sensitivity toward Māori culture, especially language, has been considered important since the mid-1970s and more recently in the 21st century school setting (Doerr, 2009; Ministry of Education, 2013c).

In 2007, the New Zealand Curriculum produced guidelines to support teaching and learning of *te reo Māori* in schools (Ministry of Education, 2013c). Inherent, within the Education Act 1989 (section 6) 3(ii):

All schools must provide Māori language programmes to learners if parents request it, and state how this is to be provided in their school charter
(Ministry of Education, 2013c: p. 9).

Te reo Māori development across the education sector and in schools is considered a key element of the New Zealand government's Māori language revitalisation strategy, *Tau mai te reo* (Ministry of Education 2013c) and for lifting Māori students' participation in education, described within the *Ka Hikitia* document (Ministry of Education, 2013b; Hill, 2017). Yet, in 2010, 90% of Māori learners⁴⁶ were in English medium (EM) education settings, but the Ministry of Education acknowledged Māori medium (MM) education settings provided better options for Māori students to achieve educational success as Māori and higher proficiency levels in *te reo Māori* (Ministry of Education, 2013c). Despite, this important emphasis placed on implementing these programmes in mainstream schools, it is not evident how well EM (mainstream) schools attempt to move from theory into practice through shifts in teachers attitudes and schools' practices that uphold *te reo Māori* as a *taonga*, according to Article two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Characteristics of level 2 MM programmes (60% Māori and 40% English delivery) today, most students do not have Māori speaking homes, and for many students, school is the first place they are exposed to Māori language (Hill, 2017). These types of MM programmes are located within larger English medium state schools, and like most MM programmes are staffed by generations of teachers who are second language learners of *te reo Māori* (Hill, 2017). This poses significant challenges for raising the proficiency of Māori speaking students because they are minority group at school, surrounded by English speaking students and teachers who themselves are not expert *te reo Māori* speakers. Earlier studies indicated that for some Māori parents their only available choice is to send their children to these types of MME Level 2 primary schools (Benton & Benton, 2001).

Recent developments in education policy saw the introduction of *Ka Hikitia - Managing for Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2008 - 2012* (Ministry of Education, 2008) and *Ka Hikitia - Accelerating Success: The Māori Education Strategy 2013 - 2017* (Ministry of Education, 2013b). These two policies place impetus on policy makers and educators needing to transform (as culturally responsive educators) and become better partners with *whānau* and Māori communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. This requires a system level shift in partnerships between Māori and the Crown. Skerett (2012) argues policymakers and educators need to be ready to make these shifts and not remain leaden footed. This leaves immediate thoughts for mainstream schooling to consider in making a system levels shift, that actions the intentions inherent within the current Māori education and Māori language strategy (Ministry of Education, 2013b & 2013c).

⁴⁶ 153,000 students in EM settings (Ministry of Education, 2013c, p. 9)

In Appendix 4, table five outlines a timeline of the major policy decisions and developments in the advancement of education for Māori, documented from 1816 – 2020. Several resources have contributed to this timeline.

Summary

This chapter provides an insight into some of the prominent issues for Māori engaging in New Zealand's mainstream schooling system, the breakdown in the *whānau* kinship model and the breakdown in the intergenerational transmission of Māori language, culture and knowledge across generations from colonisation and the dominant hegemonic nature of education. Successive education policies and legislation has had a detrimental impact on schooling for Māori, in terms of the disparities that exist between Māori and non-Māori students. Today, the 21st century mainstream schooling system is attempting to play catch up with Māori in education by revising of Māori education and language strategies. There is a deep sense of urgency within the education sector that much more research is needed that reflects a *whānau* voice on what counts as educational success for Māori in education and how might this look like in practice in mainstream primary schools. The following chapter presents the two *iwi* who are central to the research, outlining their origins and stories that shape who they are now.

Chapter Three: Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa

Introduction

This chapter introduces the tribes of Ngāti Awa (NA) and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau (TKK) and the region they occupy. It describes who they are and how both are central to this study. Their origins and historical backgrounds as tribes are given. The tribal narratives used in this thesis are located in Waitangi Tribunal reports, and from supporting documentation and evidence given by *kaumātua*. The researcher explores the connections and the intricacies that bind and strengthen the relationship between both *iwi*, who sit alongside each other's boundaries as close neighbours. This chapter also introduces the towns of Te Teko and Kawerau, my primary *hapū* (Ngā Maihi), and narratives that links me through *whakapapa* and *toto* to both *iwi*.

Oral Narrative[s]

This research draws upon various *pūrākau*, and *whakataukī* throughout the thesis which are commonly referred to by *kaumātua* of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa to describe concepts of significance for the benefit of the retention of *mātauranga* handed down from one generation to the next generation. The use of *pūrākau*, and *whakataukī* also contains significant messages to help *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* navigate their pathways into the future. The following *pūrākau* is from a Ngāti Awa perspective and speak to the arrival of the *kūmara* (sweet potato) to the Whakatāne area. For Ngāti Tūwharetoa, the use of *kūmara* was plentiful prior to colonisation. Te Onepū was a well-known area for the growing of *kūmara* and along the banks of the Rangitāiki river, surrounding Kawerau.

Hoaki and Tukata, sons of Rongoatau of Hawaiki went in search of their sister, Kaniora and her husband Pou-ranga-hua, on their mode of transport, *Tūtara-kauika* (mode of transport, the Right Whale). They were found washed on the shore at *Kākahoroa* (the original name of Whakatāne) by Kura-whakaata, the daughter of Chief Tama-ki-hikurangi. The brothers were taken to Kaputerangi (Tapu-te-rangi) *Pā* (fortified village, fort), near Whakatāne and were shown hospitality by Te Hapū-oneone, the descendants of Toi. Hoaki and Taukata introduced *kūmara* to the inhabitants of Kaputerangi *Pā*, who were so impressed with this new food. Te Aratāwhao, the *waka*, was built by Taukata and Hoaki to enable their return journey to Hawaiki. Te-Hapū-Oneone who accompanied him, returned to Kākahoroa with Toroa on *Mātaatua*, bringing seed *kūmara* and baskets of soil to establish the new crop in gardens at Matirerau, Wairaka (Evans, 1997).

The origins of Ngāti Awa

According to oral histories and traditions, Ngāti Awa settled along the coastline of the Eastern Bay of Plenty and intermarried with the early inhabitants and later migrants in the district. The people of Ngāti Awa are the descendants of Awanui-a-rangi⁴⁷. Awanui-a-rangi also known as Awa lived in Aotearoa New Zealand before the last migrating wave. Awa was the son of Toi-kai-rakau⁴⁸, who was a descendant of an earlier inhabitant, Tiwakawaka⁴⁹. When the Mataatua⁵⁰ waka arrived in the district, the people in this part of the Bay of Plenty were known as Te Tini-a-Toi (the many descendants of Toi) and were divided into 18 groups or *hapū*, of which Ngāti Awa was one (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). The descendants of Toi and Whatonga⁵¹ had spread through the country, even down to the South Island. *According to the Waitangi Tribunal* (1999a):

The section known as Ngāti Awa likewise spread to many parts, sometimes retaining the ancestral name of Awa, sometimes merging into existing *hapū*. In local tradition, Te Atiawa of Taranaki, and also now of Wellington and the northern South Island, are part of the same group, Te Atiawa being a variation of the same name

(Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a, p. 14).

The Mataatua waka crew intermarried with Te Tini-a-Toi and Ngāti Awa to form other *hapū* of Ngāi Tūhoe⁵², Ngāti Awa and Whakatōhea⁵³. The *waka* made numerous trips away from the Bay of Plenty to Northland where some members of the *waka* settled, including Puhi⁵⁴ (from whom Ngā Puhi the tribe are known), and these people are also connected to the Mataatua *hapū* of the Bay of Plenty (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). Toroa, was the captain of the Mataatua waka and a brother to Puhi. He settled at Whakatāne (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). My Koro lives in the same spot where the two brothers fought over the Mataatua waka, before Puhi took the *waka* and headed to Northland. Ngāti Awa have left their footprints in many parts of New Zealand. In earlier days Ngāti Awa occupied the Northern regions around Kaitia, Ahipara, and Lake Tangonge (now drained). There are several burial caves in the Northland region that are associated to Ngāti Awa (Harvey, 2018).

⁴⁷ Awanui-a-rangi was an ancestor of Ngāti Awa and people. He is a descendant of Toroa, captain of the Mataatua waka.

⁴⁸ Original ancestor of the tribes of the East Coast of the North Island. The descendants of Toi-kai-rakau are known as Te-Tini-o-Toi (Source: <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-SmiHist-t1-body1-d4.html>).

⁴⁹ Tiwakawaka was the first to settle the land around Kakahoroa (Source: <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2005/0028/1.0/DLM340416.html>).

⁵⁰ Mataatua landed at Whakatāne and received its name after the landmark incident of Wairaka saving the canoe.

⁵¹ A grandson of Toi-kai-rakau and a Māori navigator (Source: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/1966/whatonga>).

⁵² A neighbouring *iwi* who took their name from the ancestral figure, Tūhoe-pōtiki,

⁵³ Te Whakatōhea female ancestor Muriwai, was on board the Mataatua waka where the *iwi* narrative states she saved the waka at Whakatāne (Source: <http://www.whakatohea.co.nz/t299puna.html>).

⁵⁴ Puhi and Toroa fought over food resources and he took the canoe to Tākou Bay in the Northern Bay of Islands. He became an important ancestor of Ngā Puhi (Source: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/canoe-traditions/page-4>).

Ngāti Awa tradition acknowledges the people who settled before the arrival of the Mataatua waka (Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act 2005). Before Toroa arrived, his father, Irakewa⁵⁵ had already settled in the area (Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act 2005). Ngā Maihi of Te Teko and Te Tini-a-Awa are *hapū* who bear ancestral names that predated the arrival of the Mataatua waka (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). The area that Ngāti Awa reside in contains many historic and cultural sites of significance (Ngāti Awa Claims Settlements Act 2005). Of these significant landmarks is the home of Toi, Kaputerangi Pā⁵⁶ on the headland above Whakatāne (Ngāti Awa Claims Settlements Act 2005). Harvey (2018) states:

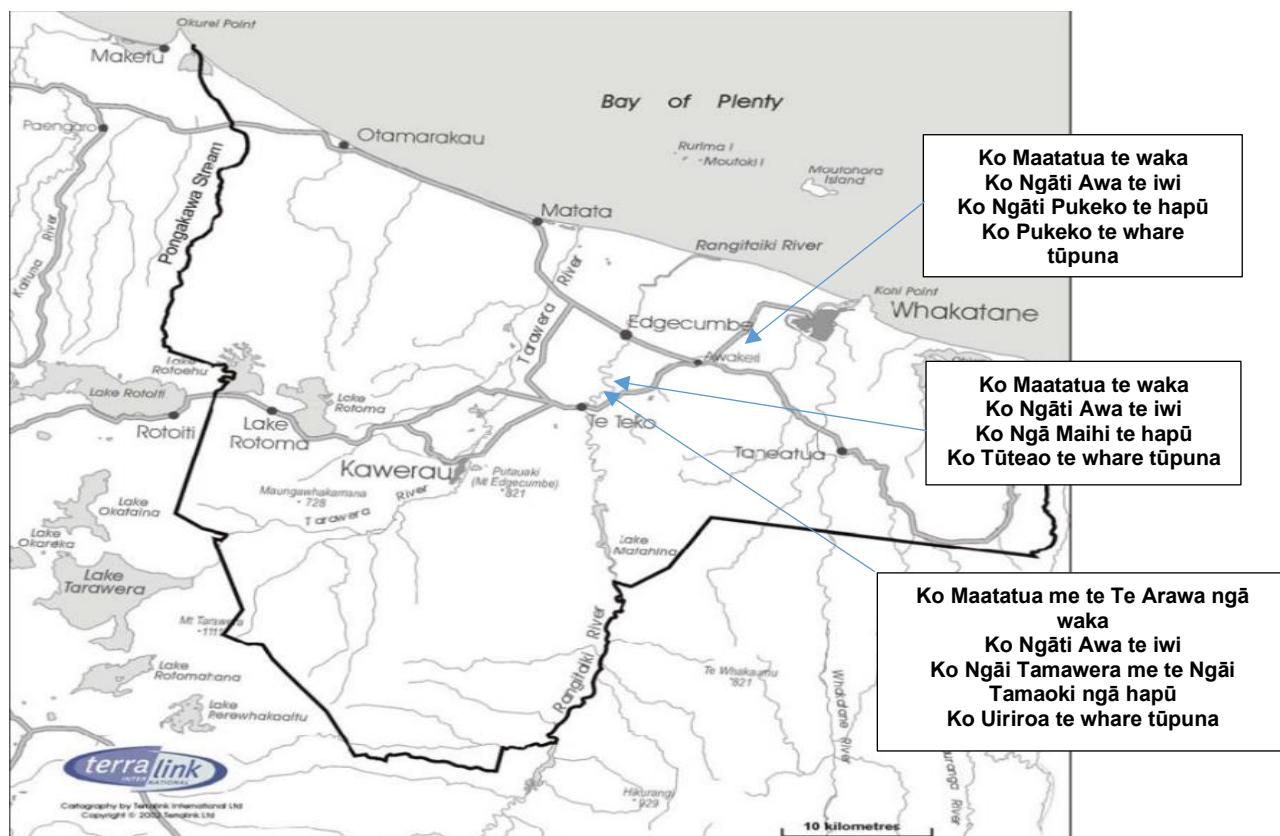
Ngāti Awa traditions are anchored in reference points, these being the three rivers of Rangitāiki, Whakatāne and Tarawera; and the three *maunga* (mountains); along with the tribal mountain, Pūtauaki; Te Rae o Koohi (Kohi Point headland) at Whakatāne and Whakapaukōrero at Matatā. They comprise the core foundations of Ngāti Awa identity (p. 42).

The research context – Setting in Ngāti Awa

The ancestral homeland of Ngāti Awa is located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. Pūtauaki is the ancestral mountain and is central to the identity of Ngāti Awa. The offshore islands of Mōtītī, Rūrima, Moutohorā (Whale), Whakaari (White) and Te Paepae o Aotea (formerly Volkner rocks), and other islands, islets or rocks adjacent to these islands are recognised as historical symbolic representations of Indigenous spaces of Ngāti Awa (Ngāti Awa Claims Settlements Act 2005). The map below gives a visual indication of the geographical location of Ngāti Awa. The genealogic material discussed in this thesis refers primarily to my principal *marae* of Tūteao in Ngāti Awa. Tūteao is located on the edge of the lower Rangitāiki River. Other ancestral connections are also acknowledged throughout the research (see the diagram below). The Rangitāiki river holds special historical and spiritual significance for all *hapū* situated along its bank (Ngāti Awa Claims Settlements Act 2005).

⁵⁵ Irakewa visited Kakahoroa (original name of Whakatāne from Hawaiki before the arrival of Mataatua waka. Irakewa told his son to look for three landmarks a cave, waterfall and Te Toka o Irekewa (Irakewa rock standing in the river) (Source: <https://www.whakatane.com/see-and-do/irakewa-rock>).

⁵⁶ A historic reserve that has cultural, spiritual, historical and traditional association with Ngāti Awa. This *pā* was located above Koohi point scenic reserve (Source: Ngāti Awa Claims Settlements Act 2005).



Map 1. Map of the Ngāti Awa area. Adapted from *Ngāti Awa area of interest from the Deed of Settlement* by Te Puni Kōkiri – Ministry of Māori Development, 2002 (<http://www.tkm.govt.nz/iwi/ngati-awa/> & <http://www.tkm.govt.nz/rohe/AOI-NgatiAwa.jpg>). Crown Copyright.

Early Te Teko history and *tangata whenua*

After the migration of the people on the Mataatua waka from the Pacific to the Bay of Plenty they established themselves along the coast and later gradually moved inland to settle (Moore, 1980). Descendants of these early people were known as Te Maranga-ranga. The aboriginal tribe, Te Maranga-ranga were principally located in the Rangitāiki valleys of Te Houhi and Te Whaiti (Moore, 1980). Te Maranga-ranga took up land in Te Teko and between 1400-1500 AD had become known as Ngāti Māhu. By 1600AD they had landed at Puketapu and were known then as Ngāti Maihi. In years to come this iwi took on the general name of Ngāti Awa (Moore, 1980).

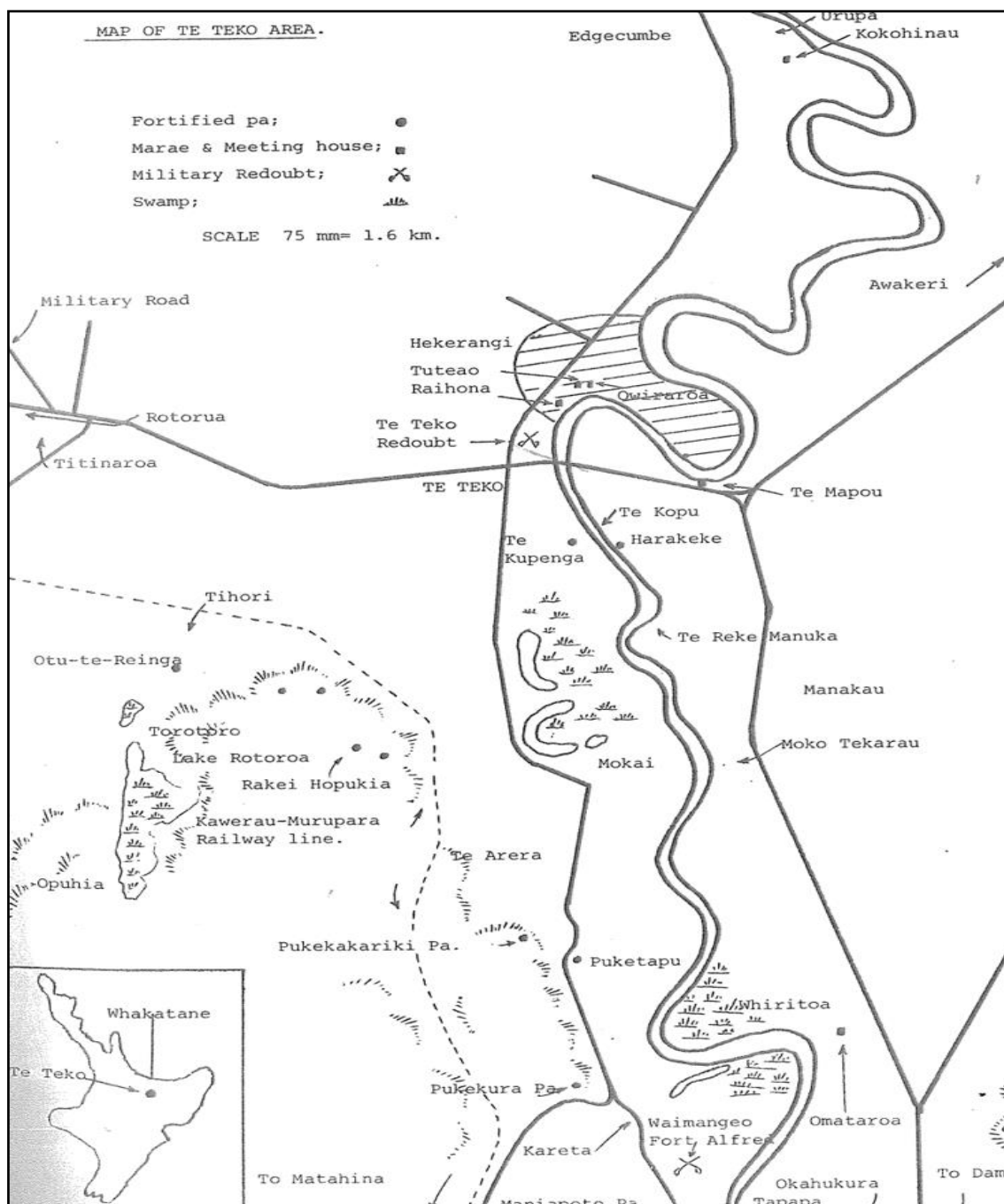
There have been a significant number of Ngāti Awa *rangatira* who have resided in the small village of Te Teko. For centuries, the fighting had existed between Ngāti Awa at Te Teko with Ngāi Tūhoe (Moore, 1980). During the 1600s, Tūteao was known to be an influential *rangatira* who lived at Matahina (Mead et al., 2017). In remembrance of this *rangatira*, Tūteao marae was established in Te Teko (Moore, 1980). During the early 1800s Tikitū (I) was a chief from Puketapu Pā. In 1818, Tikitū (I) took part in the battle of Okahukura Pā against Ngā Pūhi. Ngā

Puhi had brought muskets to raid the area. Tikitū (I) was also linked to numerous raids by Ngāti Awa on Ngāi Tūhoe. These raids contributed to the drawn-out war between these tribes and which resulted in the conquest of the upper Rangitāiki valley (Moore, 1980). Another prestigious *rangatira* known as Rangikawahea also lived at Puketapu Pā during these war times (Moore, 1980).

During 1834 peace was brokered by the Ngāti Awa chief, Hatua with Ngāi Tūhoe (Best, 1903; Moore, 1980). This important peace treaty was known as *Tatau pounamu* of Ohui (Best, 1903). Hatua conceived the peace treaty supposedly due to the depletion of the population within each tribe (Moore, 1980). Over a series of events Ngāi Tūhoe gathered with Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Pūkeko at Te Kupenga which also included the chief, Hatua and Te Rangitūkehu. Hātua and Te Rangitūkehu of Te Pahipoto section provided strong leadership during the wars of the 1860s and the turbulent aftermath (Moore, 1980). Rangitūkehu was the principal chief of the 1800s because of the work he did for his people. He was a direct descendant of Hatua and had in turn, invited the Warahoe and Ngāti Hamua to return to Te Teko (Moore, 1980). The Warahoe were given land in the Tuararangaia block east of the present Matahina Hydro Dam and Ngāti Hamua some 1500 acres at Matahina (Moore, 1980).

The battle of Te Kupenga a Taramainuku Pā

Te Kupenga village featured prominently in early Te Teko history and many missionaries visited the village (Moore, 1980). The *pā* is sometimes referred to as Te Teko Pā or Tikitū's Pā. During 1865 William Mair led the sanctioned invasion of government forces combined with Te Arawa reinforcements into the Rangitāiki area, to Ngāti Awa ki Uta, where the large fortified *pā*, Te Kupenga was situated in Te Teko (Moore, 1980). This battle was a result of the Crown taking prejudice actions against Ngāti Awa who they accused of being involved in the killing of Rev Carl Volkner and James Fulloon, a representative of the Crown (Ngāti Awa Claims Settlements Act 2005). There were 31 men implicated in these killings and 27 of these men were from Ngāti Awa (Davies, 2016; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). The Crown took immediate action and confiscated over 245,000 acres of land from Ngāti Awa for being rebels and were wrongly excluded from the awarding of lands during the confiscation period, which led to the destruction of customary ownership and further land alienation brought about by individualised title of land (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). In 2005, the Crown apologised for their wrongdoing related to this battle and Te Kupenga a Taramainuku Pā is acknowledged as a historical site for Ngāti Awa (Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act, 2005).



Map 2. Map of Te Teko and surrounding area. Adapted from *The tangata whenua: The early people of Te Teko* (p. 73), by K. Moore, 1980. Copyright unknown.

Te Teko the centre of the universe

The Rangitāiki river is a treasured *taonga* and resource for all who reside in Te Teko and for Ngāti Awa. In Schedule 11, under section 40 of the Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act 2005, *statutory acknowledgements by the Crown states:*

The traditions of Ngāti Awa illustrate the cultural, historical and spiritual association of Ngāti Awa to the Rangitāiki River. For Ngāti Awa, traditions such as these represent the links between the world of gods and present generations. These histories reinforce tribal identity, connection and continuity between generations and confirm the importance of the Rangitāiki River to Ngāti Awa...Traditionally, the Rangitāiki River and, in times past, the associated swamp area have been a source of food as well as a communication waterway. Te Marangaranga were one group that held primacy over the swamp during the pre-migration period. They were principally located in the Rangitāiki valleys of Te Houhi and Te Whaiti...Further inland along the river were the Ngāti Awa settlements of Te Kupenga and Te Teko (which remains one of the principal Ngāti Awa settlements along the river) (p. 131).

The following selected stories and events connected to Te Teko provide examples of this rich history and the precedence set by *tūpuna* of the days gone by (Moore, 1980; Ngāti Awa Claims Settlement Act 2005). In the following, Table six highlights significant cultural, historical, and spiritual landmarks and place names in the Te Teko District.

Table 6:
Significant cultural, historical, and spiritual landmarks in Te Teko

Te Teko	According the Elsdon Best the Ngāti Awa Pā once stood on the site of the present Te Teko Hotel. The name first appears in the 1860's and was derived from a large carving depicting the chief, Tu-Te-Ao
Rangitāiki	Rangitāiki means the finding of a skeleton. History notes that Hinurua drowned in the river, but the body was not recovered until some years later only the skeleton was found.
Military Road	Military Road was built by Captain Preece between 1872 and 1874. It was located near the junction of the main road heading to the north end of the Kawerau straight. The road leads off to the north, not too far from Grieves Road corner. It also angles off towards Otākiri. This section of the road was known as Johnsons Road which went to the edge of the Tarawera river. This area around Johnsons Road was known as Okauneke Swamp.
Kareta	This is referred by Major Mair as the site of Waimangeo Spring.
Waimangeo	Referred to as Waimangeo Soda Springs. It is located about 200 metres from where the metal Matahina road leaves the river flats past the golf links and heads into the hills. A farm road leads to the left where the spring is located
Moko-Tokorau or Te Tokorau	Flat lands that adjoined the river on its east side and are about one mile from Te Māpou.
Manakou	The name given to all the flat area from Te Māpou south towards the low Matahina foothills towards the dam and mainly on the east side of the road.
Redoubt	Te Kura o Te Teko is located on land that was once used as a military based. The redoubt was built by Captain Preece's men in 1870 and later rebuilt in 1874. This is where the No2 Arawa Flying Column were based.

Otipa	Once a Ngāti Hamua pā at the west side of the Matahina Dam. There once was a flour mill there in the 1860s.
Okahukura	A fern and scrub cover pā situated in the low hills, close to the river flats of the Matahina Dam.
Kaiwaka Pa Hekeheke Wi Ko Whewhe	These are all the areas and creeks between Te Teko and Matahina dam site. Here, the troops of Te Teko redoubt, when not engaged in military works were based and they undertook “public and useful works”.
Omataroa	Section of land located on the road south of Te Māpou towards the low hills.
Te Māpou	Is located on the east side of Te Teko bridge.
Harakeke	A small pā maioro (military mechanism based in a trench form used for defence), also an urupa located upstream from the Te Teko bridge. It sits opposite Te Kupenga. Once a hauhau site when Major Mair laid siege against Te Kupenga.
Te Kupenga	Located on the west bank of the river and about 300-400 metres south of Te Teko Hotel. This land was formerly owned by Mr Jamieson and parts of the old military redoubt buildings are incorporated in the present homestead. A large clump of cabbage trees and the back of the house marks a burial ground.
Te Kopu	Located just upstream from Te Teko river bridge and a little below Te Kupenga. The last port on the river for most canoe traffic.
Pu-Kakariki	A fern covered ridge pā at the south end of the golf links.
Puketapu	This sacred hill is situated on the riverside of the metal road past the golf links. At the top is a cemetery. This pā features much in the early Te Teko history. It was the scene of much bitter fighting about 1630AD.
Raihona or Ruaihono	Is the first marae past Te Kura o Teko. Ruaihona has direct connections with Te Arawa outside the Rotorua area.
Tu-Te-Ao	Is the second marae past Te Kura o Te Teko. The meeting house was named after the great tipuna who an ancestor chief of the Ngāti Mahu (Te Maranga-ranga). Tu-Te-Ao mainly lived at Matahina and was known for his grey head and face.
Uiraroa	Is the third marae past Te Kura o Te Teko and sits behind Tu-Te-Ao marae.
Kokohinau	Is the fourth marae past Te Kura o Te Teko. Originally the name was Okokohinau, meaning a dish of hinau berries. In 1867, the Reverend, T. S Grace noted how the pā was strongly fenced off. The pā was known for its large meeting house, Oruataupere.
Fort Clarke	This was where the No 2 Division Arawa forces under Captain Mair camped at Waione. Another name for Waione is Ohui. Waione was located seven miles south of Te Teko. The redoubt was located on a small hill on the west side of the present road.
Ohui or Waione	This place is associated with the Tatau-pounamu, the peace treaty between Tūhoe and Ngāti Awa. In 1836 peace was made between the two tribes.
Hekerangi and Shags landing	This is the sloping land north of the school running towards the river. Hekerangi urupa is located behind both Tūteao and Uiraroa Marae. Next to the urupa is an area of shrub, and plant life which was called Shags landing. Here the waka was once tied up next to the Rangitāiki river (Personal communication: Uncle Alf Morrison, 2018).
Ekope	In 1971 during an interview with the late Mrs Moerangi Ratahi, she gives this as the name for Edgecumbe.

Titinaroa	This place is situated at the north end of the Kawerau straight where it meets the Te Teko to Rotorua highway. Two explanations of the naming are provided by the Ngāti Tūwharetoa kuia, Waina Patakura and Mr Thomas Seccombe. Kuia Waina was an important resting place for people, and where several trails intersected. In an ancient oreore (lament) it is described at a raised platform for the dead before being taken to Pūtauaki for burial. Thomas Seccombe heard the Māori elders refer to the place as 'Te-Te-Nga-Roa', meaning a long haul. As it was known as the canoe portage between the Tarawera and Rangitāiki rivers. After 1886 Tarawera Eruption, the portage became more difficult to navigate as many of the swamps and waterways silted up.
Umuhika	In the early years was once a busy settlement, located some 5 to 6 miles south of Matatā and against the low hills of Braemar road. In the 1860s the settlement built a flax mill and then turned it into a flour mill was erected. The road there was formed by the Native Contingent stationed at Te Teko in 1873.

(Adapted from Moore, 1980).



*Image 4: Te Teko, Bay of Plenty: Mount Edgecumbe (Pūtauaki) in the background. From White Aviations collections, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. 1955.
Ref: WA -37383-F. <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23527614>*

The story of Te Teko

Te Teko is a sleepy little town nestled in between Kawerau and Whakatāne in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. For many *whānau*, Te Teko is 'the centre of the universe'. Te Teko is situated near the banks of the Rangitāiki river (Ngāti Awa Settlement Act 2005). Before the 1900s, Te Teko village consisted of McGarvey's hotel and store, the school, and the schoolhouse (Glen, 2006). McGarvey owned the land along the riverbank except for the school, from the Māori land of Hekerangi to Mokai and to about a half a kilometre west of what today is known as Edgecumbe and Tahuna Roads (Glen, 2006). During the early years there were around 8 to 10 *marae* and a few settlers who had allotments in the swampy plains (Glen, 2006). McGarvey ran the store alongside the hotel which provided hospitality and supplies for the settlers (Glen, 2006). At first the road from Rotorua to Whakatāne was rudimentary and was fully completed closer to the end of the nineteenth century (Glen, 2006).

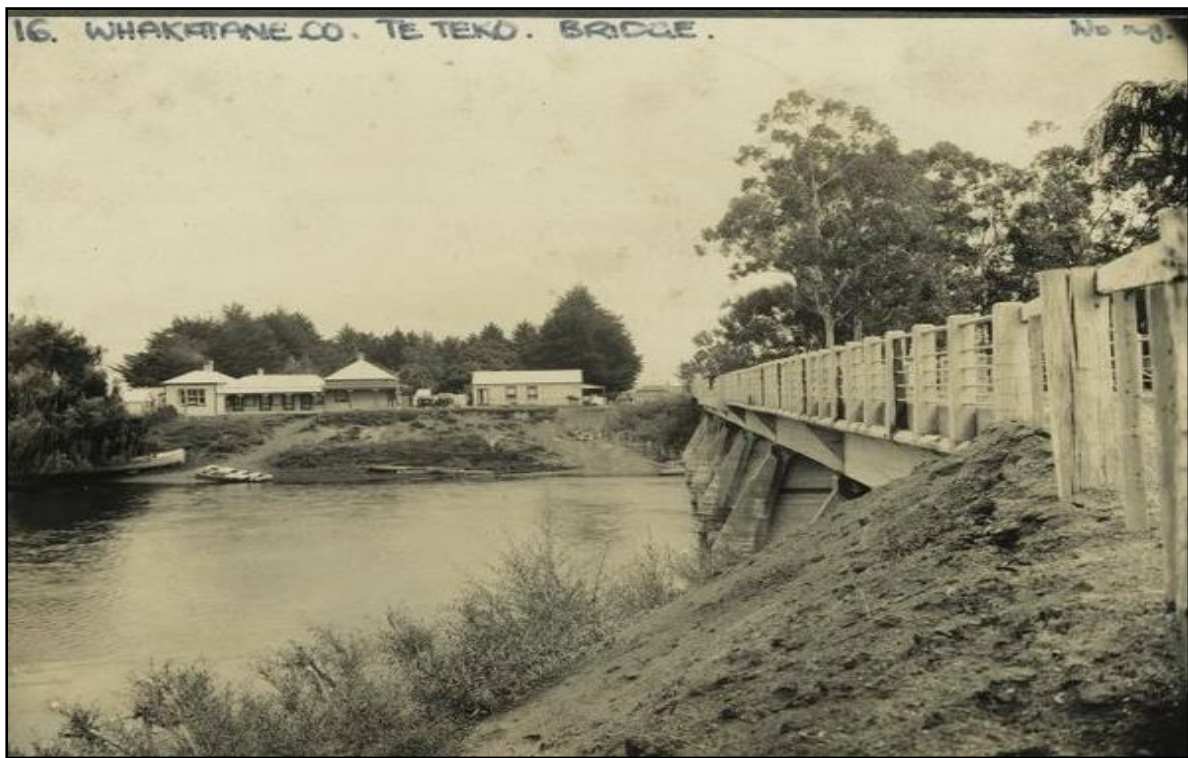


Image 5. Te Teko, Whakatane County: The construction of Te Teko Bridge. Photograph taken circa, 1920. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Ref: APG – 1045 – 1/2G. From National Library of New Zealand <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22534184>

Several elements contributed to the establishment of Te Teko Village. Firstly, the ballot of the land in the 1900s by the Government and the drainage of the land associated with the foothill run-off enabled more land to be used for in production (Glen, 2006). Next, the Rotorua Coaching Company made Te Teko a staging point for their service from Rotorua to Whakatāne

and subsequently, Thomas Seccombe's acquiring of land which forced him to subdivide what was to be established as Te Teko Village (Glen, 2006).

In the early 1900s the Government organised a ballot for land to the west of Te Teko. Thomas Seccombe's wife from Eden Grove Farm in Mount Eden (Auckland), applied and won the ballot for land by the junction of the Rotorua and Kawerau Roads. (Glen, 2006). As a result of this ballot, Seccombe took up his land and his son, Thomas Thorne Seccombe took land closer to the east of his parents (Glen, 2006). These properties were swampy and very prone to flooding due to the vicinity of the run-off from the hills and small lakes in the foothills of Pūtauaki (Glen, 2006).

The McGarvey and Seccombe families were major landowners in Te Teko. On 1 September 1911, William McGarvey leased a section of his land for ten years and six months to the Rotorua Motor Coaching Company. The company established a corrugated iron sheathed quarters for staff, stable hands, housed coaches, and the horses (Glen, 2006). The Rangitāiki River was at this time only able to be crossed at Te Teko and Thornton by punts and at most times the coaches and motor vehicles required the horses to pull them up the riverbank (Glen, 2006). On 14 June 1914, William McGarvey leased three acres with a right to purchase clause to Ewen Campbell Sutherland. On 14 June that same year, Sutherland purchased the three acres which then became the sale yards (Glen, 2006).

Following the passing of William McGarvey on 17 September 1918, Thomas Seccombe bought the land north of Rotorua Road from the McGarvey estate (Glen, 2006). In 1923 Thomas Seccombe was in a financial conundrum and initiated the survey of the village area by selling sections off to potential buyers (Glen, 2006). On 10 May 1923, a proclamation was made for Lot 12, DP 15785 to be turned into a public reserve. However, the building of a community hall did not eventuate until the 1980s (Glen, 2006).

The next step in the development of Te Teko was the establishment of the local shopping centre. On 16 May 1923, the first section of the land to be sold off by Seccombe was acquired by Wi Charlie Hunia (Glen, 2006). Charlie built a block of three shops on the site which included a bakery at the rear. A driveway gave access to the residence and the bakery on the rear lot (Glen, 2006). His daughter, Elizabeth married Patrick McManus who became the shopkeeper. During this developmental stage a picture theatre, billiard hall and a service station was situated in the central vicinity of State Highway 31 (Glen, 2006). In 1923, the Government further subdivided this land into smaller farms, and the allotments were balloted out to returned soldiers (Glen, 2006). In 1925, Wi Charlie Hunia was transferred land between

the sale yards and his shops. Lastly, between 1926 to 1927 other areas of land had been transferred onto various members of the Glen family (Glen, 2006).

The local hotel has been a central identity of Te Teko. According to Van der Wouden (1980), William Magnus McGarvey, a trader, established the hotel in 1870 and supplied provisions to the military forces in Te Teko. During those days, the supplies for the hotel were brought up the Rangitāiki river in a boat or punt. A whaleboat was used to ferry travellers across before the coach services was established between Whakatāne and Rotorua (Van der Wouden, 1980). Stables were added to the hotel, whilst the horses were rested for the next stage of the trip. In 1891 Lord Onslow was on a tour of the district and stayed at the hotel. During his stay at the hotel there was a great party (Van der Wouden, 1980). There have been various publicans of Te Teko Hotel. In 1911 Mr McGarvey retired and Peter Ganley became the publican until 1920. In 1921 Mary McGarvey took over and after that there were Robert Douglas, Earnest Louis Smith, and John Donald Shea. In 1928 Thomas Bower Dunderdale took over the hotel until his passing in 1939, after which his widow continued in the role until her death in 1961 (Ngāti Awa & Ngā Maihi Kaumātua, Tamaoho Waaka Vercoe, personal communication, 2018)

Rediscovering *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi mātauranga*

This section I have used various sources to regain unknown *whakapapa* prior to this study. An important part of this journey has involved learning who I am and my cultural connections. To do this, has involved searching extensively through several sources including oral narratives from *kaumātua* and *whānau*; the *pūkōrero* (speaking with authority) provided by mandated speakers as acknowledged in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa Bay of Plenty Claims Settlement Act 2005; historical books from the Whakatāne, Rotorua and Kawerau district libraries; literature and evidence associated with the early traditions of the Urewera District (Binney, 2009); varying WAI reports connected to the *hapū* and *iwi* of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa; Native Land Court documentation; Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa research archives; websites connected to each *hapū* spoken on within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa and including reviewing the seminal work of Elsdon Best (Best, 1996), Binney (2009), Grace (1959), Moore (1991) and the narratives provided in the research work on the ancestors of Mataatua (Mead et al., 2017).

In accordance with Māori tradition and *tikanga* I have checked the use of sources with the *ahikā* for each *hapū* and sought guidance from *kaumātua*. The various works have also been re-examined by using the Native Land Court minute books. The validating of these sources

is necessary part of being *pono* (be true, valid, honest, genuine), *tika* (be correct, true, upright), and respectful. For Ngā Maihi, I have sought the guidance of Koro Waaka and Koro Dennis, including having *kōrero* with the descendants of Penetito Haweā line (the descendants of Koro Eric Moses). The 19th century has been a major source in regaining my *whakapapa*. At the turn of the 19th century, Penetito Haweā was the chief of Ngā Maihi and was considered a feared representative of the *hapū*. Penetito was well known in the early Native Land Court. For Ngāti Umutahi I have sought the guidance of Koro Jimmy Rota, including having *kōrero* with the descendants of Rota Tarewa line (Rota was a younger brother of Koro Waikato Tarewa). The Māori land court and *kōrero* with Koro Jimmy have been major sources in regaining my *whakapapa* for this line.

In this doctoral thesis the material is subject to interpretation and the people who may read this including my *hapū*, need not feel this is the only version; but it is the one that as the author has come to on the material and *kōrero* available to her. The purpose of this section is to introduce the origins and formation of my primary *hapū* who have supported me on this PhD journey. However, the narratives recorded of Ngā Maihi may not necessarily be correct due to the changing nature of narrating historical events from oral to written form. On the evidence made available from the varying sources and in consultation with *kaumātua*, it is up to the reader to decide which version is most applicable.



Image 6. Ngā Maihi, Te Teko: The primary residence of Ngā Maihi at Tūteao Marae, near the banks of the Rangitāiki river. Personal collection

The origins of Ngā Maihi

The principal *marae* for Ngā Maihi is Tūteao, which is located on the banks of Rangitāiki river (Ngāti Awa & Ngā Maihi Kaumātua, Tamaoho Waaka Vercoe, personal communication, 3.10.2018; Omataroa-Rangitāiki No 2 Trust, n.d.). Our mum, Te Whakaehe Ela Mei Waikato would always make the effort for her children to stay connected to our *marae*, Tūteao whilst we lived away in Wainuiomata (Wellington region) and in Wairoa (Hawkes Bay).

During several *hui* about *whakapapa*, *kaumātua* have explained Ngā Maihi were forced to leave the Waimana Valley. They were relocated to the Rangitāiki plains, near the Te Teko Golf course and next to the Puketapu *Urupā* (burial ground, cemetery) (Ngāti Awa & Ngā Maihi *kaumātua*, Tamaoho Waaka Vercoe, personal communication, 3.10.2018). According to *kaumātua*, Karatiana Dennis Vercoe, Ngā Maihi were already an established *iwi* within the Eastern Bay of Plenty (Ngā Maihi Kaumātua, Karatiana Dennis Vercoe, personal communication, 29.9.2018). It was not until many centuries later, that Ngā Maihi became known as a *hapū* of Ngāti Awa (Ngāti Awa & Ngā Maihi Kaumātua, Tamaoho Waaka Vercoe, personal communication, 3.10.2018). Best (1996) provides several interpretations of the origins of Ngā Maihi. The first version is that Ngā Maihi are descendants of Potiki I and hence, formed a sub-tribe of Ngā Potiki. Other descendants who connected to Ngā Maihi included: descendants of Te Rangimonoa, Tamaroki, Haerewhenua, Te Kahutupuni, Rangikawhaki. Furthermore, the descendants of Rangikawhaki come under the title of Ngā Maihi where it seems to be applied to his descendants from his second wife, Rangiwaiakura. The name of Maihi was given by Rangimonoa, who named him after the carved facing boards of gable of the house of Ruamano (Best, 1996).

Ngā Maihi of Tūhoeland from Ruamano

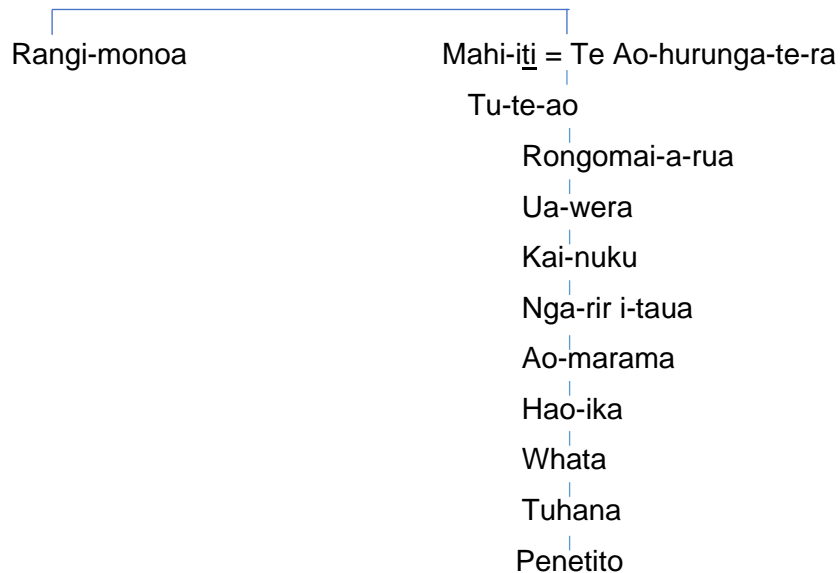
The second version given is that the name was derived by Maihi being a son of Ruamano (Best, 1996). This latter account is by no means clear due to the *whakapapa* starting with Tutarakauika. The uncertainty of this account is there is no evidence to say both were of human form. Tutarakauika was the name of the right whale and Ruamano was deemed to be a *taniwha*, who wearied of seafaring life and took up abode at Te Papuni lake, east of Maungapohatu (Best, 1996). As the story unravels during the nineteenth century where Ruamano was living, the lake burst and then dried up. Ruamano travelled to the ocean to meet the new European arrivals but subsequently, his dead body was cast ashore at Nukutaurua. Apparently, one of Ruamano's large tooth was discovered at his former abode near Te Papuni. The Maihi account acknowledges when one of his children, Te Aomarama married Puhou brought her offspring into the genealogical line of Potiki (Best, 1996).

Ngā Maihi of Ngāti Awa

A third version provided by Best (1996) some centuries past, is that Ngā Maihi was also a sub-tribe of Ngāti Awa. Ngā Maihi were known to be settling the lands within Te Teko and alongside the Rangitāiki River. Best (1996) recalls statements made by Tikitu acknowledging that Ngā Maihi of Te Teko are descendants of Toi, Māhu and Toroa. They all lived mainly at Puketapu Pā, near Te Teko and also at other fortified villages on the Matahina Block (Best, 1996). This is very much aligned to the *kōrero* given by Koro Waaka about Ngā Maihi being banished from Tūhoe. It should be acknowledged that Te Kahu Hawea is the older brother of Penetito and is the line that I descend from. According to Best (1914, p. 86), the Ngā Maihi *whakapapa* is given below:

Whakapapa 1

Ngā Maihi



Ngāti Mahu of Te Teko

Ngāti Mahu of Te Teko were descendants of Mahū-tapo-a-nui who lived at Waikaremoana and who was of Te Tini-o-Toi descent (Best, 1996). After the death of Mahū-tapoanui's child, Hau-mapuhia, he left his homeland and resettled in Matahina. Mahiti was a child of Tamarupa of the Tūhoean Ngā Maihi who married Te Ao-hurunga-te-ra of the Ngāti Māhu hapū of Te Teko district. Their son known as Tūteao settled on the Matahina lands (Best, 1996). During the reign of Tūteao, his people Te Marangaranga adopted the tribal name of Ngā Maihi after the former title was abandoned (Arapere, 2002). Tikitu also noted that the Ngāti Mahu division of Te Marangaranga lived at Puketapu Pā (Te Teko), Tawhero and Tawhitikaeaea forts at Pūtauaki.

In Figure 4 below depicts the ancestor, Tūteao. According to Ngāti Awa historians and researchers, the people of Ngā Maihi are descendants of Ruamano (Mead et al., 2017). The *pou* (post, upright, support, pole) sits within the walls at Maatatua Marae in Whakatāne.

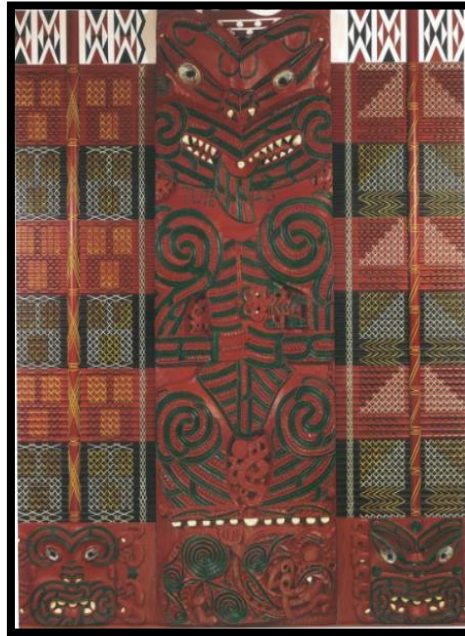


Figure 4. Tūteao ancestor (Ngā Maihi / Matahina, Hekerangi). From “Mataatua Wharenuī: Te Whare I Hoki Mai” by Mead, Ngaropo, Harvey & Phillis, 2017. Permission granted from Ngaropo.

The Tūteao: Poupou’ tāhū (direct line of ancestry through the senior line, ridge post of a house) identifies the lineage that Tūteao (father of Maihi) descended from and his connection to the Mataatua canoe. The establishing of Ngā Maihi as a *hapū* is a result of the marriage between Tūteao and Te Whakarurumai-o-te-rangi who begat Maihi (Mead et al., 2017). According to Mead et al. (2017), the following genealogy for Ngā Maihi starts from Ruamano:

Ruamano
 Maihinui
 Maihiroa
 Māhu-piki
 Māhu-kake
 Māhu puku
 Māhu-tapo-a-nui
 Te Rangitaupiri
 Tāmaka
 Wairere I
 Te Aohurunga-o-te-rangi
 Tamateawharepohe
 Te Aohurunga-o-te ao
 Te Aohurunga-o-te rā
 Tūteao=Te Whakarurumai-o-te-rangi
 Maihi (p. 211).

Furthermore, Ngā Maihi is an abbreviation of Ngā Maihi o Te Whare o Rumano (Mead et al., 2017, p.211). This house stood at Te Mahia, which was not far from Wairoa and situated within the Hawkes Bay region. In the period of Tūteao leadership the *hapū* were called Ngāti Mahu. The original name of Ngā Maihi was Ngāti Mahu or Te Whānau-a-Māhu; they descended from Te Mārangaranga of the Rangitāiki Valley (Mead et al., 2017, p.211).

Another interpretation of the origin of Ngā Maihi is acknowledged in 'A history of the Waiohau Blocks' (Arapere, 2002). It is noted in the History of the Waiohau Block report that Ngā Maihi had customary interests and traditions in the area surrounding Waiohau (Arapere, 2002). Best (as cited in Arapere, 2002) recorded:

that the earliest occupation of the area south of Te Houhi (located in the present-day Galatea) was by a people called 'Te Marangaranga' (p. 14).

Best (as cited in Arapere, 2002) also recorded Tikitu, rangatira of Ngāti Awa as saying:

the descendants of Haeana (Te Marangaranga), Tangiharuru and Wharepakau intermarried and in the time of Tūteao dropped the name Marangaranga and assumed the name of Ngā Maihi... Ngā Maihi are recorded as living at Te Teko among Ngāti Awa (p. 14).

The purpose of this section is to introduce the origins and formation of each *hapū*. However, the narratives recorded of Ngā Maihi may not necessarily be correct due to the changing

nature of narrating historical events from oral to written form. On the evidence made available from the varying sources and in consultation with *kaumātua*, it is up to the reader to decide which version is most applicable.

Excerpts from research of *kaumātua* narratives on Ngā Maihi

Ngā Maihi our *hapū* originated at Tāwhana Marae above the Matahi, you know the Matahi-Waimana Valley Road, when you go up Matahi Valley in Waimana. Up that valley where the road ends, that becomes a track. It goes all the way to Maungapohatu walking track. Well, the first *marae* is Tāwhana, that's where Ngā Maihi. It's still called Ngā Maihi but we were a branch that got the boot. You know they use to have petty arguments in those days and our branch of Ngā Maihi were told to move along and get out. They ended up in Te Teko. Now I keep reminding our Tūhoe tribe because they told half-truths to Te Pehi. TePehi went straight from there to Puketapu to see Tumatarā Pio. Pio our scholar from Ngā Maihi, corrected all the stories and that's the information that ended up in the book 'Tūhoe' by Elsdon Best.

(Ngāti Awa/Tūwharetoa, *Kaumātua* 76 years old)

All the way up in the hill here, you can see it from here, from Mt Edgecumbe, Tarawera Valley, Matahina which is the old grounds of the ancestral people of Ngā Maihi. They were ancient.

(Ngāti Awa/Tūwharetoa, *Kaumātua* 84 years old)

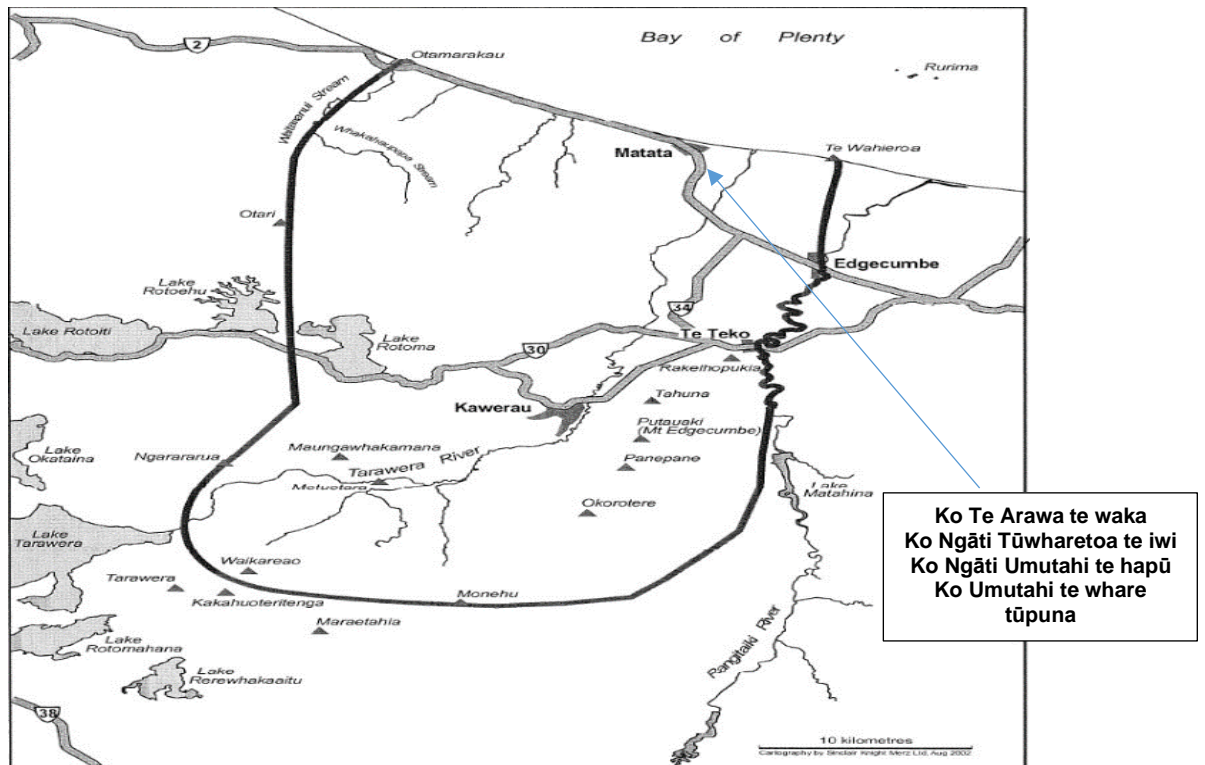
The boundaries of Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty)

According to the Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Claims Settlement Act 2005, the ancestral homeland of Ngāti Tūwharetoa extends:

Along the East Coast from Otamarakau to Matatā following the: Waitahanui stream to Otari to Motuotara to Maungawhākamana to Ngararua in Haehaenga territory to Kakahuoteritenga to Waikareao to Maraetahia to Monehu to Okorotere to Panepane to Pūtauaki to Tahuna to Rakeihopukia to Wahieroa to Rurima to Otamarakau. The rohe also includes the Rangitāiki plains, Edgecumbe, Kawerau through to Matahina in the South.

(Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Claims Settlement Act 2005, p.17).

The map below gives a visual indication of the geographical location of the *iwi*, Ngāti Tūwharetoa in the Bay of Plenty. The *rohe* of Ngāti Tūwharetoa as described extends beyond the confiscation lines. The Rangitāiki and Tarawera rivers are the major rivers within the *rohe*. Significant tribal *pūkōrero* (are connected to these tribal cultural *taonga* and landmarks identified in Ngāti Tūwharetoa Bay of Plenty Claims Settlement Act 2005).



Map 3. A Map of the rohe of Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau (Bay of Plenty). Adapted from “Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Area of Interest from the Deed of Settlement,” by Te Puni Kokiri: Ministry of Māori Development, 2003 ([http://www.tkm.govt.nz/rohe/AOI-NgatiTūwharetoa \(Bay of Plenty\). jpg](http://www.tkm.govt.nz/rohe/AOI-NgatiTūwharetoa%20(Bay%20of%20Plenty).jpg)). Crown Copyright.

The origins of Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau (TKK)

Under section 37 of the *Ngāti Tūwharetoa Settlement Act 2005* the Crown acknowledged the statement below that connects the *iwi* to the *whenua* and surrounding areas:

Ko Putauaki te Maunga,
Ko Te Takanga i o-Apa te Awa
Ko Te Aotahi te Tāngata
Ko Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) te iwi
(Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Claims Settlement Act, 2005, p.100)

According to the Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Settlement Act (2005) “he encountered a *moa*, a pet of the local Tūwharetoa people... Upon seeing the bird, Apa crept slowly towards the resting bird and struck its exposed leg” (p.101). As a result of Apa’s actions, the bird struck Apa and knocked him over the cliff. From that time on “he became known as Apa-Koke (which means Apa limping) (Ngāti Tūwharetoa Settlement Act, 2005, p.101).

The *Ngāti Tūwharetoa Settlement Act 2005* noted:

Before 1886 Mount Tarawera eruption the Tarawera River flowed down the valley through what is now known as Kawerau...The area

was once marshlands; a number of streams flowed through the swamps to join the Tarawera River. After the eruption, Tarawera River changed course several times. This occurred as a result of flooding and through the efforts of settlers to prevent the river encroaching on surrounding land. Near the coast the Tarawera River merged with other rivers and flowed into the sea at Te Awa a Te Atua (Matatā). Originally the Tarawera River was called Takanga-i-o-Apa, which refers to “the falling of Apa”. Apa was an original inhabitant of the area who lived south of Putauaki

(p. 82).

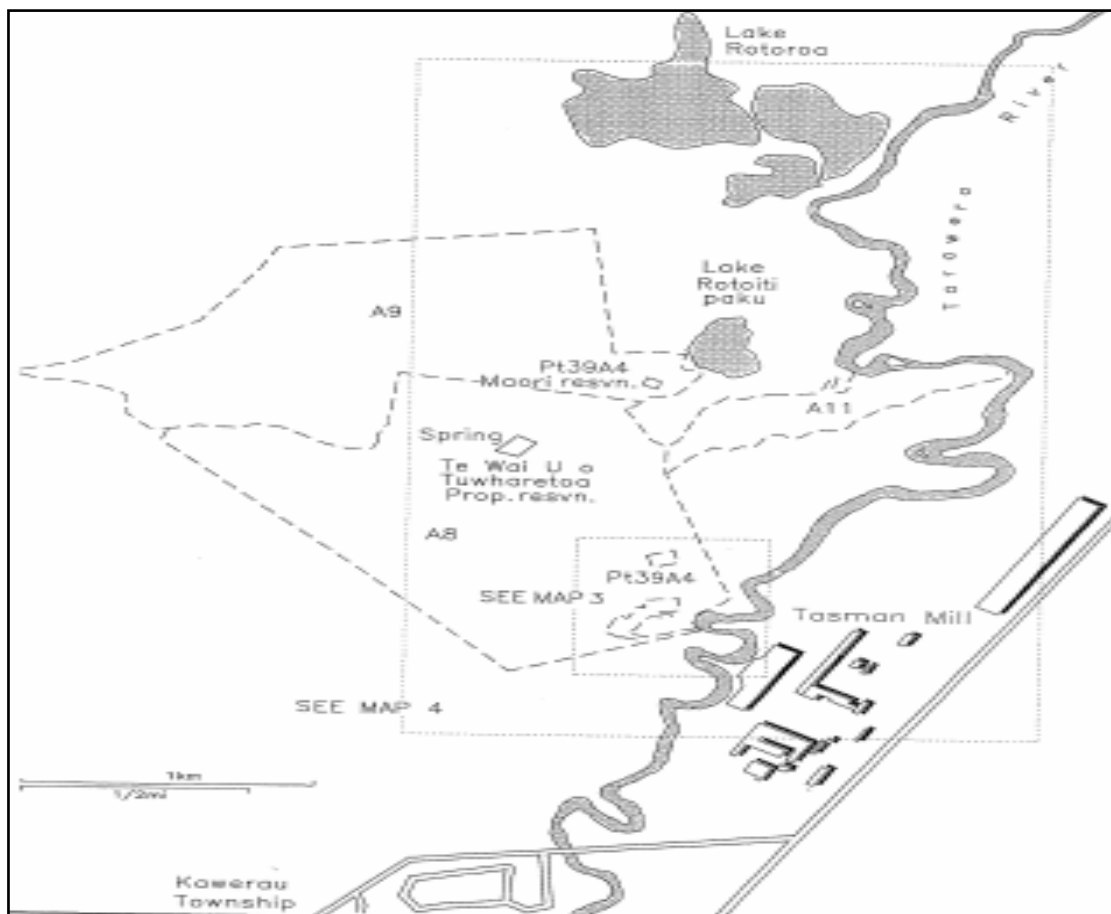
Tūwharetoa was a powerful *rangatira* who was born near the river at Waitahanui Pā (Te Rire as cited in Marr, 1991). His people established themselves in and around the Kawerau area because of the geothermal resource in the lands, the thermal lakes, rivers and hot springs (Adlam & King, 2015). Waitahanui Pā was known as a stronghold of Ngāti Tūwharetoa and was called Te Kete pounamu (Te Rire as cited in Marr, 1991). The people of Ngāti Tūwharetoa intermarried with the earlier inhabitants, Te Tini-a-Kawerau (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). Within the TKK boundary there are a significant number of historical and sacred sites. Most of these sites date back to the origins of Tūwharetoa as a tribe and to the later tribe, TKK (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). These sites are recorded in the maps outlined in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa Bay of Plenty Claims Settlement Act 2005.

Tūwharetoa is a fourth-generation descendant of the high priest Ngātoroirangi. Ngātoroirangi travelled on the Te Arawa waka in the 1300s from Hawaiki to Aotearoa, New Zealand (Adlam and King, 2015; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). Tūwharetoa-i-te-Aupōuri was known to have four wives who gave him many children (Te Rire as cited in Marr, 1991; Ngāti Tūwharetoa Bay of Plenty Claims Settlement Act 2005). Some of the children of Tūwharetoa left Kawerau and migrated to Lake Taupō and Turangi region, those who remained held fast to their ancestral name, which the two groups commonly share (Grace, 1959).

The significance of Te Wai Ū o Tūwharetoa and the surrounding catchment to Tūwharetoa

Mawake Taupo and Hāhuru are the parents of Tūwharetoa. When Tūwharetoa was a young child he was left in the care of his grandparents, Waitaha (grandfather) and Hine te Ariki (grandmother) at the *kāinga* besides Rotoiti-paku, a lake near Kawerau (refer to Map 4 below). The area where the *kāinga* was and its surrounding features has special significance “as the ancestral home of the Tūwharetoa people” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a, p.112; Green, 1995). Rotoiti-paku was “fed by a warm spring that was used to calm the infant Tūwharetoa whilst he was crying for his mother’s milk” (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a, p.112). This historical location “became known as Te Wai Ū o Tūwharetoa (the mother’s milk of Tūwharetoa) (Waitangi

Tribunal, 1999a, p.112). The area surrounding Rotoiti-paku provided fowl and fish as the main source of food for the people. Historically, the Tarawera River course once passed by Rotoiti-paku and was a major source of food.



Map 4. Map of Te Wai Ū o Tūwharetoa and surrounding area. From “Report on Kawerau A8 and other blocks” by S. Green. 1995.

The story of Kawerau

The Kawerau area is overlooked by the mountain Pūtauaki. Within the vicinity of Kawerau there are numerous natural resources, which include Mount Tarawera, Tarawera River, forests and the natural springs. The volcanic eruption at Mount Tarawera was the most dramatic natural disaster of the nineteenth century and had a devastating effect on the landscape and people, within the Kawerau district and Tarawera Valley (Keam, 2016). The geothermal development in the Kawerau region was initiated by Tasman Pulp and Paper Company (now Norske Skog Tasman) (Millich, Clark, Wong & Askari, 2016).



Image 7. Kawerau, Bay of Plenty: Kawerau site for TPP Mill prior to development, Tasman Pulp and Paper Co Ltd (9106P/82). From Fletcher Challenge Ltd. 1953. Permission granted to be reproduced.



Image 8. Kawerau, Bay of Plenty: Aerial photograph of Kawerau. From Whites Aviation Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, March 1954. (<https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23528149>). CC BY 4.0

The construction of Kawerau Mill

In the early 1950s the government and Fletcher (known as Tasman Pulp and Paper company) were involved in the construction of a pulp and paper mill adjacent to Onepū and situated on the banks of the Tarawera River (See Image 8 above). During 1925, the idea to plant pines and develop the Kaingaroa Plains was mooted in a discussion between Mr William Adamson and Mr Alex Entrican (Schwimmer, 1955). As a result of this discussion, a total of 260,000 acres of pine were planted between 1927 and 1931 on the Kaingaroa plains. Then followed a long period of study by the Forestry Service. The New Zealand government tended out the offer for the wood. Only Fletcher had applied which resulted in registration of Tasman Pulp and Paper company (Schwimmer, 1955).

In order to build the town and the mill, it required Fletchers to acquire land from the original landowners on which Tasman Mill and Kawerau Township is situated (Pū kāea, 1994 p. 13). This acquisition also required the Government to pass legislation which would enable them to take over the land during 1953. As part of this deal, The Sir James Fletcher 1st Memorial Trust, an educational trust was established to grant financial awards to the descendants of the original landowners and included, those residents at Onepū, whom Tasman had struck a deal with for the land in 1953 (Pū kāea, 1994 p. 13). The list of the original landowners of Lot 59B2D Section 4 Parish of Matatā at the time of Land Transfer dated 31 May 1954 in are all noted in Table 7 below (The asterisks identify my *whānau* connections to descendants of the original landowners).

Table 7:

Original landowners of Lot 59B2D Section 4 Parish of Matatā at the time of Land transfer dated 31 May 1954.

Anita Tamakui (*)	Mero Tamakui (*)	Te Pareparapara Hiriweteri (*)	Paraha Hiriweteri (*)	Hinehou Hamupara
Te Haukino Raangiamohia (Te Herekiekie Grace)	Kingita Paora	Kirimangu Martin Duff	Maata Rangitukehu (Tuaia Te Maui Taiawatea)	Te Mokohaerewa Taka
Mere Hiwarau (Merehuka)	Maaka Oheu	Matene Rangiamohia	Ngapune Rehutai alias Ngapune	Te Taneti (Te Raita Paihau)
Te Piwiki Te Whakamura	Te Pori Huriana	Pano Hiwarau (Rangiwhakawaitau)	Pea Wi Kepa	Te Pare
Hoani Tahuna	Te Rongopai Taka	Rangiwhakawaitau Tukehu	Reone Ngawhara	Te Raita Hiwarau
Te Rua Tarati Tawera	Rupia Erueti	Te Raimona Rangikawehea	Rangiahua Rangiamohia	Rangitukehu Rangiamohia (Grace alias Rangitukehu Grace)

Tukehu or Paihau	Te Taute Raukawa Erueti	Takawai Erueti	Takahi Erueti	Turuhia Erueti
Tiki Paaka (Richard Gavin McIntyre Park)	Tamaku Rangiamohia	Tiopara Rangiamohia	Wiremu Paihau	Te Waoku Wi Hare
Wiremu Te Waaka	Whakaata Turia			
ONEPŪ NAMES Patikura; Hunia; Karekare; Te Riini; Te Rire; Fox; Savage; Paraha; Te Kaawa; Raki* Key: (*) Connections to the original land-owners.				



Image 9. Kawerau, Bay of Plenty: Kawerau mill site before construction. Tasman Pulp and Paper Co Ltd (9106P/128). From Fletcher Archives, Fletcher Challenge Ltd. 9 September 1955. Permission granted to be reproduced.



Image 10. Kawerau, Bay of Plenty: The Tasman Pulp and Paper company's Kawerau mill site prior to construction Tasman Pulp and Paper Co Ltd (9106P/63). From Fletcher's Archives, Fletcher Challenge Ltd. July/August 1955. Permission granted to be reproduced.



Image 11. Kawerau, Bay of Plenty: Kawerau Township. Tasman Pulp and Paper Co Ltd (9106P/96). From Fletcher Archives, Fletcher Challenge Ltd. 1954. Permission granted to be reproduced.



Image 12. Kawerau, Bay of Plenty: New bridge across Tarawera River connecting mill site and township. Tasman Pulp and Paper Ltd (9106P/93). May 1954. Permission granted to be reproduced.



*Image 13. Kawerau, Bay of Plenty: Kawerau, 15 Nov, 1954. Whites Aviation Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. From *National Library of New Zealand* (<https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23524671>). CC BY 4.0*

Summary

This chapter has identified the two tribes that are central to this research. Key references to the environment and cultural and historical landmarks outline common interests within the shared environment and between the people of both tribes. The chapter has also revealed stories that help to understand the critical components that encompass a Māori worldview located within each *iwi*. Māori culture, Māori language, *mātauranga Māori*, and connection to the environment, are essential elements of cultural identity for *whānau* and thus, combined connects them to their *tūrangawaewae*. I have included a section of the impact from reconnecting to my *tūrangawaewae* and the strength of my *hapū* whom have supported me on my journey. The next chapter links the importance of these cultural notions and concepts to the area of educational success and the way Māori understand educational success for Māori.

Chapter Four: Understanding educational success for Māori in mainstream education.

Introduction

This chapter aims to capture the perspectives of what 'educational success as Māori' might look like in schools. History has shown that education policy has been to the detriment of Māori, yet not all schools have had success in boosting achievement for Māori and promoting *te reo Māori*, Māori culture and Māori identity. The most recent Māori Education strategies "*Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success 2013-2017*" (Ministry of Education, 2013b) and "*Ka Hikitia: Hāpaitia-Māori education strategy*" (Ministry of Education, 2020) are then discussed further on in this chapter. Several other policies and strategies sit under *Ka Hikitia*, the most relevant to be discussed is *Tau mai i te Reo: Māori language strategy*. The intention is to develop a better understanding on the embedding of *mātauranga Māori* and its place in promoting positive outcomes for Māori success and achievement in English medium education, including strengthening *iwi*-Crown relationships in Aotearoa New Zealand. This chapter considers relevant research literature on culture, Māori language and educational transitions in mainstream schooling for *tamariki* Māori in primary schools, and their *whānau* and communities and the journey they navigate with *whānau* and communities in the education system.

Māori are the Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010) and as students in compulsory schooling they have historically not performed as well as other students (Gorinski, 2007). The Hunn Report 1960 provided by the Department of Māori Affairs firstly acknowledged differences in statistics between Māori and Pākehā which has far reaching implications for Māori social and education policy (Hetaraka, 2019). Hetaraka (2019) further noted that to alleviate these differences was for Māori to discontinue living in multigenerational family units, move to urban areas and quickly learn to live as Pākehā. What we can see from this is that integration for Māori into the Pākehā society has been fraught with struggle, and especially so in English-medium schooling today.

Population statistics for Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau is alarming in education, language revitalisation, highest qualification held and unemployment. Ngāti Awa comprises of 16,179 people affiliated members of Ngāti Awa; 31.7 percent can hold a conversation about everyday things in *te reo Māori* (Statistics New Zealand, 2020a). Ngāti Awa statistics show the unemployment rate as 17.6 percent; of concern is the 15-24 age group who are most affected. This high unemployment rate also has a corollary link to educational attainment and qualifications. Trends in the data show that 51 percent of the population for Ngāti Awa aged

65 years or over have no form of qualification (school leavers up to certificate, diploma or degree), compared to the younger age groups of 23 percent for 15-29 year olds have no form of qualifications (school leavers up to certificate, diploma or degree) and 26 percent for 30-64 year olds have no form of qualifications (school leavers up to certificate, diploma or degree) (Statistics New Zealand, 2020a).

Statistics New Zealand records Ngāti Tūwharetoa as having 35,877 members (Statistics New Zealand, 2020b). However, Statistics New Zealand does not recognise Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau as a separate *iwi* as indicated in the Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Claims Settlement Act 2005. Therefore, the statistics do not truly reflect a true indicator of the present-day realities for those *whānau* who identify as Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. However, a picture of the Kawerau statistics, gives an indication of the realities that exist for those Māori living in the region of Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau *rohe*. The unemployment rate of Māori aged 15 years and over in the Kawerau District is 32.4 percent, compared with 15.6 percent for New Zealand's Māori population; 5.6 percent of Māori aged 15 years and over in the Kawerau District held a bachelor's degree or higher as their highest qualification, compared with 10.0 percent of New Zealand's Māori population; the most common occupational group for Māori in Kawerau District is 'labourers', and 'labourers' is the most common occupational group for Māori in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2020c).

When comparing the statistics from Statistics New Zealand with the statistics from the Ministry of Education, the data reveals the growing trend of inequities for each of the two tribes who are central to this research. This data correlates with the voices of educators and the educational data used to address the educational disparities that exist for Māori students situated in predominantly English medium schools within the *Pūtauaki ki Rangitāiki Kahui Ako* (Rangitāiki and Kawerau Community of Learning) (Ministry of Education, n.d.-h); and Whakatāne Community of Learning (Ministry of Education, n.d.-g). The scenario sets a picture that despite attempts and progress made by educators and schools to boost achievement for Māori, there is still some way to go to embed *mātauranga Māori* in learning programmes, that includes protecting and valuing the *taonga* of Māori language and culture within some schools of both *Kahui Ako* (communities of learning).

Defining educational success

Education is claimed to be a key mechanism for achievement in society. A starting point for conceptualising educational success in this research would be to review a combination of both Western and Indigenous Māori literature through different spectrums such as scholars, and

collaborations with researchers, communities and Māori. Although the term educational success in one sense signals achievement; educational success is also interpreted differently by different communities such as Māori future focused collaboratives that are tribal-led, and by educators, policymakers and iwi organisations.

Educational achievement and outcomes defined within English-medium and Māori Medium schooling espouses rather conflicting messages and ebbs of thoughts relating to success and failure. Martin (2012) argues that Western values have long dominated educational discourse on what constitutes success and achievement. There is much emphasis placed on academic excellence, proficiency in literacy and numeracy, and competence (Lee, 2008). From a Māori perspective, success is more than academic achievement. It encompasses cultural values and intricacies, *mātauranga* and *te reo Māori* embedded within *te ao Māori*. As Averill, Hindle, Hynds, Meyer, Penitito, Taiwhati, Hodis & Faircloth (2014) suggests for students and *whānau* achieving success is more than academic; it involves having strong connections with *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori*, being proud of ones Māori identity, feeling valued and comfortable to be oneself at school. However, there is a difference between educational success for Māori as Māori attending English-medium primary schools (De Goldhi, 2018) from those Māori students who attend Māori-medium schools (Bishop, O'Sullivan and Berryman, 2010). Bishop et al. (2010) points out that Māori students involved in Māori-medium education were achieving at higher rates compared to their contemporaries in English-medium schools.

From a political perspective as key influential policy drivers in New Zealand's education system, the Ministry of Education outline the aspirational vision for Māori educational success in *Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success 2013 - 2017* (Ministry of Education, 2013b). Yet, reflecting on my professional journey as an educator in mainstream schools, many of the targeted approaches taken to improve the quality of teaching and leadership in New Zealand schools, most often, does not emphasise empowerment and *tinio rangatiratanga* of Māori students. This is where Māori students have an opportunity to take control and lead their education journey. Being personally involved in interventions of targeted professional development and learning for teachers in an attempt to bridge the achievement gap of Māori students, school funding for programmes for students, such initiatives like Accelerated Learning in Literacy (ALL), and Accelerated Learning in Mathematics (ALiM), tend to negate the role of working alongside Māori *whānau* in the design of the initiative as part of supporting the needs of their children.

Tokona Te Raki: Māori Futures collective is a Ngāi Tahu-led collaborative which involves a *whānau* centred approach to creating a better future and addressing the social problems that

affront *tamariki*, *rangatahi*, and *whānau*, including reframing the narrative of navigating and championing equity in New Zealand's education system (Māori Futures Collective, 2020a). Success is described in Tokona Te Raki research projects such as Hawaiki Hou where *rangatahi* are empowered and exert their *tino-rangatiratanga* (self-determination, take control and lead their journey) in the decision-making process whilst working in collaboration with experts. This journey has resulted in *rangatahi* growing their capabilities in co-design techniques that build their own solutions that are designed for them. This in turn creates inspiration and activates *rangatahi* towards a more positive and prosperous future (Māori Futures Collective, 2020a).

Māori educational success as Māori

At the beginning of the third millennium, a joint initiative between the Crown and Māori gave rise to the Hui Taumata (National Conference) on Māori education, hosted by Ngāti Tūwharetoa at Hirangi Marae in Turangi (Durie, 2003). This type of *hui* was symbolic as it reflected a time and place that dated back to at least Pūkawa in 1853, and in 1989 when the late Sir Hepi Te Heuheu with Dame Te Arikinui Te Atairangikaahu and the late Te Reo Hura, *tumuaki* (head, leader) of the Ratana Movement gathered to explore ways for Māori *tino rangatiratanga* across a range of Māori issues (Durie, 2003).

The Hui Taumata Mātauranga provided an opportunity and a cultural space for Māori to *korero* about education. There the term *Māori Success as Māori* was proposed by Sir Mason Durie (Durie, 2003). He also offered a ten-part framework for considering Māori educational advancement, Sir Mason Durie (2003) presented three widely educational goals considered critical to Māori advancement advocating for Māori:

- 1) to live as Māori;
- 2) Facilitates participation as citizens of the world; and
- 3) to enjoy good health and a high standard of living.

(p. 208)

From an educator's perspective, Paniora (2017) acknowledges that the three educational goals:

are pointers to what Durie believes is the "blueprint" for schools to provide as a baseline for Māori students in their care.

(p. 34)

Paniora's (2017) statement suggests that schools and the educational system have a responsibility to care for Māori students from a holistic perspective, that incorporates these

goals and provides opportunities for their culture and identity to be promoted within their learning. This aligns with Durie's (2003) perspective:

when a Māori student completes their education at school that education is incomplete if they cannot interact with their Māori world, i.e. not only know about but be able to interact positively in that Māori world.

(p. 3)

From senior Māori students' perspective, their voices were considered as part of understanding Māori students secondary schooling experiences within the project, *Kia Eke Panuku: Building on success as Māori*⁵⁷ (Berryman & Eley, 2017). Nine *hui* were held across New Zealand to understand how Māori students defined this success as Māori. From these *hui*, Berryman & Eley (2017) noted ten themes emerged from the shared commonalities and understandings held by Māori students. These ten themes included:

- (1) Being able to resist the negative stereotypes about being Māori;
- (2) Having Māori culture and values celebrated at school;
- (3) Being strong in your Māori cultural identity;
- (4) Understanding that success is part of who you are;
- (5) Developing and maintaining emotional and spiritual strength;
- (6) Being able to contribute to the success of others;
- (7) Experiencing the power of *whanaungatanga*;
- (8) Knowing, accepting and acknowledging the strength of working together;
- (9) Knowing that you can access explicit and timely direction; and
- (10) Being able to build on your own experiences and the experiences of others.

(p.5)

Berryman and Eley (2017) noted that the themes mentioned above were closely interconnected and the strongest message from these students was to be successful, they had to overcome the negative stereotypes and people's low expectations. Furthermore, Berryman and Eley (2017) pointed out that many students are still facing similar issues from a decade ago when the schooling experiences of Māori students were initially gathered in 2001. They also addressed the gap in educational research for not recognising or acknowledging the intergenerational inequities (factors adding to education debt) that has a significant impact on the efficacy of current interventions, and the importance of not solely being driven to improve achievement but rather on the promise of holistic transformational change as outlined in *Ka Hikitia*.

⁵⁷ *Kia Eke Panuku* was a school reform implemented in 93 secondary schools across New Zealand. The *kaupapa* of the reform was to give life to *Ka Hikitia* and address the aspirations of Māori communities by supporting Māori students to pursue their potential (Berryman & Eley, 2017).

An investigation of the literature reveals that from a *whānau* perspective, Barnes, Hutchings, Taupo and Bright's (2012) study reported that *whānau* aspirations for their *tamariki* and *mokopuna* for Māori student success in English-medium schools included a range of characteristics, not just academic. Barnes et al. (2012) further alluded to four key points that schools needed to meet in realising *whānau* aspirations as:

- Understanding success as holistic;
- Developing values-based education;
- Increasing Māori teachers' numbers; and
- Encouraging greater *whānau*-school engagement.

(p. 15)

However, there is little empirically based research on *whānau* literature related to educational success located from the worldview of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau.

Māori educational advancement and aspirations

From a Māori perspective, Durie (2003) argues:

Education is critical to Māori advancement (p. 199).

This perspective of Māori success in education is also shared by the Government. The Auditor General points out that Māori educational success is important to New Zealand because by 2030 one-third of the working population will be Māori. Applied to *iwi*, there is a deep sense of desire to advance tribal aspirations in society, including transforming the educational success of Māori. Jahnke (2008) argues that most *iwi* groups paramount priorities are to enhance tribal capacity and identity, to aid the revitalisation and sustainability of Māori language and culture, and to improve the educational success of Māori children. Over time, Jahnke (2013), further adds that now more than ever, to advance educational success for Māori, there is a growing demand for tribes to be involved in decisions regarding the provision of services to Māori, including education.

One factor that is deemed to be critical for Māori students' educational success is the acknowledgement of culture (Jahnke, 2013). Bishop and Glynn (2000) argue that *kaupapa Māori* principles have the power to transform educational experiences of Māori in mainstream settings. For example, they discuss the importance of children and parents being involved in the partnership of learning and in school decision making. However, from my professional experience this does not happen within all mainstream school settings in New Zealand. Within the education system and New Zealand society, there needs to be an on-going commitment

to developing learning contexts within which Māori students and *whānau* are able to be Māori and feel valued as Māori (Bishop, 2003; Durie, 2006). By understanding how *Kaupapa Māori* ideology, such as values and practices, can be effectively embedded in the education setting and across various sectors in society, would possibly improve better understandings and relationships by those organisations and educators to support Māori students and their *whānau* to achieve educational success defined from their worldviews.

Marae remain vital to the reproduction of cultural relationships and ways of being Māori (King, Hodgetts, Rua, & Whetu, 2015). In this cultural space, *kaupapa Māori* practices emerges from within the collective of *whānau* and *hapū*, rather than solely residing in an individual. Through the process of *whakawhanaungatanga* this cultural process allows for Māori communities to address and resolve issues (Bishop & Glynn, 1999). In the context of hosting *tangi* on *marae*, the role of *ringawera* (kitchen worker) is just as important as the *paepae* (orators' bench) who *kōrero* to and with *manuhiri* (visitor, guest), the *kuia* (elderly woman, female elder) who *karanga* (to call), *tautoko* (to support) the *papepae* through *hīmene* (hymn) and *waiata* (song), and *manaaki* (to give support, show hospitality) the *whānau pani* (chief mourners, bereaved family – the relations of the deceased). The following Māori *whakataukī* refers to the valuing of relationships through *whakawhanaungatanga*, and the importance of cohesion amongst the speakers at the front and the *ringawera* at the back in preparing the food and looking after the visitors:

Te amorangi ki mua, te hapai o ki muri
The leader at the front and the workers behind the scenes.
 Source: Gifted by Ngāti Awa kaumatua, personal communication, 2017

There are various *kaupapa Māori* practices and use of Māori values like the example mentioned above, that provide insight into how cultural spaces offer Māori ways to be Māori. Valuing cultural practices can also be applied to an educational context. Lee, Pihama and Smith (2012) acknowledge the significance of *marae-ā-kura* as culturally determined spaces in mainstream secondary schools and how *marae-ā-kura* as a *kaupapa Māori* intervention can address Māori educational aspirations. Further to this, Lee et al. (2012) argue that such cultural spaces are often under-utilised spaces in schools and from my professional experience, even more so less established in mainstream primary schools. Such *kaupapa Māori* practices and Māori values will be considered in the design of an educational success model and will include input from the participants and *whānau*. *Whānau* are significant contributors to their children's success and well-being.

Family influences and *whānau* contributions to educational success

The research evidence is rich in recommendations and more so is burgeoning with what works well in education directly linked to what teachers, school leaders and the education sector should do to transform outcomes for students. Yet there is less stated within the research literature on how the traumatic past connected to mainstream education schooling and the experiences of Māori, the aftermath of colonisation has had on *whānau*, and how this has contributed to educational success for *tamariki Māori* in New Zealand. This section provides a background on the international and national research evidence related to parents, family influences and *whānau* contributions to educational success for *tamariki Māori*.

International research – Race differences in parental influences on children's achievement

The Muse Project involved using data from a national multi-ethnic (European American, ethnic-American), longitudinal study of children examined the process of how parents' educational attainment is related to children's achievement through the beliefs and behaviours of parents and how this influence varies by race/ethnicity (Davis-Kean & Sexton, 2009). This international study noted that successful families pass on optimal values, beliefs, and behaviours regarding the importance of education, work, relationships, and good health to their children. The research involved examining measures of socioeconomic status (SES), parental expectations for educational success, reading, school involvement, and which were collected through home interviews.

A key finding of this research project identified that parents' educational attainment was an important predictor of childrens' achievement as well as the change in their achievement across time. Interestingly, this research acknowledges how parental beliefs and behaviours were important, indirect pathways of this influence, especially for European American families, but varied in important ways by race/ethnicity. Davis-Kean and Sexton (2009) affirm that parents' educational attainment is a powerful predictor of what parents provide in the home environment, and researchers and policymakers who want to understand children's achievement need to examine the important role that education may play in child development.

New Zealand research: The family and whānau environment contributions to educational success

The research has indicated that children spend half of their time in formal school settings and the rest of time is majority spent with families and *whānau*, within their communities (Office of the Children's Commission, 2013). A summary of the working paper presented by the New Zealand Children's Commissioner affirms the existence of a long-standing pattern whereby

educational achievement is closely correlated with socio-economic status (SES) (Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2013). Inherent within both the international and New Zealand research evidence base, the Children's Commission affirmed those individuals from lower SES communities tended to have less opportunities for educational success. This Working Paper, "Parents', Families' and *Whānau* Contributions to Educational Success" describes parenting behaviours and attitudes that have major impacts on children's developmental and educational outcomes, such as talking and reading together, developing positive attitudes to learning and high expectations, and engaging in children's learning in early childhood education and school. The New Zealand Children's Commissioner acknowledges that the evidence supports the rationale for greater focus on supporting homes, parents, caregivers, family and *whānau* is needed to better support all New Zealand children to achieve their potential and just focusing solely on Early Childhood Education and schooling will not be enough to allow all children and young people to achieve to their full potential (Office of the Children's Commission, 2013).

Furthermore, the Children's Commissioner acknowledged that the strategies used within the system policy settings could transform the home environment enabling parents, families and *whānau* to operate optimally whereby they have access to adequate housing, health support and improved levels of income. Additionally, further support could also include opportunities for those parents, caregivers, families and *whānau* to acquire learning strategies that enhance and promote their children's learning outside of school structures. (Office of the Children's Commission, 2013).

From a Māori perspective, Webber and MacFarlane (2018) pointed out *whānau* play a critical role in terms of socialising their children into the Māori world, assisting their own to develop cultural efficacy and healthy and supportive *whānau* connections which are deemed fundamental to positive Māori identity development and for educational advancement. They alluded to that the most important developmental asset a parent can imprint on their children is to make them aware of their *mana tangata* (their unique leadership potential, collective belonging, cultural connectedness, and responsibilities to others) (Webber & MacFarlane, 2018).

How the school environment contributes to Māori educational success

Teacher's expectations of Māori students and their relationships with Māori students-

Research centred on strengthening understanding of Māori achievement has uncovered that teachers' expectations for Māori students is of the lowest (Turner, Rubie-Davies & Webber, 2015). At the forefront of understanding teachers attitudes and expectations in New Zealand

secondary schools was the research project “*Te Kotahitanga*” (Bishop, Berryman, Cavanagh & Teddy, 2009). This study noted that the relationships between teacher’s and their Māori students were a significant factor in their low achievement at school and were often intensified by teachers’ low expectations, deficit beliefs of Māori and showed a defensive approach to take ownership for contributions to student learning (Bishop et al., 2009).

In a mixed methods study Turner et al. (2015) found that a major finding was teachers expectations appear to differ depending on the ethnicity of the student, particularly for achievement. This study focused on fifteen mathematics teachers and 361 students from five secondary urban schools in Auckland. Turner et al. (2015) found that teachers’ expectations were higher for Asian and Pākehā students and significantly lower for Māori and Pasifika. The research revealed that eight out of the ten teachers referred to the perceived deficit discourse in Māori and Pasifika home backgrounds, and student attitudes as factors. The study showed that Year 9-10 was a critical area to focus on because of the vulnerability and exposure to lower teacher expectations during these years. The implications of this study revealed that there may be resistance to supporting Ministry of Education initiatives such as *Ka Hikitia* designed to raise achievement for all students, particularly for Māori. The study also proposed future research into Indigenous and minority student achievement could look across different curriculum areas to see if teachers have the same attitudes and expectations of their students; the inclusion of classroom observations identifying differences in teachers instructions at each differing band or streaming level; and obtaining data directly from parents about if factors such as students’ parents and the background the home environment can contribute towards student underachievement (Turner et. al, 2015).

***Iwi* and *whānau* contributions to Māori educational success**

Māori led research emphasises the importance of *whānau* voice at the centre of all projects and Māori being able to exert their *tinio rangatiratanga* in fulfilling their potential and creating future pathways for their *whānau*. The project *Ka Awatea* (A new dawn) was a tribal based research case study that examined the qualities of “success” through an *iwi* lens by culturally locating the research in *iwi* protocols and histories and linking findings to historical *iwi* icons (Webber & MacFarlane, 2018). The intention of the study was to emphasise the key qualities of ancestors as part of continuing to guide the future pathways of Māori students in contemporary times within the tribal boundaries of Te Arawa (a tribal group that occupies the Rotorua Lakes district, located in the central Bay of Plenty of New Zealand) (Webber & MacFarlane, 2018).

The project adopted a *Kaupapa Māori* approach that involved interviewing successful senior secondary Māori students, their *whānau* and their teachers and principals over a two-year period, as part of examining the connections between characteristics of educational success, the perceptions of educational success and Māori identity (Webber & MacFarlane, 2018). Critical to the project was locating Māori student success embedded distinctly located within an *iwi* perspective, that has revitalised cultural pride among Te Arawa students by connecting learning to their *mana tangata* and their proud histories, tenacious present, and promising futures (Webber & MacFarlane, 2018).

The findings of the Ka Awatea project identified five key components concerning the optimal personal, familial, school, and community conditions for Māori student success compose the resultant Mana Model: *Mana Whānau* (familial pride), *Mana Motuhake* (personal pride and a sense of embedded achievement), *Mana Tū* (tenacity and self-esteem), *Mana Ūkaipo* (belonging and connectedness), and *Mana Tangatarua* (broad knowledge and skills). Webber and MacFarlane's Mana Model (2020) is a Māori-centric model of student thriving to reach their potential. Their research model broadens the research theorising that envisions Māori students are attaining their full potential (Webber & MacFarlane, 2020).

In the research project *He awa ara rau: A journey of many paths* (Māori Future Collectives, 2020a), focused on the journey of *rangatahi* Māori in New Zealand's education system. This report summarises the journey of 100 Māori students' journey as part of new research (BERL, 2019) that tracked two cohorts of youth, from 11 to 22 years old (totalling 49,476) and 13 to 25 years old (totalling 29, 829) through the education system.

The project approach involved a collective partnership between key organisations that included Business and Economic Research Limited (BERL), Waikato-Tainui, The Southern Initiative at Auckland Council, and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu who all genuinely believed in collectivism and as a collective recognised that addressing, equity in education was central to all *rangatahi* and a crucial catalyst for transforming outcomes (Māori Future Collectives, 2020a). Furthermore, this new research (Māori Future Collectives, 2020a) highlighted that New Zealand's education system still carries a racist legacy where Māori culture is seen as a barrier to success and Māori are channelled into unskilled labour (p. 6).

He awa ara rau: A journey of many paths (Māori Future Collectives, 2020a) referred to teachers, educators, policy makers, and employers and people working across public institutions as *kaitiaki* (guardians) of the river, and their shared responsibility was to ensure that Māori students and youth stayed in the flow of the river (education system), in order, to

reach their potential career futures. The report identified key actions needed as *kaitiaki* to change the flow of the river, in order, to support students to achieve success on their journey throughout the education system and transition into future employment.

Māori Future Collectives (2020a) stated educators can:

- Stop streaming Māori students - modern learning environments create a great platform for mixed ability classes where the focus is on scaffolding each student from where they are to a higher level, so everyone gains.
- Stop the exclusion of Māori boys - there are well proven alternatives (e.g. Huakina Mai) to these archaic practices that are often the beginning of pushing our boys out of education early.
- Make Māori language and culture seen and heard in the classroom - Māori students tell us 'pronounce our names correctly', 'ask about our *whānau*', 'we want to see our culture visible in our physical environment and the curriculum', 'we like it when teachers use *te reo*', and 'don't equate identity to skin colour'. Have high expectations of Māori - put in the effort to get to know them and take pride in their success (p. 19).

Māori Future Collectives (2020a) stated people in government can:

- Grow a large cohort of new Māori teachers;
- Revisit policy around compulsory achievement to address cultural capital (e.g. *kapahaka*/Māori cultural group);
- Design policy to drive the shift from punitive to restorative behaviour management practices;
- Design policy that advocates for the removal of streaming practices at individual school level;
- Tie cultural competencies and bicultural teaching practices to teacher appraisals as outlined in the Teaching Council Code and Standards; and
- Mandate culturally responsive professional learning for *tauiwi* (non-Māori) teachers across all schools (p. 18).

These key actions noted above, address collaborative ways in which to make shifts in practices and in mindsets of those *kaitiaki* who are entrusted with the education system and form part of the solution in address equitable opportunities exist for Māori students and their *whānau*.

In reviewing tribal-led collective research initiatives, this *whānau*-led design to guide social lab, research, and design *kaupapa*, *Ngā Mātau Ā-Wheako: Lived experiences of education and employment in Te Waipounamu* (Māori Future Collectives, 2020b), provides a good starting point in how to bring *whānau* voice into the innovation process and as part of creating a framework for solving problems within their communities. The intention of the project was

to act as a catalyst for inclusive and collaborative conversations that produce practical outcomes which were meaningful for *whānau* in Te Waipounamu.

This project highlighted *whānau* aspirations and challenges, in relation to historical and present educational and employment barriers, as part of, understanding *whānau* experiences and lived realities of living within Te Waipounamu. Three key areas of significance are noted from the research (Māori Future Collectives, 2020b):

- *Whānau*, culture and identity

Whānau, culture, identity and *whakapapa* are the building blocks for understanding our place and purpose in the world and thus provide a platform from which educational and employment decisions, perceptions and pathways are made. These building blocks (if positive) provide support, stability and resilience at various stages of the journey, but are often at threat due to implicit and explicit discrimination (p. 6);

- Education and schooling

A thriving educational environment for *whānau* consists of learning opportunities that are diverse in nature and enhance their knowledge and understanding from a *Te Ao Māori* worldview. *Whānau* are not motivated by traditional / Western systems of education. They are attracted to learning in, on, with and through the *taiao*, or they will seek educational pathways which enable them to stay connected to their *whakapapa* and *papakāinga* (p. 6); &

- Work and Employment

Whānau are increasingly seeking work opportunities which provide a degree of flexibility so they can achieve an ideal work-life balance. *Whānau* reported a variety of sacrifices they made to prioritise this, which often came at a cost to their career or attaining their ideal job. This, however, did not stop them from dreaming and presents an opportunity to support *whānau* to realise their future potential. Employers who found ways to help *whānau* achieve a balance without having to compromise their values were rewarded with long-term loyalty (p. 6).

The research, *Ngā Mātau Ā-Wheako* offers insights of the realities for some *whānau* and further exploration would be necessary to understand the issues through engaging in a larger sample of participants from the community. As part of the broader picture the research aims to empower *whānau* to co-design and problem solve for themselves (Māori Future Collectives, 2020b).

Education policy and Māori

Depending on what Government is in power, education policy has been implemented by the lead government agency, the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education has introduced a varied range of informed research documentation, policies and strategies to address

educational achievement for Māori and in partnership with their schools and communities (Biddulph, Biddulph and Biddulph, 2003; Robinson, Hohepa, Lloyd, 2009). According to Thrupp (2017), nine years of National-led education policy focused on neo-liberal initiatives such as the introduction of National Standards, Charter Schools and Public Private Partnership (PPP) Schools; increasing of funding to independent schools; the cutting back of adult education in schools; Investing in Educational Success (IES); replacing the Teachers Council with the Education Council; changes to the University council; rewriting of Te Whāriki (Early childhood curriculum); the re-organisation of Christchurch schools; bulk funding of teachers' salaries in the 1990s; and placing politics of blame on schools and teachers during 2012 through to 2017, instead of acknowledging the wider impact of socio-economic issues.

The central emphasis of education policy is to outline the strategic direction; how this is put into practice is left to teachers, school leaders and Boards of Trustees. Māori students succeeding in education has been a priority of the government over the past two decades in Aotearoa and is highlighted in numerous education policies (Abraham et al., 2020; Berryman & Eley, 2017; Education Review Office, 2010). Despite the widespread research for lifting Māori achievement (Bishop et al., 2009), many mainstream educators struggle with offering a culturally responsive learning environment that promotes success for Māori students; and use Māori research to inform curriculum development, including embedding pedagogy preferred by Māori into class programmes (Controller and the Auditor General, n.d.; Education Review Office, 2010).

This perspective is shared by Hetaraka (2019) who questions if *Tātaiako*⁵⁸ is making a difference towards teacher's professional practice and if it delivers on its intentions to transform education for Māori. The Auditor General acknowledges that there has been some improvement, however, not all English-medium schools support Māori students to achieve highly, in comparison to other students; nor do they stay long at school and leave with qualifications than other non-Māori students (Controller and the Auditor General, n.d.).

The gap in educational outcomes between groups of students in New Zealand is also referred to as the 'educational debt' (Berryman & Eley, 2017). Education debt is an accumulation of historical, economical, socio-political and moral decisions, policies and actions taken to address the growing gap and inequities related to Māori underachievement (Berryman & Eley, 2017). The Ministry of Education has over the decades sighted different reasons for this

⁵⁸ *Tātaiako* is cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners and is about teachers' relationships and engagement with Māori learners and with their *whānau* and *iwi* (Ministry of Education, 2011, p.4).

growing gap based on research as indicated by Berryman and Eley (2017) in their summation of trends and explanations for the education debt:

- The Ministry of Education referenced the *Chapple Report* and concluded that the key differences in achievement for Māori students compared to non-Māori students was because of socio-economic status, gaps in the family's resources related to factors that happen outside of the education system at begin at birth for Māori (Chapple, Jefferies, & Walker, 1997);
- Harker (2007) reviewed the data used in *Chapple Report* identified that ethnicity is a significant factor in achievement over and above socio-economic status. He suggested that the explanation of this difference lies at the interface of schools and student ethnicity;
- Hattie (2003) recognised that teacher's practice (higher quality teaching and higher expectations of students) related to utilising pedagogical content knowledge (the way knowledge is used in teaching) made the most difference for student outcomes;
- The research of Bishop and Berryman (2006) acknowledge the discourses that inhibit success for Māori (for example negative experiences in secondary schooling, experiencing negative stereotypes about Māori, hearing mispronounced names and not being allowed to wear their *taonga* like *pounamu*) and they argued that culture speaks for Māori students; and
- In Biddulph et al. (2003) their synthesis of the literature was across New Zealand data. They acknowledged the important influences of families and *whānau* as key levers for high quality outcomes for social and academic achievement. Biddulph et al. (2003) affirm ethnicity and culture are linked to children's achievement. They identified that family attributes (such as parental income during the early years (zero to five years old) can affect their children's achievement during primary school years), family processes (such as high level of educational expectations have the most positive effect on children at senior years of schooling and dysfunctional family processes like conflict, substance abuse, negative role-modelling, disturbed parent-child relationships, deprivation and stimulation of parental affection can affect children's behaviour and performance), community factors (such as peer groups at secondary school can affect student achievement, and if parents and children can access local resources like the library) and school, family and community partnerships (such as genuine home-school collaborations and provision of additional educational resources like children's books can lift children's achievement).

The educational research mentioned above are just some of the projects undertaken to address the need to improve education systems within the context as a teacher, school, across schools, homes and communities, including at the policy level. The next section looks at the impact of education policy on the direction of creating systems level change across communities of learning based on shared achievement challenges.

Communities of Learning

Te Tiriti o Waitangi 1840 guarantees the status of Māori as equal treaty partners (Ka'ai-Mahuta, 2010); yet many Māori students are still disproportionately represented in their educational achievement in comparison to other non-Māori students (Controller & Auditor General, n.d.). A major overhaul in educational policy saw the emergence of the Investing in Educational Success (IES) in 2014 (Rawlins, Ashton, Carusi & Lewis, 2015). This initiative was premised on addressing the quality and equity in educational outcomes; and lifting the quality of leadership and teaching through the 'communities of learning (CoL)' model (Education Review Office, 2017; Ministry of Education, 2017). This model provided opportunities for collaborative inquiry and knowledge sharing and extended career pathways for teachers through three roles, community leader, across-community of learning teacher and within school-teacher (Ministry of Education, 2017).

The Whakatāne Community of Learning consists of schools from early learning to post-secondary. These schools included: Allandale; Apanui; Awakeri; James Street; Nukuhou North; Ohope Beach; St Joseph's Catholic School; Te Kura o Te Paroa (some students in Māori Medium); Trident High School; Whakatāne High School; Whakatāne Intermediate; and Whakatāne Teen Parent Unit. This CoL initiated from out of the Whakatāne Principals Association. A total of 2,945 students were identified in the Whakatāne CoL; particular, focus was on 1717 Māori students (Ministry of Education, n.d.-g). It should be noted that many of these schools sit within the tribal boundaries of Ngāti Awa. According to *Ko Ngāti Awa te Toki - The iwi vision for 2050*, is that intergenerationally, across all year levels, *whānau* share the view that the survival and revitalisation of identity and culture is paramount (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa, n.d.). A significant number of *tamariki Māori* and *rangatahi* are situated in these schools located in the Whakatāne CoL.

Māori student statistics in comparison to other students across Communities of Learning (CoL)

The following tables show below the initial analysis of the achievement data used as part of the CoL's plan to address the shared achievement challenges and for further discussion and collaboration with other schools from the Whakatāne community.

Table 8

Whakatāne Community of Learning Achievement Challenges 2015-2018

Group	Year/Level	Area of learning-not achieving at or above the National Standards	Number of students	% of students
Students	Year 1 – 8	Reading	475/2017	24%
	Year 1 – 8	Writing	642/2017	32%
	Year 1 – 8	Mathematics	552/2017	27%
Māori students	Year 1 – 8	Reading	314/1054	30%
	Year 1 – 8	Writing	404/1054	38%
	Year 1 – 8	Mathematics	351/1054	33%
Secondary school				
Students	Leave school without NCEA Level 2		40/144	28%
Māori students	Leave school without NCEA Level 2		37/81	46%
Pākehā students	Retention rate to age 17			91%
Māori students	Retention rate to age 17			73%
Noted concerns with NCEA achievement (transitioning on pathway/attaining necessary fundamental steps)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The retention of students to age 17 to attain NCEA Level 2 achievement is a challenge with many students leaving school at age 16; • The secondary school has developed an early warning system through tracking and monitoring more closely; • Developing attendance issues; • Not attaining the credits in Year 9 & 10; • More engaging and relevant pathways in Years 11 being explored; • 40/144 students left with less than Level 2 in 2013; • Tertiary participation is fewer than 70% 			

(Adapted from Ministry of Education, n.d.-g).

Table 9*Whakatāne Community of Learning–Achievement data in Writing*

Group	Overall achievement rate is at 68% or above the National Standards for students	Achievement at or above curriculum level 5
Girls	80%	
Boys	58%	
Māori students	62%	
Years 9-10 Students		76%
Years 9-10 Māori boys		71%
Noted concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student disengagement • Lack of purpose and use of authentic contexts • Teacher practice • Limited use of E-Learning • A need to develop students' understanding of their learning 	

(Adapted from Ministry of Education, n.d.-g).

Table 10*Whakatāne Community of Learning – Achievement data in Mathematics*

Group	Overall achievement rate is at 74% or above the National Standards for students	Achievement at or above curriculum level 5
Years 2-10	74%	
Girls	75%	
Māori students	68%	
Years 10 Students		77%
Years 10 Māori boys		55%
Noted Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student disengagement in Mathematics • Lack of authentic learning experiences • Teacher knowledge and confidence in teaching all strands in curriculum • Lack of students' ownership of their learning • Gaps in students' mathematical vocabulary. 	

(Adapted from Ministry of Education, n.d.-g).

Table 11*Whakatāne Community of Learning – Achievement data in Reading*

Group	Overall achievement rate is at 74% or above the National Standards for students	Achievement at or above curriculum level 5
Years 2-10	76%	
Girls	82%	
Boys	72%	
Māori students	70%	
Years 9-10 Māori boys		43%
Noted Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disengagement • Lack of authentic learning experiences given to reading tasks • Teacher practice • Lack of students' ownership of their learning • Gaps in student understanding and skills related to reading vocabulary, phonological and phonemic awareness, and reading comprehension 	

(Adapted from Ministry of Education, n.d.-g).

In New Zealand, there is a growing concern between the widening gaps in student achievement between Māori and non-Māori students (Barnes et al., 2012; Bishop et al., 2009). The historical data reflected above, signals this widening gap, and identifies several contributing factors that hinder success for tamariki Māori and Māori youth within the Whakatāne CoL. Due to the collaborative nature of the Whakatāne CoL this data can be used to inform current and future teaching and leadership practice to change the status quo of lifting student achievement. Since the implementation of the Māori education strategy, *Ka Hikitia Managing for Success 2008 - 2012* (Ministry of Education, 2008) and subsequent revision noted on *Ka Hikitia Accelerating Success 2013 - 2017* (Ministry of Education, 2013b), these statistics indicate disparities between the ideology of government policy that we should do for boosting student achievement for Māori, including promotion and maintenance of the use of Māori language and culture in the school environment, and the reality of what teachers and school leaders actually do in practice to address and monitor these disparities.

The Pūtauaki Ki Rangitāiki Kāhui Ako/Rangitāiki and Kawerau Community of Learning consists of schools from early learning to post-secondary pathway. The CoL covers a wide geographical area of the Eastern Bay of Plenty Plains. These schools included: Edgecumbe Primary; Edgecumbe College; Te Kura o Te Teko; Matatā; St Josephs, Matatā; Otakiri; Kawerau South; Kawerau Pūtauaki; Te Whata Tau o Pūtauaki (Kura-a-Iwi); Tarawera High School; Kawerau Teen Parent Unit; and Te Mahoe School. A total of 2,310 students were identified in the CoL; 1,627 being Māori students who identified as being of Ngāti Awa, Ngāti

Tūwharetoa. The following tables show below the initial analysis of the achievement data used as part of the CoL's plan to address the shared achievement challenges for schools from the Pūtauaki ki Rangitāiki (Ministry of Education, n.d.-h).

Table 12

Pūtauaki ki Rangitāiki Kāhui Ako – Achievement data in Reading and Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori 2015-2019

Group	Overall achievement rate is at 65% or above the National Standards for students	Achievement at or above curriculum level 5
Girls	71%	
Boys	60%	
Māori students	63%	
Māori medium		Overall achievement rate is at 81% for Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori
At Year 9-10		11% of students
Noted Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Year 4-10 in English Medium. 	

(Adapted from Ministry of Education, n.d.-h)

Table 13

Pūtauaki ki Rangitāiki Kāhui Ako– Achievement data in Writing/Tuhituhi and Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori 2015-2019

Group	Overall achievement rate is at 61% or above the National Standards for students	Achievement at or above curriculum level 5
Girls	72%	
Boys	52%	
Māori students	59%	
Māori medium		Overall achievement rate is at 71% for Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori
At Year 9-10		6% of students
Noted Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Needing to develop Writing across all subjects in the primary and secondary curriculum located in both English and Māori Medium schools. This is noted as an essential skill needed for success at NCEA Level 	

(Adapted from Ministry of Education, n.d.-h).

Table 14

Pūtauaki ki Rangitāiki Kāhui Ako Achievement data in Mathematics/Pāngaru and Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori 2015-2019

Group	Overall achievement rate is at 60% or above the National Standards for students	Achievement at or above curriculum level 5
Girls	62%	
Boys	58%	
Māori students	58%	
Māori medium		Overall achievement rate is at 78% for Ngā Whanaketanga Rumaki Māori
At Year 9-10		9% of students
Noted Concerns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This area was missing from the achievement challenge plan. 	

(Adapted from Ministry of Education, n.d.-h).

Table 15*Retention of priority students from National Certificate in Educational Achievement (NCEA) to NCEA Level 3*

School	School Leavers	% NCEA Level 1			% NCEA Level 2			% NCEA Level 3			% University Entrance		
		2013	2014	2015	2013	2014	2015	2013	2014	2015	2013	2014	2015
Edgecumbe College (Decile 3)	Māori	63%	76.5%	63.9%	50%	55.9%	44.4%	21.7%	41.2%	19.4%	4.3%	0	5.6%
	(Number)	29	26	23	23	19	16/36	10	14	7	2	0	2
	European	89.7%	77.8%	88.2%	82.8%	55.6%	82.4%	34.5%	22.2%	29.4%	24.1%	0	11.8%
	(Number)	26	7	15	24	5	14	10	2	5	7	0	2
Tarawera High School (Decile 1)	Māori	70.8%	78.4%	79.5%	47.7%	62.2%	58.9%	23.1%	37.8%	26.0%	7.7%	16.2%	4.1%
	(Number)	46	29	58	31	23	43/73	15	14	19	5	6	3
	European	81.8%	90%	95%	63.6%	60%	95%	36.4 %	50%	60%	18.2%	20%	10%
	(Number)	9	9	19	7	6	19	4	5	12	2	2	2

(Adapted from Ministry of Education, n.d.-h)

The historical data reflected above in Tables 7 to Table 15 reveals a picture that *tamariki Māori* and Māori youth within the CoL are not achieving in parity with other non-Māori students. In the Pūtauaki ki Rangitāiki Kāhui Ako / Rangitāiki and Kawerau Community of Learning, there is a growing concern about the widening gap in completion rates between Māori for NCEA Level 1-3 and Pākehā students to other New Zealand students (Ministry of Education, n.d. - h). The latest data on education counts for the Pūtauaki ki Rangitāiki Kāhui Ako continues to reflect low participation rates of Māori in secondary schooling and successful completion of school qualifications. The data reveals that there are still low numbers of Māori students being able to access and engage and successfully completing qualifications (level 7 – degree) in higher tertiary education (Ministry of Education, n.d.- i). In tertiary related research on Māori participation and completion rates, Abraham et al. (2020) acknowledges:

that successful completion of a qualification is generally a stepping-stone to further participation in higher education (p. 17).

Most schools are either low decile in the Pūtauaki ki Rangitāiki Kāhui Ako and are situated within the tribal boundaries of either Ngāti Awa, or Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. As alluded to earlier in the chapter, many inequities exist for Māori students and their *whānau* within these iwi boundaries. Seven of the eleven schools in the lowest deciles (deciles 1 and 2) attract their students from communities with the highest degree of socio-economic disadvantage (Ministry of Education, n.d.-h). This aligns with internationally, studies showing that students' coming from a disadvantaged socio-economic background and often their parent's education experiences have a strong impact on participation and completion of tertiary education (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2017).

Ministry of Education Māori student achievement initiatives and strategies

The table below shows a significant proportion of Māori students are in mainstream schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry of Education, n.d.-j). As of 1 July 2016, there were 187,331 Māori students in compulsory schooling; 126,713 are in primary schooling; and 9.5 percent of Māori teaching staff across state and state integrated schools (Ministry of Education, n.d.-j).

Table 16*Total Number of Māori students in state schooling 2016*

Form of schooling	Māori students
Primary education (Y0-8) English Medium	126,713
Secondary education (Year 9-13) English Medium	61,018
Māori Medium education (Primary)	14,810
Māori Medium education (Secondary)	13,867

(Adapted from Ministry of Education, n.d.-j)

Arguably the need to be better across all education sectors at serving Māori, *whānau* and their communities is clearly outlined by the Government's cross agency strategy for the education sector, as part of the revised Māori Education Strategy - *Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success for Māori* (Ministry of Education, 2013a). This is also acknowledged by educators of the two *kahui ako* in their achievement challenge plans to lift student achievement for Māori through transforming teachers' practice, primarily in English-Medium schools within the tribal boundaries of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau (Ministry of Education, n.d.-g; Ministry of Education, n.d.-h).

The role of the Ministry of Education and development of Māori education strategy

Hetaraka (2019) points out that in the new millennium the government has moved away from deficit theorising in policies to more informed ways of realising Māori potential. This shift in the Ministry's practice and ideology contributed to the development of Māori education strategies:

- Ka Hikitia;
- Tau mai Te reo;
- Tātaiako: Cultural competencies for Teachers of Māori learners; and
- Whakapūmautia, Papakōwhaitia, Tau Ana.

These strategies are some examples lead by the Ministry which focus on raising student achievement, promotes the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* for Māori students in primary schools and strengthening relationships between *iwi* and the Ministry of Education (Hetaraka, 2019). Underpinning these various strategies was the Māori potential approach developed by Te Puni Kōkiri in 2004; which viewed Māori culture as an advantage to education; Māori can achieve success and acknowledges the unlimited potential of Māori learners (Hetaraka, 2019).

The history of Ka-Hikitia

The first Māori education strategy was initiated in 1999 and had three goals:

- Raise the quality of English-medium education for Māori;
 - To support the growth of high quality *kaupapa Māori* education; and
 - To support greater Māori involvement and authority in education
- (Berryman & Eley, 2017, p. 1)

Berryman and Eley (2017) acknowledge that the first strategy recognised Māori educational success was a Ministry-wide responsibility which led to a roll out of a range of initiatives including: *iwi* education partnerships; professional development programmes such as Te Kotahitanga⁵⁹ and Te Kahua⁶⁰; the Whakaaro Mātauranga communications campaign (Te Mana – ki te Taumata)⁶¹

Table 17

History of Ka Hikitia background in New Zealand education system

Year	Outline
1998	Extensive consultation by the Ministry of Education and Te Pūni Kokiri with Māori about developing a Māori education strategy.
1999	The first Māori strategy published 3 main goals: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise the quality of English-medium education for Māori; • Support the growth of high quality <i>kaupapa Māori</i> education; and • Support greater Māori involvement and authority in education.
2005	New initiatives are developed such as research projects and evaluations providing more information on student achievement and <i>iwi</i> -Ministry partnerships. Some movement in Māori student achievement. The 1999 Māori Education strategy republished to indicate the Ministry of Education commitment to Māori education.
2006	Redevelopment of Māori education strategy; Ka Hikitia-Setting priorities for Māori education is an internal document setting out the strategies for the next five years of engagement with <i>iwi</i> and key education sector groups. This strategy also contributed to the Tertiary Education Sector strategy 2007-2012.
2007	Ka Hikitia-Managing for Success: The draft Māori education strategy 2008-2012 is released. Public consultation between August and October on the above strategy.
2008	Ka Hikitia-Managing for Success: The Māori education strategy 2008-2012 is released.
2012	The Ministry of Education leads the Me Kōrero: Let's talk survey, giving feedback for informing the next stage of implementing Ka Hikitia.
2013	Ka Hikitia Accelerating success is released.

(Adapted from Ministry of Education, 2020, July 19).

⁵⁹ Te Kotahitanga is an iterative school reform that supports teachers to improve Māori students' learning and achievement, enabling teachers to create a culturally responsive context for learning which is responsive to evidence of student performance and understandings (Source: <https://tekotahitanga.tki.org.nz/About>).

⁶⁰ Te Kahua (Māori mainstream pilot project) was a Ministry of Education professional development initiative aimed at growing teacher capabilities and cultural competencies (Gorinski, 2007).

⁶¹ A national information campaign launched in 2016 to raise expectations of Māori achievement (Berryman & Eley, 2017).

Ka Hikitia Accelerating Success for Māori

The Government through the Ministry of Education takes an active role in reducing the disparities between Māori and non-Māori students across the education system very seriously (Berryman & Elley, 2017). This resonates with the Ministry of Education website that there is an aspiration for the education system to be high performing so that all Māori students gain the skills, qualifications and knowledge they need to enjoy and achieve education success as Māori (Ministry of Education, 2020, July 19). This strategy was clearly outlined in the first Māori education strategy and vision: *Ka Hikitia: Managing for Success 2008 – 2012* (Ministry of Education, 2008). Then it was refreshed and relaunched as *Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success 2013 – 2017* (Berryman & Elley, 2017). According to Berryman and Elley (2017), the Ministry of Education defined the vision of *Ka Hikitia* as:

To step up, to lift up or strengthen one's stride and challenges educators with stepping up how the education system performs to ensure Māori students are enjoying and achieving educational success as Māori.

(p. 1)

The *Ka Hikitia Managing for Success: The Māori education strategy for 2008 - 2012*, focused on “building strong foundations for learning early in the system and at key transition points as a prerequisite for further education and qualifications” (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 2). Hohepa and McIntosh (2017) argue that a point of difference to the refreshed Māori education strategy is supporting successful transitions across the educational journey of Māori students. While this strategy posits Western educational outcomes and qualifications, the Ministry of Education (2013b) highlights the importance of developing successful transitions are critical in enabling strong educational pathways for Māori students (p. 24).

Ka Hikitia: Accelerating Success 2013 - 2017 appeals for systems level change within the education system, and subsequently was followed by the release of *Tātaiako: Cultural competencies for teachers of Māori learners* (Hetaraka, 2019). The intention of *Tātaiako* as an education strategy was to positively focus on transforming outcomes for Māori learners in English medium schools whereby teachers developed their understanding of Māori values and *tikanga* embedded within *mātauranga Māori* (Hetaraka, 2019).

The Ministry of Education (2013b) has acknowledged in their Māori education strategy that identity, language, and culture are critical factors of Phase 2 of *Ka Hikitia* in the educational success of Māori and further argue that schools and teachers need a greater understanding of the importance of such factors. Yet it appears not much progress has been made since the Education Review Office (2010) evaluation of the first phase of *Ka Hikitia* shown on how well

schools and teachers have implemented these critical factors which also is identified in Phase 2 of *Ka Hikitia* and particularly, on the role that *whānau* play in supporting schools to meet such critical factors for informing educational success of Māori.

This trend for *iwi* involvement and partnership with Māori is recognised in *Ka Hikitia*, within Phase 3 and beyond, which emphasises the need for innovative community, *iwi* and Māori-led models of educational provision (Ministry of Education, 2013b). *Ka Hikitia* as an educational strategy recognises two sets of critical factors that make the most difference to Māori students' educational success (Ministry of Education, 2013b). One set of critical factors required to improve teaching and learning was having quality leadership, and effective governance. The second set of critical factors that enables quality teaching and learning was having strong engagement and contribution from students, parents and *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, Māori organisations, communities, and businesses.

In terms of this research, both sets of critical factors are pertinent for informing and deepening understanding on how there is an interconnectedness between educational success and the impact of trauma on *whānau*. Yet, what is not clear since the inception of *Ka Hikitia* Phase 2 in 2013 - 2017, is how well mainstream schools are effectively implementing *Ka Hikitia* strategies and policies, and the impact of this educational strategy on Māori enjoying success as Māori. There is an assumption made that all schools will have adopted and taken on board this Māori education strategy, but from my professional experience for example, some mainstream schools have not been able to meet Focus Area 1: Māori language in Education that is giving Māori students access to high quality Māori language in education (See the Figure 5 below).

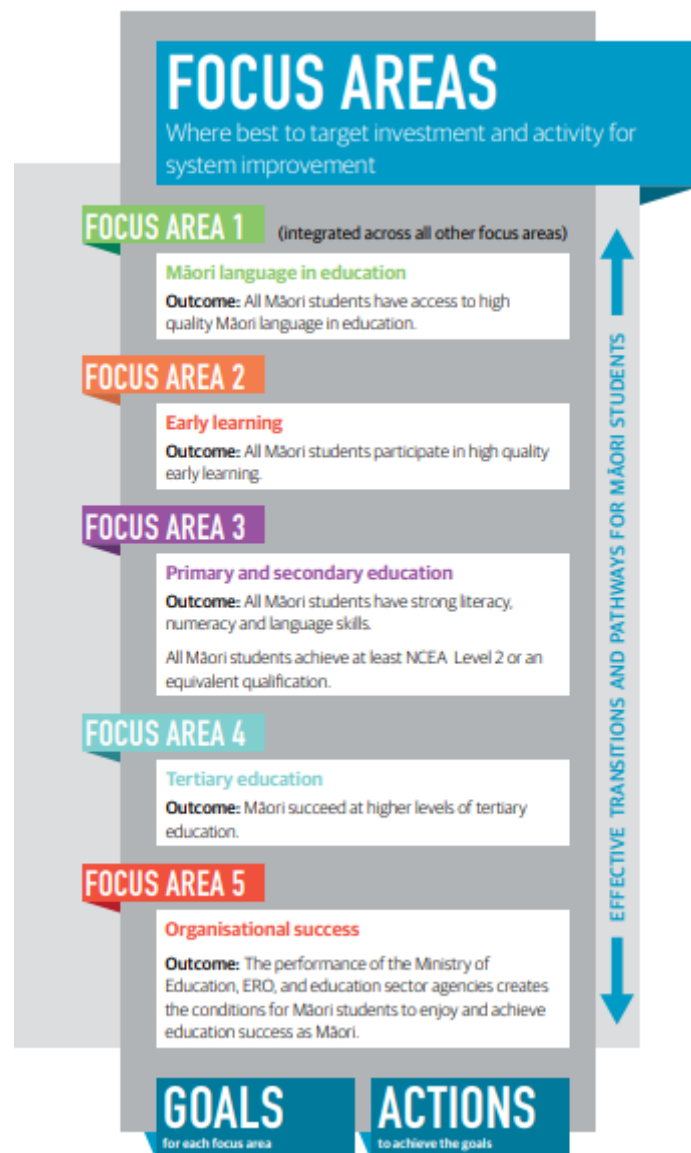


Figure 5. The focus areas. From Ka Hikitia – Accelerating Success for Māori students by Ministry of Education, 2013b & Ministry of Education 2013d.

Available research evidence highlights the significance of relationships and culture in enhancing transitions for Indigenous children and their families (Hohepa & McIntosh, 2017). The existence of Māori-medium and English-medium pathways is generating increasing interest in research (Hohepa & McIntosh, 2017). The majority of Māori children develop their learning identities in English-medium primary classrooms (Stewart, 2014). Current policy makes it clear that the survival of *te reo Māori* is dependent on teachers, school leaders, Boards of Trustees and *whānau* (Ministry of Education, 2013a) and should not solely be placed on the Māori-medium schools (Stewart, 2014). This suggests it is possibly a priority area of research that warrants review in English-medium primary schools based on information for school boards of trustees (Ministry of Education, 2013a) as it is not evident

how schools meet their responsibilities as Treaty partners with Māori for: providing quality *te reo Māori* education across the entire Māori student population; or how they provide Māori students programmes and activities that build understanding of *tikanga* Māori and how students are progressing in these areas.

This perspective aligns with the Auditor General views that there has been lost opportunity for transformative change within the Ka Hikitia policy due to the launch and introduction of the policy. The Office of the Auditor General (2013) report states:

The Ministry of Education (the Ministry) introduced Ka Hikitia slowly and unsteadily. Confused communication about who was intended to deliver Ka Hikitia, unclear roles and responsibilities in the Ministry, poor planning, poor programme and project management, and ineffective communication with schools have meant that action to put Ka Hikitia into effect was not given the intended priority. As a result, the Ministry's introduction of Ka Hikitia has not been as effective as it could have been.

(p. 7)

Tau mai te reo: *Māori language* in education strategy

In the 2013, National Census, 148,400 people were reported as being able to conduct an 'everyday' conversation in Māori, about everyday things. This was a decrease from 23.7 percent in 2006 and 25.2 percent in 2001 (Ministry of Social Development, 2020). Barr and Seals (2018) argue:

there is an intergenerational gap in users of *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) particularly in the education domain, which signifies the historically inequitable treatment of Aotearoa New Zealand's Indigenous language.

(p. 436)

This has implications for the survival of the language and any revitalisation language strategies and policies being placed in English-medium schools and enacted by teachers. Barr and Seals (2018) affirm this perspective as teachers are required to embed and incorporate the Māori language into their classroom programme as part of maintaining their practicing teacher criteria, in upholding the obligations and responsibilities set out in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Other considerations that impact on successfully supporting learners of *te reo Māori* in schools is the level and form of support given to develop language skills of teachers and resource the teaching of the language. Barr and Seals (2018) identify these facets of consideration, they suggest:

New Zealand is to achieve an educational landscape resonating with *te reo*, it is necessary for training institutions to support teachers' development as access providers of the language, and for schools and policy makers to be supported wholly and realistically, understanding the needs of each school and the multifaceted identities of the teachers within them.

(p. 445)

Stewart (2014) adds to this by noting that in order for primary classroom teachers to deliver a credible classroom programme of teaching in *te reo Māori*, they would need to be provided with high quality professional learning programmes and classroom resources to support the larger goal of securing and protecting the future of *te reo Māori* for future generations.

The Māori language in education strategy, *Tau Mai Te Reo* has a crucial role in promoting *te reo Māori* as a *taonga* and in English medium classrooms is a key learning area of the New Zealand Curriculum (Ministry of Education, 2007; Ministry of Education, 2013c; Stewart, 2014). *Tau Mai Te Reo: The Māori Language in Education Strategy 2013 – 2017* is a cross agency strategy for the education sector, including all early learning centres, schools, and tertiary organisations (Ministry of Education, 2013c). The intention of the framework is to provide all students with some level of Māori language skills to support development of National identity (Ministry of Education, 2013c).

Maihi Karauna: The Crown's Māori language Strategy

The *Maihi Karauna* is the New Zealand government's Māori language strategy that sets out the vision for *te reo Māori* in the future (Ministry of Education, n.d.-k). Together, *Ka Hikitia*, including the accompanying strategy, *Tau Mai Te Reo* and *Maihi Karauna* attempt to grow the number of New Zealanders with the necessary Māori language skills through the education system (in both Māori-medium, bilingual and immersion settings, including English-medium settings) and support Māori language learners to achieve excellent education outcomes (Ministry of Education, n.d.-k). The *Maihi Karauna* ambitious broad vision and outcomes are contained and mapped out as part of the *Tau Mai* approach, which aims to have 85% of New Zealanders; about one million or more New Zealanders, speaking *te reo Māori* with confidence on a regular basis (Ministry of Education, n.d.-k).

Summary

This chapter captures the different perspectives from educators, Māori students, and outside agencies of what 'educational success as Māori might look like in schools, including how the Māori language is to be preserved for future generations across the education sector. The literature highlighted there is a paucity of literature that studies the interface of the transmission of trauma and the impacts of mainstream schooling on educational success for Māori and examines *whānau* perspectives of educational success as Māori, located within their Indigenous *iwi* worldview. Some of the different education strategies and research approaches suggests more can be done within mainstream schooling to address achievement for Māori that is grounded in Māori culture, Māori language and *tikanga Māori*. The literature has shown that teachers are expected to provide learning environments that is inclusive of *te reo Māori*, Māori culture and *tikanga Māori* but there exists a gap in the literature identifying if teachers in mainstream school are prepared well enough to teach Māori children, and if schools truly support teachers to do this within the mainstream school settings from which this research is conducted in. The next chapter now introduces the concept of trauma and the contribution this has towards educational success for Māori, particularly those who come from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau who are central to this research.

Chapter Five: The impact of ‘trauma’ on Māori outcomes and success in education

Introduction

This chapter introduces the different types of trauma that can be experienced by individuals, collectives, and communities, and how the manifestation of trauma continues to impact on the health and well-being and the educational success of subsequent generations of *tamariki* Māori, *whānau* and *hapū* within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau.

To explore the intergenerational transmission of historical and cultural trauma, its effects and mechanisms, I firstly address how trauma is understood and interpreted, by providing definitions for trauma, before I can offer my own understanding of intergenerational transmission of historical trauma (HT) and cultural trauma (CT), and the implications that intergenerational transmission of HT and CT has on the field of research related to the educational success of *tamariki* Māori in mainstream schools.

The themes that are examined in this chapter include: (i) a chronology of events that identified trauma on the people; (ii) intergenerational transmission of HT and CT among *whānau* within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau; (iii) and how different types of trauma can affect the educational success of *tamariki* Māori in mainstream schools within each *iwi*. Within this chapter, each theme is defined, its significance established, and links are made between these three key areas.

A genogram is used by the primary researcher to illustrate a chronology of trauma that has been experienced by her immediate and extended *whānau*, alongside a chronology of historical events experienced by both her *iwi*, in an attempt, to better understand the cause and effect of contemporary trauma resulting from intergenerational transmission of HT and CT and the ramifications this has had on current social, economic, health and educational achievement statistics for both *iwi*.

Conceptualising Trauma

Before discussing HT, it is useful to briefly examine current perspectives to understanding trauma and trauma reactions. There are numerous definitions of trauma and life stressors used within the trauma literature that review the impact on individuals, collectives, and communities. Of importance, is that there is considerable variability in individual, collective and community responses to potentially traumatic events and exposure does not necessarily trigger symptoms of dysfunction (Evans-Campbell, 2008). The use of specific terms and

concepts related to how trauma is experienced has been coined by various researchers and professionals. The contention lies with how the term, trauma is interpreted, between Western and Indigenous knowledge systems.

From a Native American Indian perspective, individuals and communities exposed to HT trauma often refer to soul wounding (Duran, 2006). According to Duran (2006), elders described soul wounding as: an ancestral wounding that occurred in the community and had been passed down through generations; a spiritual injury; damaging the earth and disturbing the natural order of the environment exacerbates soul sickness. Furthermore, if trauma is not dealt with in previous generations, it must be dealt with in subsequent generations. However, if left unresolved, the trauma becomes more severe each time it is passed onto a subsequent generation (Duran, 2006). Duran (2006) developed a liberation discourse which provided Native people with some of the knowledge needed to heal the wounded souls of individuals and their communities through the merging of Western ideologies alongside traditional native metaphors. In order to break the cycle of soul wounding, individuals had to firstly address the trauma, and the reasoning behind why the trauma had occurred in the first instance. Critical to this process was implementing the use of Native American cultural practices into the healing process (Duran, 2006).

A Māori perspective for conceptualising trauma is viewed much broader than a Western perspective and often involves elements of physical, mental and emotional health. L. Pihama (personal communication, October 24, 2018) describes *patu ngākau* (form of trauma) being a psychological event that has occurred within a victim, and the event has attributed to some form of abuse toward the victim. This abuse can be either physical, psychological or both has an impact which is perceived as an assault to the *ngākau* (heart, mind, soul), that is the emotional core of a person and the location where memories are stored. Other forms of *patu ngākau* which might render a victim with a feeling of internal powerlessness include natural disasters and calamities such as earthquakes or floods. *Patu ngākau* was also a term often used by correspondents to the colonial government relating to landloss that accompanied colonisation (L. Pihama, personal communication, October 24, 2018).

Definitions

Braveheart (2003) defines HT as:

the cumulative and psychological wounding over the life span and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences (p. 7).

Mohatt, Thompson, Thai & Tebes, (2014) defined HT as:

... complex and collective trauma experienced over time and across generations by a group of people who share an identity, affiliation, or circumstance (p. 128).

HT generally consists of three elements: an act(s) of trauma, the sharing of that trauma by a collective rather than an individual and where the effects of the trauma are experienced across multiple generations (Mohatt et al., 2014). HT is a valuable concept for Indigenous people as it links past injustice to present-day contexts. Much of the literature has focused on health impacts of HT, in particular for mental health (Duran, 2006; Evans-Campbell, 2008). In a similar discussion of HT, Evans-Campbell (2008), argues that HT is collective trauma inflicted on a group of people who share a specific group identity or affiliation such as ethnicity, nationality and religious status. Furthermore, this view is also shared by Pihama et al. (2014), who additionally argues that the impacts of historical trauma events must be fully articulated and how such traumatic events have contributed to the negative health disparities experienced across *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

Theories of HT are increasingly appearing in the literature on individual and community health, particularly those ethnic and racial populations and minority groups that experience significant health disparities (Mohatt, et al, 2014). One of the salient features in the literature on HT is the extent to what is understood as cumulative emotional wounding, over the lifespan and across generations, emanating from massive group trauma experiences such as genocide (Stevens, Andrade, Korchmaros & Sharron, 2015), and is recognised to manifest in a range of dysfunctional behaviours, such as childhood abuse, domestic and sexual violence, substance abuse, and suicide.

Cultural Trauma (CT) defined

Several definitions of CT have been proposed in the trauma literature. CT has been defined as occurring when individuals and members of a collective feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks and scars upon the individuals and groups' consciousness, and forever changing their future identity (Alexander, 2004). Carey (2016) acknowledges that the notion of CT is increasingly being recognised as a concept that represents the individual and collective suffering experienced by Indigenous peoples. Carey (2016) draws similarities on how CT has impacted on her self-concept and speaks of CT as a wound that caused her to feel a sense of emptiness, coming from nowhere, and belonging to nothing. Key features of the emerging New Zealand literature include healing such cultural wounds spoken by Carey and recovering from CT is an important process in transforming human health and well-being (Pihama et al., 2014; Wirihana and Smith, 2014; Carey, 2016).

CT can also be recognised as a social process. Alexander (2004) refers to the social process of CT and uses terms such as cultural carriers being the collective agents of the trauma process. Sztompka (2004) research is different from the previous researchers' definitions in several aspects. One aspect is how Sztompka (2004) research identifies four sources of CT: Intensifying intercultural contact; intensifying spatial mobility; change of fundamental institutions; and the change of ideas. Sztompka's (2004) interpretation of 'intensifying intercultural contact' resonates with Māori researchers' examples of trauma, such as, imperial conquest, colonialism and religious domination by missionaries in New Zealand mainstream schools on Māori students and their *whānau*. Another aspect of CT is intensifying spatial mobility of people. In relation to Māori experiences, there are differing accounts amongst researchers and policymakers if Māori voluntarily put themselves under the jurisdiction of cultures other than their own. A third aspect of CT is the change of fundamental institutions, often this refers to political and economic reforms on the conquerors. Sztompka (2004) further adds that the most traumatic effect is when modernisation is imposed, rather than originating from within, as an Indigenous development. I argue that these interpretations are useful in providing a background to inform the conceptualisation of a model that transcends the trauma which is localised in individuals but also empowers communities and collectives in this research.

The experience of CT has had profound consequences for targeted Indigenous communities across the world, particularly, for Māori, and for *whānau* and *hapū* of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The consequences which each *iwi* have endured included geographical dispossession, loss of material/economic possessions (such as land), dispersion of family and collective networks (traditional kinship model), financial and educational hardship, and inadequate access to resources (Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Claims Settlement Act 2005; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a; Mead et al., 2017). The challenges that ensue following CT in the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries, such as forced separation of *hapū* and communities through land alienation and forced cultural assimilation into a Pākehā way of life, have reshaped each *iwi* respective communities and the lives of survivors and future generations.

Intergenerational Trauma (IgT)

In terms of explanatory paradigms, IgT has been conceptualised as exerting its effects on individuals, families, and communities (Evans-Campbell, 2008). As well there are many terms used in the large body of evidence to describe the multi-generational nature of distress for individuals and in communities which can be commonly known as collective trauma,

intergenerational trauma, multigenerational trauma, HT and family loss trauma (Evans-Campbell, 2008; Stevens et al., 2015). Research on the intergenerational impact of genocide, colonisation, war, and slavery reflects widespread understanding that IgT resonates across generations and throughout communities (Lehnbner & Yehuda, 2018a). Rincom (2013) refers to IgT as the transmission of historical oppression, and its negative consequences across generations of families and communities. Furthermore, Roy (2019) acknowledges that populations subjected to long-term and mass trauma show a higher prevalence of disease, even several generations after the original events. Intergenerational family loss can be experienced within families and describes the trauma when a family member dies unexpectedly, or through an ambiguous loss (Kaplow, Saunders, Angold, & Costello, 2010). In addition, Kaplow et al. (2010) noted that the offspring of individuals who have experienced unexpected family loss are more inclined to have substance use problems.

Stevens et al. (2015) has proven that IgT has a psychological wounding effect on an individual's self-worth, mental health, and behaviours, and this is passed onto subsequent generations (Stevens et al., 2015). Mounting evidence suggests that using traditional healing methods with Indigenous Native Americans clients who have been exposed to IgT (Duran, 2006; Brave Heart, 2003) is a critical step in the healing process. As part of healing soul wounds, Duran (2006) argues that the healer, firstly, must assess the type of typology that the patient is manifesting and in keeping with tradition healing, it is vital for balance and harmony to be restored as part of stopping symptom/s manifestation.

As noted in the literature, there are many approaches to the study of intergenerational effects and mechanisms of trauma. Yet, much controversy exists on how CT and HT can be transmitted intergenerationally from parents to offspring, or even to later generations (Lehrner & Yehuda, 2018a). The transmission or manifestation of IgT effects were introduced in the psychiatric literature through descriptions in behavioural and clinical problems in offspring of Holocaust survivors, and later built upon in the investigation of AIAN communities (Evans-Campbell, 2008). According to Evans-Campbell (2008), the intergenerational transmission of HT and its effects can occur indirectly or directly at the interpersonal and societal level. In the case of direct transmission, children may often hear and listen to stories about the experiences of their parents or grandparents and consequently, suffer from associated psychological problems (Auerhan & Laub, 1998 as cited in Evans-Campbell, 2008). Beckerman and Sarracco (2019) state that children can carry the trauma physically and emotionally and concluded that an individual is three times more likely to experience Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) if one of their parents had suffered from it.

Trauma affects individuals and collectives

Awareness of the intergenerational transmission of trauma originated from research with collective trauma survivors and their descendants following the Holocaust and their families after World War II, the Armenian genocide, the Second World War (WWII) internment of Japanese-Americans, and the colonisation of Indigenous peoples (Bezo & Maggi, 2015). Stevens et al. (2015) confirm that trauma can be experienced by both individuals, and groups of people. Hence, defining trauma is arguably a complicated process (Stevens et al., 2015), and in particular, in the conceptualisation of the intergenerational transmission of trauma (IgT) for this proposed research. There are varying 'Trauma Theories' associated with individual and collective trauma on Indigenous populations. However, a starting point in providing a definition on trauma theories for this research would be to review a combination of both Western and Indigenous literature on HT, CT and IgT.

In more specific and directed research exploring the colonial trauma of Indigenous populations, Indigenous Native American researchers' have sought to understand the connection between contemporary health and wellbeing disparities of American Indian and Native Alaskans. Their contributions to the literature on HT, CT and IgT further explores the impact of assimilative colonial practices that devastated communities of Indigenous populations (Braveheart, 2003; Duran as cited in Pihama et al., 2014). Thought leaders in the field of HT, CT, IgT and Colonial Trauma research in Aotearoa New Zealand, give crucial insights into the causes and mechanisms which contribute towards the antecedents of current-day inequities in health and social wellbeing, experienced by Indigenous Māori resulting from colonial settler societal experiences (Borell, Moewaka-Barnes & McCreanor; 2018; Reid, Rout, Tau & Smith, 2017a; Pihama et al., 2014; Wirihana & Smith, 2014).

During the past five years, there has been a heightened awareness of HT, CT and IgT in New Zealand. An extensive literature documents the traumatic assaults on Māori which have had enduring consequences for *whānau* and their communities. This has led to critical conversations amongst Indigenous Native American researchers with Māori researchers surrounding the impact of psychosocial domination by the colonisers on Māori in New Zealand (Pihama et al., 2014), and the impact this has had on health and well-being and the transferring of epigenetic effects to successive generations of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (Wirihana & Smith, 2014). The enormous influence of the Indigenous interpretation of CT, HT and IgT theories can be seen in the manner which it has informed the recent efforts of leading *kaupapa Māori* researchers, such as Pihama et. al (2014) and Wirihana and Smith (2014). What these theorists have in common is they all acknowledge how CT and HT resulting from colonisation continues to have compounding effects of traumatic historical events on Māori individual and

collective well-being between generations; however, Reid et al. (2017a) in 'The Whenua Project' explored the additional effects of the colonising environment (that is the atmosphere created by the settler states that traumatises through economic and political instability, arbitrary justice and constant threat) on Ngāi Tahu *whānau*.

As Reid et al. (2017a) outlined, the main finding of the 'Whenua Project' (identified that "the intergenerational trauma caused by colonisation is linked to the fundamental and long-lasting structural changes and psychosocial challenges caused by the ongoing processes of settler colonisation" (p. 9). Of central interest to this project was the evidence highlighted that overtime, the diminishment and structural undermining of Māori political, economic, and social institutions and, in turn, had negative impacts on Māori ethnocultural identity (the internalising of the dominant group negative evaluations of them) and personal self-concept (low self-esteem related to dominant groups evaluations of them) that perpetuate the trauma among *whānau*. Further to this, the changes and challenges of such behaviour and actions is what creates and generates a traumatic colonising environment (Reid et al., 2017a). This main finding provides additional insight when taking into consideration the impact of colonising environment and the subsequent exposure to settler institutions and wider society.

The application of this in my research is that some tamariki Māori and *whānau* who participate in mainstream schools, may in fact, be still experiencing trauma in the form of politico-economic deprivation and cultural alienation from such a Western driven section of the wider settler state and society. This means they are unable to access and participate in education and therefore are left behind, adding to the inequities. I now provide a general review of how others have interpreted HT as part of understanding how HT might influence the current health and educational achievement disparities of *tamariki Māori* in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Historical trauma theory development

Those with individual histories of trauma are possibly more likely to experience negative behavioural health and social outcomes, as well as can experience difficulties in daily functioning and quality of life. Hence, the HT Theory is arguably an important concept for Indigenous peoples as it connects past injustices to present-day contexts (Borrell et al., 2018). The Indigenous literature has clearly focused on health impacts of HT for mental health and addictions (Duran, 2006). HT as a theory emerged from over more than twenty years of clinical practice and observations that included preliminary qualitative and quantitative research (Brave Heart, 2003). Stevens et al. (2015) acknowledged that HT is sometimes referred to as community trauma and is experienced by a group or community as a whole whether it is a natural disaster or an infliction by a person(s) on another group or community. In the early

development stages of the HT theory, Brave Heart (2003) defined HT as massive cumulative trauma across generations rather than the more limited diagnosis of posttraumatic stress disorder, which was found to be inadequate in capturing the influence and attributes of Native Trauma connected to Native communities, like the Lakota. In addition, the general and Jewish literature (Borell et al., 2018; Lehrner & Yehuda, 2018a & 2018b) support the theoretical constructs underpinning the concept HT, specifically the features and mechanisms for intergenerational transmission of trauma (Lehrner & Yehuda, 2018a).

Generally, HT consists of three elements: the traumatic event; the shared experience of the trauma by a group of people; and the multigenerational impact of such trauma (Mohatt et al., 2014). Similarly, Sotero (2006) describes there are three basic constructs of HT theory. These constructs are the HT experience, the historical trauma response, and the intergenerational transmission of HT. Sotero (2006) found from the review of the trauma literature that:

A key feature of HT theory is that the psychological and emotional consequences of the trauma experience are transmitted to subsequent generations through physiological, environmental and social pathways resulting in an intergenerational cycle of trauma response (p. 95).

In understanding how and why certain populations have a higher burden than others, Sotero points out that HT theory provides a macro-level, temporal framework for examining the life course of a population exposed to trauma in time compared within that of unexposed populations. Moreover, *Sotero (2006) states there are four distinct assumptions that underpin this theory:*

- (1) mass trauma is deliberately and systematically inflicted upon a target population by a subjugating, dominant population; (2) trauma is not limited to a single catastrophic event, but continues over an extended period of time; (3) traumatic events reverberate throughout the population, creating a universal experience of trauma; and (4) the magnitude of the trauma experience derails the population from its natural, projected historical course resulting in a legacy of physical, psychological, social and economic disparities that persists across generations (pp. 94-95).

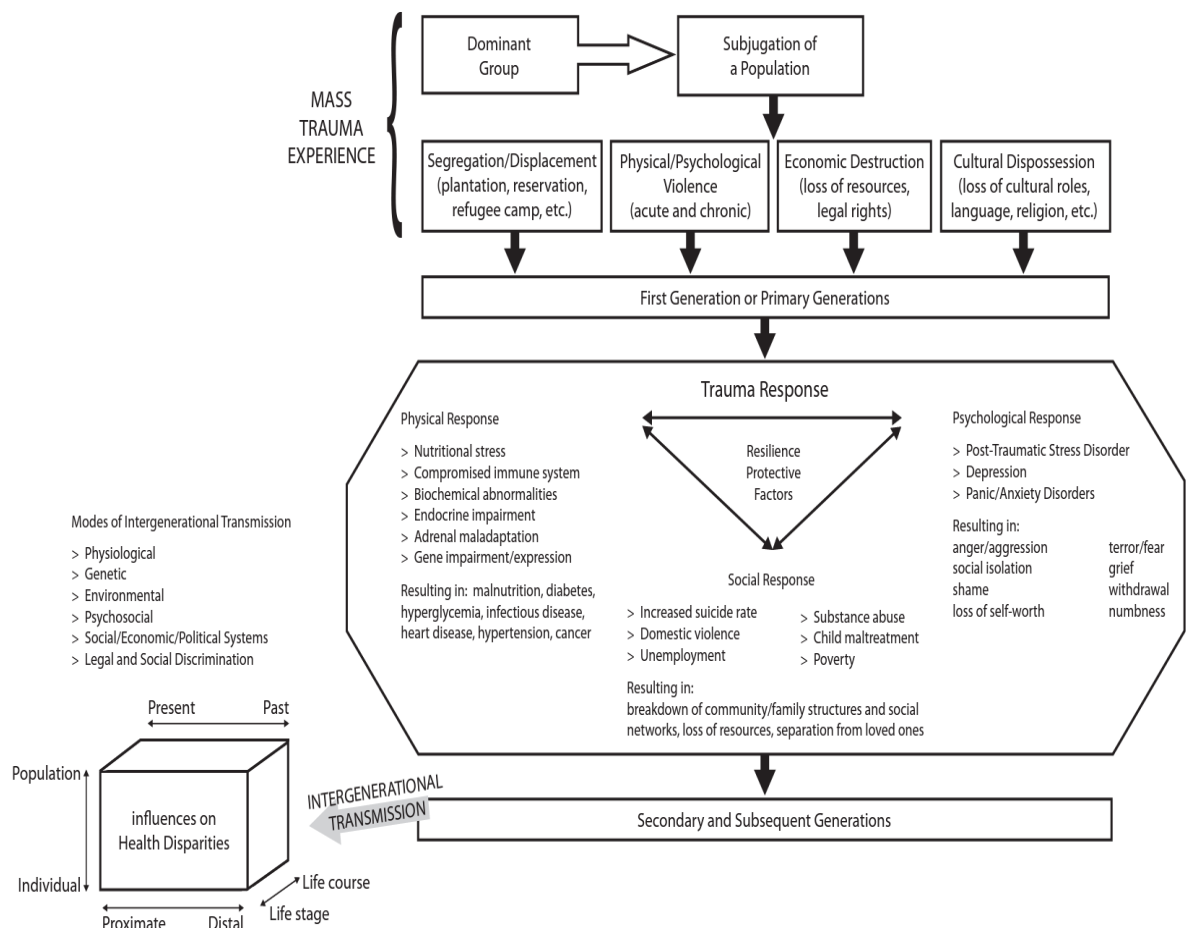


Figure 6: Conceptual Model of Historical Trauma (Sotero, 2006, p. 98).

Sotero (2006) developed a conceptual model of HT (see Figure 6 above) as a way forward to better understand how HT impacts on individuals, collectives, and communities, and particularly, how HT is connected to current health disparities. Firstly, the model posits how HT originates with the subjugation of a population by a dominant group. Examples provided for successful subjugation included: overwhelming physical and psychological violence; segregation and/or displacement; economic deprivation; and cultural dispossession. Sotero (2006) highlighted that dominant groups used various methods to enforce subjugation, examples provided included the use of military force, incarceration, laws that prohibit freedom of movement, economic development, and cultural expression, national policies of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and bio-warfare.

In addition, Sotero (2006) noted that subjugation constituted significant physical and psychological trauma for the affected population. In addition, the model illustrates, primary generations are the direct victims of subjugation and loss, which posed a threat to the lives of the population, their economic dependency and cultural survival. In this first generation, Sotero

(2006) noted that those survivors of the affected population would have witnessed great loss of life, endured brutality and physical injuries, starvation, malnutrition and high rates of infectious and chronic diseases. As a result of experiencing and living through such an ordeal, survivors' psychological and emotional responses stem from experiencing violence, severe stress, pervasive hardship and unremitting grief at the loss of kin, land and their way of life.

The model then details how the secondary and subsequent generations are affected by the trauma through various means. Extreme trauma may lead to subsequent impairments in the capacity for parenting. Similarly, this was also discussed by Lehrner and Yehuda (2018b) in their research on how the effects of CT can be transmitted intergenerationally from parents to off-springs, and onto later generations. As discussed in Sotero (2006), physical and emotional trauma can impair genetic function and expression, which in turn is suggested to affect offspring genetically, through in utero biological adaptations (inside the mother's womb and foetus) or environmentally. Furthermore, evidence suggests that disorders such as mental illness, depression and PTSD can be genetically transmitted to subsequent generations through in utero.

Populations that have historically experienced mass collective trauma may also reveal maladaptive behaviours several generations later. These maladaptive behaviours also heighten social problems such as substance abuse, physical and sexual abuse, and suicide directly traumatise offspring and are indirectly transmitted through learned behaviour perpetuating the intergenerational cycle of trauma (Sotero, 2006). In addition, secondary and subsequent generations can also experience what Sotero (2006) labels as vicarious traumatising through the collective memory, story-telling and oral traditions of the subjugated population. Herein, offspring learn to share in the ancestral pain of their people and may have deep feelings of unresolved grief, persecution and distrust. This in turn, Sotero (2006) suggests these feelings can be further experienced through loss of culture and language, including first-hand experiences of discrimination, injustice, poverty, and social inequality. As a result, such experiences impact on off-spring and reinforces their ancestral knowledge of HT, the experience and the response. This is suggested by Sotero (2006) to have implications on the cumulative effects of HT on the affected population and further, contributes to several population-specific health disparities.

In applying Sotero (2006) framework to both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty), the dominant group being the Settler Government subjugated *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* through overwhelming physical and psychological violence using acts like military force. The battle at

Te Kupenga a Taramainuku Pā in 1865 between Ngāti Awa and the Crown is an example of one method used to enforced subjugation on individuals, collectives and communities. Another example of subjugation used by the Settler Crown on both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa was designing laws that benefited the Government. The abuse of legislation saw *whānau* and *hapū* being displaced from their own lands arising from the government's confiscation of 448,000 acres of land from within the Eastern Bay of Plenty in 1866 and somewhat 94 years later the enforced taking of land in the development of Tasman Paper and Pulp Mill through laws that benefited the New Zealand Government, Fletcher Challenge and interested directors of now Norske Skog Tasman (Geothermal Energy Act, 1953; Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Claims Settlement Act, 2005).

In the trauma literature there exists a wide range of interpretations for describing events and varying forms of HT. Examples of events and various forms of HT experienced by the two iwi in this research include: the alienation of significant proportions of Māori land; alienation of customary Māori land from communal ownership into individualised titles arising from wrongful compensation processes and practices of the Native Māori Land Court; forced relocation of *hapū*; and repetitive acts of ethnocide used by Pākehā to subjugate and deliberate cause destruction to Māori as a people initially through targeted settler government policies and legislation used by educators in Mission and Native Schools during the establishment of New Zealand's education system (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a; Green, 1995; Ngāti Tūwharetoa [Bay of Plenty] Claims Settlement Act, 2005; Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006; Simon & Smith, 2001; Bishop, 2003).

A multi-level framework provided by Evans-Campbell (2008) shows how HT can impact at three levels: the individual; the family; and the community. Exposure to HT can cause variability in trauma reactions of individuals, families and communities. Evans-Campbell (2008) speaks of such variability in individual responses and trigger symptoms of dysfunction. In addition, dysfunctional reactions to HT have been best understood through PTSD, which was developed as a tool to best understand negative reactions to lifetime and intergenerational events (Evans-Campbell, 2008). At the individual level responses to traumatic events may include symptoms of PTSD and guilt, anxiety, grief. Responses at the familial level may include impaired family communication and stress around parenting. Lastly, at the community level can include the breakdown of traditional culture and values, the loss of traditional rites of passage, high rates of alcoholism, high rates of physical illness (such as obesity) and internalised racism. It is evident in Evans-Campbell (2008) multi-level framework on responses to HT, how each level is interrelated with each other. Individual responses are influenced by familial experiences, and responses at both the individual and familial levels are

dependent on community-level responses to HT. At the same time the community responses to the trauma are reified by the individual and family levels. The fact of the matter is that this is suggested to have implications in the intergenerational transmission of HT and approaches to healing.

Using a HT lens has allowed many trauma researchers to expand their focus from isolated events and their impacts to the compounding effect of numerous events over time (Evans-Campbell, 2008). In general, Evans-Campbell (2008) identified three key characteristics of HT: (1), HT is widespread through AIAN communities and those individuals who have been affected by the historical event; (2), the events generate high levels of collective distress and mourning in contemporary communities and this distress is further highlighted in the shared narratives of the events in communities; and (3), many of the HT events are human initiated and intentional, also can be classified under the category of genocide (physical, cultural or ethnocide) and are considered devastating.

Previous scholarship has identified a far-reaching array of historical events that possibly have contributed to HT in Māori communities (Pihama et al., 2014; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). For some Māori they continue to live in traumatic environments although the original trauma has passed on some generations ago and suffer as a result of such long-term oppression. Evans-Campbell (2008) speaks of this concept as a Historical Trauma Response (HTR), which refers to the reactions that individuals and communities experience as a result of long-term oppressive events. Consequently, we now see that unresolved grief and the aftermath of HT contributing to the deficit statistics in poverty, suicide, homelessness, educational achievement, family violence, child abuse, child maltreatment, alcoholism, and other social problems which continue to manifest in *whānau*, *hapū* and Māori communities within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

The transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma

The trauma of colonisation, land alienation and the settler state's cultural assimilative policies and practices used during the nineteenth and twentieth century have had a significant impact on the health and well-being of *tamariki Māori*, *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (Pihama et al., 2014; Reid et al., 2017a; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Yet, what is discerning is how trauma continues to perpetuate and affect successive generations after colonisation has somewhat ended. The intention of this section is to explore the different types of trauma, the manifestations of such trauma on individuals, families and communities and discuss what the possible mechanisms are that continue the intergenerational transmission of effects between subsequent generations. Specifically, I will review both Western and Indigenous literature on the

intergenerational transmission of HT and CT associated with colonisation and generations of cultural assimilation, and the ongoing process of this trauma (specific traumagenic events and circumstances) primarily related through the context of *tamariki Māori*, *whānau* and *hapū* within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

A framework is needed to examine and understand such an immense concept like trauma. This section begins with an introduction of the influence of the Native American trauma research in shaping the Māori trauma research field. Following this I examine the Ngāi Tahu research on the impact of 'the colonising environment' and provide insights into the main structural processes and psychosocial challenges experienced by Māori since the onset of colonisation in New Zealand. Then the focus shifts to conceptualising trauma, which is an important part of laying the foundation in defining the interconnected concepts of HT and CT. I then look at how these trauma concepts and the colonising environment has contributed towards current statistics on Māori student achievement, and societal inequities for *whānau* and collectives of communities within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. This includes exploring the mechanisms that enable the transmission of trauma between generations. Next, the review moves onto defining educational success from both a Western and Māori perspective and lastly, I provide a critique of how Māori ideologies, such as cultural practices and values, can be incorporated into models of healing into mainstream school settings as part of informing the area of research on the relationship between trauma, colonising environment and educational success of *tamariki Māori*.

Influence of Indigenous trauma literature on Māori trauma research

In the last decade, the HT research on American Indian/Alaskan Native (AIAN) populations has provided a conceptual framework to further add to the literature on Māori trauma research, that can be localised to Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, particularly, focusing on each *iwi* developing their own trauma and healing frameworks, as part of healing from unresolved historical grief, HT and CT, and the intergenerational transmission of HT and CT across successive generations. Native researchers like Duran (2006) and Brave Heart (2003) have illustrated through their extensive research that HT is a precipitating condition influencing ethnic health disparities.

Inherent in the Lakota research, a key priority has involved addressing the wounding of the soul of individuals, communities and collectives by healing from cumulative mass trauma, cumulative injustices and discrimination and historical unresolved grief across generations (Brave Heart, 2003; Duran, 2006; Evans-Campbell, 2008). Braveheart (as cited in New Mexico (NM) Cares Health Disparities Center, n.d.) described historical unresolved grief as the grief

that accompanies historical trauma. The literature has highlighted a collection of common responses, which has been termed as HTR. These HTR may include rumination over past events and lost ancestors, survivor guilt, unresolved mourning, anger, depression, feeling numb in response to traumatic events, intrusive dreams and thoughts and fantasies about saving lost ancestors (Evans-Campbell, 2008). The development of a Lakota historical trauma response theory has enabled the Lakota people to create new narratives for their people, firstly, by acknowledging the trauma and its impact on individuals, communities and collectives and secondly, through the creation of a transcending process of healing within their tribal communities (Brave Heart, 2003; Duran, 2006).

In 1992, the Takini Network was established as a non-for-profit organisation, dedicated to community healing from massive group trauma, and is in Rapid City, South Dakota (NM Cares Health Disparities Center, n.d.). The 'Takini Network' conceptualised HT in the 1980's, to develop stronger understanding of why life for many Native Americans were not living the American Dream (NM Cares Health Disparities Center, n.d.).

To address such complex factors of mass trauma and responding to grief, Brave Heart developed a historical intervention model as a way for individuals and communities to heal from historical traumatic grief and HT. The model relies on four components designed to foster healing from grief: 1) confronting the history; 2) understanding the trauma and its effects; 3) releasing the pain; and 4) transcending the trauma (Brave Heart, 2005). This HT and Unresolved Grief Intervention was selected as a Tribal Best Practice by First Nations Behavioral Health Association and the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) (NM Cares Health Disparities Center, n.d.). Brave Heart (as cited in NM Cares Health Disparities Center, n.d.) acknowledges that for healing to be effective, she deemed it critical to focus on healing the next seven generations. This included acknowledging individual lifespan trauma and incorporating their culture's ceremonies in the healing process as well as developing Native research on HT and interventions.

A core tenet of healing from HT and unresolved historical grief was to provide spaces that allowed individuals, communities, and collectives to be heard, understood and validated (Brave Heart, 2005). A SAMHSAH Circles of Care grant in 2008 allowed the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation (MPTN) a space for their voice to be heard, understood and validated. With the tribal community a culturally appropriate mental health event for youth and families was staged to cater for 400 participants. The tribal community comprised of providers, parents, youth and elders who met bi-monthly for six months before their planned event. The event staged was a Mental Health Awareness Fair. This event included traditional tribal foods,

family tree exercises, storytelling, and art booths. The event was deemed successful by the Tribal Council because it supported the intergenerational healing among the people through connection. Other events that has supported intergenerational healing includes: Healing the Generations: Family Violence and Child Trauma Conference that has allowed tribal community members to explore the use of culturally competent, traditional healing practices to address historical trauma; and Takini Network training for clinicians to be more professionally informed as practioners when engaging and working alongside tribal communities, as part of empowering the communities they are working with to heal as individuals and collectives (Brave Heart, 2005; NM Cares Health Disparities Center, n.d.). These Indigenous events illustrated in the Native American research literature, show different ways for Māori populations such as Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa to begin to provide safe spaces for *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to heal from their own HT and unresolved historical grief, not just to dredge up and stay stuck in the past, but to be able to begin a healing process, to let go of the past collective trauma and move forward.

In addition, 'The Whenua Project' adds to the existing theory of Indigenous HT which was led by the Takini Network. The Ngāi Tahu, 'Whenua Project' provides invaluable insights into explaining the trauma of colonisation, its causes and the mechanisms which continue to perpetuate the trauma (Reid et al., 2017a). Of interest, particularly, is how this research project addresses the trauma of settler colonisation with a focus on New Zealand Māori through the context of land alienation among Ngāi Tahu *whānau*. The complexities associated with examining the traumatising environment is what believe, makes it difficult to understand the trauma of colonisation Reid et al. (2017). Reid et al. (2017) identified four key phases within New Zealand's settler period which impacted on Ngāi Tahu *whānau*: inundation (1890 to 1940); isolation (1890 to 1940); integration (1940 to 1980); and invigoration (1980 to the present time) (p. 31). In each phase, Reid et al. (2017) outlined the key structural changes and psychosocial challenges that were experienced by Māori, since the onset of colonisation.

During the '*inundation phase*' the most fundamental structural change was the rapid alienation of Māori land that occur over the first 50 years of settler colonisation. During this phase the settler government constructed the sales and confiscation process to favour the settler through numerous laws and practices. Consequently, Māori were thrust into institutional structures that were biased, and they suffered great loss of political and economic independence. To more of an extent, the evolving institutions of the settler state further disenfranchised Māori, and negatively impacted on individuals' and communities' self-determination and thus resulted in damaging their psyche through subalternisation. Reid et al. (2017) points out that the loss of economic independence was more significant than political autonomy, but it began to impact

on Māori identity, as land is an integral part of identity. Furthermore, Māori faced attacks on their cultural identity through the instigation of assimilative policies. Most noted in this period was the creation of the Native Land Court which was primarily focused on settler land acquisition and the ostracising of creating Māori into 'brown Pākehā'. Consequently, the institutional structures of the organisation sought to alter the social patterns of Māori society through reconfiguring the way land was owned and managed but also through persuading Māori to adopt and embrace European habits, customs and English language through policies and laws (Reid et al., 2017a). Furthermore, this is illustrated in the abuse of power by the Settler government, through the creation of one of the first assimilation policies, the 1844 Native Trust Ordinance Act (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974).

The next phase was classified as one of isolation. The '*isolation phase*' further led to the growing divide in political and economic stability for Māori but also the physical segregation between Māori and Pākehā. A major issue identified during this phase was the continual increasing fragmentation of the remaining Māori land. This was identified as making Māori lands untenable to develop and use for a means of living, which meant Māori continued to decrease their economic autonomy and political authority. The Great Depression occurred during this period and further eroded Māori lifestyles and created much material poverty amongst *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. It is noted that Māori were segregated from Pākehā society where they withdrew to living in villages and insulated pockets across the settler state. In these settings, Māori were able to preserve their informal institutions and culture and, were also able to protect themselves from the racist views of the settlers (Houkamau, as cited in Reid et al., 2017).

The '*integration phase*' is noted by Reid et al. (2017) for exposing Māori to the institutions of the settler state and colonial narrative. Māori were often subjected to colonial attitude of racial superiority and consequently, the traumas of material poverty, subalternisation and identity degradation experienced in the inundation period became further compounded with the trauma of social isolation and cultural alienation. Māori who previously were living in isolated rural settlement were now forced to live in towns and cities. Reid et al. (2017) argues that the psychosocial challenges faced by Māori in this period had caused the most significant trauma because in some cases, the bonds of connection between *whenua*, *whānau* and *whakapapa* had become severed due to the mass migration to the cities. The impact of moving to the cities meant that Māori became further disconnected from their traditional *kāinga* and the social fabric of *whānau*, and *hapū* who provided vital support networks to families. According to Royal (2009, as cited in Reid et al., 2017a), the integration period:

destabilised and decentred the older *iwi* community and worldview. It also increased deculturation by stopping the inter-generational transfer of knowledge and language. Integration brought with it isolation and dislocation from vital support networks and cultural identity ingroup interactions which are critical for mental and physical wellbeing (p. 44).

This meant limited group interactions tended to impact on the mental and physical well-being of Māori during this period.

The final period is the '*invigoration phase*' which is noted as the revival of Māori political, economic and cultural renaissance. This period portrays a renewed pride in Māori identity and a revival in cultural practices, yet, in some instances for some Māori they still suffer from the structural and psychosocial mechanisms of trauma (Reid et al., 2017a). For some Māori during this period Reid et al. (2017a) acknowledged there is not the same opportunities for all Māori to reconnect with one's culture, tribes and traditions and this inequity of reconnecting further adds to Māori experience of cultural alienation. Furthermore, Reid et al. (2017a) notes that those who do not have the access to network systems continue to feel more marginalised and alienated, which impacts on one's self concept and how an individual may view themselves as being Māori.

In addition, the introduction of neoliberal economic policies in the 1980s further disenfranchised Māori, as Māori were disproportionately employed in sectors that were restructured or deregulated, often because of historic education and vocational training policies that directed them into low skilled sectors (Reid et al., 2017a). Although, *iwi organisations* are considered corporate entities, in which they have grown their wealth, yet there are many Māori who have become relatively poor during the invigoration period (Marriott & Sim, 2015). However, a concern reported within Reid et al. (2017a) was the exacerbation of material poverty amongst a significant proportion of Māori who remain material poor and a growing perception that this group of people are unequally benefitting from the Treaty of Waitangi Settlements within Māoridom.

The invigoration phase gave Māori more access and opportunities to participate within the political arena. Reid et al. (2017a) highlighted Māori also have had more opportunities to participate with other non-Māori at a political level such as in the Mixed member Proportion (MMP) representation electoral system and as part of the Treaty Settlement process used by the Waitangi Tribunal. In the Waitangi Tribunal forum, Māori collectives were provided compensation for past injustices and had power sharing arrangements between the Crown and tribal authorities. However, the *iwi* negotiation model used in the process has led to the consolidating of power with *iwi* leadership, rather than the traditional unit of power lying with

hapū and *whānau*. This is reported by to have grown a divide in Māoridom between elite and the rest of the *hapū* and *whānau* (Reid et al., 2017a).

Māori society had changed rapidly between 1840 and 1940. Many policies and practices of the Settlers gave them colonial authority to assimilate the Indigenous Māori and normalise European culture, values and superiority (Reid et al., 2017a; Wirihana & Smith, 2014, 2019). From the late 1860s, Māori were more vulnerable due to the loss of their socio-economic base and, as a result, were increasingly more reliant upon paid employment from Pākehā employers and landowners (Walker, 1990). Successive governments use of legislation such as the extensive list noted (New Zealand Settlements Act 1863; Native Land Act 1862; New Zealand Loan Act 1863; Suppression of Rebellion Act 1863; Public Works Act 1908; Public Works Act 1928; Native School Act 1850; Native Schools Act 1867; Education Act 1877; School Attendance Act 1894; Tohunga Suppression Act 1907; and Geothermal Energy Act 1953) enforced mass alienation of land and cultural assimilation of Māori into the Pākehā way of living. Even though the policies have been eliminated and the beliefs that were initially used to justify the policies have been discredited, the disparities within health, education, poverty and rates of incarceration, between Indigenous Māori, other minority and racial populations, including non-Māori are clearly continuing across society (Reid, et al., 2017; Pihama et al., 2014). The 'Whenua Project' has highlighted how the political and legal structures of the settler government alienated Māori from their resources leading to material poverty. This material poverty created food insecurity and general hardship, which in turn, caused suffering among generations in the isolation and integration periods (Reid et al., 2017a).

Evidently this is also reported by Walker (1990) who argues how Māori society changed significantly after the 1950s because of the growth in New Zealand's economy and rapid urbanisation, where Māori moved to the cities for employment (Walker, 1990). In addition, such structural changes through legislation as mentioned earlier, are suggested by Reid et al. (2017) to have affected the ethno-cultural identity and self-concept of Māori, and which has further contributed to the fragmentation of communal ownership of land, and continued momentum in the breakdown of the traditional kinship model (Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Claims Settlement Act 2005; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a).

In order to gain insight into the historical context of the issues connected to the past, requires examining how exposure to HT and CT continues to manifest and impact on subsequent generations of individuals, families and communities. Exposure to HT and CT has had major long-term systemic implications for Māori (Wirihana & Smith, 2014). Research has indicated that Māori dominate the deficit educational, health, social, economic statistics: they are

significantly more likely to be under-educated, significantly are poor, significantly are homeless, significantly show signs of deteriorated mental and physical health and well-being, significantly more likely exposed to family and domestic violence, significantly more likely to be addicted to drugs and alcohol, significantly more likely to have experienced child maltreatment, significantly more likely to be incarcerated and significantly more likely to commit suicide (Reid et al., 2017). In the section below, a brief overview is undertaken to highlight how trauma has been interpreted by others, in order, to inform Māori understanding and research on individuals and collectives, especially among Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa *whānau*.

Understanding the landscape and past of events in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa

The socio-historical context helps to develop an understanding of the landscape of the times for the *iwi* involved in this research. The trauma experienced by Māori at the hands of the Settler government has had devastating and cumulative impact on generations of *whānau* within both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The trauma associated with *raupatu*, mass alienation of Māori land, disenfranchised as Māori, cultural alienation and deculturation of Māori through subalternisation and the suppression of Māori culture and *te reo Māori* originating from the nineteenth and twentieth century, is considered to have detrimentally impacted on the educational success of *tamariki Māori* and the functioning of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Below is a summation of the traumatic events that had occurred in the known histories of both *iwi* central to this research.

Table 18:*Historical and cultural trauma in the Bay of Plenty*

1863		New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 an act that enable the Governor of New Zealand to establish settlements for the colonisation of the North Island. The act also enabled the Crown to confiscate Māori land without confiscation if seen to be in rebellion against her majesty authority.
1864		War broke out between the Crown and Māori
1865	March	Reverend Carl Volkner killed on 2 March 1865.
	July	Government agent, James Te Mautaranui Fallon and three of the crew were killed on 22 July 1865 whilst on board the ship, Kate at Whakatāne. 2 August 1865: A warrant issued for the arrest of people responsible for the murders of Fullon and others. A crown expedition under Major William Mair was mounted. Laying siege to several pā in the area. Crown troops raided livestock, pillaged crops and food supplies but failed to take Parawai Pā. Fighting continued and at Parawai Pā, Hoete of Te Tarawera hapū (Ngāti Awa) was killed defending the pā and whānau. The crown passed through Umuhika. Others of NTKK were accused of harbouring 'tangata hara' (outlaw) and were killed as the crown expedition moved to Te Kupenga.
	Sept 2	Crown issued a proclamation of peace, thus declaring the war at end. The proclamation also stated that those holding the people of interests in Fullon's murder, the government would then seize a part of the lands of the tribes who concealed the murderers.
	Sept 4	The governor issues a proclamation of martial law through Whakatāne and Opotiki. The government assembled a force of 1000 men to subdue Te Whakatōhea and Ngāti Awa. The battle at Te Kupenga lasted three days.
	Oct	The occupants of Parawai Pā evacuated and went to Te Kupenga Pā.
	Oct 20	The further occupants at Te Kupenga surrendered to the Crown force and were taken into custody to await trial.
	Nov	Most of those arrested and named in the warrant issued in August were transported to Opotiki for trial by court martial. The court martial found many of the accused guilty and they were sentenced to death.
	Dec	Attorney General, James Prendergast states that the martial law and the court martial were not recognised by law. Consequently, the Governor ordered the accused to be transported to Auckland to be tried again.
1866	Jan 17	The government labelled Ngāti Awa as 'tangata hara'. The Crown confiscated 448,000 acres of Māori land in the Eastern Bay of Plenty under the 'New Zealand Settlements Act 1863'. The reasoning for this was the Crown deemed the Bay of Plenty tribes to be in rebellion because of their resistance to the forces that were sent in as a result of the deaths of Fullon and others. Ngāti Awa had 245,000 acres of land confiscated. Compensation court process set up to remedial the confiscation of land. The crown agent, John A Wilson, was appointed as special commissioner. 87,000 acres of the confiscated land between the Western boundary and Tarawera River was divided into land blocks. However, this land was awarded to Te Arawa <i>iwi</i> and others as military awards. TTK received land but loss their customary rights of access to other traditional lands and resources.
	Feb	27 out of the 31 men implicated in the deaths of James Fullon and others were from Ngāti Awa. The sentences ranged in death to imprisonment for a set period.

1867	Dec	Court hearing and awarding of the Tawhitinui block and Rotoitipaku block to individuals who were not involved in the rebellion and as rightful owners. NTKK viewed these as tribal endowments, and the individuals were acting as trustees.
1874		The Compensation awards advertised some seven years later in the Gazette did not recognise the individuals as trustees. Land restored through the confiscation process was given to individuals rather than <i>hapū</i> or <i>iwi</i> . The land was not viewed in term of customary forms of tenure and thus land became more susceptible to partition and alienation.
1886	Jun 10	Mount Tarawera eruption caused major harm to the people of the Eastern Bay of Plenty.
1953		Geothermal Energy Act 1953 (1953 No 2) passed without NTKK consent. NTKK having lost control of, and access to the Kawerau Geothermal system; and the pollution and degradation of the Tarawera River and the Okakaru area.
1980		Hui at Puawairua Marae to progress redress issues for the raupatu and its effects, the restoration of Mataatua wharenuī, the return of the Ngāti Awa farm and return of Pūtauaki.
1988		Ngāti Awa claim lodged with the Waitangi Tribunal and a request made for a statutory pardon for those involved in the events of 1865 which were made by the Crown.

Note. Adapted from Geothermal Energy Act 1953; Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Claims Settlement Act 2005; Davies, 2016; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a.

Over successive generations, individuals, *whānau* and *hapū* of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa had experienced a series of traumatic assaults during the early nineteenth century and are revealing to have had enduring consequences for many families and communities within these two *iwi*. An iterative analysis of the literature combined with *kaumātua korero* and wisdom documents the narratives related to both *iwi*, which have included the deadly Government assaults in the Eastern Bay of Plenty communities leading up to the 1863 confiscation of land in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, many Māori lives were lost at Te Kupenga in Te Teko (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a; Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) Claims Settlement Act 2005), the extensive list of cultural assimilative policies introduced by the Settler government and used actively during the Mission schooling period, the forced exclusion of Māori into Native village schools set aside from the public schools, the exclusion of using *te reo Māori* in schools, and the prohibition of spiritual and cultural practices used by Māori *tohunga* in everyday life (Tohunga Suppression Act, 1907), the mass alienation of land by the Settler government and the impact of forced location of Tasman Paper and Pulp Mill on the *whenua* in Kawerau. Together, these are examples of HT events which amount to a history of ecocide (total destruction of the natural environment) and ethnocide (the deliberate and systematic destruction of the culture of both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa).

Inundation Period 1840-1890 First Generation	Isolation Period 1890 - 1940 Second Generation	Integration Period 1940 - 1990 Third generation (Grandparents, Parents, siblings)	Invigoration Period 1990 - current day (Siblings children)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mero • Te Kakara • Rangipoia Te Maratoa • Wanikau Hohepa • Te Kahu Hawea • Hariata Te Houpepe • Puau Whakaheke • Waikato Tarewa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victor Toussaint Joseph Abraham (France) • Emily Long (England) • William Downey (Bendigo, Central Otago) • Violet May Davis (Bendigo, Central Otago) • Nanny Gladys Nellie Downey • Koro Victor Abraham • Nanny Maramena Patangata • Koro Pikitu Wanikau • Warito Watarawi • Ruiha Herewini • Nanny Putiputi Watarawi • Koro Nane Waikato • Koro Tame Waikato • Nanny Hazel Wanikau 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Terry Abraham • Ela Mei Te Whakaehe Waikato • Hazel Aroha Abraham 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extended whānau - nieces and nephews

Trauma Response		
Physical	Social	Psychological
Nutritional stress Compromised immune system Endocrine impairment Adrenal maladaptation Gene Impairment/expression	Increase suicide rate Domestic violence Unemployment Substance abuse Child maltreatment Poverty	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Depression Panic/Anxiety Disorders
Resulting in: Malnutrition, diabetes, heart disease, hypertension, cancer	Resulting in: Breakdown of community/family structures and social networks, loss of resources, separation from loved ones	Resulting in: Anger, aggression, social isolation, shame, loss of self-worth, terror, fear, grief, withdrawal, numbness

Figure 7. Conceptual model of historical trauma on *whānau* by Abraham, 2020
Adapted from Sotero (2006); Reid et al., (2017).

From my personal perspective (see Figure 7 above), the first generation affected in my family experienced mass trauma by being subjugated as Māori who came from the different *hapū* and tribes of the Mataatua and Te Arawa waka. As a result, they were enforced to live in villages outside their area, they experienced physical and psychological violence from war in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, they were alienated from their land and suffered great economic loss of resources and cultural dispossession through the Settler governments use of legislation to overcome them. Those *whānau* outside of the Eastern Bay of Plenty had similar experiences of cultural trauma.

The isolation period saw my Pākehā *whānau* arrive and settle during mass land alienation period in New Zealand. On both sides of my families, they had suffered greatly during the isolation period. Other major traumatic events occurred which further added to the traumatic experience of growing up in New Zealand for both sides of my families. *Whānau* on both sides experienced the effects of World War I and II and the Great Depression. In addition, further understanding is needed to appropriately provide cultural redress for the experiences of HT

and CT as part of transforming the conditions impacting on individuals, relationships and communities.

Summary

Trauma can be considered an insidious infection, that if left to fester can manifest into abnormalities that impact on *whānau* flourishing and living healthy lives and affect successive generations of families. Further, empirical research is needed on healing from trauma, unresolved grief and in ceasing the intergenerational transmission of HT and CT amongst individuals and collectives (*whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*), across generations and within both of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The literature review has highlighted how HT, CT and unresolved historical grief influences current day inequities in health and social well-being for Indigenous populations who have suffered from colonisation. I argue that individuals, *whānau* and *hapū* of both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, continue to still suffer as individuals and collectives from the effects of HT and CT experienced in the Bay of Plenty over the past two centuries. This is illustrated in Table 18 (p. 124-125). The next chapter discusses the methodology, research design and the rationale for adopting a *kaupapa Māori* approach.

Chapter Six: Method, Research Design and *Kaupapa Māori*

‘E kore au e ngaro – he kākano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiaātea’

‘I will never be lost for I am a seed sown in Rangiaātea’ (Buck 1950:37;

Source: (Kāretu 1974:60; Wikiriwhi 1955:13.41)

Introduction

The *whakataukī* above has great meaning for many Māori in understanding our origins as Māori. I have found comfort in knowing that no matter where my journey has taken me in life, I have been guided by my *tīpuna* from the metaphysical realm (concept of the relationship between the living and the dead). I have sought guidance over many decades from my elders, *koro* from Te Teko and *kuia* from Ōtaki without realising why I was doing this practice as I have never ever been taught this by my parents. From my worldview, this was my Māori side helping me as I navigated my journey in life. As I have taken little incremental steps forward in this doctoral journey and through this thesis, I have become much stronger and grounded in normalising Māori ways of knowing, being and doing which are needed for formalising Māori orientated solutions to the issues that exist within mainstream schooling for *tamariki Māori* and their *whānau*.

This chapter looks at the methodological approach used in the case studies to critically analyse how *whānau* define educational success and the challenges they face in their homes and communities. A case study approach was adopted as the means of gathering and analysing data for the 18 *whānau*/Māori experts that were interviewed in this research. This chapter considers how the inquiry process in this research can be understood from a Māori lens through the ‘He Pūtauaki Model’ and the design research model, Taku Mahere Rangahau. This research involved two case studies involving *whānau*/experts who provide. The two case studies were chosen to include a number of diverse factors, including *whānau* living in a rural or urban location, *whānau* with two and three generations living together and to determine if there were significant contrasts. Participants were recruited through *whānau* and *hapū* contacts in *hui* hosted at *marae* and *iwi* events.

Place of the researcher in the research inquiry

My research into educational success for Māori has expanded over the years as I have been given many opportunities to explore how educators embed *kaupapa Māori* ideology into their pedagogy and cultural practices to make a difference for *tamariki Māori* situated in mainstream schools. This research examines how inequities and structural injustices manifest within mainstream schools and how these are reproduced over time and impact on Māori students’ educational success and the *whānau* and communities they come from within

Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. This research draws on Indigenous and Western theoretical perspectives, through integration of *Kaupapa Māori* Theory (KMT) (L. T. Smith, 2012) and a Māori qualitative method of semi-structured interviews known as *pūrākau* (Lee, 2009). KMT is both a transformative research framework and a decolonising methodology (L. T. Smith, 2012; G. H. Smith, 1997). Application of KMT in research removes assumptions and portrays Māori heritage, knowledge, language, principles and practices as the way for validating and accepting Māori worldviews and perspectives. *Pūrākau* as a methodology allows for the storytelling, the distributing of knowledge, values, protocols and worldviews pertaining to Māori (Lee, 2008). Lee (2008) states:

Pūrākau is a traditional form of Māori narrative, contains philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori.

(p. 1)

Throughout the thesis, Māori *whakataukī* and *pūrākau* highlight key points pertinent to informing the organic nature of the construction of Māori knowledge made by Māori researchers and participants located in this research study. The first section of this chapter introduces the design framework, Taku Mahere Rangahau (See Figure 8, p. 133) and provides an outline of the first component of the framework detailing the epistemology and methodology adopted as the researcher in this research study. The second section details the second and third component of the design framework, Te Pae Tuarua: Ngā kaupapa rapunga whakairo, the theoretical paradigms and perspectives and Te Pae Tuatoru: Rautaki Rangahau, *narrative storytelling through pūrākau*. The third section provides an explanation of the final component of the framework, Te Pae Tuawhā: Te Kohikohi raraunga me Te Tātaritanga outlining the research strategy, the rationale for the use of semi-structured interviews as the main source of data collection and lastly, the use of thematic coding, and contextualising genograms. The final section concludes with an overview of the discussion of this chapter.

Taku Mahere Rangahau was initially developed during the earlier stages of my doctoral journey in 2016-2018 with the guidance of Māori academics and scholars from Te Ipukarea Research Institute, situated alongside my *kaumātua* and *kuia* from both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Throughout the doctoral journey, I too have been confronted with struggles as a Māori student in the academy as I have attempted to challenge dominant Pākehā notions of theory and hegemonic practices and understandings of educational success framed by Māori for Māori. As I weave the knowledge gained from the participants voices within each case study, I am reminded not to just solely focus on my own personal insider researcher perspective, but to keep the participants' voices at the front of unearthing the solutions that

make a difference and transform outcomes for Māori. I am linked genealogically to Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. This perceived conflict of interest is recognised and debated vigorously amongst insider-researchers who argue that this approach has the potential to engage community and cultivate a rich repository of depth and meaning (Kanuha, 2000; Malone, 2003).

I am in a unique position by being the first member from both sides of my *whānau*, my *tūpuna*, many generations, my parents' generation, and my generation to have a university education, to have gained a postgraduate qualification and to embark on a PhD. As I reflect on my own schooling, I have experienced the ongoing alienation of being Māori in New Zealand's education system. To date, I have succeeded in the system by leaving my Māori self at the school entrance. Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa are two distinct and separate *iwi* that share geographical boundaries. As I am linked genealogically to both *iwi*, I view these *iwi* as having equal status for the purposes of this research. *E hāngai ana ngā ariā nei ki te ao o Ngāti Awa rāua ko Ngāti Tūwharetoa*. This statement acknowledges that one *iwi* is not considered more important than the other *iwi* (Refer to Figure 8 - *The Design Framework: Taku Mahere Rangahau*, p. 133). This research study provides a culturally safe and inclusive space for participants within each case studies to re-assert their ways of knowing and being, by allowing them to share their struggles for self-determination and to explain their experiences as Māori in the world. Pihama, Cram and Walker (2002) acknowledge that:

Kaupapa Māori has emerged as a contemporary discourse and a reality and to be a core tenet of *Kaupapa Māori* research that affirms and legitimise, as a theory and a praxis directly from Māori lived realities and experiences. (p. 32)

Expanding on this discussion, Mead (2003) notes the paradigm shifts of Māori being researched by others (Western outsiders), to one where Māori researchers and Māori communities take a pivotal role in undertaking research on Māori issues and providing solutions to such issues. Other factors critical to undertaking research with Māori, identified by MacFarlane and Macfarlane (2019) include ensuring Māori are fully informed of the benefits from participating, particularly, in this research:

Kaupapa Māori approaches to research assume that research involves Māori people, as individuals or as communities, should set out to make a positive difference for the researched. This does not need to be an immediate or direct benefit. The point is that research has to be defined and designed with some ideas about likely short term or longer-term benefits. (p. 53)

Across the vast array of Indigenous Māori literature, colonisation has caused issues for the survival of Māori knowledge, and Māori ways of knowing, being and doing. MacFarlane and MacFarlane (2019) argue that despite the impacts of colonisation and the continual dishonouring of Indigenous cultures across the globe, progressive shifts have been made in preserving the very fabric of cultural identity (such as *whakapapa*, *whānau* histories and *pūrākau*) and for adopting inclusive research approaches wherein Indigenous ways of knowing and doing are valued. Equally, those generations affected from colonisation (next and subsequent generations), as noted by Carey (2016), and like my-self have started to reclaim the legacies of our *tūpuna*, as part of a cultural recovery process, to living healthy lives as Māori.

This research seeks to add new knowledge, that further contributes towards transforming positive outcomes in mainstream primary schools, particularly for Māori students and the *whānau* and communities they come from. Taku Mahere Rangahau firstly presents an overview of how this research study was informed by KMT and weaved both Māori and Western ways of knowing and being together. The purpose of this research design was to find solutions to the research questions with the communities that I come from in Te Teko and Kawerau, located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, New Zealand. Participants self-identities as Māori along with this study's research questions influenced the research paradigm, methods and ethical parameters/guidelines (See Table 19 below). The overarching research question for this study was to examine:

- How do *whānau* conceptualise educational success for their children?

During the data gathering process, a decision was made to not include the *whānau* resilience section because a majority of the 18 participants found it difficult to answer questions pertaining to the section. The revised questions for this research (See Table 20) were guided by the KMT principles and practices.

Table 19
Original research questions

NO	Research Question
1.	How do <i>whānau</i> conceptualise educational success for their children?
2.	What Māori values inform <i>whānau</i> views of educational success for their children and <i>whānau</i> resilience?
3.	What other factors do <i>whānau</i> consider as imperative for the educational success of their children and <i>whānau</i> resilience?

Table 20*Revised research questions*

NO	Research Question
1.	How do <i>whānau</i> conceptualise educational success for their children?
2.	What Māori values inform <i>whānau</i> views of educational success for their children?
3.	What other factors do <i>whānau</i> consider as imperative for the educational success of their children?

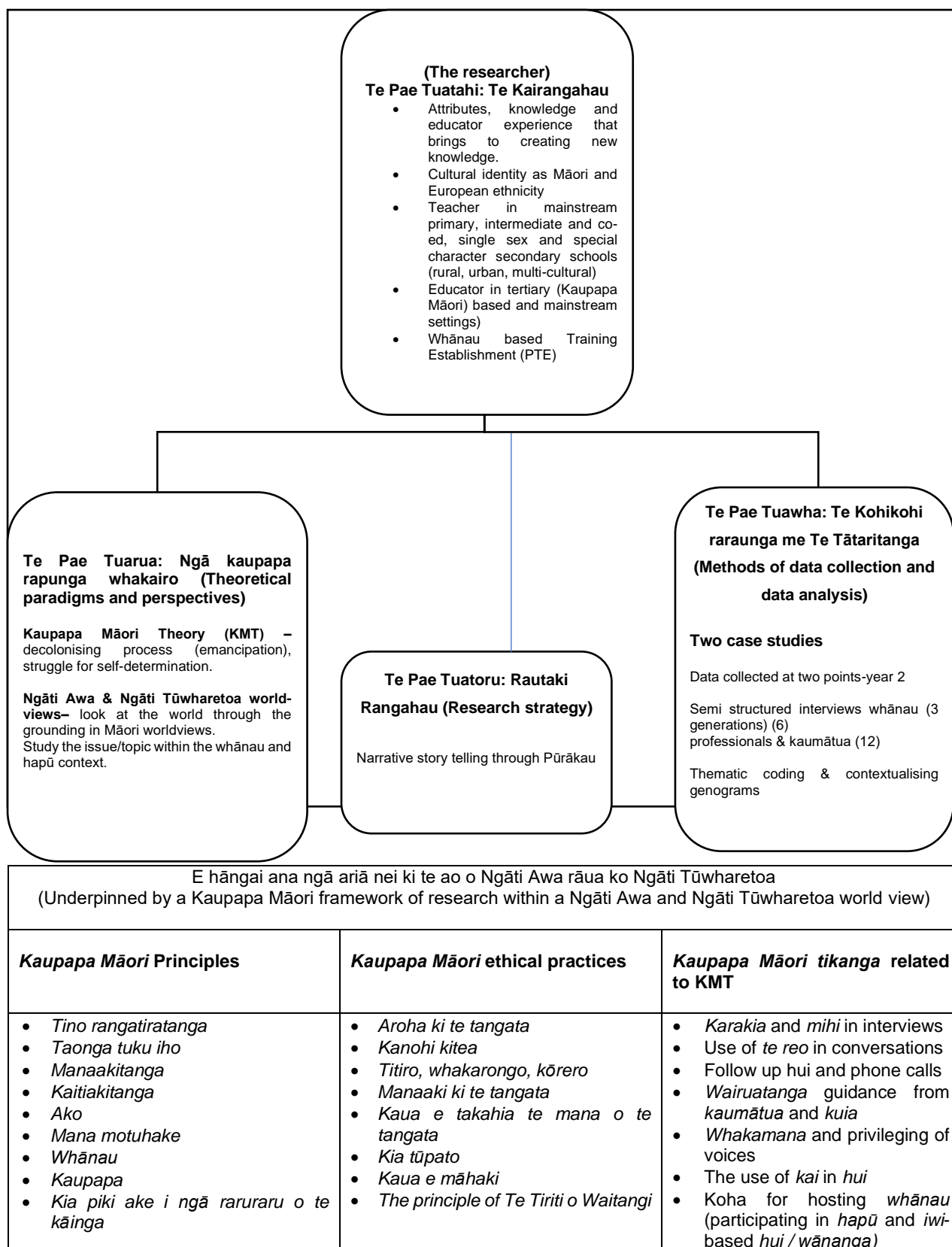


Figure 8. Taku Mahere Rangahau – (The design framework)

Understanding the researcher's philosophical foundations

In the design framework, Taku Mahere Rangahau, the first component, Te Pae Tuatahi: Te Kairangahau (The researcher) acknowledges my positioning in this research. I have continued to build upon my master's thesis research and challenge assumptions held by others within Western societies as a Māori living and grounded in both these societies (Abraham-O'Leary, 2015). Two components that have been important in understanding my position is the '*organic experience of kaupapa Māori discovery*' and the '*written experience*' of navigating the academic doctoral journey. The organic experience of my formative years living and working within the mainstream education system needs to be acknowledged alongside the long journey of knock backs and the struggles of navigating spaces and interactions within the academy as a first in *whānau* Māori doctoral student. The range of experiences that the researcher brings to this research includes being:

- i. A student within a state full-primary country school; an Intermediate school;
- ii. A student within two different state secondary rural schools;
- iii. A student within a Māori-based university, two large mainstream universities and an institute of technology;
- iv. A student within a teacher's college; A student within a college of education;
- v. A teacher in state schooling within; a large urban intermediate school; a full-primary school; a secondary girls urban and co-educational rural school;
- vi. A state tertiary educator, including as;
a lecturer at a polytechnic; a tutor at a Māori alternative tertiary setting;
- vii. A first time principal and a Board of Trustees member of a small state primary school;
- viii. A pre-doctoral internee with a Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga affiliated state tertiary organisation;
- ix. A teaching assistant at a state tertiary education organisation;
- x. A research officer in a kaupapa Māori based research institute in a state tertiary education organisation;
- xi. A Māori internee with a *kaupapa Māori*-based research institute within a state tertiary education organisation; and
- xii. A research assistant on Ngā Pae O Te Māramatanga projects supporting Māori led projects.

Due to this unique background of teaching, spanning over twenty-two years across different levels of the education sector, in predominantly, state public schools and tertiary education organisations, has given me insight into some of the dire situations that continue to exist and be perpetuated for Māori students and their *whānau* in mainstream schools and society. I have been fortunate to work alongside *whānau* from varying diverse communities. This insight enables me to speak of and further explore some of the issues that participants raised in the research.

Te Pae Tuarua, Ngā kaupapa rapunga whakairo: Theoretical paradigms and perspectives

The second component, Te Pae Tuarua: Ngā kaupapa rapunga whakairo (Theoretical paradigms and perspectives) identifies my standpoint in this research. Epistemology is described by Reid, Greaves and Kirby (2017) as how do we know what we know. L. T. Smith (2012) takes this point further by explaining from an Indigenous perspective that epistemology is concerned with providing a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we ensure such knowledge is adequate and legitimate for Māori.

I have taken both a Māori observer standpoint and a subjectivist epistemological position (anti-positivist). I chose this epistemological position as the research questions required me to collect and analyse participants' perceptions of their experiences in mainstream schools, the issues concerning them in their communities located in Te Teko, Kawerau and Onepū, including the *whānau* issues that were prevalent within the greater rohe of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The subjectivist approach proposes that people, in this case, *whānau*, *kaumātua*, *kuia* and community experts, perceive the world in different ways, and in how they construct their own social reality. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2018) explain that the subjectivist position views the social world as being much more personal and humanly through created accounts of participants experiences as part of understanding the world and the human experience.

Varying conceptualisations of *kaupapa Māori* theories have shaped my philosophical understandings of interpreting the collective understandings of the participants within a Māori worldview. In Carey's (2016) doctoral thesis, she discussed the foundations of Māori epistemology (nature of knowledge), ontology (nature of reality) and axiology (nature of values). Carey (2016) highlights an analytical approach in research provides a Māori way to understand, think, interpret and interact within a Māori world. This approach highlights a way to understand Indigenous Māori perspectives, based on profound understandings of epistemology (creation of knowledge), ontology (what is knowledge), and axiology (explicit values in knowledge construction). According to Nepe (1991), *kaupapa Māori* knowledge traces to its origins in the metaphysical (spiritual) realm and emanates as a body of knowledge. For Lawson-Te Aho (2013) and Nepe (1991), they both acknowledge the significance of whakapapa and the roots it has in *te ao Māori*. *Kaupapa Māori* ideology has further contributed to the construction of KMT as a transformative decolonising methodology and the *whakatauki* mentioned at the start of this chapter, speaks of a belief that Māori are descended from the heavens and trace their *whakapapa* back to the beginning of time and the universe (Mahuika, 2008). The underlying view and principles inherent within such *kōrero tawhito* (sources of rich

Māori literacy treasures), have often been used to frame *kaupapa Māori* theoretical approach (Mahuika, 2008).

Taku Mahere Rangahau places KMT as being central in the design of this research for Māori. KMT was introduced by G. H. Smith (1997), to distinctly resurge against the Western hegemonic views of theorising on Māori. KMT as a methodological approach validated Indigenous Māori epistemology, demonstrates ways of 'knowing and being' and differs to Western ways of knowledge construction (L. T. Smith, 2012). Engaging with KMT enables the emancipatory and social justice aims of this thesis to create positive outcomes for Māori, to advance the well-being of the collective community through the holistic views of Māori (Pihama, 2010).

Kaupapa Māori theory (KMT) based approaches have grown rapidly as a preferred research methodology amongst Māori scholars across a range of disciplines (Mahuika, 2008). KMT and *kaupapa Māori* research have developed as part of a broader movement by Māori to question Westernised notions of knowledge, culture, and research (Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006). Two theoretical underpinnings which influence this KMT research is *Critical Theory* and *Constructivism*. *Critical Theory*, originates from the Marxist grand theoretical tradition which aims to challenge and transform oppressive structures and the second is *Constructivism*, where knowledge is validated through a social construction of the world that is located and specific (Eketone, 2008). Understanding these two differing approaches of creating knowledge is critical when integrating theory into practice with the participants of this research to ensure they are included in finding solutions and in keeping with Māori principles, values and *tikanga* of KMT research.

KMT further influences this research design, starting with the reasons for investigation of the topic, to the formation of the topic, analysis of the data, giving back to the communities that I *whakapapa* to, and working alongside with *whānau* and *hapū* to construct new knowledge and pathways for generating intergenerational educational success. Rameka (2015) asserts how *kaupapa Māori* research can retrieve a space for Māori voices to be heard. KMT is a framework and methodology that allows Māori to undertake research for Māori, with Māori, for the positive benefit of Māori (Durie, 2006). Taking this a step further, I applied this decolonising methodology to undertake research alongside Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, with *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* for the benefit of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. As mentioned earlier, the research design consists of a Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa Māori-centric approach which embodies concepts and cultural practices from a *iwi* world view (Bishop, 2008; L. T. Smith, 2012). Berryman, SooHoo and Nevin (2013) acknowledge that culturally

responsive researchers promote the rituals of cultural practices of participants. Consultation about processes occurs as part of this research. For example, I have engaged a *kaupapa whānau* group of *kaumātua* for mentoring and support alongside my primary and secondary supervisors. This *kaupapa whānau* group is in place to maintain a culturally safe environment for conducting research with my community. As a participant driven methodology, *kaupapa Māori* ensures a sharing of power and control over the research, the relationships formed, and how the information that is sought is collated for analysis.

This qualitative case studies research is positioned through a Māori lens, as its approach utilises Māori epistemology, philosophies, pedagogical traditions, customs, values, and cultural practices. Several key features of this *kaupapa Māori*-informed research include strengthening aspects of self-determination, cultural identity, and educational success for Māori students, their *whānau* and the communities they come from. What this means, is the research has been guided by KMT which allows for the inclusion of, or interaction with, specific cultural concepts of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. KMT is considered a relevant and inclusive research methodology, particularly given its focus for researching with, alongside and on Māori (Berryman et al., 2013). This is well supported by L. T. Smith (2012) who affirms KMT is uniquely Māori, and is a culturally responsive way for researching with Māori. Hence, the reason for adopting this methodology given that the researcher is from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa and the participants for this study are also from these two *iwi*.

The principles underpinning *kaupapa Māori* research is research by Māori, for Māori with Māori (L. T. Smith, 2012). With this in mind, this research involved multiple layers of collaboration between myself (as the researcher) and with *kaupapa whānau* (non-kinship family that consists of academic supervisors, academic administrator and their *whānau*); myself (as the researcher) and with Ngāti Awa participants; myself (as the researcher) with Ngāti Tūwharetoa participants; and myself (as the researcher) with cultural advisors (*kaumātua* for Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa). Integral to this research was maintaining a high level of trust and respect between the researcher and the participants, and the researcher with the *kaupapa whānau* using *whakawhanaungatanga*. Glynn and Berryman (2015) affirm that cultural processes such as *whanaungatanga* are known to build power sharing and inclusive relationships with Māori. These types of relationships are claimed to support the building of partnerships and becoming more informed on not exclusively privileging the epistemology and worldviews of non-Māori in the process. This has arguably been an important and relevant point to keep in mind when working with all the participants, and with *kaumātua* and *kuia* who have guided me on my research journey alongside my *kaupapa whānau*.

In research terms, *kaupapa Māori* (inclusive of practices and principles) ideology places the focus on Māori ways of knowing, learning and understanding in an effort to put Māori at the centre of the research where there is a positive outcome for Māori (Bishop & Glynn, 2000). In order to do this as a Māori researcher, it is necessary to understand the cultural practices that protect all involved in the research process. *Kaupapa Māori* embraces traditional beliefs and ethics, and culturally-specific ideas which are referred to as 'kaupapa Māori practices' (Pihama et al., 2004).

Kaupapa Māori is guided by eight key principles that validate and legitimise a Māori worldview. Rangahau (n.d.) outlines these principles that relate to a way of life for Māori and are often framed within *kaupapa Māori* research:

- ***Tino rangatiratanga* – The principle of self-determination or relative autonomy**
This involves allowing Māori to control their own culture, aspirations and destiny.
- ***Taonga tuku iho* – The principle of validating and legitimising cultural aspirations and identity**
Asserts the centrality and legitimacy of *Te Reo Māori*, *Tikanga* and *mātauranga Māori*.
- ***Ako Māori* – The principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy**
Acknowledges teaching and learning practices that are inherent and unique to Māori.
- ***Kia piki ake i ngāraruraru o te kāinga* – The principle of socio-economic mediation**
Asserts the need to mediate and assist in the alleviation of negative pressures and disadvantages experienced by Māori communities and research should be a positive benefit to Māori.
- ***Whānau* – The principle of extended family structure**
Whānau sits at the core of *kaupapa Māori*. It acknowledges the relationships that Māori have to one another and to the world around them. *Whānau*, and the process of *whakawhanaungatanga* are key elements of Māori society and culture.
- ***Kaupapa* – The principle of collective philosophy**
Refers to the collective vision, aspiration and purpose of Māori communities.
- ***Te Tiriti o Waitangi* – The principle of the Treaty of Waitangi**
Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) is a crucial document which explains the relationship between Māori and the Crown in New Zealand. It upholds both the *tangata whenua* status of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* in New Zealand,

and their rights of citizenship. The Treaty therefore provides a basis through which Māori may critically analyse relationships, challenge the status-quo, and affirm the Māori rights.

- **Āta – The principle of growing respectful relationships**

The principle of *āta* relates specifically to the building and nurturing of relationships. It acts as a guide to the understanding of relationships and well-being when engaging with Māori.

L. T. Smith (2012) recognises that from a Māori worldview, ethical codes of conduct act as the premise on how to strengthen relationships amongst Māori and with the environment. These core Māori practices are affirmed by Cram (2001) as being essential elements of *kaupapa Māori* research, when working with and alongside Māori populations:

- **Aroha ki te tangata – (care and respect for people)**
Allowing people to define their own space and to meet on their own terms.
- **He kanoahi kitea (meeting people face to face, whilst fronting up to the community)**
Fronting up to the community where the research is being conducted.
- **Titiro whakarongo, kōrero (look, listen and speak connected to informing understanding)**
About the importance of looking and listening so that you develop understandings and find a place from which to speak.
- **Manaaki tangata (caring for the people)**
About collaborative approach to research, research training and reciprocity.
- **Kia tūpato (being cautious, staying safe through cultural guidance with kaumatua)**
About being politically astute, culturally safe and reflective about our insider and outsider status.
- **Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (Never trample on the mana of the people)**
Work in partnership through the process of negotiation, testing and trust-building as well as sharing of knowledge.
- **Kia māhaki (Reflect humility in sharing of knowledge)**
This includes leaving communities in an empowering state when the research ends. Consideration was given to follow those principles of practices of *kaupapa Māori* as part of this research

(pp.42-48).

The cultural concepts, *kaupapa Māori* principles and *kaupapa Māori* practices above are infused with Indigenous (Māori) ways of being and knowing and were applied in this research alongside these critical notions:

It is by Māori, created with people who care for Māori, intended for Māori

- The research was conducted by a Māori researcher with *kaupapa Māori whānau*;

It places Māori at the centre of this research

- Māori were placed at the centre of this research with Māori appropriate framing and analysis; and

It focuses on generating positive outcomes for Māori

- This research was focused on positive outcomes specific to *tamariki Māori* in mainstream schools, their *whānau* and from the communities they live in, located within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. This aligns with the priority placed on Māori being able to live as Māori, participate globally as Māori and enjoy good health and a high standard of living.

Te Pae Tuatoru: Rautakai Rangahau (Research strategies)

The third component, Te Pae Tuatoru: Rautakai Rangahau (Research strategies) outlines the use of *pūrākau* in this research. *Pūrākau* was initially acknowledged in the doctoral work of Jenny Lee Morgan as a form of Māori pedagogy that allows the transmission of knowledge between and across generations of *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi* (Lee, 2008). Hanara and Jackson (2019) refer to how *pūrākau* can take on many forms such as *whaikōrero* (formal speech), *waiata*, *karakia*, and written texts. *Pūrākau* in its organic form provides cultural insight to understanding of the world around Māori (Ware, Breheny, & Forster, 2018). *Pūrākau* complements Indigenous Māori research principles, cultural practices and methods of knowledge transmission that is anchored in KMT framed research (L. T. Smith, 2012).

I have chosen to use particularly, *pūrākau* and *whakataukī* to front various sections of this chapter for explaining what a Māori perspective is and how it is embedded in this thesis (a way of knowing, being and doing as Māori). *Pūrākau* allows for the framing of ideas and meanings that Māori students, and their *whānau* make from their experiences and perspectives of mainstream schooling and society. KMT as a methodological tool and theoretical framework was used throughout this doctoral journey to ensure that it was driven by Māori to benefit Māori communities who were involved in this research. Many researchers deem KMT to be a culturally inclusive research tool to use when working with Māori to transform positive praxis within their communities and to ensure that cultural integrity is maintained when analysing Māori issues (Mahuika, 2008; Pihama, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2012).

Kaupapa Māori refers to Māori ideology and implies a way of framing and structuring how we think about ideas and practices (Pihama, Smith, Taki & Lee, 2004). *Kaupapa Māori* ideology applied in this research is used to create new knowledge with the participants of the two case studies. Taking this one step further, I began to deepen my understanding and apply such learnings to this thesis. When this doctoral journey began, I first learnt of my ancestral

connections to the *whenua*, *whakapapa* (genealogies of my grandparents and great-great grandparents) and undertook travel with my mother to re-connect with my Tūwharetoa *hapū*, Ngāti Tūrangitukua and re-claim knowledge of my connections to Hirangi Marae (Turangi), Tokaanu Marae (Tokaanu) and Ngāti Umutahi (Matatā).

Te Pae Tuawhā, Te Kohikohi raraunga me Te Tātaritanga: The use of case studies in the research. The fourth component of Taku Mahere Rangahau

Te Pae Tuawhā: Te Kohikohi raraunga me Te Tātaritanga provides a description of both the data collection and analysis process for capturing, navigating, and retelling the participants' perspectives contained within each case study. The first part of the section introduces you to the context, the use of interviews as a research method, and data analysis undertaken in examining the two case studies, including the ethical considerations used in the research. Additionally, the second part of the section provides details of the participant selection process with a focus on purposeful sampling and the sampling process used for this research followed by a discussion of the interview schedule and the questions used for the interviews.

Case studies are a type of qualitative research adopted in this *kaupapa* Māori-informed qualitative research study (Hancock & Algozzine, 2017). The intention of this research is to understand the situation being examined primarily from the participants' perspectives, and not from the researcher's perspective. An important stage in interpreting the participants' *pūrākau* was to find and present themes across each case studies of *whānau* located in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. According to Hancock and Algozzine (2017):

Case studies represent another type of qualitative research. They are different from other types in that they are intensive analyses and descriptions of a single unit or system bounded by space and time.

(p. 18)

The purpose of case studies is to provide a better understanding of the topic by studying how it exists across a variety of cases (Stake, 2006). Making the decision to select case studies as a form of qualitative research and strategy, allowed for rich discourse to be unearthed from within the *pūrākau* of the research participants (Hancock & Algozzine, 2017). The rich quotes gained from the many *pūrākau* of participants bring to the centre of this thesis issues and new knowledge of the social phenomena being examined (refer to research questions, p. 339-341). This understanding of examining social phenomena is also discussed by Denscombe (2014):

the case study approach enables the research to delve deep into the intricacies of the situation in order to describe things in detail, compare

alternatives or, perhaps provide an account that explores aspects of the situation.

(p.56)

The benefits of using case study as an approach in this thesis, allows both a space and an opportunity to analyse the situated issues for *whānau* Māori in their natural setting (home and community environments) and to arrive at certain concepts and propositions that might explain what is happening and why, in the communities they come from in Whakatāne, Kawerau, Te Teko and Onepū. The findings from the case studies can be potentially used to directly influence policy, procedures and the development of theory, related to how *whānau* Māori conceptualise educational success for their children and identify the factors that *whānau* consider hinder and contribute towards intergenerational educational success for their children from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Denscombe (2014) discusses the advantages and limitations of adopting a case study approach. In this research, I made sure to draw careful attention to the criterion factors identified by Denscombe (2014), as part of ensuring there was justifiable rigor and validity in the research method adopted. Table 22 below outlines the key factors which were considered in the design framework, Taku Mahere Rangahau (refer to p. 133), as part of this thesis.

Table 21:

Summary of advantages and limitations for selecting case study approach

Advantages of case study	Limitations of case study
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Suitable for small scale research as only two sites were examined; • Provides a holistic and an in-depth view of the intricacies and subtleties of the complex social phenomena from collective factors rather than individual factors; • Encourages the use of multiple research methods and multiple sources of data (participant voices, observations, kōrero, insider researcher experiences); • Concern with investigating phenomena in its natural setting. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vulnerable to criticisms because of generalisations made from findings; • Difficulties in defining boundaries related to which data to be incorporated in the case study; • Negotiating access to case study settings, and issues around ethics; • Preconceptions and beliefs held by researchers. Case study produces 'soft data' because it uses qualitative data and interpretative methods rather than quantitative data and statistical procedures.

The selection of the two groups in the case studies come from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Table 23 below outlines the configuration of the participant groups. The participant groups: *whānau* (three generations); community and health professionals (those who work practically with and alongside *whānau*); and *kaumātua* as repositories of Ngāti Awa

and Ngāti Tūwharetoa history, *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori*, specialist cultural knowledge and *kaupapa Māori* practices for the *iwi*. As previously mentioned earlier, a total of 18 participants were involved in this research, classifying it as a small-scale research study and fitting the characteristics outlined by Denscombe (2014).

Table 22

Case study participants

Case Study 1 – Ngāti Awa	Case Study 2 – Ngāti Tūwharetoa
Whānau (3 different generations)	Whānau (3 different generations)
Community/Māori professionals (3)	Community/ Māori professionals (3)
Kaumātua/Kuia (3)	Kaumātua/Kuia (3)

By adopting the case study approach in the design framework of Taku Mahere Rangahau enabled interfamilial (between families) and intrafamilial (occurring within families), and intergenerational (across extended *whānau*/communities) differences overtime to be discerned, to allow for the examination on the transmission of ICT and HT between subsequent generations, as well as providing the underlying context of how mainstream education perpetuates inequities for *tamariki Māori* within an evolving landscape of mainstream schooling.

Sampling framework: Selection of participants

Ensuring the centrality of the *whānau* voice was critical to this research. A purposive sampling approach was used to select participants for this research. Kumar (1996 as cited in Abraham-O’Leary, 2015) explains:

the primary consideration in purposive sampling is the judgement of the researcher as to who can provide the best information to achieve the objectives of the study. The researcher only goes to those people who in his/her opinion are likely to have the required information and be willing to share it.

(p. 162).

For the purpose of this research eighteen participants were selected. Due to the extended nature of families from a Māori perspective, all participants had come from one different generation. For example, an Uncle or an Auntie may be considered. Or an older adult child or cousin maybe a participant. By selecting three different levels will provide perspectives from adults of their experiences and it will be more critical and reflective than having children participants. The inclusion criteria for this research included:

1. *Participants for whānau:*
Be over 18 years of age; Must *whakapapa* to Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Eastern Bay of Plenty); Live as either *rāwaho* or *ahikā*; and have one member for each generation.
2. *Participants for experts:*
Be over 18 years of age; Must *whakapapa* to Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa; They must be recognised as specialists within the *whānau* participants' regions of either Ngāti Awa or Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Eastern Bay of Plenty).

As earlier mentioned in the Preface and in Chapter One, I chose to research within the communities that I *whakapapa* through *whānau* and *hapū* connections. This is in keeping with a *kaupapa Māori* approach to research that supports researchers to engage in their community. The semi-structured interviews were allocated between sixty minutes to 1½ hours. At times, some interviews went pass the allocated time set. In keeping with KMT research principles and *tikanga*, the participants and myself (as the researcher) agreed to take a short break at any time, if needed, to have a drink or something to eat. This time was to allow for the resetting of the mind and body for the continuation of the interview. In Tables 23 and 24 below lists the profiles of each participant in the case studies. The choice to have pseudonyms was agreed in principle by participants, as part of maintaining the privacy and confidentiality needed for the research and in keeping with the principles of KMT. Additionally, the participants' level of fluency in *te reo Māori* category was included as part of the examining the contributing influences and factors of being raised in family environments without *te ao Māori* and home/community environments that foster *te ao Māori*. In Chapter Seven and Eight, a more in-depth discussion will explore how *whānau* and *hapū* environments shape individual cultural identity and either contribute or hinder educational success of Māori students across successive generations. The following section outlined below (see Table 23 - Ngāti Awa and Table 24 - Ngāti Tūwharetoa) provides a brief description on the demographics of participants for each case study. The demographics included: role and position of participant, age group, gender, *whakapapa*, *hapū* connections, primary *tīpuna*, and schools attended. The inclusion of professional and tertiary education background is to acknowledge their respective achievements.

Table 23:*Demographics of participants for Case Study – Ngāti Awa*

Participant	Age Group	Role & position	Gender	Hapū	Marae	Tūpuna	Schooling	Higher education/ Profession	Level of fluency te reo Māori
Koro (A)	70-85	Kaumātua	Male	Ngāti Hokopū (grandfather) Taiwhakaia Ngāti Pukeko Tamaki	Hokowhitu Wairaka	Tawhio Te Keepa cousin of Hurunui Apanui (paramount chief) Te Mautaranui Tikitu Wairata Ngairo Te Whitu Hawea	Te Paroa Native School, (Whakatāne), New Lynn Primary Avondale Intermediate Avondale College Kelston High (Auckland)	Butcher	Medium
Nan	70-85	Community	Female	Ngā Maihi	Tūteao	Kahupake	Te Teko Native School Whakatāne High	Nurse	Medium
Koro (B)	70-85	Kaumātua	Male	Ngā Maihi	Tūteao	Te Kahu Hawea	Fenton Mill Te Teko Native School Whakatāne High	Te Ao Māori University Accountant Māori Governance	Fluent
Koro (C)	70-85	Kaumātua	Male	Ngā Maihi	Tūteao	Te Kahu Hawea	Matatā Te Teko Native School Edgecumbe College Kawerau College	Minister	Fluent
Koro (D)	Above 85	Kaumātua	Male	Ngāti Pukeko	Pukeko	Tamati Waaka	Poroporo Native School Whakatāne High	University Teacher Māori Governance	Fluent
Auntie (A)	55-65	Community	Female	Ngā Maihi	Tūteao	Penetito Hawea Koro Eric Moses	Edgecumbe Primary Te Teko Native School Matatā Native School Edgecumbe College	Administrator Māori Governance	Low
Whaea	35-55	Whānau	Female	Ngā Maihi	Tūteao	Ngakuru Raerino Patupo	Epsom Girls (Auckland)	University Māori researcher	Low
Matua	75-80	Whānau / Kaumātua	Male	Ngā Maihi	Tūteao	Ngakuru Raerino Patupo	Te Teko Native School Whakatāne High	University	Fluent

								Police, Social Worker, Educator, Māori governance	
Moko	25-30	Whānau	Female	Ngā Maihi	Tūteao	Ngakuru Raerino Patupo	Te Kura o Hoani Waititi	University Media Communications	Fluent

Accompanying each table is also a brief narrative of who the participants are and a brief synopsis of their background, *whakapapa* and trauma experienced by participants from their korero during the interview and sharing of *pūrākau* (connected to either/both *whānau* and *iwi* heritage).

Participant	Background of Ngāti Awa participants (Ahikā/Rāwaho/Whānau History & Language)	Trauma and manifestations
Koro (A) (79 years old)	Koro comes from a large family who were whāngai out during the depression years to other whānau. Koro was born in Auckland and has lived most of his life away as rāwaho. Koro has strong whakapapa connections to Ngāti Awa in Whakatāne and to Ngā Puhi (Northland). He is a descendant of Te Keepa Tawhiao, Hurunui Apanui, Te Mautaranui and Wairata Ngairo, and Hawea. Koro (A) was raised by his mum with the support of the extended whānau, during the Depression years, situated in a predominant Pākehā community in Auckland. Koro is an active kaumātua and a member of his urban marae and maintains strong ancestral connections through his engagement in Māori governance and Māori committees to Ngāti Awa in Whakatāne and in Tamaki Makaurau (Auckland). Koro is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori.	Psychological Trauma/Family Trauma Material poverty & psychosocial challenges Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Rural-Urbanisation
Nan (75 years old)	Nan is from a large Māori family and have lived predominantly in Te Teko where she was raised through the Depression years. She is a descendant of the Kahupake whānau (5 daughters) and Te Ao Kapurangi (Te Arawa). Her parents were born at the turn of the nineteenth century. Her father worked as a labourer at the railways and milked cows. Nan left Te Teko to do her nursing training in the city but returned to Te Teko. Nan is an active kuia who supports her hapori (section of kinship group, community) and has a background in nursing. She is fluent in te reo Māori and graduated from Te Ataarangi.	Family Trauma Material poverty & psychosocial challenges Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Rural-Urbanisation
Koro (B) (76 years old)	Koro is from a large Māori family and was born in Whakatāne. He is strongly connected to Ngāti Awa and Te Arawa. He has lived both as rāwaho and ahikā within the traditional <i>rohe</i> of Ngāti Awa. Māori is Koro's first language. Throughout his childhood, he spent the majority of his time with his elders/grandparents and learnt from his many kuia. Both parents were fluent Māori speakers and had been strongly nurtured within te ao Māori. Koro is a descendant of Te Kahu Hawea and Te Ao Kapurangi Chase. Koro has been grounded in te ao Māori and comes from a strong lineage of tohunga and traditional Māori leaders. Koro has continued the transmission of intergenerational whānau and hapū knowledge onto his own whānau. A passion of Koro's is his love for reading and maintaining the stories of whānau within Te Teko, Ngāti Awa and Te Arawa. A major emphasis taught to him from his parents was to become educated and return with his new skills to help his people (Ngāti Awa/Te Arawa). Koro is a role-model and an active kaumātua, who shares widely his leadership skills and knowledge related to te ao Māori and the Māori business economy, for the benefit of the next successive generations.	Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Material poverty & psychosocial challenges Rural-Urbanisation Family Trauma

Koro (C) (70 years old)	Koro is from a large Māori family of 16 children. Koro has strong whakapapa connections to Ngā Maihi (Ngāti Awa) and to Whānau Pani (Ngāi Tūhoe). Koro is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori. He is an active kaumātua and a member of his many marae. Koro has a strong religious faith and actively works in the spiritual realm as a Minister serving his people and the communities they come from. Koro was strongly grounded in te Ao Māori and has a great love for sports and helping tamariki Māori and rangatahi within the Eastern Bay of Plenty.	Family Trauma Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Rural-Urbanisation
Koro (D) 85 years plus	Koro is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori and a passionate rangatira who serves his people and the communities they come from. Koro has lived both as rāwaho and ahikā within the traditional rohe of Ngāti Awa. Koro has been strongly grounded in te ao Māori from the onset of birth and has been a steward and holder of mātauranga Māori for his whānau, hapū and iwi. A major emphasis taught to him from his parents was to become educated and return with his new skills to help his people (Ngāti Awa).	Material poverty & psychosocial challenges Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Rural-Urbanisation
Aunty (A) (35-55 years old age group)	Aunty is actively involved with her hapū and marae. During her early years she was raised by her kuia in Te Teko and by her other set of grandparents (who were fluent speakers of te reo Māori) in Matatā. Te Reo Māori was not shared by the elders of the whānau to her generation and later, subsequent generations. Aunty's family were very poor and grew up in tough times. It was common for her whānau to share their rompers (undies) with each other for sports and at times even going to school was a struggle because they did not have money. Aunty can converse in some Māori conversations and has low fluency level.	Material poverty & psychosocial challenges Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Rural-Urbanisation
Whaea (Daughter) (35-55 years old age group)	Whaea is of Ngāti Awa and Te Arawa descent. Her great grandfather is a founding member of Tūteao. Her family moved around the North Island due to her father's occupations. Whaea has lived most of her life in the urban centres, particularly, Auckland. She had instilled in her (from her father) a love for learning and education. Whaea has been a solo mum and has raised her own family to have a love for learning and education. She is the first in her whānau to achieve a degree and a postgraduate qualification at 'University'. Whaea can hold some conversational level of te reo Māori but is not fluent.	Material poverty & psychosocial challenges Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Rural-Urbanisation
Matua (Father) (75-80 years old age group)	Matua was born and nurtured in te ao Māori. He grew up living in Te Teko which he considered a pioneering place. It was a place where a lot of people were returning from the war, there was a high incidence of drinking and a kind of rugged upbringing. The Māori people were not that well off and the young people of Te Teko, at the time, were into all sorts of anti-social behaviour because there was not strong parental care. A lot had to fend for themselves. Matua is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori. He has been a stronghold of his hapori, he does the whaikorero on the paepae and is highly active within both of his iwi. Matua has held professional occupations, served many communities and is university educated. Matua has a love for traditional music and is a gifted composer of waiata.	Family Trauma Material poverty & psychosocial challenges Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Rural-Urbanisation
Mokopuna (Under 30 years old age group)	Mokopuna is an urban-Māori who has grown up outside the traditional rohe of both her iwi. She is the first of her whānau to attend Kura Kaupapa and has continue the legacy of gaining a University education passed from her grandfather, down to her mother and to her. She is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori, is	No mention of trauma affecting participant.

	digital savvy and works within the Māori media industry. Mokopuna has described growing up as middle class and she has not had to experience struggles like her mum and grandfather.	
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Table 24:*Demographics of participants for Case Study – Ngāti Tūwharetoa*

Participant	Age Group	Role and position	Gender	Hapū	Marae	Tipuna	Schooling	Higher education/ profession	Level of fluency te reo Māori
Matua (A)	55-65	Community	Male	Ngāti Peehi Ngāi Tamarangi	Hahuru	Kuia went to Onepū Mission School	Kawerau Central Kawerau College	University Teacher	Low
Matua (B)	55-65	Minister	Male	Ngāti Te Aotahi Ngāti Peehi Ngāi Tamarangi	Hahuru	Koro and Nanny went to Mission schools	Kindergarten Hato Petera (Auckland)	University Lawyer Minister	Fluent
Kuia	70-85	Kuia	Female	Ngāti Peehi	Hahuru	Father worked on Ruatoki Land Scheme	Ruatoki Native School Otakiri School Kawerau North School Kawerau District High	Mother	Low
Koro (A)	70-85	Kaumātua	Male	Ngāti Peehi Ngāi Tamarangi Ngā Maihi	Hahuru Tūteao	Raised by Māori grandparents	Te Teko Native School Onepū Mission School Kawerau District High	Tasman Mill	Fluent
Koro (B)	70-85	Kaumātua	Male	Ngāti Peehi Ngāi Tamarangi Ngā Maihi	Hahuru Tūteao	Te Kahu Hawea & Raki	Te Teko Native School	Te Ao Māori- Marakai	Fluent
Aunty	65-75	Kuia	Female	Ngāti Peehi Ngāi Tamarangi Ngā Maihi	Hahuru Tūteao	Te Kahu Hawea & Raki	Te Teko Native School Whakatāne High	Te Ao Māori- Marakai Teacher	Fluent
Whaea (A)	35-45	Whānau	Female	Ngāi Tamarangi Ngā Maihi	Hahuru	Tukiwaiho Te Rinni & Parewāmu Hawea	Kawerau Intermediate Kawerau College Edgumbe College	Mum	Low
Whaea (B)	45-55	Whānau	Female	Ngāi Tamarangi Ngā Maihi	Hahuru	Tukiwaiho Te Rinni & Parewāmu Hawea	Kawerau Central Kawerau Intermediate School	University Social worker	Medium
Whaea (C)	45-55	Whānau	Female	Ngāi Tamarangi Ngā Maihi	Hahuru	Tukiwaiho Te Rinni & Parewāmu Hawea	Kawerau Central Kawerau Intermediate School	Healthcare	Low

Participant	Background of participants (Ahikā/Rāwaho/Whānau History & Language)	Trauma and manifestations
Matua (A) (Late 50's age group)	Matua is born and bred Te Onepū. Matua has close links to Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Rangitahi and Ngāi Tūhoe. His mother has connections to Ruatahuna, and his grandfather was a bushman. Matua is an active member of his hapori. He is not a confident speaker of te reo Māori.	Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Material poverty
Matua (B) (Late 50's age group)	Matua is strongly grounded in te ao Māori and is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori. Matua was nurtured in a household who spoke te reo Māori all the time and practised Catholic faith. He went away to Māori secondary school, Hato Petera in Auckland. Matua had his grandparents around him and learnt his Ngāti Tūwharetoa from them. Matua is actively sharing his skills and knowledge with all the communities they come from.	Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators)
Kuia (73 years old)	Kuia descends from Ngāti Raukawa and grew up just knowing her mother's whakapapa. More recently, she has been reconnecting and reclaiming her whakapapa and whānau heritage / connections of Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Rangitahi. Kuia is learning her te reo Māori and is actively involved on Māori land trusts.	Material poverty Cultural disconnection Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators)
Koro (A) (73 years old)	Koro has strong ancestral connections to Ngāti Awa, Rangitahi and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. When he was growing up and he became of age to come into Hahuru, this whare. He was handed down the mātauranga from here. Koro is a whāngai who is beginning to heal from his maemae connected to the past. Koro has worked in Tasman Mill for over forty years in Kawerau. Koro is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori.	Psychological Trauma Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Material poverty & psychosocial challenges
Koro (B) (84 years old)	Koro is a fluent speaker of te reo Māori and lives as ahikā within the traditional rohe of Ngāti Tūwharetoa and Ngāti Awa. Koro has been strongly grounded in te ao Māori from the onset of birth and has been a steward and holder of mātauranga Māori for his whānau, hapū and iwi. Koro is a mahikai/bushman who was educated within the bush. Koro sits on the paepae and is an active kaumātua who continues the legacy of marakai. Koro is the eldest living descendant of his hapū and is a rangatira / tohunga in the holding of whānau and hapū whakapapa, including knowing tribal connections within the Eastern Bay of Plenty.	Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Material poverty & psychosocial challenges
Aunty (65-75 age group)	Aunty is actively involved with her hapū and marae. She is from a large Māori family and is strongly connected to both Ngāti Awa and Te Arawa. She has lived both as ahikā amongst her people and te reo Māori is her first language. Both her parents were fluent Māori speakers and had been strongly nurtured within te ao Māori. Aunty is a descendant of Te Kahu Hawea and Te Ao Kapurangi Chase. She has been grounded in te ao Māori and comes from a strong lineage of tohunga and traditional Māori leaders. A major emphasis taught to Aunty from her parents was to become educated and share her skills to help the people. Aunty is an	Psychological Trauma Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Material poverty & psychosocial challenges

	active kuia, who shares widely her leadership skills and knowledge related to te ao Māori and the Māori business economy, for the benefit of the next successive generations. Aunty also is gifted kai-karanga for her many marae.	
Whaea (A) (Under 40s)	Whaea was born and raised in Kawerau. She lost her father at a very young age. Whaea was quite connected to her marae in her day compared to the younger generations now. Whaea had her grandparents around when she was a child. She has low-minimal fluency in te reo Māori. Whaea acknowledged that there are a lot of drug and alcohol issues at home and that is causing problems for tamariki in the Kawerau area. Whaea is a descendant of Tukiwaho Te Rinni and Parewāmu Hawea.	Psychological Trauma/Family Trauma Discrimination (te reo Māori, Unconscious bias of educators) Material poverty & psychosocial challenges
Whaea (B) (53 years old)	Whaea was born and raised in Kawerau. She is an active member of her hapori and actively cares for the rangatahi of Kawerau. Whaea acknowledged that there are a lot of drug and alcohol issues at home and that is causing problems for our tamariki in the area. Whaea is a descendant of Tukiwaho Te Rinni and Parewāmu Hawea. She has medium fluency in te reo Māori. Whaea has begun a new legacy for her whānau of embarking on a University education.	Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Material poverty & psychosocial challenges
Whaea (C) (44 years old)	Whaea has lived all her life in Kawerau. She has fond memories of Kawerau Central School's waiata. She proudly sings the song to me, a legacy set by the generation before her. She is a whāngai and spent time with her elders. Her father fostered within her to get clever, like Pākehā clever, by getting a good job and getting good money, then you can look after yourself, your family and the wider whānau. She has low-minimal fluency in te reo Māori. Whaea is a descendant of Tukiwaho Te Rinni and Parewāmu Hawea.	Discrimination (te reo Māori, unconscious bias of educators) Material poverty & psychosocial challenges

In summary, inherent within each of the two case studies were tensions connected to the past which identified socio-historical factors that had an impact on participants' lives connected to both *iwi* histories of the area (such as the 1867 confiscation of lands in the Eastern Bay of Plenty and the acquisition of Māori land from Onepū residents and Pahipoto *hapū* connections for the establishment of Tasman Paper and Pulp Mill during 1953-1954). The continual transmission of intergenerational trauma among some of the participants and the vulnerable positions concurrently held by Māori in each of these cases meant a cautious approach was needed when I approached the interviews with all the participants.

Te Pae Tuawhā, Te Kohikohi raraunga me Te Tātaritanga: Interviews

There are many reasons for electing to use semi-structure interviews as the main data collection tool within this research. The strengths of using semi-structured interviews, is it allows the researcher to prompt and probe deeper of the situation at hand, in order, to gain an

in-depth understanding of the motivations of each participant groups in the case studies within both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), semi-structured interviews are a less-structured alternative and is guided by a list of questions or issues to be raised. Adopting this format, allowed me to respond to the situation at hand, and the emerging worldviews of the participants as I interacted with them in the interviews. Denscombe (2014) acknowledges that the use of semi structured interviews can allow the researcher to be more flexible in terms of the order of which topics are considered and, perhaps more significantly, allows the participants to speak more widely on points of interest raised by the researcher.

Depending on the participants needs and through observing and listening to them during the interview I encouraged breaks where needed to allow for a 'breather' from highly charged emotional responses to questions from the interview schedule. By taking these breaks, it allowed participants to recoup and regather their thoughts. This is in keeping with the cultural practices of *manaakitanga* and *aroha*, anchored in KMT framed research (Berryman et al., 2013; L. T. Smith, 2012; Rangahau, n.d.; Cram, 2001). Additionally, electing to use interviews and case studies in this research, aligns with Māori values and principles embedded in KMT and fits more comfortably with a Māori way of knowing and doing (Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006).

Several other factors were considered in getting the process right before conducting the interviews in the research. Walker et al. (2006) points out:

getting the process right is the first consideration, and then answering the research question is next.

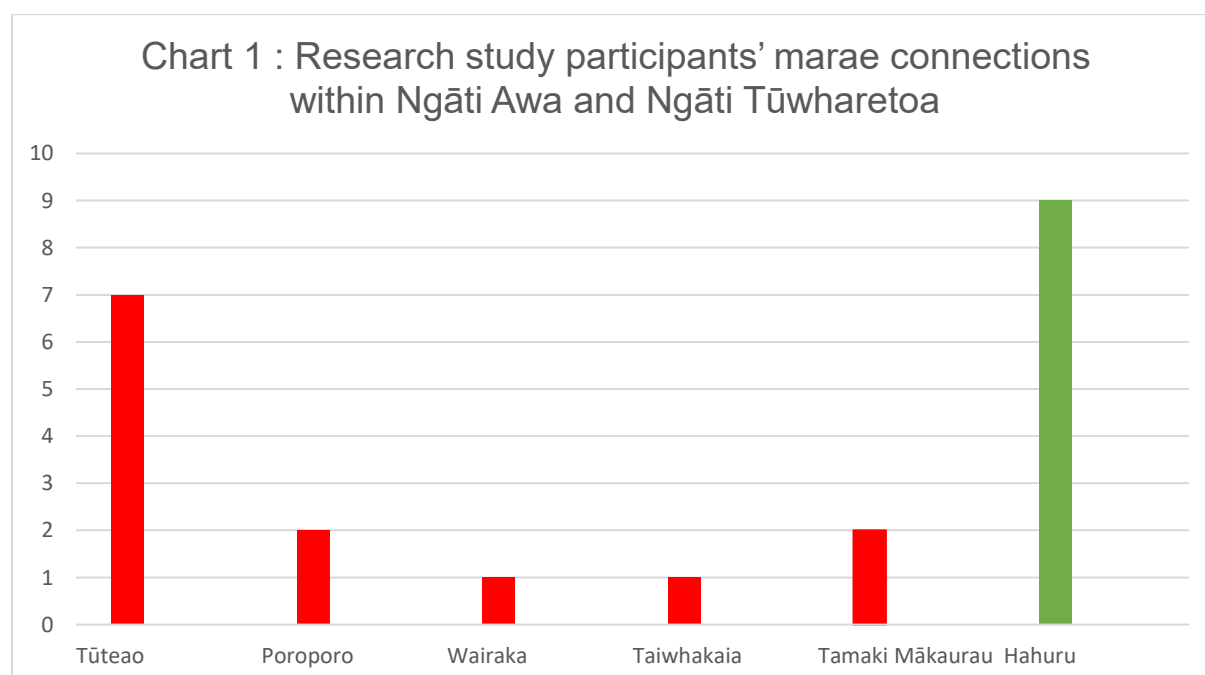
(p. 336)

According to Hinds (2000), a pre-trial of interview questions is a useful strategy to check for the relevance and validity of the types of questions and the order they are arranged within the interview schedule. In this research, organising a pre-trial of the interview questions, reviewing the layout of the interview schedule, outsourcing the interview transcripts to conserve time in transcribing many lengthy interviews and to allow me more time to concentrate my efforts in reading over the interviews with *kaumātua* as part of checking for correct spelling of Māori words and *whakataukī*. As part of my learnings from my master's project, I felt it was a necessary cultural practice as part of KMT to organise a pre-trial of the interview questions with a selected group of *kaupapa whānau* (Abraham-O'Leary, 2015). In the initial stages, I re-considered reframing the presentation of the doctoral question sheet through the incorporation of *te reo me ngā tikanga Māori* at the beginning and ending as part of keeping with KMT

cultural practices and principles of research (Berryman et al., 2013; Cram, 2001; L. T. Smith, 2012; Rangahau, n.d.), outlined in Taku Mahere Rangahau (refer to p.133).

A drawback of electing to use interviews as a data collection tool, from a Western perspective, is the cost of undertaking travel to conduct and host the interviews with participants (Bell & Waters, 2014). Yet, from a *kaupapa Māori* perspective the giving of *koha* and showing *manaaki* are actions that are encapsulated in a Māori worldview (Cram, 2001; Rangahau, n.d.). Following KMT principles and cultural practices I had planned for covering this essential component of my research. Caring for participants and providing the necessary follow-up actions are deemed to be a critical aspect of KMT research. By applying for external sources of support such as education grants and scholarships and being successful in gaining assistance from Māori organisations such as Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (through doctoral internships and education completion grants), I was able to fulfil my obligations and duties as a Māori researcher.

The research recorded 18 open ended, narratives (semi-structured interviews) of participants from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The research was constructed around two case studies, with three different groups (*whānau*, community and Māori experts which could have included either *kuia* and/or *kaumātua*), and between nine participants. Chart 1 shows the participants in this research *marae* connections within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.



The 18 participants were divided into three cohorts, which ensured 'generational' balance. The different generational age cohorts for Ngāti Awa ranged from: Under 30's, 35 – 65, 70-80, and 85 +, as can be seen in Chart 2: *Research study participants for Ngāti Awa*. The different generational age cohorts for Ngāti Tūwharetoa ranged from: Under 40's, 40 – 49, 50-60, 65-75, and 84 +, as can be seen in Chart 3: *Research study participants for Ngāti Tūwharetoa*.

Chart 2: Research study participants from Ngāti Awa

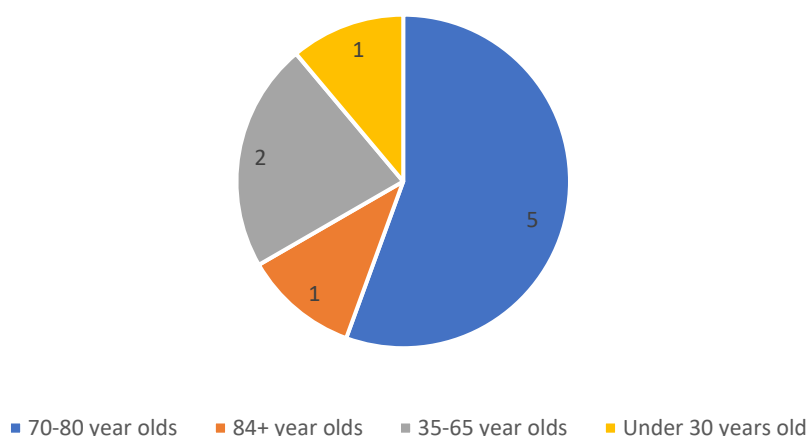
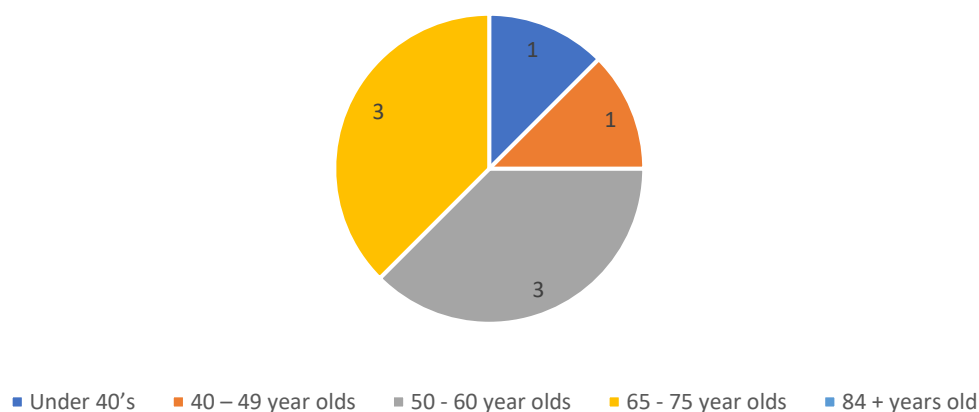


Chart 3: Research study participants for Ngāti Tūwharetoa



The participants' narratives were analysed to identify any identifiable references to the impacts of colonisation across an array of possible focused areas, in particular:

- HT and CT from the banning of *te reo Māori* in schools; Any negative self-concept statements related to attending schools or struggles of life within the *whānau* or community environment;
- Material poverty, marginalisation;
- Either forms of racism experienced in schools, pressure to assimilate;
- Any trauma associated with being alienated or isolated from one's cultural identity; and
- The loss of *whānau* knowledge, *whakapapa*, and histories.

Participant statements expressing these sorts of responses were identified and obtained from the wider narratives of each case study. This included, ensuring that the essence of which the statement/s were given was not lost or use in a misguided manner. The research was informed by *Kaupapa Māori* Theory and an emphasis was placed on cultural processes and cultural practices that gave respect to the participants' voices and Māori knowledge systems located within both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Kaupapa Māori tikanga (Ethical practices and kaupapa Māori practices)

The collecting of data took place between May and June 2018, once ethics had been approved by Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC). In the initial consultation phase I attended *hapū*-level *hui* with my *kaumātua*, at varying local *marae* within the Eastern Bay of Plenty. *Kaumātua* provided a critical hand in engaging and in establishing a partnership with *whānau* and *hapū* of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and is considered a necessary dimension of this research, in keeping myself culturally safe as the researcher. At the *hui* I outlined:

- (1) The project aims and outcomes (What am I trying to find out, who do I want to involve and what I would like potential participants to do for me);
- (2) Invited comment and feedback from members of the *hapū*;
- (3) Provided expression of interest forms and if interests were shown at *hapū hui*;
- (4) Collected contacts, presented information sheets and consent forms if appropriate.

The initial consultation phase involved informing participants of the research project through *whakawhanaungatanga* at local *hapū hui*. Following this stage, participants were interviewed in their preferred location (if this is to be in their home or at a local school hall, *marae* or community office). Lastly, the final stage involved holding *hui* about the findings and sharing outcomes of the oral presentation of the researcher's thesis in consultation with participants. The participants who gave consent to be interviewed were given the opportunity to view an

interview schedule prior to the interview to have time to consider their responses, with the understanding that such a schedule is a guide. A pre-interview trial was also completed with a selected group to check for order of questions. The research steps undertaken included:

1. Organising an initial *hui* with tribal *kaumātua*, *kuia* and possible participants at the local *marae* or at the relevant Māori organisation offices to discuss research aims and parameters;
2. Participants self-selected through *whanaungatanga*, or through reading the participant handout, which outlined what would be required of them if they chose to participate in the research (See Appendix 2, pp. 367-368);
3. An initial phone call was arranged with potential participants regarding their interest and then a participant handout and consent form were sent;
4. At pre-arranged times with the participants, I arranged semi-structured, in-depth interviews for both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) case studies. These interviews were not always in the participants' homes but were places where those being interviewed were comfortable. For example, the *marae*, local Māori Trust/Rūnanga or cafe;
5. Transcripts were made and checked by the individual participants. The process of transcribing took longer than expected and checking but is integral to the KMT methodology being applied and used in this research;
6. Issues and ideas that needed clarification were identified and opportunities were taken to meet with participants who could provide clarification;
7. During these arranged interviews, some of the participants, also volunteered more information for inclusion in the narratives regarding *whakapapa* and *whānau* and *hapū* narratives. This also strengthened, the quality of information being offered to the research which was even more insightful; and
8. The interviews were outsourced for transcribing. A confidential agreement was sought for this service (See Appendix 3, p. 369). This revealed insightful data on the impact of the transmission of Intergenerational CT and HT on families and communities, from participating in mainstream schooling.

Table 25*Producing the narratives of experiences for Ngāti Awa case study*

Participant	Initial meeting	Consent	Interview	Transcript	Return to clarify	Check by mail / email / call	Check in person
1	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
6	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
7	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
8	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Table 26*Producing the narratives of experiences for Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study*

Participant	Initial meeting	Consent	Interview	Transcript	Return to clarify	Check by mail / email / call	Check in person
1	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
7	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
8	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	

As part of the interviewing and interaction process with participants and *kaumātua*, the following *tikanga* were used in this research:

- *Karakia* to start and close this research as part of collaborating with *kaumātua*. *Karakia* also was used to provide spiritual guidance and protection during interviews, reading over *whakapapa* and *iwi* histories during the research. This was a practice seen to be important in keeping with *kaupapa Māori* principles and practices embedded in Figure 8 Taku Mahere Rangahau: The design framework (refer to page 133). This is in keeping with a distinct way of knowing in Māori epistemologies as mentioned early in the chapter.
- Acknowledging the pivotal role that *kaumātua* and *kuia* play in connecting younger generations like myself with ancestral knowledge and *whakapapa*. Working alongside and collaborating with elders was deemed to be a vital component in keeping spiritually safe and in keeping with the protocols in engaging and in the transmission of Māori knowledge.

- The providing of *kai* was offered to participants and given at *hapū / iwi hui* as part of the *whakawhanaungatanga* process, and for sustenance after engaging in deep conversations during the interviews with participants. This offering of *kai* provided the opportunity to show *manaaki* to all participants for their *koha* of time to participate in the research and say thank you for their important contribution to share their *pūrākau* and voice in formulation of solutions that would help benefit their communities and transform educational success research for Māori; and,
- Upon completion of this research journey, a *koha* of my unpublished thesis will be gifted as a *taonga* to each participant and to the *iwi* to help inform their strategic plan for transforming outcomes related to educational success of tamariki in mainstream schooling within the *rohe* of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. This is a critical component of KMT research as the participants' contributions have further added to the new literature on how we can transform educational success for Māori and reset new pathways for *whānau* healing from the transmission of ICT and HT through education.

Ethical Guidelines: Do no harm, informed consent, voluntary participation and avoid deceit

Ethical guidelines and protocols are essential for this research as interviews will be conducted. I will ensure that I do no harm to any of the participants as part of upholding the principles of conducting KMT research located within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa world views. Wilkinson (2001) explains:

if you want to do research on people, you should ask their permission first.
(p. 16)

It was paramount to gain informed consent and voluntary participation from the participants. In this research, consideration had been given to clearly explaining the process of the research in a culturally respectful manner to participants. The participants voluntarily agreed without duress and clearly understood the benefits and their role from participating in the research, without any misleading actions by the researcher.

Privacy, confidentiality, minimisation of risk

Māori research protocols and ethical guidelines are an important aspect of undertaking research involving participants. Powick (2003) states:

for Māori, ethics is about *tikanga* ...*tikanga* reflects Māori values, beliefs and the way they view the world and *kawa* is the process by which Māori promote, protect and develop *tikanga* (p. 23).

The relevance of Māori research ethics is to ensure that respect and protection of the rights and cultural sensitivities of Māori are gained. This reinforces the previously highlighted Figure 8: Taku Mahere Rangahau - The Design Framework (p. 133). Safeguarding confidentiality and anonymity of information particularly in the collection, storage, security and dissemination is paramount in this research. Likewise, during the initial scoping phase, time had to be taken to walk participants through the purposes, contents, procedures, reporting and analysis of the research; any potential risks or discomforts and how they were to be handled; rights to confidentiality and non-disclosure of the research participants and their personal stories (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007).

Te Pae Tuawhā, Te kohikohi raraunga me te tātaritanga: Data analysis

Te Pae Tuawhā, Te kohikohi raraunga me te tātaritanga related to the data analysis phase of interpreting the participants' narratives. A bricolage approach was applied in this stage of the research. Using a combination of data gathering methods (reflexive data, field notes, memos and interviews) and analytical techniques (thematic analysis and contextualised genograms) will inform the dissemination of the data findings for this research. The main purpose of using thematic analysis was to identify the patterns and trends contained within the 18 participants narratives. According to Alhojailan (2012) the use of thematic analysis as a data analysis tool is appropriate for any study that seeks to discover the meanings and interpretations. Throughout the data analysis process, I was mindful and aware of the role I played in the (co)-construction of knowledge with participants, and the collection, selection and interpretation of data in this research. Being open and transparent about the choices and decisions made was important at all stages of the research. I often keep a journal on how I reacted and responded to situations or events related to the research (such as the meetings to confirm by candidature) as part of keeping in check and ensuring that I was not too heavily influenced by arising tensions which may have impinged on interpreting the data and writing up chapters in the thesis.

Drawing on the research of Finlay (2002), reflexivity in qualitative research involves researchers engaging in explicit self-aware meta-analysis. As part of the (co)construction of knowledge with participants, through collaborative reflexivity, I had an opportunity to hear, and consider, the multiple voices and conflicting positions held within the two case studies during phase one and phase 3 of the data analysis process (Finlay, 2002). Through critical reflection, I used reflexivity to continually monitor the research process and to engage in *kōrero* with my supervisors and *kaupapa whānau* on understanding my position connected to the 'organic

experience of *kaupapa Māori* discovery' and the 'written experience' of navigating the academic doctoral journey.

During my master's journey I had designed a framework for the data analysis (Abraham-O'Leary, 2015), which, in turn, I then adapted for use in the data analysis process of this doctoral research. An adaption of this process involved using reflexivity to monitor the data analysis and the use of contextualising genograms to identify commonalities, trends in participants' narratives particularly related to the effect of different types of trauma on participants' lives and realities. Using genograms is selected because it will provide valuable input into historical patterning of behaviours within the various participant groups across generations of *whānau* and is considered a compatible tool for *kaupapa Māori* research (Goodman, 2013). Kennedy (2010) explains that by utilising genograms as part of the data analysis, allows for the storytelling of participants from multiple perspectives through collaboration by drawing on the principles of *whakamana* (to give authority to), and *tinorangatiranga* within a framework of *whakapapa*.

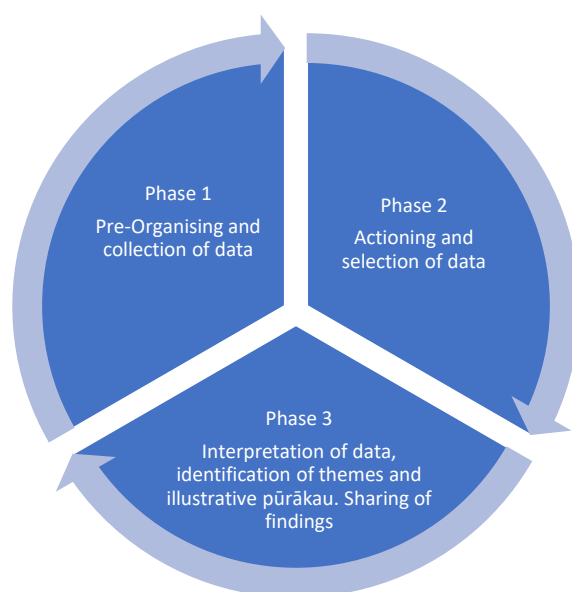


Figure 9. Framework for initiating data analysis

Phase One included the steps needed for preparation, organizing and collection of the data in this research:

- Construction of the interview schedule (previously mentioned earlier in Te Pae Tuawhā, Te kohikohi raraunga me te tātaritanga: Interviews).
- Protecting the data in a secure location (locked cabinet).
- Undertaking the interviews (researchers notes on telephone calls and emails to participants).

- Transcribing of interviews (outsourced).

Meticulous use of data collection and preparation were used in the data analysis process. One technique I adopted was incorporating the use of personal sensory and emotional experiences into the data analysis. Kara (2015) describes reflexive data as the researcher's personal sensory and emotional experiences. Journal writing was another technique used by the researcher to record data of events and experiences arising from different phases of the research journey. Kara (2015) suggests engaging in journal writing helps to complement the data analysis process. During conversation in my supervision hui, I found the technique of using diagrams and maps to be particularly helpful in the data analysis and easier to visually make the connections between ideas and relationships that developed as I worked through the analytical process. Initially, at the start of the doctoral journey I was aiming to use N-Vivo software but found that once I began the data analysis process, there was definitely a challenge in anticipating the high amount of data gathered from the individual transcripts of the 18 participants. After trialling one interview from each of the case studies I found it was taking far too much time to code and set up categories. Based on my experiences and sharing with my supervisor I discussed and pre-empted the difficulty that may occur when it came to cross-checking all the participants' interviews. With guidance from my supervisor, I made the decision to shift from N-Vivo to a document form of thematic analysis, in order, to meet the necessary milestones of this doctoral research. I actually preferred the close contact of touching the data and seeing a hard copy of the coding in my hands, rather, than just visually seeing the data presented on the laptop's screen.

Phase 2 involved the steps needed for actioning and selection of the data. The following techniques used included:

- Recording of reflexive data through journal writing, anecdotal observations of participants during interviews, field notes and memos (previously mentioned in chapter 5).
- Reading over the transcribing of interviews.
- Data preparation involved selecting a question and go through one at a time for each participant across the two case studies.
- Identified chunks of texts, key words and concepts of transcription, created memos.
- Created a matrix of codes.

During this phase I used initial and focus coding alongside the reflective data (from journal writing, field notes, memos and anecdotal observations of the participants in their respective homes). Bell and Waters (2014) describe coding as a mechanism to cluster key points from the data and to draw conclusions. Further to this point, Creswell (2009), discusses that coding

involves aggregating the text into small categories of information and then labelling a code to the data. This aligns with Bryman's (2012) description of how codes can be built up out of the groups of codes to form an index of central themes and sub-themes. Based on previous experience, I was very mindful of the arduous process that coding entailed in data analysis. According to Lofland, Snow, Anderson, and Lofland (2006), initial coding entails inspecting interview transcripts line by line and acknowledges that often many codes can be generated. I found at times, I needed to review the coding by going back over transcripts line by line for some questions. A key consideration of doing this included organising the newly generated data into a manageable system and adjusted my coding as I gained more insight and familiarity with the data. I was constantly moving back and forward between both case studies data sets as part of identifying themes and grouping codes to form a master list of categories, subthemes and key themes. Lofland et al. (2006) states the use of memos is particularly useful during the completion of the initial and focused coding stages. Utilising coding, memos, and reflective data enabled me to complete the next phase of the data analysis process, as part of gaining an in-depth understanding required to answer the research questions.

Phase 3 steps involved the interpretation of data, identification of themes and illustrative *pūrākau*. Other features included the sharing of the findings with participants. The following actions taking in the data analysis process included:

- Test codes and themes by cross checking, double checking for negative instances or similar patterns. Themes re-categorised and identified.
- Selected key themes before analysing.
- Identifying emerging themes from coding.
- Visually arranging data and synthesis down further into categories.
- Devising a table and counting the number of responses for each category, sub-theme.
- Selecting quotes from participants for data analysis questions.
- Formulation of contextualised genograms.
- Completing the analysis by answering the research questions.
- Presenting the data for writing.

During this phase I began focus coding. This entailed me applying colour coding to all the data from the eighteen participants and classifying them accordingly to the designated categories under the main themes. For example, I graphically organised the different responses of each participant for all questions and cross-checked for either/or similarities and differences. Using this graphical tool allowed me to visualise the data and capture the different participant responses across the two case studies in a table form. Although, this process was time-consuming, it was beneficial to use as the researcher, I was able to build an in-depth understanding and insight of what the participants, that is the Māori voice considered to be of importance.

During the data analysis process, I also met with my primary supervisor to discuss the emerging codes and categories and to address mitigating factors that were causing tensions for me in synthesising the data into manageable data set, in preparation for writing. According to Tracy (2013), second level codes serve to describe, theorise and synthesise data and act as a bridge to analysis and prepare for writing. I considered developing a hierarchy of codes to subsume some of the codes which appeared to share similarities (Bryman, 2012) and to make it more manageable in preparing for writing other parts of the thesis, particularly, Chapter Seven (Findings and Data Analysis) and Chapter Eight (Discussion of findings). As discussed by Denscombe (2010) developing a hierarchy of codes and categories can subsume some of the lower-level codes under broader codes, mediating some of the tensions that exist with dealing with high amounts of data from coding.

Validity of the data

Validity is referred to the accuracy of the data (Denscombe, 2010). This was an essential component for this research. According to Creswell (2009), researchers must ensure they adopt appropriate techniques and data analysis strategies to document the accuracy of their findings. Creswell (2009) explains that the researcher must be consistent in the way they carry out their research. Denscombe (2003) suggests, that researchers should have a range of strategies to strengthen validity such as: leaving space to write notes on the page during semi-structured interviews; and having a special serial number for each set of raw data as part of the research. Consideration of these analysis techniques were applied to this research. I used the same process for conducting the interviews with all participants and in analysing the data. This was an important factor to consider as part of ensuring that my processes were robust, trustworthy and I had valid conclusions. As part of the interview process, I checked for accuracy by speaking to participants in person or by emailing them to confirm what was recorded on the transcript had been a true reflection of the interview. Undertaking this practice, confirms what Denscombe (2003) points out how the researcher must prioritise and make direct contact with the participant, prior to and after the interview as part of checking for accuracy of the data.

Triangulation

The purpose of using informant triangulation in this research was to validate and augment findings. Denscombe (2010) describes informant triangulation as comparing data from different participants. This form of triangulation involved comparing the data from the eighteen participants across the two case studies of this research. Several key steps of data analysis were considered in this research. The multiple steps included:

- (a) organising and preparing data for transcribing;
- (b) (re) listening to audio recordings and reading alongside transcripts to gain a general sense of what was being said;
- (c) developing a coding process for organising the data by categorising into possible themes;
- (d) reviewing participants responses to the interview schedule and determining trends and patterns;
- (e) presenting the data into forms of visual displays such as tables, figures and charts for this research; and
- (f) finally interpreting the data and linking this to the literature review in Chapters one to five.

In this final step (f) Creswell (2009) points out that new questions may be asked by the researcher. However, it must be noted that the views of the eighteen participants from the two case studies, should not be considered as the generalised views of all *whānau* and *hapū* of both *iwi*, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, but, rather, a reflection of what occurs in their particular communities of Te Teko, Matatā, Edgecumbe, Kawerau, Whakatāne and Onepū.

Summary

As I take on my own deeper journey of self-discovery, in following in the footsteps of my ancestors, I have begun the process of privileging Indigenous Māori ways of knowing and being. I have not blindly engaged in the process of this doctoral journey expecting that I will be able to answer all the questions I have on educational success for *tamariki Māori*. The next chapter presents the findings and data analysis of the research.

Chapter Seven: Findings and Data Analysis

Introduction

Chapter Seven presents the findings which are analysed question by question. The necessary comparisons and connections are made between the interview questions using thematic analysis to help present the results and produce relevant charts and tables. Each section captures participants' perceptions and narratives, including identifying the Ngā Hononga (data categories), concepts Ngā Putanga (concepts) and Ngā Hua (emerging key research themes) within each case study for both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

The discussion is presented with supporting commentary from the 18 participants of each case study pertaining to each relevant question/s. The findings are planned to answer the three research questions:

- How do *whānau* conceptualise educational success for their children?
- What Māori values inform *whānau* views of educational success for their children?
- What other factors do *whānau* consider as imperative for educational success of their children?

In summary, while the data collected for this study was quite specific, rich and in-depth, a decision was made that would remain the reporting of results manageable in size and range. This also included conducting a follow up *hui* with participants to add their voice to the two-page summary of findings for this research. The most significant results will be presented here, and applicable comments from the participants.

Background

The focus of this chapter is the presentation and analysis of the data collected from the 18 semi-structured interviews. Explanation is provided about the research participants and the structure of the data presentation. Additionally, the interview questions are included in Appendix 1 (see Interview Schedule: Participants, pp. 364-366).

Structure of data presentation

The structure of the data is presented in three sections from the nineteen research questions. Some of these sections are further divided into parts.

Section	Title	Question
1	Background of participants	1-5
1	Schooling experiences	6-7
2	Understanding connection and disconnection and cultural identity of <i>whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i>	8
3	Challenges for <i>whānau</i> in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty)	9
4	Valuing of education and support systems that influences <i>tamariki Māori</i> educational success	10-11
5	Building pathways for intergenerational educational success	12-15
6	Components of an intergenerational educational success model (in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa)	16-17
7	Aspirations for the next generation	18-19

Under each question the data is organised into key categories which includes examples of sub-themes/categories from the data. A discussion is presented with supporting commentary from the nineteen participants narratives for each relevant section.

The chapter ends with a summary data table of categories, concepts and key research themes that are presented in Table 57 (p. 296). These key research themes are further discussed in Chapter Seven.

Research Participants

For the purpose of this thesis pseudonyms have been used where necessary, in order to protect the identity of the participants within each case study. In certain circumstances, participants who have opted to disclose their identity, are acknowledged by their pseudonym and actual age. The pseudonyms used for each case studies are identified below in Table 27.

Table 27*Pseudonyms used for case-study on Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa*

Ngāti Awa				Ngāti Tūwharetoa			
Participant	Pseudonym	Participant	Pseudonym	Participant	Pseudonym	Participant	Pseudonym
1	Koro (A) (79 years old)	5	Koro (C) (70 years old)	1	Matua (A) (Late 50's age group)	5	Aunty (65-75 age group)
2	Aunty (A) (35-55 years old group)	6	Koro (B) (76 years old)	2	Matua (B) (Late 50's age group)	6	Koro (B) (84 years old)
3	Koro (D) (85 plus years old)	7	Whaea (35-55 years old group)	3	Kuia (73 years old)	7	Whaea (A) (Under 40's age group)
4	Nan (70 – 85 years old group)	8	Matua (75-80 years old group)	4	Koro A (73 years old)	8	Whaea (B) (53 years old)
		9	Mokopuna (25-30 years old group)			9	Whaea (C) (44 years old)

The research design enabled interfamilial (between families) and intrafamilial (occurring within families), and intergenerational (across extended *whānau*/communities) differences overtime to be discerned, which allowed for the examination on the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma between subsequent generations, as well as providing the underlying context of how mainstream education perpetuates inequities for *tamariki Māori* within an evolving landscape of mainstream schooling. Below are key concepts, related to forms of structural mechanisms, that will be introduced and referred to throughout the presenting of data from question 1 to question 19.

Introducing the colonising environment within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa

Both *iwi* suffered immensely during the onset of colonisation, at the turn of the eighteenth century and leading into the early nineteenth century (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a; Ngāti Tūwharetoa Bay of Plenty Claims Settlement Act 2005). The enforcement of English to become the dominant language spoken in schools (Native Schools Act, 1858 & 1867); and the procedurally unfair process that political-legal institutions had enforced British law, traditions and values on early generations of *whānau* (for example, the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863⁶² and its amendments, Native Lands Act 1862⁶³, and the Outlying Districts Police Act 1865), had hugely impacted on personal self-concept and cultural identity

⁶² Allowed for the confiscation of Māori land during the Māori land wars. The confiscation allowed Pākehā settlers to occupy the land. (Source: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/the-new-zealand-settlements-act-passed>)

⁶³ The Native Lands Act 1862, was the first act to provide for the allocation of titles and alienation of land from communal to individualised titles, had detrimental consequences for generations of Māori.

for Māori (Reid et al., 2017a). Being exposed and immersed in this foreign environment for Māori, profoundly affected the lives of *whānau* within each *iwi*. This exposure entailed enormous resource loss, such as the alienation of Māori land (Harvey, 2018; Mather, 2014), the destruction of Māori economies and of social organisation connected to the *whānau*/kinship model and the subjection of Māori to assimilative policies that were antagonist to Māori ways of being, conflicted with their world views located within *te ao Māori* and permissive of Māori language and culture (Reid et al, 2017a).

This history had catastrophic and long-lasting effects on successive generations of *whānau* within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and which continues to be perpetuated within current generations. Currently, Māori populations, located within each *iwi* are at or near the bottom of socio-economic statistics, and particularly, in terms of educational achievement, are clearly disadvantaged as an ethnic group in New Zealand. This current reality has resulted from the catastrophic effects of colonial schooling, and the continual systemic perpetuating of inequities through infrastructures and attitudes of Western educators that exist within mainstream framed educational institutions (schools, universities).

Introducing forms of structural mechanisms

The first set of traumas identified were triggered by structural mechanisms, also known as forms of psychological and physical harm, derived from the immersion and exposure of Māori *whānau* to the institutions of the New Zealand settler state. The traumatising structures identified across the participants' narratives included:

- 1) Being alienated as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* from their land, caused hardship and angst for *whānau* unable to assert their *tinio rangatiratanga* and access their human rights to social justice related to their grievances. This in turn, created *whānau* divisions and left many holding onto unresolved grief and *mamae*. A secondary effect of this loss of land resulted in material poverty, and the dependency on the government as wage labourers for *whānau*. An example of this is clearly identified in the case study of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, where the use of legislation allowed the government and private sector, the right to establish the township of Kawerau and Tasman Paper Pulp Mill.
- 2) Being exposed and immersed as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to the settler political and legal institutions (politico-legal), and the systems used and feeling a sense of disenfranchisement, that is being in a state of powerlessness over their situations and livelihoods.
- 3) Being exposed as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to the New Zealand education system which promoted Westernising of *tamarki Māori* over their Indigenous way of being Māori and

totally ignored the government's responsibilities of being equal Treaty partners as acknowledged and inherent within Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Introducing psychosocial challenges

The Whenua Project (Reid et al., 2017a) provides a way forward to explore the impacts of colonisation which includes understanding how the psychosocial challenges that perpetuate trauma are damaging long-term for Māori within both case studies. This report gives a guideline to understand what the psychosocial challenges are that impact on cultural identity and personal self-concept of *whānau* involved in the research study. Psychosocial challenges identified in the Whenua Project highlight how *whānau* can internalise colonial narratives of accepting that one is inferior to the more dominant culture. Furthermore, Reid et al. (2017a) acknowledge how shame, and personal attacks on dignity through the domination of one culture can impact at the individual level and translate to social problems at both the family and community scales. The Whenua project noted that individuals who had internalised the colonial narrative express a sense of disempowerment, shame and confusion through harmful behaviours (Reid et al., 2017a).

Presentation of data

Question 1-5 sought to find out from the participants:

- What age group do you belong to?
- What is your gender;
- What is your role: *whānau*, professional, *kaumātua* and/or Māori experts;
- What is your ethnicity?
- What is your *hapū*?

The first part of the interview acted as an introductory to the background of each participant and was centred on building *whanaungatanga* with each of the participants within both case studies of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Reid et al. (2017a) designed a framework in which to understand how the institutional settings and wider culture of New Zealand's settler state impacted on Māori at different stages in history, and to illustrate the traumatic effects of these institutional settings on the wider New Zealand culture. This framework has been adapted for the purpose of illustrating how this also impacted on both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The table below illustrates the age decades of all participants, and the different points in history, that have contributed to a traumatic and colonising environment in which many *tamariki Māori*, and *whānau* still continue to live in both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Table 28:

Total numbers of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa participants born during the establishment of the New Zealand Settler state

Ngāti Awa			Ngāti Tūwharetoa		
Chronological time period in New Zealand	Generation	Number of participants	Chronological time period in New Zealand	Generation	Number of participants
Inundation Period 1840-1890	First Generation	n/a	Inundation Period 1840-1890	First Generation	n/a
Isolation Period 1890-1940	Maturists Pre – 1945	4	Isolation Period 1890-1940	Maturists Pre – 1945	1
Integration Period 1940-1990	Baby Boomers (1945-1960) Generation X (1961-1980) Generation Y (1981-1995)	4	Integration Period 1940-1990	Baby Boomers (1945-1960) Generation X (1961-1980) Generation Y (1981-1995)	8
Invigoration Period 1990-now	Generation Y, Z & Millennials (Born after 1995)	1	Invigoration Period 1990-now	Generation Y, Z & Millennials (Born after 1995)	n/a

For the Ngāti Awa case study, four of the participants were born and exposed to much poverty during the isolation period. These participants formative experiences were impacted by the Great Depression of the 1930s and were primarily subjected to traumas of material poverty, disease, and sub-alternatisation (excluded and displaced in order to deny their political voice), generated by the abusive practices of land alienation and political disenfranchisement (state of not being able to vote) enabled by settler state institutions (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). Four of the participants were born during the Integration period, where such traumas were compounded by the abuse practices of assimilation and integration, which led to the traumas of social isolation, cultural disconnection, and identity fragmentation. As suggested by Reid et al. (2017a) these different types of traumas when compounded together have created a toxic colonising environment in which many Māori continue to live in. Only one participant was born during the invigoration period, and who is the first in her family line to attend a *kura kaupapa* school. This *whānau* have created a legacy of normalising participation in higher education at a mainstream university. Their *mokopuna* (grandchild, grandchildren) has graduated from university with a bachelors' degree. *Whaea*, her mother, graduated with a doctoral qualification and *matua* who is the father of *whaea* and the grandfather of *mokopuna* has also graduated with a masters from a university.

In summary, the key categories revealed from the data for the Ngāti Awa case study included:

- (1) Personal stories of struggle and self-determination (from various participants and as a *hapū*, particularly to history of Ngā Maihi);
- (2) Acknowledgement of *tūpuna* and *whānau whakapapa*, and the rich stories, including *whakataukī* passed onto descendants of many great leaders/*rangatira*/role-models (examples of such leaders included Pio Tumutara, Tama Pōata, Tawhio Te Keepa, Stan Keepa, Kahupake *whānau*, Te Ao Kapurangi Chase, Ngakuru Raerino Patupo, Penetito and Te Kahu Hawea);
- (3) Many ancestral connections that Māori have within and across the boundaries of both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa;
- (4) The relevance of *marae* to Māori wellbeing, and strengthening cultural identity;
- (5) Embedding of traditional Māori teaching and learning models such as the use of *whakataukī*;
- (6) Parental influence on children;
- (7) The fluency levels of native speakers, nurtured and raised in *te ao Māori* environments (home and *marae*);
- (8) Impact of multiple forms of trauma experienced across successive generations of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*;
- (9) Breakdown in the *whānau* kinship model such as the separation of children due to a breakdown in their parent's relationship, the death of a parent, experiencing a traumagenic event such as living through the 'Depression Era' during the 1930s and living through the 'Rural-Urban Drift', where a number of participants left their rural homelands for employment in many urban city centres in New Zealand from the 1950s to 1980s; and
- (10) Strengthening the intergenerational transmission of *hapū* knowledge related to Ngā Maihi to the next successive generations.

For the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study, one of the participants was born during the isolation period and the rest of the other participants were born within the integration period and were hugely exposed to the traumas following the large-scale land alienation during the inundation period. These participants also suffered in similar ways, like their other boundary neighbours Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Rangitihi (a *iwi* who descend from the eponymous ancestor Rangitihi based in the Eastern Bay of Plenty), who were all primarily subjected to traumas of material poverty, disease, and sub-alternatisation (excluded and displaced in order to deny their political voice), generated by the abusive practices of land alienation and political disenfranchisement (state of not being able to vote) enabled by settler state institutions (Ngāti Awa Claims Settlements Act 2005; Ngāti Tūwharetoa Bay of Plenty Claims Settlement Act 2005; Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a).

In summary, the key categories revealed from the data for the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study included:

- (1) Retracing *tūpuna* footsteps and strengthening connections through *whānau* histories;
- (2) Strengthening connections to cultural historical landmarks (such as the significance of Te Kopua, Hahuru Marae, Te Aotahi and the Te Teko connection to Tūwharetoa);
- (3) The transmission of intergenerational knowledge through the *pepeha* (tribal saying), “kei Kawerau ko te kete Poutama, kei Waitahanui ko... ” (Matua B);
- (4) The impact of introducing Tasman Paper Mill on the people of Kawerau and Onepū;
- (5) The important role of parents and grandparents in teaching *whānau* and *hapū* histories and supporting children in their life;
- (6) The use of Māori approaches in teaching children;
- (7) Healing from the *mamae* of soul wounds/historical and cultural trauma and undertaking personal and spiritual awakening;
- (8) The influence of missionary John Laughton on Māori *whānau* and changing religion from Ratana to Presbyterian;
- (9) Survival of *te reo Māori* amongst the people;
- (10) Preservation and retention of *whānau* histories, *pūrakāu* and *whakapapa* through the family system.

Question 6 asked the participants:

What sort of schooling did you take part in, were you in mainstream education, home schooling, Māori medium, marae setting or other?

Table 29:

Ngāti Awa Participants schooling background and education experiences

Categories			Concepts
Background and description of individual (self) identity and whānau, hapū and iwi identity through ancestral connections, whakapapa and pūrākau.			Re-connecting to ancestral connections, reclaiming whakapapa and whānau, hapū and iwi histories and heritage and strengthening cultural identity as Ngāti Awa living as ahikā and rāwaho.
Participant	Age Group	Schooling	<p>Background educational histories and outcomes from mainstream education:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Differences between living as ahikā and rāwaho within the Eastern Bay of Plenty and in Auckland. Rural versus Urban Schooling. Te Teko and Whakatāne schooling. Participation in higher education and vocation education. Māori in professional roles within society.
Koro (A)	79	Te Paroa Native School, New Lynn Primary, Avondale Intermediate, Kelston High, (Trades Academy).	
Nan	75	Te Teko Native School, Whakatāne High (Nursing).	
Koro (B)	76	Fenton Mill, Te Teko Native School, Whakatāne High, University (Commerce/Business).	
Koro (C)	70	Matatā and Te Teko Native School, Edgecumbe College, Kawerau College.	
Koro (D)	Above 85	Poroporo Native School, Whakatāne High, University (Teacher).	
Aunty	55-65	Edgecumbe Primary, Te Teko Native School, Matatā Native School, Edgecumbe College.	
Whaea	35-55	Epsom Girls Grammar, University (researcher).	
Matua	75-80	Te Teko Native School, Whakatāne High, University (Educator/researcher).	
Mokopuna	Under 30's	Te Kura Kaupapa Hoani Waititi, University (Communications/Media).	

Table 30:*Ngāti Tūwharetoa Participants schooling background and education experiences*

Categories			Concepts
Background and description of individual (self) identity and whānau, hapū and iwi identity through ancestral connections, whakapapa and pūrākau			Re-connecting to ancestral connections, reclaiming whakapapa and whānau, hapū and iwi histories and heritage and strengthening cultural identity as Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) living as ahikā and rāwaho
Participant	Age Group	Schooling	Background educational histories and outcomes from mainstream education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Differences between living as ahikā and rāwaho within the Eastern Bay of Plenty and in Waikato region Rural versus urban schooling Kawerau schooling Participation in higher education and vocation education Māori in professional roles within society
Matua (A)	Late 50's	Kawerau Central, Kawerau College, (Trades Academy)	
Matua (B)	Late 50's	Kindergarten, Hato Petera (Auckland), University (Lawyer)	
Kuia	73	Ruatoki Native School, Otakiri School, Kawerau North School, Kawerau District High	
Koro (A)	73	Te Teko Native School, Onepū Mission School, Kawerau District High	
Aunty	65-75	Te Teko Native School, (Teacher)	
Koro (B)	84	Te Teko Native School, Bush/marakai	
Whaea (A)	Under 40s	Kawerau Intermediate, Kawerau College, Edgecumbe College	
Whaea (B)	53	Kawerau Central, Kawerau Intermediate, Māori University	
Whaea (C)	44	Kawerau Central, Kawerau Intermediate	

Question 6 asked the participants what type of school/s they attended in their early childhood, primary and secondary years. In the Ngāti Awa case study seven of the nine participants had attended a Native School. Three of the participants, lived as *rāwaho* and went to schools in Auckland. Those participants who lived in the Te Teko, Matatā, Kawerau areas, identified several that affected their attendance at school. These factors were: *whānau* leaving to live with grandparents due to the death of a parent or the sickness of a child, and breakdown in family relationships, with either parents leaving their marriage or partnership. Many of the participants expressed that their families had to move within the region in search of employment. In other instances, participants also shared that they had to milk cows to supplement their *whānau* incomes.

For the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study four of the participants attended a Native or Mission school. Only two participants had left the Kawerau region for either secondary schooling and/or trades training. An interesting point for both case studies is that Ngāti Awa had six participants successfully participate in vocational/trades training and tertiary education. Whilst for Ngāti Tūwharetoa only two participants had successfully participated in tertiary education

Question 7 asked the participants to share their schooling experiences:

- *What were the most memorable experiences?*
- *What were the most troubling/disliked experiences?*
- *Do you know about your tipuna experiences of schooling?*
- *Has your whānau or other whānau experienced success in mainstream education (primary)?*
- *Has your whānau or other whānau experienced troubling times in mainstream education (primary)?*

Table 31:

Ngāti Awa discourses impacting on Māori learners' educational success, cultural identity and outcomes for whānau, hapū and iwi

Discourses on schooling experiences that positively influenced on tamariki Māori		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Increase self-belief through participating in sports external to school.	2	Empower Māori students through schooling anchored in Mātauranga Māori and Māori approaches to teaching and learning
Increase confidence through participating in sports at school.	2	
First in whānau to go to kura kaupapa school.	1	
Being sports focused at secondary school opened up worldview and opportunities to become better person.	1	
Increasing fluency of te reo Māori when interacting with fluent te reo Māori speakers.	1	
Learning history of Kīngitanga ⁶⁴ at school.	1	
Younger generation doing well at school compared to the generation before.	1	
Valuing of vocational education (e.g., gaining a qualification in trades and pre-employment opportunities).	1	
Returning home with trades skills to help the hapori and whānau.	1	
Influence of positive role-models on school culture and encouraging Māori students to achieve success.	1	
Te Reo Māori speaking environment encouraged by owner, supported by teacher in pioneer Te Haehaenga Vintage Mill School.	1	
Having positive memories of school.	1	
Being self-confident as a Māori student (e.g., Rising to the occasion; Being resilient, setting oneself high expectations and aspirations to prove teachers wrong).	1	
TOTAL	15	
Discourses: The socio-historical and contextual factors (family interactions, institutional structures, structural) that affect the whānau environment and tamariki Māori educational success		

⁶⁴ King Movement – a movement which developed in the 1850s, culminating in the anointing of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero. Established to stop the loss of land to the colonists, to maintain law and order, and to promote traditional values and culture.

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse of the child/home		
Feeling whakamā (to be ashamed, embarrassed) because whānau were poor and impoverished (e.g., No money for school resources, school uniform, bus costs to be transported to school).	2	
Material poverty impacted Māori whānau living.	2	
Struggling whānau, kids and families are lost and dysfunctional, lack of parental care.	2	
Growing up in a large family (e.g., some kids missed out on engaging in school).	1	
Growing up in a large family (e.g., lacked motivation to go to school).	1	
Getting hidings from parents for not doing their best at school, or when the teacher calls the parent/s about their academic/school progress.	1	
Parents making conscious choices to send their kids away to live with other whānau for schooling.	1	
Differing Māori perceptions and views of schools fit for their children.	1	
Traumatic home experiences (e.g., father became sick).	1	
Parental influence and involvement in children's life (e.g., caring for troubled children who go off the track).	1	
Māori kids milking cows before and after school due to structural changes and mechanisms as part of supplementing whānau incomes.	1	
Impoverished times for children who were unable to participate in extra-curricular activities and learning activities at school.	1	
Whānau too poor to send children to secondary boarding school outside their tribal rohe.	1	
Moving around towns and to cities for employment in order to support and provide for whānau.	1	
Banned from speaking te reo Māori at secondary schools.	1	
The influential role of mission and native schools in educating Māori students in the Whakatāne District in Pākehā language and culture.	1	
Corporal punishment (getting strapped) for speaking te reo Māori in Te Teko Native School.	1	
Suffered physical abuse at school.	1	
Feeling isolated and marginalise as a Māori student and whānau.	1	
Completing community service for speaking te reo Māori at school.	1	
Oppressed and marginalised as students in primary schools causes significant loss in te reo Māori amongst children and whānau across successive generations.	1	
No promotion of pathways post-secondary schooling in 1940s for Māori.	1	
Low numbers successfully passing NCEA.	1	
TOTAL	26	

Discourses: Contextual factors (schools/students and teachers' relationships/ student and peer relationships)		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Exposed to different forms of either personal racism or/and institutional discrimination against Māori (e.g., Incorrect pronunciation of Māori names by teachers).	4	Impact of colonisation on people of Te Teko
Children bullying and teasing other kids at school.	4	
Māori students and their whānau experience subjugation (Oppression) and racial discrimination in society and deculturation in schools. ie teachers' attitudes to Māori students; deficit theorising of Māori students and their whānau.	2	
Marginalisation as a Māori student, further alienation, and loss of cultural identity through assimilative practices of teachers/principals and strong hegemony emphasis of Western values over Māori values in schools.	1	Forced assimilation
Exposure of Māori students to unconscious bias of teachers and principals in schools.	1	
Lack of interest in school because not being taught in an interactive culturally responsive environment.	1	
Differing views of principals and teachers in native schools for controlling what forms te reo Māori used in schools by Māori students (e.g., te reo Māori banned but waiata and kapa haka can still be done in native school).	1	Manifestations resulting from the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma
The perpetuation of colonial attitudes and systemic inequities faced by Māori students in schools through streaming.	1	
TOTAL	15	
Discourses on the influence of tipuna and parental education and background on tamariki Māori educational success		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Unknown education history of tūpuna.	1	
Paternal side of father's whānau valued and promoted education to his children.	1	
Grandparents were fluent native speakers.	1	
Whānau and hapori supporting eldest children to attend secondary school by giving koha enabling them to participate.	1	
Influence of grandparents in their grandchildren early years and decision making related to sending children to different schools in the community.	1	
Material poverty existed amongst whānau, could not afford undies and clothes as a whānau.	1	
Differences in schools teaching approaches and attitudes to Māori students and their whānau (e.g., Māori forced to learn in unresponsive and culturally unsafe learning environments).	1	
Parents attended Native schools and Māori secondary boarding schools, (Te Teko Native School, & Te Aute College).	1	

Impact of cultural and historical trauma (e.g., soul wounds from being prohibited to speak te reo Māori in schools).	1	
The influential role of Native schools in contributing to the deculturation of Māori students and their whānau and leading to the breakdown in the transmission of intergenerational whānau, hapū and iwi mātauranga Māori.	1	
Deficit theorising of Māori students. Low expectations of teachers in colonial education system, impact of political system that disenfranchised Māori (deprived Maori of a right), legislation that marginalised, oppressed, and subjugated.	1	
TOTAL	11	
Discourses on whānau experiences of success at school		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Positive parental influence in career pathway.	2	
Intergenerational family success at all levels of education.	1	
Establishing intergenerational change of success through accessing higher tertiary education.	1	
Positive impact of enjoying success and participating in learning experiences at school.	1	
Defining success and educational success by whānau.	1	
TOTAL	6	
Discourses: Other contextual factors (trauma/living away/ no grandparents in life/ living in vulnerable community) that hinders tamariki Māori educational success, cultural identity and health		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Experiencing family trauma (e.g., losing a parent, being split, and separated as siblings).	2	
Grandchildren and great grandchildren growing up without grand parents' influence.	1	
Whānau living outside of New Zealand (e.g., Australia. Losing connection with tūrangawaewae).	1	
Grandparents not nurturing te reo Māori in the home. Only speaking when other elder whānau visit.	1	
Facing surmountable challenges as a whānau impacts on the community environment (e.g., tarutaru (drugs, synthetic cannabis, gangs, whānau micro-politics related to land succession/ ownership and unresolved generational raruraru).	1	
TOTAL	6	
Discourses: Other contextual factors that support tamariki Māori educational success, health and cultural identity		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Whānau advocacy for cohesive community wide education strategy.	1	
Celebrating child/rens academic success with the community (e.g., brings great pride and	1	

strengthens self-belief and is a marker of flourishing whānau).		
Learning about traditional Māori knowledge, and historical and cultural landmarks in the whānau, hapū and iwi.	1	
Whānau supporting eldest children to attend secondary school.	1	
Markers of flourishing whānau (Koro B) Tipuna acting as rangatira in establishing the platform and strengthening whānau heritage through continuing the legacy contained within the transmission of intergenerational knowledge across successive generations.	1	
Fostering and nurturing a love and passion for reading to children and successive generations.	1	
Developing literacy skills in reading.	1	
Providing an abundance of reading resources for children in early years.	1	
Parents first role-models for children.	1	
Parents teaching values to children and a lifelong appreciation for reading.	1	
Determinants of intergenerational model of educational success (e.g., fostering mothers to read to their babies in their puku before birth).	1	
Maternal influence in promoting pathways for children.	1	
First in whānau to attend University and get a professional qualification.	1	
TOTAL	13	

Note: These figures represent individual response

Summary of Ngāti Awa discourses impacting on Māori learners' educational success, cultural identity and outcomes for *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*

In the Ngāti Awa case study, only three of the participants had positive memories of school and had experienced some level of success in both primary and secondary schooling. Two of the participants identified enjoying success while participating in team sports, sneaking around their teachers, in order to speak *te reo Māori* at school and had the privilege of growing up raised by parents who valued *te ao Māori*. All these sorts of experiences had a positive contribution to building and strengthening their self-concept and cultural identity as individuals. The participants acknowledged a series of issues related to their *whānau* and community environment. The participants' backgrounds had been a contributing influence towards their educational success in mainstream schooling. The concepts that emerged in this discourse related to how the socio-historical and contextual factors (material poverty, structural changes and psychosocial challenges) impacted on the *whānau* environment and which also contributed towards *tamariki Māori* educational success in mainstream schools. Additionally, several key concepts emerged from this discourse that related to contextual factors. These

being the inter-connected relationships between the home, school-student, teacher-student, and student-peer as being influential on *tamariki Māori* educational success and experience in mainstream schools. Additionally, all participants identified there are a number of issues they bring to school from their home environment, which also had influenced either positively or negatively, their educational experience and success at school. All participants revealed in their narratives, other contextual factors, such as school structures, teacher and student relationships, student and peer relationships, that had a detrimental impact on the *whānau* relationship with the school and also on the transmission of intergenerational knowledge *whānau whakapapa*, *whānau* histories and *whānau* connections within and across generations of *whānau*. Furthermore, the participants identified that their *tūpuna* and parental educational experiences and background, either had a positive impact or a detrimental impact, on their connectedness with *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* and on their individual self-concept, health and cultural identity as Māori.

Table 32:

Ngāti Tūwharetoa discourses impacting on Māori learners' educational success, cultural identity and outcomes for whānau, hapū and iwi

Discourses on schooling experiences that positively influenced on tamariki Māori		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Early experiences of Kawerau schooling.	2	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The positive impact of the Onepū Mission School, The Missionaries and sisters promoting and speaking te reo Māori to Onepū children and learning life skills. 	2	Apprenticeship-Pukenga Mentoring, observing and listening to elders
Positive benefit from participating in Sunday School located in Presbyterian Mission house.	2	
Participation and involvement in interschool sports.	1	
Culturally competent and caring teachers nurturing Māori children in school.	1	
Developed a love for learning in school.	1	
Arrival of the Finnish people in 1954 and supporting the Finnish children to learn English language.	1	
Early days was easier to walk to Kawerau District High School.	1	
Learning from elders about food gathering, survival off the land, working in the bush, pig hunting, doing marakai and riding horses.	1	
Singing the Kawerau Central waiata, creating a sense of pride of school and belonging to school community.	1	
TOTAL	13	
Discourses: The socio-historical and contextual factors (family interactions, institutional structures, structural) that affect the whānau environment and tamariki Māori educational success		
Discourse of the child/home		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Made to feel less valued as a Māori leading to further alienation from cultural identity (e.g., name changes to English because teachers unable to pronounce Māori name).	3	
Impact of material poverty on whānau in Onepū and Kawerau.	3	
Unresolved trauma of the physical hidings experienced at the hand of children and teachers for speaking te reo Māori at school.	1	Forms of cultural assimilation in Mission and Native schooling system
Whānau constantly moving for employment opportunities to survive: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land Scheme; Tasman Mill; Drover/farming; & Bush work. 	1	
Challenges for whānau raising children when family and partnerships breakdown.	1	Challenges for whānau raising children when family

		and partnerships breakdown
Māori children experiencing parental trauma	1	
TOTAL	10	
Discourses: The socio-historical and contextual factors (family interactions, institutional structures, structural) that affect the whānau environment and tamariki Māori educational success		
Discourses: (schools/students and teachers' relationships)		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Faced unconscious biasness of teachers and principals impacted on students' self-concept (e.g., deficit theorising of Māori students' potential, negative teachers' attitudes promoted colonial attitude of Māori, Māori exposed to dominant Western hegemonic teaching environments and methods, incorrect pronunciation of Māori words).	5	
Soul wounding from teachers administering corporal punishment for speaking te reo Māori.	4	
Experienced institutional discrimination and personal discrimination / racism in schools and across society, further marginalises Māori students and whānau.	4	Impact of cultural trauma on Māori self and whānau
Impact of historical trauma and cultural trauma on self-concept of tamariki Māori and whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unconscious bias of teachers; & • Secondary school teachers made you feel inferior. 	3	
Dehumanising experience a determinant of cultural trauma, a patu ngākau to the soul (e.g., punished for speaking te reo Māori in school, inspection of fingernails and kutu (headlice) within school).	3	
Subjugation as tamariki in schools because of unfair NZ legislation.	1	
Structural changes and systems imposed on Māori affected their learning and educational achievement.	1	
Detrimental impact of colonial schooling and teachers' attitudes towards Māori students affected their self-concept and belief systems to succeed in education.	1	
Teachers and school management systems not being culturally inclusive when dealing with school issues regarding Māori students and communicating to whānau. Not upholding the mana of both student and whānau.	1	
Communication practices of teachers causing harm to tamariki Māori (e.g., using blackmail to scare children, fear of getting a hiding from father for not listening to teachers).	1	
The psychosocial challenges impact on whānau environment and affects learning and nurturing of children and their ability to learn at school, (coming to terms with grief, bullying at school, oppression, family problems, depression, anxiety, substance abuse, sexual abuse, dealing with family loss of parents, & violence).	1	
Experiencing bullying at school.	1	

Deciding future pathways into vocational or tertiary education.	1	
No fond memories. Went to school to eat lunch.	1	
Memories of secular (Christian values) learning at school.	1	
TOTAL	29	
Discourses on tūpuna and parents' experiences of schooling		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Traditionally brought up in te ao Māori: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Valuing traditional Māori ways of teaching and learning (co-operative communities); Practising of Māori tikanga (raising eldest mokopuna); Role of the extended whānau and hāpori in raising children (pā approach to nurturing children); Being raised by the hahi; & Use of tuakana-teina apprenticeships (e.g., mentoring of all youth and youth at risk (troubled). 	6	
Learning tikanga and Māori values in traditional Māori contexts: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marae settings, ringawera, whānau pani, tangihanga; Kuia at the papa / home; & Marakai (large Onepū gardens). 	4	Traditional Māori values, tikanga and practices developed through whanaungatanga in Māori contexts
The influence of Native and Mission schools on whānau memories and tūpuna experience of Western education.	3	Dehumanising experience of forced assimilation into Western framed schooling
Parents, grandparents fear of losing te reo Māori.	1	
Tūpuna punished for speaking te reo Māori at Mission schools.	1	
Adopting and valuing English language and Pākehā knowledge over Māori language and knowledge.	1	Assimilative practices of adopting Pākehā values and detrimental impact on the whānau kinship model
Positive role-models and rangatira believing that mainstream schooling would improve Māori quality of life and outcomes.	1	
Extended whānau financially supporting children and rangatahi to attend prestigious secondary boarding school.	1	
Tūpuna having access to attending Māori secondary boarding schools.	1	
TOTAL	19	
Discourses on whānau experiences of success at school		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
More opportunities now for whānau in mainstream schools.	1	
Defining educational success as Māori: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Working for iwi; Becoming trustees of your marae; & Achieving qualification; & 	3	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participating in higher education and successfully passing qualification at University. 		
Continual transmission of intergenerational knowledge across successive generations.	1	
Embedding of Māori values into mainstream schooling.	1	
Positive whānau engagement in school.	1	
Leaving a legacy for the next successive generations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Transmission of intergenerational knowledge, protection of whakapapa. 	1	
TOTAL	8	
Other contextual (whānau) factors that positively impact or hinder tamariki Māori educational success, health and cultural identity		
Discourses: Whānau factors that hinder		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Early life experiences difficult due to fracturing of relationships.	1	
Children and families ripped apart in the 1960s due to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rise in domestic violence; Violence through excessive alcohol drinking by parents; & Māori wardens entering home and taking children / parents away. 		Markers of vulnerable whānau
Became a solo mum at 14 years old.	1	
The normalisation of physical abuse by parents.	1	
Further alienation from whānau, whenua and hapori.	1	
TOTAL	4	
Discourses: Whānau positive factors		
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Nurturing children in a safe, encouraging, and positive home environment.	2	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whanaungatanga was built through group activities; Making of large kai gardens amongst Onepū community; & Participating as a whānau from Onepū in netball at Kawerau. 	2	Embedding traditional Māori approaches to teaching and learning within whānau environment
Exposed to fluent native speakers of te reo Māori in the home environment.	1	
Participating and learning through hapū and iwi whakapapa and tikanga wānanga (e.g., Going on historical walks with kaumātua and whānau / hapū experts).	1	Strengthening Tūwharetoatanga through participation in wananga
Valuing and teaching the concept of whānau and Māori values by parents to their children.	1	
Strong influence and involvement of grandparents in teaching whānau based values and in the rearing of mokopuna.	1	
Journey of discovery – critical steps to learning whakapapa and strengthening connections.	1	
Mentoring of tamariki and rangatahi by pukenga/elders in Onepū.	1	
Influence of grandparents: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Learning whānau values & 	1	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sharing and transmission of intergenerational knowledge related to whānau heritage (whakapapa, narratives). 		
TOTAL	11	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Summary

In the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study, the participants identified a total number of 13 factors on schooling experiences that positively influenced on *tamariki Māori*. The participants did not identify this discourse as having a great influence on their educational experiences and success as the other six discourses. However, two of the participants had positive memories of being at the Onepū Mission and at Kawerau Central School because of the teachers' passion for caring and nurturing the Māori children.

Participants identified a total number of 43 responses on socio-historical and contextual factors which hindered *whānau* and *tamariki Māori* cultural identity, connection with and across successive generations of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* and on *tamariki Māori* educational success. These factors included: the break-up of parent's relationships that led to the disintegration of families; the extensive prevalence of drug (*tarutaru*) use and drug addictions within the home and community environment; excessive alcohol drinking in the home; physical abuse of children and violence against women in the home and community; children losing their parents and being '*whāngai[ed]*' out to other *whānau*, Māori wardens entering the homes of Māori families, the death of grandparents and not been raised within the greater *whānau* and the impact that micro-politics related to *whānau* Māori land caused to further fracturing the disconnection of *whānau* and across successive generations of *whānau*.

In relation to the school environment and the impact of teachers' attitudes and teaching and learning approaches the participants acknowledged this had a major influence on *tamariki Māori* educational experience and success. A total number of 29 responses were identified on this discourse and had detrimentally impacted on individuals' self-concept and cultural identity as Māori, and the transmission of intergenerational knowledge (*whānau*, *whakapapa* and histories), within and across generations of *whānau* and affected individual's abilities to speak fluently, *te reo Māori*. The factors noted to have a major impact on *tamariki Māori* educational success and cultural identity. Some of these factors included: the unconscious bias of educators and principals; the soul wounding caused from being punished for speaking *te reo Māori* in schools; feeling inferior because of teachers' deficit theorising and experiencing dehumanising acts of teachers and principals in secondary schools who regularly and routinely checked Māori children's heads for headlice and who inspected their finger nails for

cleanliness; and the secular nature of learning Christian religion over Māori ways of being and doing.

Family support and a nurturing environment were considered as two important contributing factors that set up *tamariki Māori* for educational success and this gave them a good start in life. However, contextual factors and socio-historical factors had a major influence on *tamariki Māori* educational success and on their cultural identity as well as had influenced their *whānau* connections within and across successive generations of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Material poverty resulted because of the structural changes within New Zealand's government system to use legislation for the benefit of white settler privilege. This sense of 'white streaming' had a detrimentally effect on participants and their *whānau* self-concept, cultural identity, and also ensured they did not have equal access to education within mainstream schooling, particularly at the university level. The psychosocial challenges, faced by some of the participants included coming to terms with grief, bullying at school, oppression, family problems, depression, anxiety, substance abuse, sexual abuse, dealing with family loss of parents, and witnessing violence against women. These challenges indeed were noted to have an impact on providing a nurturing home environment and give *tamariki Māori* an equal grounding to learn at school. Other contextual factors that had an impact on home environments and on healing from traumatic upbringings was the impact of establishing in 1953, the Tasman Paper Pulp Mill in Kawerau. Two of the participants referred to the detrimental impact of the establishment of Tasman Paper Pulp Mill on the people of Onepū and Tūwharetoa, including the original landowners of 1953, the contributing influence this had to the declining health of the Tarawera River and its surrounding native flora, fauna and *kai* environment. Furthermore, the participants identified that their *tūpuna* and parental educational experiences and background, either had a positive impact or a detrimental impact, on their connectedness with *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* and on their personal self-concept, health and cultural identity as Māori.

Thematic analysis of the participants discourses related to Question 1 - 7

One traumatising structure outlined in the results was the particular use of overt and covert policies of assimilation to eradicate the speaking of *te reo Māori* in schools in New Zealand during the Isolation Period (1890 to 1940) and early stages of the Integration Period (1940-1990). The enactment of this legislation was operationalised by teachers and principals in eradicating the use of *te reo Māori* in schools. Through their atrocious actions of physical and psychosocial abuse, many generations of *tamariki Māori* suffered, and in turn, this form of cultural and historical trauma, impacted on *tamariki Māori* self-concept and left indelible scarring on their memories. Previous research done by Reid et al. (2017a) acknowledges the

historical shifts within the education system to reduce such traumatic effects on generations of *tamariki Māori* and Māori *whānau*. However, as will be demonstrated in this section, although change has occurred within New Zealand education system, the impacts of such historical and cultural trauma still echoes among current generations of *whānau* within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

A prominent feature of the narratives revealed many of the participants experienced a rural education. Most participants had attended either one or a combination of mission schools, native schools, and mainstream schools. In the early period of establishing New Zealand's education system, Mission and Native schools were education organisations that promoted Western framed pedagogical programmes which promoted the civilising and christianising of Māori which also led to the demise of some families as described by the statement below:

Koro and nanny, they were products of the Native Schools. In fact, I might take it a step back, they were products of church missionary schools and staunch...But the Mission School closed down because of the Government of the time...That utterly destroyed them. I mean physically...but spiritually...because plenty of families were split from Onepū...and it literally destroyed them, pulled them apart.

(Matua (B) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

As well the school education system promoted a hegemonic Western framed curriculum that aimed at devaluing Māori ways of being and eliminating *mātauranga Māori*. This further alienated Māori and added to the sub-alternation of Māori within mainstream schooling. This participant shares their experiences of such hegemonic ways:

We all knew about Captain Cook and all the English history, very little about our own history.

(Koro (D) - Ngāti Awa, 85 years old)

Even more so, at the risk of stating the obvious, the education system further disconnected Māori students and their *whānau* from their culture, particularly, those participants whose families only option was to leave the Eastern Bay of Plenty region. Whānau responses to leaving included: dealing with a traumatic event and ongoing family *raruraru* (problem, dispute), being *whāngai* (adoptee, fostered) out to *whānau* due to the death of a loved parent and being unable to support all the children so *whānau* went seeking employment opportunities outside of the rural areas in urban cities like Auckland and Wellington for the betterment of their own families' outcomes. This is best described in the following statements by one of the participants:

My mother was the daughter of ... and was courted by my father, ..., a Ngā Puhi around 1930. It was totally against tikanga back then and it was not a

happy situation for Koro...Ngāti Awa and Ngā Puhī being together. They left Whakatāne after seven children later. During the depression, dad became a prized fighter but damaged his brain and spent the rest of his life in Carrington Hospital. We grew up without a dad and eventually Koro forgave mum and eventually my brothers and sisters were whāngai by uncles and aunties in Whakatāne. My sister and I were left to go to school and live in a Pākehā environment. Because I was Brown and different, there was plenty of racism. Without a dad, my mum had to work hard to live and survive the depression. We survived eventually I grew up and educated. My mum's sisters arrived from Whakatāne and lived in the central city of Ponsonby, their house became for the people of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. As life became difficult to find employment in Whakatāne, our people began to move to Auckland for jobs. By the 1950s, 60s and 70s ten percent of our people had moved to Tamaki Makaurau. People were becoming lonely away from Whakatāne and they wanted to be more associated with their people in Tamaki Makaurau.

(Koro (A) – Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

...my sister and I left to go to school and live in a Pākehā environment. I first went to school at New Lynn Primary as I said there was no Māori in that area. There were no ethnic people of any other races apart from Pākehā. So being a brown skin I always had a time with the Pākehā. I also had a lot of Pākehā who sympathised with me.

(Koro (A) – Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

The entrenchment of Pākehā approaches to teaching and learning were evident in the narratives of the participants when speaking of their secondary schooling experiences in the establishment of mainstream secondary schools in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. The narratives also revealed that many of the participants were segregated into distinct classes: commercial; technical; professional; general and academic (a), (b), and (c), and had caused much anger and grief for them because of how other Pākehā students were belittling to them. This is acknowledged in the following statements:

The first year I went in 1949, it was a district high school and was separated from the primary school. I was the only Māori girl in our class... They put me into 3G1...3G1 was the top class of the general.

(Nan-Ngāti Awa, 75 years old)

My brother suggested that I might like to go to boarding school, Te Aute...I said moumou, waste of money. I came to Whakatāne High and of course it was an eye opener. Whakatāne High was the only secondary school, there was no Edgecumbe, no Kawerau...The first thing they did on your first day of high school was they gave you a test. I didn't know what it was, you know putting the candle on the kettle and things like that. It was an IQ test and I scored very well. I found out later I scored a hundred and forty. Peter McClay, the principal checked up the record which then put me away from all the Māori from Te Teko, on my own in a class, all Pākehā... I remember when I spoke English to the other guy, I could feel them almost snickering, you know not openly but they were slightly amused at the way I spoke English, was too Te Teko English. So, I didn't bother talking to them at all.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

On the other hand, the narratives also revealed that participants enjoyed their time at school. The following statements reflect the nature of schooling experienced by the participants:

*I went to Kawerau Central Primary School, best years of my life
(Matua (A)-NTKK, 55-65 years old)*

Assimilation pressure (trauma associated with having to fit in)

Education organisations, such as Mission and Native schools, and District High schools in the Eastern Bay of Plenty had inflicted considerable trauma with the use of overt (done in sight) and covert (undercover) policies of assimilation. Assimilation policies were widely used through the vehicle of mainstream schooling in New Zealand. The most prominent means of educational assimilation and which featured in the narratives collected was through language. Being banned from speaking *te reo Māori* at school had dire effects on the participants' self-worth and self-concept. Being forced to speak English and made to feel inferior had left an indelible scar on the memories of the participants from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty). These forms of education assimilation are illustrated in the statements below:

It wasn't until I left primary and went to high school that I felt like a fish out of water when I felt the impact of more Pākehā at school...I couldn't understand English...I struggled through school.

(Nan-Ngāti Awa, 75 years old)

Onepū the Mission house was still going when I was small. So, me and my cousins were actually in there. That was where our Māori came from, our Māori, if you ask me, that's where we learnt how to do Māori, talk Māori. Even though it was Pākehā, but by then, in those days of Tukiwaho and them, you couldn't talk at all. All they knew was Māori until they got taught Pākehā. My koro was in the native school by then, who got the whacks.

(Whaea (B) – NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Well like people of my generation we all went to one school... Many of the teachers, all the principals or the headmasters of the school were Pākehā. Some of the assistants, mainly female ones were Māori. We had to speak English, so we never had Māori language teaching as such at the Native school. Although we did have kapa haka...that was the limit of our Mātauranga Māori, everything was in English.

(Koro (D) – Ngāti Awa, 85 years old)

The impact of banning the use of *te reo Māori* in schools, directly correlates with language loss and the disruption of the *whānau* kinship model, that allowed for the transmission of intergenerational *whānau* knowledge. The decline of *te reo Māori* speakers has been prolific for both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The New Zealand census data for 2013 shows that 52.5 percent of the population who identified as Ngāti Awa are living in urban areas outside of the Bay of Plenty (Statistics New Zealand, 2020a). A key fact indicated from the 2013 census data shows that those people who are affiliated with Ngāti Awa and living in New Zealand as of 1 March 2013, only 31.7 percent could hold a conversation about everyday things in *te reo*

Māori (Statistics NZ, 2020a). However, in 2006 the figure was 32.3 percent and in 2001 the figure was 35 percent (Statistics NZ, 2020a). For people who were affiliated with Ngāti Tūwharetoa there was 15.3 percent of the total population living in the Bay of Plenty region (Statistics NZ, 2020b & 2020c). Limitations of using the New Zealand census data is there are no clear delineation of the number of speakers who can hold a conversation about everyday things in *te reo Māori*, given that there are significant number of people affiliated to the Bay of Plenty (Ngāti Tūwharetoa) people, and who also live outside this area, in urban centres in New Zealand. However, from the current statistics, as of 5 March 2013, only 27.1 percent could hold a conversation about everyday things in *te reo Māori* (Statistics NZ, 2020b & 2020c). In 2006, the figure was 28.9 percent could hold a conversation about everyday things in *te reo Māori* and subsequently, in 2001, the figure was 29.5 percent could hold a conversation about everyday things in *te reo Māori* (Statistics NZ, 2020b & 2020c). An interpretation of both sets of data his is there is a decline trend in speakers of *te reo Māori* within both *iwi*.

The enforcement of taking on another language further added to the trauma of Māori taking on the worldview and values of Pākehā. Consequently, the trauma of being physically and psychological abused by teachers and principals and being shamed for attempting to take on Pākehā values and the English language appeared to further heighten tension, anger, and grief for the participants. The anger and shame of being physically punished for speaking Māori was evident in the narratives. In the narratives, several generations identified that they were forced into antagonistic educational organisations where their Māori language and culture had been actively attacked, and which included participants being humiliated, demeaned and labelled with the stigma of being regarded as backwards by Pākehā. Furthermore, the transmission of this intergenerational historical and cultural trauma, has also manifested in anguish, and feeling of powerlessness and marginalisation over successive generations of *whānau*, since the onset of mission and native school systems in New Zealand. The following narratives provide open and honest insights, into the devastation caused from the assimilative policies and use of structural mechanism (legislation used against Māori) to enforce the banning of *te reo Māori* in New Zealand schools:

The only problem when we were at kura was there was no te reo taught, it was all mainstream. We had a big whānau from here, we had three buses from Onepū that use to go to kura. The two kura was Central school and the college.
(Matua (A)-NTKK, 55-65 years old)

I loved it being at school, I think my Maoriness didn't worry me. I was who I was, I was getting my Māori reo learning at home. In fact, more with my grandparents. My dad spoke Māori all the time, my grandparents, so I spoke

Māori, no English...but I didn't learn anything about Māori at primary school....My nanny and koro their products of missionary schools, out at Kawerau you would have noticed a church and a whare over to your left as you're going up the driveway to Hahuru, that was the mission school back in the day. That's where Uncle Boysie and Uncle Hori and even this fella here (Graham Te Rire, they all went to the Mission school, Pākehā Presbyterian, Pākehā teachers and they grow up in that environment, they would go to missionary schools, talk Pākehā, leave the gate, talk Māori because that's the only language they knew...There's that generation or don't want to know anything about Māori, their parents had the reo strapped out of them. Brought up in an environment which is so ugly and negative to them. They're passing onto their children, mōumou te rā, don't follow that ruarahi, why do you want to go to the marae for? Waste of time...all they do is fight and argue and it's a waste of life, there's a better world out there.

(Matua (B)-NTKK, 55-65 years old)

I started school in Rūatoki...Rūatoki Native School. And another thing that come to mind too is that playtimes the teachers walked around with a cane, telling us with a cane or bamboo stick not to speak Māori. That was bashed out of us. Well, thrashed out of us.

(Kuia-NTKK, 73 years old)

Well I wouldn't say fondest memory, but one of the main thing in school at Kawerau school is we weren't allowed to speak Māori. They told us the teachers because some of the prefects really rubbed it into us and stopped us from speaking it.

(Koro (A) - NTKK, 73 years old)

From the teachers initially, they were the one who would administer the punishment. I remember my second day at school. I'm speaking Māori, that was the natural thing to do and then this wooden ruler came across my face and I cried all day, and what they used to do when you took too long to settle down they would go and get the eldest of your siblings to come and settle you down. But chop wood my older sibling was she gave me yet another hiding and so you didn't really settle down and that's when the fear started coming in so it was the early days. Yeah, really early days at school and that was happening.

(Aunty-NTKK, 65-75 years old)

Cause they gave me a hiding for speaking the reo...The Headmaster, Fenton Butler.

(Koro (B)-NTKK, 84 years old)

When I reflect on it, I think to myself well that's just how it was, it was normalised that you have to stop children from speaking their reo...as the corporal punishment was administered. It was draconian. Then you came to realise that you are not allowed to speak Māori. Then I decided that I wasn't going to say anything that I wasn't going to respond. I wasn't going to talk. And even when you did that you still got a hiding because it was taken as you the punishment.

(Whaea (B)-NTKK, 55-65 years old)

I'm a whāngai, I was brought up with Nan (name replaced). She often talked about her schooling, how they got a wrap across the knuckles for talking Māori. And they weren't allowed to talk Māori She's from up North, so it was a little missionary school and they didn't like their school. They used to try and run home to mummy all the time but they weren't allowed to speak Māori, and that was the only language that they did know.

(Whaea (C)-NTKK, 44 years old)

There is no Māori in mainstream. They kept drumming to our children Captain Cook and Abel Tasman. They don't say that the Māori were here hundreds of years before hand and that is what I would like to see, Māori history in mainstream so that our people will be proud of themselves Māori instead of registering as a New Zealander...The reo is important for our people, it must go into mainstream and our history must go in there as well to make us proud that we want to be Māori.

(Koro (A)-Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

My mother could speak Māori and my mother was fluent in Māori, but they never spoke Māori at home. The only inference I had in Maoridom was when I went to stay with my grandmother and when our aunties came, who were all fluent Māori speakers so we got to hear a lot of Māori being spoken but only when I got older, a lot of it was spoken around us, none really directly at us at that stage... When I got to college, that changed because when you went to college you found that a lot of your friends weren't allowed to speak Māori at all and they got detention but I was never you know, I never spoke Māori so it wasn't a problem for me, but I know that it was for a lot of my friends. The struggles for whānau within Ngāti Awa probably would be our numbers in speaking te reo because we don't have the generations coming through to sit on the pae.

(Aunty-Ngāti Awa, 55-65 years old)

Well like my generation we all went to the one school Primary education the Poroporo Native School and then from there I went to Whakatāne High School. Speaking of Māori language was disallowed...The biggest problem inaianei is the loss of the language...The biggest challenge now is to make sure our reo survives.

(Koro (D)-Ngāti Awa, 85 + years old)

It wasn't until I was 51 and my friend down in Te Teko here we became very, very close like sisters and she was doing Te Ataarangi... It wasn't until I joined Te Ataarangi that it started to knit, got down to the essence of the sacredness of our reo, the wairua in our reo, when you learn words and you differentiate them from the respect that you give to your elders and why you give them the respect everything above you, older than you and how you choose the words to refer to them, how you choose the words when you are talking about them up there, that is kupu 'o' and the kupu 'a'. Your children are your tamariki, 'a' and 'o' tipuna, aku tamariki, oku tipuna the difference. To me that is the wairua speaking, the respect that you give to your elders and the respect that you give to him up there and everything that belongs to you is important and to me that is the wairua coming into the reo.

(Nan)-Ngāti Awa, 75 years old)

We were wrapped in a time when the mill closed down, we had to move back to Te Teko and we lived with our kuia Mere Makiha, and we didn't have a house, but it was just her and her old man, because they had no children. So, we just bunked down with them. So, when we got to Te Teko School, they were all our relations, we knew them, we knew who they were and how we were related, but they used to laugh at the way we spoke Māori. They spoke Māori to us and we spoke Māori back at them and they'd all start laughing. So, we went home and I complained to my mum, Ka whai na matou e na tamariki e korero Māori, my mother was surprised she goes he aha? Then she finally clicked. Up at Te Haehaenga School we only spoke with adults, mainly adults, we spoke with one another but adults, you know the workers, the mill workers, so we didn't speak what I call children Māori, the early childhood Māori, where the Te Teko children spoke childish Māori, they heard us speaking like grown-ups and abused them, they thought we were either showing off or pretending we didn't know how to speak the children's Māori. But in those days of course, if you spoke Māori in Te Teko you got the strap, it was called Te Teko Native School in those days.

(Koro (C)-Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

So my father we've had conversations about all our skills and what we can do with these skills or where we could go, how we could develop them and all of us have a passion for our whakapapa and extending our whakapapa, so we're now at this age and attending hui together to learn more about ourselves. And we are doing it right now, playing catch up now, none of us were taught te reo, it was spoken occasionally, but it is quite surprising, my father's a native fluent speaker, but we didn't really have it in our home, know a few words, but my brother is now fluent. My sister is probably medium. I consider myself basic and I got another baby sister that's probably basic as well.

(Whaea - Ngāti Awa, 35-55 years old)

One participant's response raises important questions about the relevance of *te reo Māori* and is illustrated in the quote below:

Well we need to look at how relevant and pertinent is the Māori language. See that is what you have got to look at, is it relevant, is it pertinent, does it have a place apart from it surviving any language needs to be a language that is used.

(Matua - Ngāti Awa, 75-80 years old)

Another participant's response raises important questions about the impact of one generation missing out on learning and speaking *te reo Māori* and the impact this had on the participant's mother of feeling isolated from her cultural identity as Māori. This is illustrated in the quote below:

So, I went to kura kaupapa. It was an interesting time actually. So koro went to mainstream, but he was brought up Māori. Mum is part of that missing generation or lost generation where they, you know their parents didn't teach them anything but then mum saw the value of it and put me and brother in kura kaupapa

(Mokopuna - Ngāti Awa, Under 30s)

Cultural assimilation adopting Pākehā values over Māori values

Throughout the narratives, participants shared they had to adopt Pākehā ways of being while at school and in the home environment (including living at the *marae* or *pā*). This indoctrination led by Pākehā, severely left an imprint on the Māori psyche and mindsets of *whānau*, within both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa case studies. The participants' perspectives on this are reflected and reiterated in these statements:

I was proud of being Māori and I knew we had good things about Māori. Mum used to say don't worry about Māori, it won't buy you your bread and butter, you need to get a decent job so you can have a better life... I always felt inferior at school...I always shy to talk, shy to stick up for myself. There were smart alics who would call you names and things like that and I never had that kind to push myself forward.

(Nan- Ngāti Awa, 75 years old)

Just like anyone else in High school you went and left your Māori at home. We felt that was part of education. When we went to school for example, we knew very little English. Māori was the main language at home. Our old people were still at home then and they korero Māori. We went to school specifically to learn how to korero Pākehā. Of course, our job was to teach our people how to speak English.

(Koro (D) – Ngāti Awa, 85 years old)

By the time we come to my mother and father, everything was up and upheaval, the Pākehā made the what's it called unbearable to operate, it really broke, put the pressure back on tangata whenua, they were like animals, treated like animals, their land taken, pushed here, pushed there and they shot some of our people.

(Koro (B)-NTKK, 84 years old)

Other experiences that were shared by participants, acknowledge the demeaning behaviour towards Māori. One participant told us of her experience at Rūatoki Native School:

Oh yeah and the other thing, me and my sisters talk about it, when you arrived at school in the morning, the first thing was fingernail inspections, and they looked to see if you had kutus (headlice). Koro Dews was our teacher at the time and I remember him giving me 1 and 6 for being clean back then...Once they've done the fingernail inspection and the head inspection, then you had to take a dessert spoon of cod liver oil, disgusting stuff but we had to do it because they told us it would keep us healthy.

(Kuia-NTKK, 73 years old)

Experiences of success in mainstream schooling

For the majority of participants, the structural mechanisms inherent in mainstream schooling, placed restrictions on Māori in participating and progressing to secondary schooling. This is illustrated in the statement below:

I guess in our time, at primary school, we had I think the qualifications you had to achieve before you went to secondary school. So, in our time, quite a few of us gained scholarship and quite a few of our pupils in my time went to boarding school, those who could afford it. My parents couldn't afford to take me away, but that didn't matter. We went to Whakatāne High.

(Koro (D)-Ngāti Awa, 85 years old)

Teachers' attitudes and expectations towards Māori students and their families

Several participants expressed that their teachers had very little expectations of them. This is considered to be a barrier to learning and has had an impact on student achievement. The following statement illustrate this:

My mother and father went to Poroporo Native School...In their days, they did not have too, they didn't even go to school, but I guess over the years things change.

(Koro (D)-Ngāti Awa, 85 years old)

Racial discrimination

Incorrectly pronouncing Māori names in schools and facing racism from within communities was noted in the narratives below:

I had my name, Kimiora...people tried to call me Kim...but just my name itself caused me a little bit of grief, made me stand out, to me schooling was not fun times and I went to a lot of schools right up to the age of 13...Then my father decided that he was going to stay put so this is when we were in Auckland. They brought a home in One Tree Hill in Epsom...we were in an area that was even more non-Māori than every other area...So I went to schools where there was even less Māori or less Māori environments.

(Whaea – Ngāti Awa, 55-55 years old)

My mum was born with a Māori name, but has been known with a Pākehā name all her life, when she was asked for her birth certificate, it wasn't even her name. Her name was a Māori tauī, Tauī was her name put she always thought her name was Pauline, it never ever was. It was a name changed when they were in the native schools.

(Whaea (B) – NTKK, 35-55 years old)

Unconscious bias of teachers

Difference in teachers' attitudes and demeanour towards Māori students. The following statements illustrate this:

There was one incidence that I recall that we got into a bit of strife and this particular teacher said to us that we should go back to the reservation meaning we should go back to Onepū.

(Matua (A)-NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Actually, the teachers, the teachers were the ones that made you feel inferior...I just couldn't wait for the break time, you know morning break and lunch break, and then I'd take off and join up with all the Māoris again".

(Whaea (B)-NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Question 8 asked the participants to share their perspectives on the following:

- *Tell me about your connection or disconnection with whānau, hapū and iwi*
- *How do you define connection to and disconnection for whānau, hapū and iwi?*
- *What do you consider are the difficulties, challenges and barriers that make it easy or difficult to connect with whānau, hapū and iwi?*
- *What do you consider is the impact of being disconnected as ahikā, rāwaho and whānau who don't know their whakapapa and cultural knowledge of their connections to the whenua and people?*
- *How connected are members of the whānau with the hapori (community)?*
- *How important is it for whānau to relate to the hapori?*
- *From your perspective do whānau value and understand the importance of cultural identity? If not, can you give some reasons for this.*
- *What do you consider would help with reconnecting to whānau, hapū and iwi?*

Table 33:

Ngāti Awa discourses impacting on Māori learners' cultural connections to whānau, hapū and iwi

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourses on definition of connection		
Māori collaborative approaches to learning and being: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embedding of Māori values, beliefs and tikanga; • Marakai; • Kaitiaki of river / whenua; & • Māori leaders providing guidance and supporting whānau spiritually and emotionally e.g. karakia. 	4	
Being connected to the traditional ways of being at the marae: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transmission of intergenerational knowledge in the marae. 	2	
Returning to ancestral lands/home often.	1	
Markers of flourishing whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Show resilience; & <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • being embraced and surrounded by whānau. 	1	
Changing phase in life, returning to marae because of the influence of elders, kuia and koroua.	1	Re-connecting and strengthening connections with ancestral lands
Retracing footsteps of tipuna due to a reawakening, spiritual and personal journey.	1	
Returning to support elders, whānau and community following successful participation in higher education (Sharing the knowledge to help the people).	1	
Gifting of Māori land to individuals to become shareholders.	1	
The use of whānau pūrākau to strengthen identity issues.	1	
The importance of ahikā in sustaining practices and tikanga of the hapū and kaitiaki of marae.	1	
TOTAL	14	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on definition of disconnection		
No jobs and left for employment outside of the rohe.	2	Impact of the transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma
Leaving the rural area to attend university or get a vocational education.	2	
Being disenfranchised as Māori and whānau.	1	
Living away as rāwaho from the ancestral lands and ahikā. Not returning.	1	
Breakdown of the whānau kinship model.	1	
Lost connections amongst hapū.	1	
Lack of understanding and knowledge about succession to whenua.	1	

Lack of connection due to the death of grandparents, parents.	1	
Personality clashes with personnel in Māori organisations.	1	
TOTAL	11	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourses: Factors that make it easy to connect with whānau, hapū and iwi		
The support of ahikā, whānau and hapū leadership.	1	
Whānau reconnecting on a personal journey.	2	
TOTAL	3	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Factors that hindered connections to whānau, hapū and iwi		
Loss of mātauranga Māori, language and tikanga: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No understanding of tikanga and processes within tangihanga; • Uncomfortable situations on marae and in Māori context; • In house issues to do with tikanga; • Lack of cultural knowledge associated with powhiri; • No understanding of the roles on marae; • Not able to understand te reo Māori or speak te reo Māori; & • Roles of women for kaikaranga. 	9	Loss of language and impact on transmission of intergenerational knowledge within whānau
Isolated and vulnerable whānau disconnected because: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Material poverty; • Victim of child abuse; • Structural mechanisms perpetuate inequities for Māori: • Continued marginalisation of Māori whānau; • Feeling disempowered, unable to solve own problems or see that problems exist within the whānau; • Unable to access education because of history of failure; & • Living in cyclic pattern of oppression (Vulnerable families living in unsupportive, violent environments). 	8	Transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma across successive generations Structural mechanisms and psychosocial challenges impacted whānau
Living with unresolved grief and trauma: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land alienation; • World War II; • Loss of parents/grandparents; & • Marriage breakup, separation. 	4	
Living in a drug and alcohol environment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influences of peers and whānau environment; • Encouraging drug use and selling of drugs; & • Joining gangs in Kawerau is an intergenerational family pathway. 	4	Dislocated people who are disenfranchised are engaged in antisocial and criminal behaviour

Socio-historical factors impacting on connection: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rural to urban integration phase of NZ settler state; Racial discrimination; & Pākehā perceptions and attitudes towards Māori (dehumanising experiences). 	4	
Disconnection major problem with younger generations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Death of grandparents, elders, kaumātua and kuia; Unresolved raruraru in whānau; & Disengaged from Māori contexts, Māori culture and language. 	3	
Living alienated from culture: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conflict with Māori way of being and doing; Living individualistic lifestyle; & Living in the city. 	3	
Roadblocks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal tensions and uneasy feelings of life; & Facing uncaring and unconscious bias of whānau. 	2	Whānau living in traumagenic environments
No avenue to address issues impacting whānau, hapū and iwi: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No seen leadership developing people. 	1	
Being disconnected from ones' marae, whenua and ancestral connections.	1	
Unaffordability-high cost to return to ahikā, marae and maintain connection.	1	
Not having a means of income.	1	
Living outside of the rohe, geographical location too far.	1	
Overcoming adversity and not reaching out.	1	
Access to education and experiencing educational success in schools.	1	
Limited exposure and experience to Māori contexts.	1	
Lack of transmission of Mātauranga Māori within and across whānau.	1	
Making poor decisions and choices in life impact on future life opportunities	1	
Exposed to predominant Western driven education and health system.	1	
TOTAL	48	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Impact of being disconnected as ahikā, rāwaho and whānau		
The continued breakdown in the transmission of whānau knowledge within the whānau kinship model: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continued distancing and alienation from cultural connections and whakapapa. 	2	
Living away as rāwaho outside of New Zealand, further alienated from iwi.	1	
Living as urban Māori outside of the rohe lost connection.	1	

Limited self-belief of potential to learn te reo Māori becoming further alienated.	1	
Differences in younger generations' attitudes related to being connected and engaged.	1	
The dominance of English language spoken in the home environments.	1	
Living without the nurturing of grandparents: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experience of childhood trauma, and parental / family trauma. 	1	
TOTAL	8	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
How connected are whānau with the hapori		
Continuing to grow stronger connections amongst whānau and community.	3	
Hapū members take on leadership roles on marae committees and within Māori organisations.	1	
Valuing connections to the whenua.	1	
Active ahikā being role-models: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pushing boundaries within whānau and hapū to reconnect; & • Kuia encouraging young ones to return and keep coming back to the marae. 	1	
Individuals on a personal journey of self-discovery and reclaiming whakapapa and lost whānau knowledge.	1	
TOTAL	7	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
The importance of whānau relating to the hapori		
Personal wairua – wanting to reconnect and learn about Māoritanga: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual ownership of staying connected is important to preservation of cultural heritage. 	2	
Building and strengthening connections through whanaungatanga: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Manaakitanga of whānau/hapū to support whānau with learning whakapapa and whānau / hapū knowledge; • Strong connections between hapū situated on Rangataiki river and in Te Teko who are involved on local community boards and organisations (Te Teko Community Trust, Rangataiki Hapū Coalition with Trust Power); • High level of commitment on marae committees; & • Volunteer service to support whānau in the Te Teko communities. 	7	
Survival and maintenance of te reo Māori and embedding Mātauranga Māori and pedagogies into mainstreaming schooling.	1	
TOTAL	10	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
The importance of valuing and understanding one's cultural identity		

Whānau valuing Māori culture and language (living and breathing it): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Value culture aspire to know more; & • Use of te reo Māori in the home environment. 	3	
Acknowledging and respecting diversity of whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respecting intermarriage and bringing together of mixed cultures (e.g., Māori, Tongan, Samoan). 	2	
Involving and preparing the next generation for roles on the marae and within Māori organisations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deliberate acts of strategically involving rangatahi in marae wānanga and protocols for powhiri. 	2	
Parental influence in strengthening cultural identity. Teaching of cultural heritage and identity to children before they leave home.	2	
TOTAL	9	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Factors for not understanding the importance of one's cultural identity		
Unresolved trauma as a result of being exposed to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whakama from whānau acting as oppressors to other whānau; • Trauma of the World War II; • Colonial schooling and colonial attitudes of Māori; and • Unconscious bias of Māori upon Māori. 	4	
Living a very Westernised life.	1	
Not understanding how living as a young professional in a city/urban centre.	1	
TOTAL	6	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Reconnecting strategies and mechanisms to support whānau, hapū and iwi		
Build people through strengthening whanaungatanga and learning Mātauranga Māori: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflecting on tipuna teachings and footsteps; • Honouring tipuna legacy; • A collaborative approach by Rangataiki hapū to support learning of cultural identity by providing; • Whakapapa wānanga-pepeha, ancestral connections; & • Tikanga wānanga – mātauranga Māori. 	8	
Healing from trauma through participating in Māori education learning – participating in Te Ataarangi: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A spiritual calling and awakening – an intrinsic feeling of wanting to learn about who one is; 	6	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Making a conscious effort to learn and get to know your people, learn their stories and manaaki back to your marae; & • Making an individual commitment to participate with marae and return to ancestral connections. 		
Building strong whānau and hapori connections through local sports and cultural clubs.	2	
Invest into resourcing te reo Māori in schools and increasing Māori teachers in profession.	2	
Celebrating success in higher education as a Māori student within your whānau and hapori Māori whānau participating in graduation ceremony.	2	
Review and critically evaluate schools supporting Māori students' achievements and as equal treaty partners in education.	1	
Investing in information communications technology to connect globally with urban Ngāti Awa.	1	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invest in strategies to strengthen urban connections of whānau to reconnect to ancestral marae: Christmas parties; • Matariki events; & • Tikanga, marakai, hui. 	1	
TOTAL	23	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Table 34:

Ngāti Tūwharetoa discourses impacting on Māori learners' cultural connections to whānau, hapū and iwi

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Definition of connection		
Being confident, knowing who you are and belonging to the haukainga: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Having strong bonds with whānau. 	2	
The embedding of Mātauranga Māori into learning.	1	
Strengthening understanding of cultural identity.	1	
Distinctive differences in connection between hapū and iwi: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mana to the whenua; & • Hapū connection to the whenua. 	1	
TOTAL	5	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Definition of disconnection		
Impact of changing environment led whānau to gangs.	1	
Kaumātua reflection of disconnection.	1	
Onepū changed as a community die to the breakdown of the whānau gardens.	1	

Impact of rural-urbanisation period.	1	
Impact of the Tasman Mill on the people, led to the breakdown of whānau connections in Onepū: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fractured the whānau kinship model; & • Intergenerational change derailed connections. 	4	
Growing up as a whāngai.	1	
Not knowing who you are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not knowing whakapapa; • Not sharing whānau knowledge (gatekeeper); • Not knowing whānau/hapū connections; & • Lost people, iwi kua ngaro. 	7	Impact of colonisation led to the breakdown in the transmission of intergenerational knowledge for Māori
Issues and raruraru with land: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unresolved raru (difficulty, trouble) with whānau about land; & • Land tensions create division of elitism and superiority amongst whānau (no of shares for land ownership). 	3	
Impact of being alienated from land: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not knowing about succession to tipuna/parents land; & • Not knowing how to use Māori Land Court resources. 	2	
Being discriminated against: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorrect pronunciation of name; & • Unconscious bias and racist views amongst whānau. 	2	
Living away and assimilated in to Pākeha environment.	1	
Internal conflicts and micropolitics within whānau/hapū in the Kawerau district: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greed of some whānau in sharing knowledge. 	3	
TOTAL	27	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Factors that make it easy to connect with whānau, hapū and iwi		
Whānau reconnecting on a personal journey.	3	
Learning about whakapapa.	1	
Strengthening self-concept.	1	
The support of ahikā, whānau and hapū leadership.	1	
TOTAL	6	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Factors that hinder connections to whānau, hapū and iwi		
Unresolved grief from the establishment of Tasman Mill in 1954: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The negative impact on the mauri of the river; • Loss of jobs due to technology upgrade of Tasman; & 	7	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Long-term implications of setting the mill up in Kawerau ie. Broken promise of jobs to locals and original shareowners of the land. 		
Lost tikanga and practices related to being on marae: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Don't know practices of hosting tangihanga; Not taught marae protocols; Speaking on the paepae; & Not caring for the environment (e.g., Savage Hot Pools). 	5	
Challenge of whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discovering secrets amongst whānau; Intermarriage to protect against land alienation; Experiencing incest; Cutting family out of one's life; & Uncovering connections with whānau while learning whakapapa. 	5	
Exposed and growing up in home environments: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alcohol addictions; Drug addictions; Domestic and family violence; Child abuse; & Victims of abuse. 	5	
Barriers around whenua: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not knowing how to do succession of land interests through the Māori land court; Intermarriage impacted on land ownership; & Historical grievances to the land. 	5	Transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma across successive generations
Being away a long time from tūrangawaewae: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not knowing connections amongst whānau; Lost, unknown whakapapa and ancestral connections; & Culturally isolated from te reo Māori. 	4	
Unresolved grief – loved one passing away: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Carrying burden healing from trauma; Grandparents holding onto maemae from the past; & Healing from the maemae carried as children when punished for speaking te reo Māori in schools. 	4	
Strong use and selling of tarutaru (drugs/weed) in the Onepū and Kawerau communities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Impact of drugs in the community. 	3	Structural mechanisms and psychosocial challenges impacted whānau
Being disconnected from whānau, hapū and iwi: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Being alienated from whānau 	2	
Strong gang influence in the Onepū and Kawerau communities.	2	Dislocated people who are disenfranchised are engaged in antisocial and criminal behaviour
Close door policy to whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Challenges with raising and discussing issues. 	2	Loss of language and impact on transmission of intergenerational knowledge for whānau
Strongly negative attitudes projected towards Māori relating to each other.	1	
Feeling unwanted as a child.	1	Whānau living in traumagenic environments

Cultural assimilation of children in schools.	1	Intergenerational transmission of historical and cultural trauma Unresolved trauma needing healing
Grandparents passing away, and losing generational knowledge related to whakapapa and whānau histories.	1	
Impact of colonisation on the people, disruption in the transmission of intergenerational knowledge on whānau, hapū and iwi.	1	
Dealing with suicide in the community.	1	
No employment opportunities.	1	
Rural to urban changes.	1	
TOTAL	48	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
How connected are whānau with the hapori		
Changing tides of Onepū community: • Reconnecting to tūrangawaewae.	2	
Tangihanga bringing people back to the marae.	1	
Wanting to learn whakapapa and cultural connections and narratives.	1	
Whānau returning for: • Family reunions; • Unveilings; • Birthdays; • Inter-tribal meetings with neighbouring iwi (AGM); & • Upholding and maintaining traditions through wānanga.	5	
Factors that make a close-knit community: • Kaumātua sitting on the paepae; & • Whānau representatives on local committees, boards, leadership positions.	4	
Strong connections in hapori.	1	
Trades people share skills with the hapori.	1	
TOTAL	15	

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
The importance of whānau relating to the hāpori		
High importance in relating to the community: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Showing manaakitanga to the people; • Sharing common interests; • Strengthening bonds when you get to know your community; & • Validating who you are as Māori. 	5	
Transmission of intergenerational knowledge amongst and across generations of whānau, hapū and iwi: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whānau ownership and responsibility in survival of Mātauranga Māori of the marae / hapū / iwi; • Protection of knowledge; & • Leaving a legacy for the next generation. 	4	
Whānau more connected in the past than now in the present: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In parents time, whānau were more connected; & • Loss of interest by young to connect. 	3	
Impact of rural to urban drift – looking for employment outside Kawerau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change from agriculture to papermill work. 	2	
The importance of marae to the people: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to grandparents teaching about the marae. 	2	
Impact of structural changes and material poverty on people.	1	
Declining population in Onepū.	1	
TOTAL	18	
Categories	Frequency	Concepts
The importance of valuing and understanding one's cultural identity		
Important place of marae: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nurturing rangatahi in hapū histories; • Knowing your tūpuna; • Building relationships within hapū; • Learning whakapapa; & • Learning actively during tangihanga at the marae. 	4	
Knowing who you are strengthens cultural identity and ancestral connections/relationships: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impact of colonisation on learning; • Being an active member of the hāpori; & • Returning to whenua to reconnect with Māori culture and tūpuna. 	4	
Importance of rangatahi in the transmission of intergenerational knowledge amongst elders to pepe, rangatahi: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immersing rangatahi in education pathways (e.g., Kōhanga reo, kura-a-iwi, kura kaupapa); & • Being more involved in marae meetings. 	3	
TOTAL	11	

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Reconnecting strategies and mechanisms to support whānau, hapū and iwi		
Hosting regular wānanga: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continual involvement with marae; • Attending wānanga; • Using facebook and online media to connect; • Having events for whakawhanaungatanga to occur; • Learn histories of whānau; & • Exposure to Māori events (e.g., tangihanga, weddings, sharing of stories). 	9	
Succession planning needed for building hapū connections on marae: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preservation of tūpuna narratives; • Having access to online search engines, iwi websites; & • Choosing stewards to learn knowledge and share with the next generation. 	5	
Influences of parents to create a nurturing family environment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Set routines for kids; • Safe environment; • Speaking kindly to children; & • Being role-models. 	4	
Undertaking a personal journey to re-connect: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Return as often as you can; & • Talk and meet the ahikā. 	3	
Using rongoa (whānau knowledge) to heal from the past: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Healing from education. 	3	
Mentoring of rangatahi alongside parents and grandparents/elders/kaumatua and kuia: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Onepū / Kawerau kaumātua and kuia sharing knowledge of the area and hapū. 	2	
TOTAL	26	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 8:

Connection and disconnection

The transmission of knowledge is seen as an important component in the maintenance and sharing of knowledge which helps to strengthen ones understanding of cultural identity and places as Māori. However, the breakdown of the traditional *whānau* kinship model has stifled the transmission of knowledge between the different levels in how Maori interact with each other. A theme that has come through the narratives is the important roles *kuia* and *kaumātua* have in the nurturing of *pakeke* (to be grown up, adult, mature), the next generation, in the preserving of *tikanga* and *mātauranga Māori*. This statement illustrates the importance of *kuia* and *kaumātua* in reconnecting *pakeke* as part of nurturing the next generation into roles within *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* as part of the continuation of the transmission of intergenerational

knowledge. Additionally, this statement illustrates a prominent theme throughout the Ngāti Awa case study, of what the impact of from being disconnected is for *whānau*, particularly, within their own *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*:

During the few years that I was in Wellington, I wasn't particularly interested in the whānau or hapū activities. It wasn't until I went back home again, the older people started talking to me...when we went home, we had to go and listen to the whaikōrero ērā mea katoa and gradually, we learnt, ngā kaupapa katoa i pa ngā ki te Māori, kit e hapū ērā mea katoa. By the time I was old enough when my dad died, then we were ready to take our place on the marae...The younger generation is coming up, it is a bit difficult now because of the experiences, ...very hard to take young people to the marae. A lot of our young people don't come back to the marae anymore, there are a few.
(Koro (D)-Ngāti Awa, 85 years old)

In comparison to Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study, disconnection for the people was very similar to that of the Ngāti Awa case study. One Tūwharetoa participant responded to what connection and disconnection meant for him:

Have mana. Have mana to the whenua, which was lost as a iwi. The country was run by the iwi it was run by the whānau and hapū. That's why you have different tikanga here and tikanga there, going to according what they protect. As long as there are people on the land, connecting to one another is very important because you won't survive on your own.
(Koro (B)-NTKK, 84 years old)

The same participant further provides comment on the implications of disconnection for the younger generation. For many younger generations, as noted by this participant, to an extent this situation can best be explained as a fracturing, a breakdown in the *whānau* kinship model (transmission of intergenerational knowledge related to *whakapapa*, and *whānau* histories), leading to disconnection and isolation from one's cultural identity. This *koro*'s perspectives of this are highlighted below:

A lot of young people don't go back...for some reasons their parents have seemed to keep it for themselves, how do you push that, and they don't worry about anybody, yet they only worry about being on top...You have to be a part of a whānau as you grow up until you become the head of your own whānau, have your own children and mokopuna and all that sort of thing. That's how you make changes, have your own children, but don't get them related because everything goes in the cycle. All right, all our old people they're all gone. All right, so we're the next one coming up and we'll be following them to and only leaving the likes of you. So, you've got another 40-60 years before you start to get to where I am just about no good for anything.

(Koro (B)-NTKK, 84 years old)

In the Ngāti Awa case study, the participants identified a total number of 14 responses related to definitions of connection and the importance of connection towards cultural identity. Conversely, the participants identified a total number of 11 responses they considered defined what disconnection is for *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Clearly, there were similarities within each discourse, stated by the participants. An example of this variance in defining connection is illustrated by the following participants' statements:

While you are young there is because you are around your grandparents and whānau that is what you do, you are with whānau all the time, you are going to the marae because at the time we were young, marae were just so beautiful because there were so many kaumātua, kuia, and people around locally.

(Aunty - Ngāti Awa, 55-65 years old)

Being regular attending events, being part of the community, just being known amongst your whānau. I mean, I have whānau down there, but they wouldn't know me from a bar of soap.

(Mokopuna - Ngāti Awa, Under 30s)

An example of the variance for defining disconnection is illustrated by the following participants' statements. This disconnection was further compounded by the use of structural mechanisms (the use of legislation by the government), to disadvantage unfairly Māori and this procedural process severely impacted on Māori having equal rights and seeking justice for such issues in the wider society:

One needs to look at what happened for Ngāti Awa on the whole when they lost all their land and also the kind of aftermath of the war and a lot of the people come back. You have a period of where, you know even the things like women were not allowed to drink in hotels, men Māori were not allowed to drink in certain bars. At one stage about my time, my father and them weren't even allowed to purchase alcohol so you kind of had this stigma of not being a person of any meritable worth on Māori people. I think that gave a whole picture of this dislocated, disenfranchised people right through out and that was one thing that happened for us....

Disconnection there is a correlation between disconnection and disenfranchisement or being estranged. You know you come from here but how do I hook up to it? Or else I come from there, how I maintain the continuity of being part of that, there you have the trouble because the people they are in the void. The identity thing crops up. Trying to make sense of who you are, where you are from and your relationship as far as whanaungatanga because if you don't get the first two, the third one which is the main one, whanaungatanga lapse you have a big problem. Now because people can't get the identity and who they are.

(Matua – Ngāti Awa, 75-80 years old)

This sentiment was expressed by another participant who told me the impact of being disconnected after living away as *rāwaho*, had an impact on his ability to *kōrero* Māori, his desire to be involved with his *marae* and the trauma from losing a close one, triggered his desire to re-connect and strengthen his connections to his elders, in order to feel connected within himself: This is illustrated in the participant's statement:

While I was in Auckland, I never came back for about 5 years, only to tangi or things like that but when I come back, I got married and kept away from the marae thing because it consumed a lot of time. Then when my mum passed, and I went down to do the reo I found that I was so far away from reality that I started to go back then. I didn't go to Tu Teao, I went to our marae in Ruatoki because my aunties and that were still alive and I needed to connect more with tikanga, reo.

(Koro (C) – Ngāti Awa, 70 years old)

In the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study, the participants identified a total number of 5 responses related to definitions of connection and the importance placed on connection within the *hapori* and cultural identity as Māori. As one participant shared with me the definition of connection and the contributing influence and traumatic effects this had on her own schooling experience, self-concept, cultural identity and the dynamics hugely affected her own inter-*whānau* relationships:

Your whenua, your whakapapa, importantly to me is knowing who you are, knowing those hard links gives you a sense of footing, grounding... Personally, I knew I was whāngai' and my real family come from here, not Tūwharetoa but I think it was those whānau issues where I went nah, don't want to know, it wasn't until I got older and school...I went to my real side because for years I denied them, but I finally went home and I asked who am I. My mum told me who I was and what my connections are to Onepū and Tūwharetoa. From there I went to learn at a marae based kura. But a lot of our Onepū whānau were running it. They opened themselves up for me to learn more...More prideful more I think my shoulder started coming back, chest started coming up, my head started rising.

(Whaea (C) – NTKK, 44 years old)

Another participant's story mirrored this as well and further adds comments of how it feels to be connected:

Like you're always confident in the midst, yeah and you know where you belong...It feels like you belong there at your haukainga or tūrangawaewae. You know that there are always good things there when you need to get support.

(Aunty – NTKK, 65-75 years old)

Conversely, the Ngāti Tūwharetoa participants identified a total number of 27 responses they considered defined what disconnection is for *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Clearly, there appeared

to be more discussion on the impact of factors that heightened disconnection across *whānau* which had an ongoing impact on the transmission of intergenerational knowledge (*whakapapa*, *whānau* histories) and contributed to the loss of *te reo Māori* and added to the declining trend in fluent speakers of *te reo Māori* amongst *whānau* and across successive generations of *whānau*. This is outlined in one participant's quote, who also raises many barriers that hinder *whānau* from connecting with *whānau* in the community and across the *iwi* and particularly the impact from experiencing historical trauma and unresolved grief:

Disconnection is the loss of the reo I think. That's a major one. Yeah, the loss of the reo. Employment, having to move away, you know to get trained up for jobs...I think what makes it hard is the prevalence of abuse is one. I actually think that victims of abuse are a repercussion of some of the abuse that we've endured when we were children under assimilation.

(Aunty – NTKK, 65-75 years old)

Furthermore, the feeling of unresolved grief, anger and *mamae* is illustrated in the three different *whānau* perspectives:

Oh, acceptance for one. It's accepting who you are Specifically for whāngai, it's not I choose one on missing out on the other, or I love more than one over the other, and then you do find out, it's about walking the journey of knowledge, being open to one's/someone's opinion, someone's truth.

(Whaea (C) – NTKK, 44 years old)

This scenario is repeated again and the *whānau* participant illustrates the issues and damaging effects of micro-politics within *whānau* and the downward trend this has on further disconnection within *whānau* and the community across generations, in the following manner:

Well there is a lot, for me there is a lot of racist views within the family about certain things. Yeah with the Pākehā, you know the views of what is happening around town or what happens like if you don't sort of go with the general public idea...Like council you know making things more open to other areas of people coming into work when there is work around with the mills... So that sort of keeps it disconnected...Not as strong it seems to be. We were quite connected more so that it is today for our younger ones.

(Whaea (A) – NTKK, Under 40s)

This sentiment was expressed by another *whānau* participant who told me:

To me disconnection to who we are is not knowing, and I've come across a lot of people going where are you from? Oh, I don't know, I was born over, I come from Kawerau. True who's your family back there? They'll just give me there name...Well at the time I'm talking to them...you know sometimes you can see it within their eyes and just their āhua, like shut up I don't know

already, so you sort of like ooh back off...All I say just to keep them at easy, wow.

(Whaea (B) – NTKK, 55-65 years old)

The Ngāti Awa participants identified a total number of 3 responses on factors that positively impacted on connections within *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. In contrast, they identified 48 responses on factors that hinders making connections within *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* and which also contributed to their mindsets of inadequacy, disempowerment, and powerlessness. Some of the participants identified that isolated and vulnerable *whānau* were disconnected because of exposure to material poverty, they were victims of child abuse, unable to access the benefits of education and were living in unsupportive family environments. A significant theme that emerged was the loss of *mātauranga Māori*, language and *tikanga* which then, in turn, disrupted the transmission of intergenerational knowledge within and across *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Additionally, this impacted on participants' self-concept and cultural identity as Māori. These concepts are expressed in the following statement, where an older *koro* describes his experiences of connection and disconnection, and how subsequent generations living outside of the Bay of Plenty (*rāwaho*) are also affected:

We have many groups come to our marae, and just today we have wahine (woman) that come from Corrections and listening to their pepeha this morning, I would say sixty percent are disconnected from their iwi, and one from our iwi that was in the roopu, in the group. So it's not unusual for people to come here, and never been to a marae before, they don't know who they are and they come here and tell us their name and we connect them up with their whakapapa and they begin to learn who they are and it gives them whanaungatanga to want to come back. At this time, we have classes for Ngati Awatanga which draws pupils to our classes that have never been to our marae before. So reconnecting is very important especially in Tamaki Makaurau. If you go to Otara, or some places in Manurewa and if you ask the people who they are, some say they are not Māori, but they don't know who they are. ...They don't register as a Māori anymore; they register as a New Zealander. So, these are some of the things that we have to fix and... the shame is that although we are trying to connect all the time, there always seems to be hurdles that we have to get across to get to our people.

(Koro (A) – Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

Increasingly, the participants from both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa voiced many strategies to support and reconnect *whānau* with each other. From the Ngāti Awa perspectives, key mechanisms included: Building people through strengthening *whanaungatanga* and learning about retracing *tīpuna* footsteps, *whānau whakapapa* and histories, including *tikanga* through a collaborative approach of Rangitāiki *hapū*, and hosted and led *wānanga* at primary *marae* in the Te Teko community and in Tāmaki Makaurau.

Across the *whānau* narratives these support mechanisms were echoed and reiterated again in the following participant's statement:

On a good meeting day at Mataatua we would get 30 Ngāti Awa. So, there's definitely a disconnect for a lot of them. I don't know whether they're going home, I don't know whether they're not interested, because you are living in urban thing. There's so much going on. Why aren't they coming in? We've tried things our marae, we've tried wananga, tikanga on tikanga, on whaikorero, we've tried to get to know each other. We've tried Christmas parties and Mataariki.

(Whaea – Ngāti Awa, 35-55 years old)

From the Ngāti Tūwharetoa perspectives, key mechanisms that encouraged re-connection within *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* included: *Whānau* engaging on a personal journey; learning *whakapapa* in hosted *wānanga* supported by *āhika*, *whānau* and *hāpu* leadership. One of the *whānau* narratives, also highlighted the difficulties it took to re-connect within this space and the onus on an individual to be forthright in their actions to reconnect. This is illustrated in their quote:

Well you would need to touch base with a key informant from that particular area. You need somewhere to start. So, you have to rely on your instinct, and I think this is one of the things that we Māori people have lost the art of is relying on instinct. Because these are the things that we use to have, and I think some of the tohunga actually send their wairua out to see out the things. I am not saying to do that, but you need to learn the skills of saying okay, these are the people, this is the information that I want, then you need to go to somebody as a starting base, as a starting point to see. Okay I would like to try and touch base so can you help me out, but the person would need to be transparent in themselves to the people because and also have the skills to know that some people will never share information with you whether no matter how you ask there is just some people who will not do it...What I am getting at you need to learn the skills of knowing who can give you the best avenue to do your work and that is a skill that you have to develop before you start your journey.

(Matua – Ngāti Awa, 75-80 years old)

Additionally, the primary researcher, reframed the question and asked the *whānau* participant. So, in terms of reconnecting to *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, how does an urban Māori, young professional reconnect? The participant's response addresses the complexities that exist for those *whānau* who identify as urban Māori, of Ngāti Awa descent. Particularly, how they possibly stay connected with the *āhikā*, when they no longer have elders or *whānau* living within the community. This is reflected in her statement:

That is a good question. I mean the first thing would be to move back home, but that is just not possible. It is possible, but that is not something I'm to do at the moment. I suppose Ngāti Awa could have I don't know, wananga for

people like us, say we are from Ngāti Awa but actually we don't have many family living in Te Teko anymore... People that have lived in urban centres for ever... Koro was the last person to live in Te Teko from our family, nobody else has ever lived there. So, I am sure there are other families who are the same. We have no family, but we say we are from there, but we have family, but we are not connected to them.

(Mokopuna - Ngāti Awa, Under 30s)

The *whānau* participant also provided other strategies that would support reconnecting which are synthesis across different statements she made in her narrative:

I think you really just have to be there... Be there, be back home, back at the marae... Just engaging stuff on the website for young urban Māori like about the Ngāti Awa story... Just got to make the current website easier to navigate.

(Mokopuna - Ngāti Awa, Under 30s)

Furthermore, across the participants' narratives for both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa there was a resolve that *whānau* valued connection and the important place this belief and assumption had in strengthening connection within the broader community. In general, across the participants' narratives, there was agreement that unresolved grief and exposure to traumagenic events (such as colonial schooling and the impact of teachers' attitudes, *whānau* acting as oppressors on *whānau* and returning from World War II), had an impact on one's self-belief of themselves, and on their connection to *whānau*, which in turn, affected further generations of *whānau*. These participants' statements, illustrate and highlight these aspects that further isolate and marginalise *whānau* from being connected within and across generations of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

One koro's response highlights the manifestations of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma, sketched in his memories, where he reflects on his personal experiences of being strongly connected to his *marae* and the positive impact this had on his self-belief and cultural identity as a Māori. Koro also highlights the differences he sees now with current generations' connection to the *marae*, the impact of the Tasman Mill on the people and the affect this had on *whānau* being connected to *whānau*, being connected to their *marae* and the consequences this had on further generations of *whānau* self-identity and cultural identity:

Koro's memories of being strongly connected to the *marae*:

I tell you thought about this for a year. They've already, its already been mentioned that the whānau, all a lot of the whānau used to come here. No matter what was on here, the kaupapa, the tangi, everybody was here but we used to come here when there's nothing on. Quite a few of us kids all the younger generation the older ones and us we were used to come here and

then sit out here in the beautiful nice and warm and then because certain whānau they were beautiful singers and beautiful guitarist and then we'll just sit here, we'd play around and then we'll just sit down and talk and then sing and then we enjoyed ourselves and just sit here and all of a sudden when it's time to go home.

Koro's memories of being disconnected from your whānau, hapū and iwi:

Yeah, I don't know what's happened, but the whānau we had before well, we'll put it this way, even Tomai mentioned it through the generations. Our generations are a little bit one or two years after me. We all used to because we were all brought up together that we all did the same thing, you know, we all went to the same place, we all swam in the same place, we all went to school together and then all of a sudden we all used to come here and the generations a little bit after, they were slowly down and people never turned up while never used to come like how we did. We just turned up for nothing, but now a days when the mill came up, that sort of change things a little bit, you know because now they had pictures to go, movies, they had sports to go to you know, take the tamariki na, you know, and I didn't blame them they'd rather go there enjoy themselves and rather just come here, you know on the marae to a tangi or anything else like a celebration.

Koro's memories of the impact of the Tasman Mill on the people:

Yeah, I think when the mill came up in the town and when the town grew that took a lot of the whakawhanaungatanga here, and a lot of the focus changed, you know, like they were talking all you know we used to go and raid each other's corn, Merana and all that, even they themselves carried a little bit all of us would stop doing our marakai, growing kai and all that, started dodging our parents and kuia. Yeah and when the people got a taste of going to the New World or to the supermarket to buy lollies and all that well they really took the sting out of people coming here, really didn't want to come to the marae, and from then on it just got worse and worse and now hopefully this will try to entice them to come back again get some korero and come and listen to experiences how it used to be and I know they're never going to be because they got technology minds as we are as us, well we're still in the smoke signal days sort of yeah.

(Koro (A) – NTKK, 73 years old)

Question 9 asked the participants to share their perspectives on the following:
What do you consider are the challenges and struggles of Māori whānau within Ngāti Awa? or, What do you consider are the challenges and struggles of Māori whānau within Ngāti Tūwharetoa?

Table 35:

Ngāti Awa discourses on challenges and struggles that impact on Māori learners' educational success, cultural identity and outcomes for whānau, hapū and iwi

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on challenges		
Survival of te reo Māori: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extinction of Ngāti Awatanga/Mātauranga Māori and te reo Māori. 	4	
Retention of Mātauranga Māori – whānau and hapū knowledge: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Empowering whānau to develop capacities in learning their whānau and hapū pūrākau and whakapapa; Strengthening cultural identity; & Survival of local hapū knowledge and people into 21st century. 	4	Strengthening whānau capacities in order to flourish
Changing tikanga: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kaumātua raising concerns of the changing process for tangihanga. Bringing the tūpāpaku (deceased person's body) home. Continuous debates by iwi of changing tikanga related to tangihanga 	3	Transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma across generations
Normalising culture of drugs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Normalisation of profiting from drugs within Te Teko community; & Normalisation of excessive alcohol drinking within whānau 	3	Changing and shifting mindsets and empowering whānau to flourish
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Further marginalised as whānau, hapū and iwi from being disconnected to te ao Māori. Feeling isolated and not connected because living away as rāwaho. 	3	
Psychosocial challenges are a result of material poverty: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rangatahi dependency and reliance on state benefits. 	2	
Building capacities of whaikōrero speakers on the paepae: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No formalised succession planning for whaikōrero speakers. Utilising current ones with another marae 	2	
More strategic planning and investment into strengthening hapū.	1	
Material poverty of whānau.	1	
TOTAL	23	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Table 36:

Ngāti Tūwharetoa discourses on challenges and struggles that impact on Māori learners' educational success, cultural identity and outcomes for whānau, hapū and iwi

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on challenges and struggles		
Impact of material poverty on whānau and community: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of employment opportunities; • Unemployment; • Unable to access home ownership, because of finances/poor; • Homelessness; • Arising from land alienation; • Land issues with whānau; • Whānau relocating and moving to urban cities from Onepū and Kawerau; • Whānau (adults) lack of motivation to do anything; • Taking advantage of elderly, sick parents for personal and financial gain; • Whānau aspiring to be better for their children; & • Increase in housing rental within Kawerau. 	18	Powerful assumptions become self-perpetuating realities Self-perpetuating realities impact on kaumātua generation Manifestations of the transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma on people
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Living in traumagenic environments; • High availability and access of tarutaru / drugs within the community; • Impact of drug addictions on Māori and whānau; • Living in abusive and violent home environments (violence against women, children exposed to violence); • Instability in the home environment; • Disintegration of families and living in traumatic home environments; & • Close door whānau policy (turning whānau, children away). 	9	Markers of vulnerable family/ies impact on cultural identity Markers of vulnerable communities' impact on cultural identity, and life, education and health outcomes
Impact of legislation allowed for privileging Western settler future generations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impact of unfair legislation on people; • Tacit Western knowledge; • Hidden agendas in law; • Unable to access higher education because of past; • Unable to access vocational education; & • High number of investors (outside of Kawerau) in rental properties within Kawerau District. 	8	Normalising mindsets to aim high and achieve potential within whānau
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unresolved trauma within whānau; • Impact of the breakdown in and across family/ies; • The role of epigenetics; • Parents contributing to transmission of values, practices not conducive for children; 	8	Transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma across generations

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dealing with the impact of colonisation and the establishment of Tasman Mill; Personal/family trauma (loss of parent); Breakdown in marriages; & Rehabilitation needed to stop drug dependency. 		
Factors leading to joining gang in Kawerau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Normalisation of gang's lifestyle within the community; Strong family influence to join (inter-generational lifestyle); Break-offs of little gangs; & The influence of gangs on rangatahi in Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau area. 	7	Structural mechanisms/changes and psychosocial challenges affects whānau
Loss of whānau knowledge, whakapapa and pūrākau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The intergenerational loss of te reo Māori through successive generations; & Barriers to whenua. 	4	
Impact of colonial schooling and colonial attitudes towards Māori students and continual perpetuation of inequities in society: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marginalised as Māori students; & Suppression of whānau. 	3	Strengthening whānau capacities in order to flourish
Micropolitics that exist within community: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Issues between iwi within Mātaatua, Rangatihi, Te Arawa and Tūwharetoa iwi boundaries; & Intervention response from Police to witnessing and addressing violence against women. 	2	Changing and shifting mindsets and empowering whānau to flourish
Impact of establishing the Tasman Paper Pulp Mill in Kawerau/Onepū: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unfair compensation for tūpuna. 	2	
TOTAL	61	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 9:

Challenges and struggles

Question nine asked the participants of each case study for their views about what they considered were the challenges and struggles for *whānau* within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. In the Ngāti Awa case study, a total number of 23 responses identified a number of discourses related to the challenges and struggles faced by *whānau*. These discourses below are ranked as having a high influence on the *whānau* environment, which in turn, had a contextual effect on the educational success of *tamariki Māori*, including causing disruption in the *whānau* kinship model, that had a cascading effect on the transmission of intergenerational knowledge across successive generations of *whānau*:

- Survival of *te reo Māori*.
- Retention of *mātauranga Māori*, and *whānau* and *hapū* knowledge.
- Changing *tikanga*.
- Normalising culture of drugs.
- Further marginalised as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* from being disconnected to *te ao Māori*.

- Psychosocial challenges are a result of material poverty.
- Building capacities of *whaikōrero* speakers on the *paepae*.
- More strategic planning and investment into strengthening *hapū*.
- Material poverty.

In the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study, a total number of 61 responses identified a number of discourses related to the challenges and struggles faced by *whānau*. These discourses below are ranked as having a high influence on the *whānau* environment, which in turn, had a contextual effect on the educational success of *tamariki Māori*, including causing disruption in the *whānau* kinship model, that had a cascading effect on the transmission of intergenerational knowledge across successive generations of *whānau*:

- Impact of material poverty on *whānau* and community.
- Living in traumagenic environments.
- Impact of legislation allowed for privileging Western settler future generations.
- Unresolved trauma within *whānau*.
- Factors leading to joining gang in Kawerau.
- Loss of *whānau* knowledge, *whakapapa* and *pūrākau*.
- Impact of colonial schooling and colonial attitudes towards Māori students and continual perpetuation of inequities in society.
- Micropolitics that exist within community.
- Impact of establishing the Tasman Paper Pulp Mill in Kawerau/Onepū.

Although there are clear differences between Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, there are, however, also substantial similarities between each *iwi*. The following sections will discuss how structural mechanisms have been a leading cause in some of the issues, challenges and barriers of *whānau*, shared within the participants' narratives of each *iwi*.

Impact of material poverty on *whānau* and community

The exploitation of Māori through the use of the legal and political mechanisms of the settler government, aided their pursuit of acquiring ownership of Māori land for their benefit which perpetuated the cycle of subalternisation across generations of *whānau*. This is illustrated in the following quote:

Well I think there's always these debated about the territory, you know. Yeah territorial debates you know. Tūwharetoa would claim this is bit of their patch and Ngāti Awa will be saying no, no that got taken during the rapatu, that's our patch and it's vice versa like that and I think it's so sad that they continue this but I think what provokes that kind of behaviour is hidden agendas in the law and the legislation, the hidden agendas and the other one is yeah. Hidden agendas in the law that's what provokes those sorts of evasive behaviours, as well as not knowing their identity, you know they've got a chronic identity crisis.

(Aunty – NTKK, 65-75 years old)

Land loss during the inundation period arising from the 1867 Raupatu in the Eastern Bay of Plenty caused much poverty for the people of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa and has left indelible scars in the memories of successive generations of *whānau* (WAI NA). This scarring of traumatic pain is etched in the memories of one participant in his statement below:

The circumstances that we've passed through from our elders possibly before Penetito and during the Penetito era, not very clean, wasn't good at all as I just mentioned not long ago there's the soldiers who were kept at Kokohinau there, up to 1896 now. That's the year they were looking after those soldiers in Kokohinau. Now that sort of environment is not very good for anyone and more so when you get people they come through with soldiers at that period. It's affected them, it affected us, and it's still affecting us even now by how can you use that word treason, or kupapa or double standards aye? This is what has driven me to where I am now with and didn't finish there. Not only started there, but it didn't finish there, they sort of continued on right up to the time of Raupatu. These people here in Ngāti Awa, they can't tell me that they had everything the way it was how they saw it. I see it different; I've taken a different view...the moment that waka landed in Whakatāne they started fighting straight away.

(Koro (B) – NTKK, 84 years old)

The impact of war on Māori, as described by Koro B above is a form of cultural trauma. Many of the narratives spoke to the diminished opportunities caused from the structural economic disadvantages generated from the land alienation of 1867. To survive as families during the isolation and integration periods, many children had to work, before they went to school, in order to supplement their parents' income. Other participants spoke of families having to finish school at the end of primary and get jobs because of the poverty that existed in the community. This participant's narrative illustrates this sentiment:

We walked to school every day from here to Te Teko and back aged 5, all of us. Some kids from way over there were late because they had to milk cows. Well dad went to I think all of primary, but his brother wanted to finish school and his brother was nearly the same age as him. He was allowed to stay at school, but dad had to go to work, and dad wanted to stay at school, but the other one wanted to finish. So, they made them both finish and they both went to work.

(Nan - Ngāti Awa, 75 years old)

The cycle of poverty was further perpetuated into younger generations, some *rangatahi* were married off and faced extreme pressures (violent partners), while others had limited resources from their *whānau* to continue their education or support to access primary, high school and university. These participants expressed this in their statements below:

Dad wanted to be educated and I think his father was Pākehā because he was born out of wedlock and he always wanted us kids to be educated, to give us a chance to be educated. One of my sisters wanted to work at the dairy down at Te Teko here because the dairy was just outside the bus stop and she wanted to go work and earn her own money and dad told us to go to school and because she fought dad to work, he gave in to her and a week later, she said she was missing school and it was something she regretted. But dad tried his best to get us all through high school, but we struggled.

(Nan - Ngāti Awa, 75 years old)

Well for my mum, my immediate whānau, my mum, my aunty and them, it was quite interesting we have just had a conversation about this in the last couple of months, there schooling was not really I guess for her, she was saying even going to school, she was saying just to play sport, they would have a sports day and between her and her sister they would have turns in wearing their rompers or undies because they only had one pair of undies between them and I said are you kidding mum that means just to participate in sport one of you didn't have anything on, exactly she said because they didn't have money. Even to go and participate in something like sport, which is good for the child at school, they couldn't go unless one of the sisters had time to give you the undies to go and play sport and they were never allowed to speak Māori so she didn't like it. She went to school because she had to and to be with her friends and they never got taught. She didn't enjoy the experience of school at all. She went to Te Teko School and then she went to Whakatāne High. She did maybe a year, 18 months and then dropped out. My mum's older sister Kira, Aunty Kira now she went on to really well. The whānau would support one or two to go on and really excel. So, Aunty Kira, the oldest in the whānau went on to be the head girl at Turakina High and she was quite well educated. She did really well, the whānau supported her, everyone supported her, she did really good.

(Aunty - Ngāti Awa, 55 - 65 years old)

No, none of them went to secondary school. They left school. My mother grew up in Maketu, their mother died when she was five and her aunty from Maketu took her. And one of the things my mother and her education was limited and so was my father's. They didn't go beyond primary school, but she was brought up by her aunty and who was married to that old fella Waho Morgan and he had a son from a previous woman who left him. And so, when my mother's stepfather, he asked for my mother to be a wife, she was fifteen for his son, Te Whetu Morgan from Te Puke. My mother had no say she had to go through a Māori marriage, that was the rules in those days. But then her husband turned out to be a jealous man, if you just look at somebody another man, she got a severe belting, well some of my Māori people are still like that. It makes me really sad. So anyway, she goes I've had enough of this and took off to Hastings. And got to Hastings and was working in Watties, Watties cannery. Living with some relations at Pakipaki, then once she was working, she discovered she was hapū. So, there was no DBP equivalent in those day, so she had to scurry back to Te Teko to live with her brother. Apiata Stan Moses and his wife, Hapi Atareta Burkle. So, she stayed with them and had the baby. And then one of her great Aunts, Pohe Coach, that's the Coach family, she was living in that house opposite the pub, across the river from the pub. So, she decided my mother needed to be remarried to somebody. So, she organised a local bachelor at Te Teko, ka wai ka hika

tangata, has to her new husband. Well, he was happy to be on his way to pick up his new bride who was locked in a room. He called into Te Teko pub and my father there and Ko ia ki haere koe, kai ki taku wahine. He told him who the betrothed was, she's locked in a room across the river. My father jumped on his motor bike saw the nail in the window, got it hammer, the window flew open, out jumped the betrothed bride to be and they took off to Whiritoa, that's on the Galatea road. My aunty had a house there and they spent their honeymoon there which is my reflection of that. They produce eleven children from between my brothers and sisters".

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

Through the narratives of the participants, many spoke of the difficulties living in Te Teko during the isolation and integration periods. During these times it was quite common for Māori families to be large and they would work collaborate with each other's *whānau* to grow large *kai* gardens to help support each other, throughout the years. One participant responded:

Yeah, we had 16 in our family, brothers and sisters and probably a third didn't want to go to school at all...Growing up in Te Teko, things were all whānau done you know where we lived there were seven acres and during sometime of the year you either had to grow pumpkin, potatoes or seeds so everyone would have some. But, in our little area there was our house, the Kaipara's, the Ngahehu's. The Ngahehu's had the tractor, to be able to use the tractor we had to go and help them do their hay, because they had cows, we had to help them plant potatoes or do their work and then they will free up the tractor and that's the same with the Kaipara's. The older ones like Kaipara's, Lenny and Mackey. Lenny was a good at eeling and from the time we were about 8 to about 10, 11 and the eels were good, he would tell us on Friday that we are going to Thornton to get some eels so we get enough of us, 3 or 4 horses, 6 or 8 kids and then we would come back with bags and bags of eels and we would share them out between those and then the next day we would probably go out to Matata or Western Drain to get puha. Not many went out on Sundays because some of the families took the kids to church those have karakia at the marae in those days and we would go and get the puha and it was for our different houses around us.

(Koro (C) - Ngāti Awa, 70 years old)

Another participant's narrative reflected on the economic and social pressure to integrate with Pākehā, and at the closure of Fenton's Mill, which forced many Māori to leave and return often to their parents' *kāinga*:

Right up beyond Kawerau, up the river, Tarawera river, have you been to the Tarawera pools? Further up there around in that area. The pools were only about a ten-minute drive to the Tarawera pass to the mill. We lived there. My memories of it all because I just started school and came the Christmas party and you know santa claus and of course great excitement in those days had santa claus come into the school. So, when I was with my mother, I listened to santa claus talking with my mother and he was saying to my mother, and the Anderson family, big family, they lived in the next valley in a separate

little hamlet where there are about three houses. There were one of them and they'd have to walk around to the school in the next valley for the Christmas party. I tried to call his wife changing his clothes up in the bush outside the valley where we lived, and he heard the human. That's our Maggie Anderson yell it out to her younger sister Gwen, Kia Terry Gwen. That's what he heard, Kia Terry Gwen and I listened and I went to my mother, hare kata to pohu korero Māori, and my mother said kare kau ke te korero Māori, and my mother said hā you know why, I heard him say Kia Terry Gwen not kia tere Gwen, they were saying it wrong like a Pa. I said to my mum Kare ke te korero, my mother looked at me. Kare a of course he can't talk Māori he's a Pākehā and that's my memory of ever since I was born. I realised Pākehā didn't know how to talk Māori, my mind had made them the second rate, second class citizens in growing up in Nga Maihi, because they couldn't speak what we thought was an easy language to speak. But in fact, it's actually quite hard to learn Māori but we grew up speaking Māori. So, we were part of our day care to speak Māori, but we couldn't get over the fact that santa claus, mythical magic person who brought you toys couldn't speak Māori. Oh well he's a no hoper if he can't talk Māori. We were wrapped in a time when we also, when the mill closed down, we had to move back to Te Teko, and we lived with our kuia Mere Makina, and we didn't have a house, but it was her old man, because they had no children. So, we bunked down with them.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

The same participant also spoke of the varying labour jobs his father took to avoid the poverty trap, and the difficulties he had to travel to get paid. He told me:

Then my father started getting jobs working for the Lands and Survey where Kawerau is now that that was the land and survey block. In those days, he was fencing the drains, when he got paid, he had to travel to Hamilton. My brother Bob and I would go in the car to get his pay, because the bosses office was in Hamilton.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

Generally, the older generations spoke of the growing social issues of children not being raised in nurturing environments, and of the downward spiral in parental practices which had a contributing influence towards the educational success of their children, whilst living in the Te Teko and Kawerau communities.

Growing up in Te Teko it was a place that I suppose a pioneering place you know; a lot of people had just come back from the war and high incidence of drinking and a kind of rugged upbringing and people weren't, the Māori people weren't that well off you know and I think that became problematic for people like myself who were growing up because within left to our own devices as young people when you were young and having said that, the school here is most of the young people of Te Teko at that time were into all sorts of anti-social behaviour and things like that nature because there wasn't the real strong parental care I suppose you could say and so that is why a lot of us were made to fend for ourselves. Put it this way, many of the children were left at young ages by their parents at home and the parents would go

drinking, gambling and other kinds of activities. You had kids as young as 9, 10 looking after their siblings you know, younger and so I was left to look after my brother and sister and adopted sister. I would have been about 9, my brother 7, my sister 8 and the other one was about 5. So, it meant that I was the one to look after them because it was at the time, we had the 6 o'clock closing and everybody went partying and so the kids left behind. Hence, you had a lot of the kids around Te Teko who were getting into trouble. You know one of the things that I can recall now a lot of the kids were taken out of their homes and put into state care because of the lax parental care and I could remember a particular street that I used to live in, it was about 100 yards long, 20 kids from that one street were in the children's court, one time that I attended, my son was one but they all got into trouble, 20 kids in the street that had about seven houses, 8 houses, but you know we had big families, families of about 12 or 13. We were the smallest, we had about 5. I think 5 children in the house, and I think that social stratification of kids being at that age was a problem you know my brother and sister got into trouble they got into trouble. I don't know what happened, but I didn't get into trouble... Some families were able to surmount the barriers, but there were very few. Most of them succumbed to the perils and the other things that happened in Te Teko and probably I am talking not on Te Teko but the area in and around the environment of Te Teko. It was really harrowing for a lot of the people to see that we weren't getting the best deals, land deals and things like that and I think the after effect of what colonisation had done to the people was devastating. The welfare officers at the time, kept talking about the volume of kids getting into trouble in Te Teko was bad. But the same thing happened with the generation above who had come back from, you know a lot had come back from the war and they were used to drinking and all that kind of behaviour, and so Pākehā people looked at them and said the common thing for Māori was drinking and you know they were of little, they were directionless so it pervaded right through the whole community structure and to the societal structure of like right through for Māori people. I know in Ngā Maihi and around Te Teko it was very troubling, it caused a lot of concern for agencies that were looking after dislocated people, disenfranchised people and all the people that had, were involved in antisocial and criminal activities, it was rife.

(Matua - Ngāti Awa, 75-80 years old)

All the challenges really, because at the time when the mill was here there was a lot of jobs here for the people around here, they stayed here but as the technology came in, started shutting down paper machines and started losing jobs. And then the generator come up there were no jobs here and the people are moving away from town, from different places, you know to work and every now and again it was okay, now again they come home or they were glad to get home to the marae and all that but then it started to wane off a little bit aye, you know, like how it is now. People would go away, they dying to come back or when they come back things have changed, things not the same as they used to be how we used to enjoy ourselves, you know, and then from that generation down and then they started slowing down and then they started missing too. And of course, with what we did today time to sort of embrace them and just to come back to the marae.

(Koro (A) – NTKK, 73 years old)

Furthermore, land loss through the acquisition of Māori land during the 1953 and 1954 for the construction of Kawerau township and the Tasman Paper Pulp Mill, also added to the material poverty (loss of *kai* food supplies, and *kāinga* practices) which was prevalent within Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Consequently, *whānau* relied on wage labouring work outside their *kāinga*. Many of the narratives suggest that *whānau*, did not want to shift, however they were faced with making economic decisions to save their family because driven by material poverty. In Onepū, there was little work that was available in the area until the establishment of Tasman Paper Pulp Mill. These structural changes severely impacted on the personal self-concept and cultural identity of Māori and led to further cascading effects onto successive generations of *whānau* and the community. This is clear in the following participants' statements:

Onepū was a tight-knit community; the place was surrounded by big, huge gardens, marriages were cemented in those gardens, before everyone worked in their different pots, weeding and growing and as you do. The boys went into the bush and brought kai from the bush, pig, deer, tuna, eels, fish whatever. They brought it home for kai and they shared it, but everybody growing up in that family environment aye. Helping each other, lived in each other's houses, feed each other and you know extreme cases married each other. Well, my wife is from here it all happens. Now when the mill got built, suddenly those big gardens they found ohh I got a money, the big gardens disappeared into something just in the back of the backyard of the house. I don't need to be growing my food, I'm going to buy it at the supermarket in Te Teko or one near here. And all of a sudden, the whanaungatanga became ko au, ko toku nei whānau, mum, dad and the kids. Don't mind the fella across the fence, every man for themselves through Tasman who was feeding them. But that's what happened the big gardens disappeared. You know marriages, families were born from those gardens. You know the closeness, those connections suddenly because of the change of the environment, it separated. Worst case scenario now, a lot of us don't even live in Onepū They're either gone, cause there's nothing here for them. Nothing here for generations, or might I add, they'd join the other families that's here. That's called the Mongrel Mob. On one hand I take my hat off to them because at least they have given my nephews, my nieces, my aunties, even my uncles a family to connect to. Because a family they belong to out there, no longer wanted them or living a boozing domestic violence life, so on that note I take my hat off to the Mongrel Mob. The other part of it is I don't like their culture or their lifestyle because it actually destroying them, drugs, boozing, alcohol, crime because guess what 90 percent of those people that are a part of the Mongrel Mob family here like my sister's son, like a lot of my own cousins, first cousins, nephews and nieces at the moment are in jail because of that affiliation. My own son, I talked about him, you know he was an up and coming for me grooming him to be a leader of the people, now I don't know where he is, he's been in and out of jail and he has got tatoos across him.

(Matua (B)-NTKK, 55-65 years old)

There are needy people out there. I can remember once being told that somebody's freezer was turned off, they didn't have power had been cut off

or something, and they didn't know so I went down to, fortunately they were still delivering at that time. I just went down to the local shops ordered some stuff and sent it around there. They never knew when it came from. Yeah, you've got to be part of it, to know what's going on in your community. What are the struggles? I suppose in fact the struggle is no mahi. You know when the mill was built, the promise was that Māori would have jobs, aye? It was from Sir James Fletcher and that all our people would have job. And then the corporations came in and took over, and the corporate ideas came in and took over and it changed for our people. Our people were given mind you they were they didn't go for higher education and they just had the paper mill jobs, sawmill jobs, that timber yard jobs, driving tracks, but at least in the early days, your wages meant a lot. They created stuff for a lot of people they yeah. I mean we've had people out of here, there's only one I can think of immediately, no there are others, but they have done well for themselves really have done well and that's because parents wanted them to do well, wanted something better for them than they themselves.

(Kuia - NTKK, 73 years old)

The narratives suggested a deep sense of injustice held by participants regarding the impact of Tasman Mill's waste discharged into the Tarawera which effectively led to the eroding state of the *mauri* (life force) of the river, its traditional food sources and the Tarawera river's surrounding natural environment. A secondary effect of the loss of economic autonomy (using the land to create wealth and for living off), resulted in material poverty and the dependency of *whānau* on the settler government as wage labourers. This is noted particularly in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study narratives. Where participants make references to the impact of Tasman Paper Pulp Mill on themselves, their *whānau*, the community and on the natural environment (Tarawera river and its surroundings). This is illustrated in the narratives below:

In our line because we were part of Onepū, and a lot of that is our land, it was hearsay to that fella Fletcher himself, the old man Fletcher that he would give our people jobs, the ones from Onepū, and he said it to be by passed. It's a knowledge of bullshxt. The bullshxt we were talking about was Pākehā telling lies again, getting what they want and that's how they were gonna get it. In Onepū it does. But everyone in Onepū knows that if Fletcher wanted the mill and put up the mill, it was established that he would give generations of Onepū will be assured a job. Well after the first older lot. This one here, they're dead now. This lot as well as the ones that are dead, it's that lot I'm talking about.

(Whaea (B) – NTKK, 55-65 years old)

And that was the plan when the mill was first being planned by tangata whenua here. Yeah right back (1954), but I don't know to what part they've kept that promise, and that mill has changed hands now quite a few times. I've known since I was a kid. There's a lot of radicals over here saying fckx the Tasman workers, it's who you know not what you know, and I've lived here all my life. I knew it went down, out of the whenua package and the water quality. Oh yeah big changes. The life cycles of fish, it's just the quality

of the river, killing the kai, the paru of the water, you know. Certain parts from the black drain down. From the black drain Tasman was sending all their shxt over there. They got at least a bit of land at the back of Waitahanui Pā there. The Waitahanui Pā used to be sited there, that's where Tūwharetoa.

(Whaea (C) – NTKK, 44 years old)

Another issue raised by one participant was the impact of the changing ownership of the mill. What support systems were available, were no longer viable for the next generations of workers, which further added to the perpetuation of subalternisation and marginalising of Māori. This is illustrated in the narratives below:

Once they sold to foreigners, yeah things weren't the same anymore because okay so number of years now, but when Tasman had the mill, you had a Māori welfare officer in there and he sought the needs, if there was a tangi he was there to help them organize it, sorted out the marae and all that. We don't have that anymore. You do it on your own, you're working for yourself bro.

(Kuia) – NTKK, 73 years old)

Many participants of both case studies indicated in their narratives a cascading effect of material poverty describing emotional responses such as *mamae* (feeling hurt), or *riri* (be angry), inferiority, shame, and powerlessness for being poor and having to further go to school without the basic necessities:

I always felt inferior at school. I was always shy to talk, shy to stick up for myself. I felt inferior in lots of ways being poor, we had no water and no power, and you couldn't be as clean as you would have liked to, but Mum always sent us to school.

(Nan - Ngāti Awa, 75 years old)

I started schooling in Te Teko and from then we shifted here to Onepū. I started school at Onepū Mission School. Coming to school as a little boy, we had nothing, no shoes, and then my Auntie use to carry me, you know, we used to cry too cold.

(Koro (A) – NTKK, 73 years old)

They didn't like wearing their undies or their champion flower bag things. That's their underwear, they made flower sacks, they designed their flower sacks to undies and you always knew you had that type of family because when you went to cart roll or jump up and down and your skirt would jump up and you'll see champion stamp on your bum when they jumped and their clothes flew up.

(Whaea (C) – NTKK, 44 years old)

The impact of gangs and the role they have played in the Kawerau/Onepū community was expressed in general by the participants. The breakdown in families have led some *whānau* to gangs because of their unresolved grief and anger held against *whānau*. This statement

shares the problem with gangs, drug use and selling on the community and particularly, how it impacts on nurturing safe and secure environments for *tamariki* to grow up in:

Gangs are the only things for our kids literally gangs, and if you ask a lot of people why they join in the gangs, they'll tell you because it's my family. What do you mean? You got a family, yeah, nah. So, knowing their background is another issue is wow, how were you brought up? If you think a gang is your family, you're too good to have a family, what was it that your family wasn't doing for you? And a lot of it was to do with I had to do what they said, and if I did it this was or my way it was wrong, aye? If I did it my way, I was wrong. It's started to come in, only because they started a crackdown on the gangs for the P, but who said it was only gang members selling P. A lot of the thing with the P, that gangs being involved in the P is, well we all know that they were selling it... We only had cannabis which I'm glad we bloody did, because today's shxt that they got today is a killer

(Whaea (C) – NTKK, 44 years old)

Most participants discussed the widespread of poverty in the community, such as overcrowding in homes and heavy reliance on WINZ payments to live. The hardship and a sense of desperation was heard through the narratives. In some instances, *whānau* have not had equal opportunities and footings, to access to higher education, because of Western privileging inherent in government legislation, that has also subalternised Māori through ongoing disenfranchisement. This is particularly, in utilising Māori land to build *kāinga* on when it is in a trust. Often, in cases relating to *whenua* can cause tension and resentment within *whānau*. Other participants shared that some *whānau* were unable to break the poverty cycle and their difficult situations and challenges further perpetuated into the next successive generation of *whānau*. These quotes from the participants' narratives reflect these complexities faced by *whānau* in both case studies:

Whānau and iwi are supposed to come together if there is a kaupapa happening at the marae, at the where we are all together. But I found over the years there are a lot of insider fighting amongst the iwi, the hapū especially when there is hui about the whenua. You find that there are certain splits within a whānau, a hapū, a iwi there are members of the whānau, the hapū, the iwi who class themselves higher than others and we should all be striving towards the one purpose, the same purpose. So, I distance myself from going to any hui especially, to do with whenua. My mum always said to me, be happy with your quarter acre that you have got. My mum has got heaps of whenua here, she got heaps of whenua in Tūhoe, Taupō, same as my father has got heaps of whenua here, Matata and I tell my siblings that no you go, you go and do what you want to do. I'll just stay out of it; I am happy with the quarter acre I'm living on.

(Matua (A)-NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Well the biggest challenge is employment. There are no jobs here, our young are not preparing themselves for jobs in the way of skills through training or going to university to upskill and get degrees that will help them get a better

opportunity for jobs. It's getting them into that mindset to continue because some of them they would make it to intermediate or to Junior High, some of them become young mums or gang members at Junior High and so become unemployable because they started getting on the wrong side of the law. Through I might add, well you could say no fault of their own or boy that could be most cases. So that's a challenge, education, jobs in this place Uncle Tasman, and everybody went to Uncle Tasman. In fact, back in the 60s, 70s, maybe nearly 80s still was a probably just a handful that were unemployed here, now its al changed because of economics and whatever and nobody buys papers anymore, they're all these things...So plenty of education opportunity here, but our children are not sort of jumping into that and of course because of the disintegration of families, they are losing their touch with their Tūwharetoaanga.

(Matua (B)-NTKK, 55-65 years old)

From a personal opinion, but you hear at the marae they bring concerns, our committee, some of the committee bring concerns of people that have got no food, people who have no clothes within Te Teko and even Kawerau got no homes, some of them are staying with you know four. I think two Mapou families staying with two families in Kawerau here. They got evicted from the house they were in Whakatāne for whatever reason. Yeah housing is a concern and I used to think people are not knowledgeable enough to go and ask for assistance and that, but I have since found out personally that our younger generation are more clued up than us in working the systems like WINZ and stuff like that. The only thing they lack is being honest with the whānau on what they are actually doing because one of my sisters, she was utilising the WINZ, and my sister and her daughter, the daughter was collecting four different WINZ payments, 1 from Hamilton, 1 from Auckland another from Taumaranui I think and it was only one of my sisters sort caught on to the pattern, why are you going to, and different friends would say oh she is staying with us over here and then they found out that she only stays there for 3 or 4 days until she collects her money. So, my sister reported her. She is not the only one that can utilise, manipulate the things. There are ones like the grand-nephew, asked our other whānau if he could build a house on a piece of land and they said no because you are not, when he came to ask me, I said it belongs to all of us. I can't see why not but then the different ones within the whānau have got different uses for what they going to use the land for and I said well, but since then, the land has been put into one big trust and it has to go through a process.

(Koro (C) - Ngāti Awa, 70 years old)

The general consensus of *whānau* from both case studies of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa indicates that material poverty from the older generation, down to the next two younger generations had increased overtime. Some of the participants also referred to the impact of historical land alienation on their psyche, that in turn, has impacted in unresolved grief and anger over resentment of *whānau* becoming greedy with gaining succession to *tūpuna* or parents Māori land. The effects of this severe deprivation are possibly being passed onto further successive generations. *Whānau* participants noted this in their narratives and shared similar perspectives that it is now more difficult for *whānau* to access home ownership, provide a nurturing home and community environment, access quality education in mainstream

schools and secure employment in their local communities. Participants also noted the economic pressure to leave Kawerau to access employment outside their *papakāinga* (original home). These statements below reflect these struggles of the people:

Having a lack of work or homes. I mean having work. So, for whānau, where do they go for work if they can't get it here in Kawerau. It's kiwifruit, it's orchard, it's seasonal...leave to go to Te Puke, Rotorua.

(Whaea (A)-NTKK, Under 40s)

... Poverty is one of our majors because if you got no money you are going to turn to crime, your gonna turn to selling P, drugs, any drug even if it's a money drug, it's money. And to me it's the Pākehā who taught us that, because now it's becoming a generation of because of everything being so dear, people will go back to the days of the old and making up gardens".

(Whaea (B) – NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Yeah social demographics around here, if you're not in a gang, you're on P, if you're not on P, you're an alcoholic or synnies out or dole bludger, that's real stereotypical, that's real stereotypical thoughts from people who don't live here. Yeah, okay I agree we've changed as a community we're not as tight as we used to be. Economics has a lot to do with it...But I can say for myself that whānau's got a lot of personal issues. They collected through the land and then again, they're connection can also be positive and negative. Somebody stole something or somebody's manipulated the land called to do this and that you know. So, my nan and koro's had a lot of bxtching and fighting, I never went into it because one of my things I was told was don't fight over land it'll be there long before you're long gone oh true? And so, you get so far you just don't want to push it anymore. There's a lot of I don't know historical grievances that haven't been sorted within whānau, within the land.

(Whaea (C) – NTKK, 44 years old)

For the Ngāti Awa case study, only two of the *whānau* participants expressed it was quite difficult for *whānau* to provide a nurturing *whānau* environment because of the way the community was at the time. While for the younger generations, actual referencing to this were not as common as they were for older generations. The narrative from a younger *whānau* participant, did not reference material poverty or speak of having experienced any difficulties as mentioned by her *koro* and mother, when they either grew up in Te Teko or in urban centres. As this participant told me:

I don't know we have kind of grown-up middle class, so we haven't had true challenges and struggles.

(Mokopuna - Ngāti Awa, Under 30s)

The changes that were made by the two older generations (*whānau* participants) had created a nurturing home environment and positively transformed their *whānau* pathway through experiencing success in education. They were able to successfully participate in higher

education and being the first in their *whānau* to successfully complete postgraduate qualifications. This is explained by one participant in the following statement:

Yeah, I've spoken to dad quite a bit about his schooling, because my dad would have been considered back in the day to be a bit of a nerd. You know amongst his peers at Te Teko. He loved school. He loved learning. My father went to University, I remember this, but when we lived in Wellington, he went to Victoria University. I remember him studying and that's why I think sometimes about the home environment has, my father has always been my ear. So, my father studied stuff, writing stuff and that was my upbringing. Because of the type of conversations that we talked about now, it's a mutual love of learning, research, knowledge all that kind of stuff that started when we were young has come through now, and like for my brothers and sisters, we all sort of have the same kind of quest for knowledge and stuff like that.
(Whaea - Ngāti Awa, 35-55 years old)

Following on with similar problems, participants touched on the impact of drugs and involvement of gangs affecting *whānau* being able to provide a nurturing home environment for *tamariki* to grow up in the Te Teko community and consequently, impacting on successive generations of *whānau* who choose to live there in the future. This participant's narrative is illustrated in his statement below:

Well the biggest problem is to turn people away from looking inwards, becoming insular and to look globally and I think that is the biggest problem for say people who are, like Te Teko, the biggest thing for them now is how can I get the best deal for methamphetamines you know this is a big problem. Okay, I can't sell in Te Teko so what do I do, they have just emptied Kawerau so we will take it from Kawerau, but what they do realise is that the Comancheros are coming from Australia and they are going to take it over from them so you have to think globally so that is what is happening and they don't think about that, they only think about okay I'll only get a small one. I am not saying that you join the Comancheros but if you start thinking broadly and it's good to see that there are people who are now embarking doing doctorates and things like that you expand but what we have to do now is the expansion of the knowledge and bring it down you know I think a doctorate takes a small thing and tries to expand it from there. We've got big problems and I have just quoted you know the problem of looking at we have a big problem, the big Comancheros coming over to take over methamphetamines in Te Teko.

(Matua - Ngāti Awa, 75-80 years old)

On a positive note, one of the *whānau* participants acknowledge how the love of reading has been passed on from one generation to the next generation, then on to subsequent generations. The participant also speaks of the transformative changes that have occurred in her own *whānau* which she believes was a legacy left by her nan, then continued on by her father to give his children and their children the best education possible as part of being able to flourish as a *whānau*. This is best seen in the statement below:

I found out my nan, from my Rangiwewehi side, my nan was an avid book reader, like just gobble them up and that's actually come through all of us, but my father is an avid book reader. I am, and my daughter is. And when I say avid, I mean to the point of a book a day, but it's not all that academic stuff we'll just read just about anything and yeah that comes from Nan. My nan she may not have gone through the whole schooling process or everything, but I spoke to my father about that and he said his mum was very quick witted, bright and loved to read. And he said and given a different time or experience, more than likely she would have gone to university, but in her day and age it was children, it was labour, it was you know labour type work, but she worked at Tasman Pulp and Paper Mill, but in a different environment she probably would have gone to university. She probably would have got a degree or something, but it was just of that time she didn't. Yes, things had been different. So, you know, you can just whakapapa back that love of learning and knowledge right back to nan.

(Whaea - Ngāti Awa, 35-55 years old)

Survival of *te reo Māori*, and *mātauranga Māori* (*whakapapa* and *whānau* histories) across successive generations of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*

Across the narratives, fear of the loss of *te reo Māori* for ever, is clearly presented. These views are frequently articulated in combination of the fear for the loss of *whakapapa* and *whānau* knowledge related to their *tūpuna* across successive generations of *whānau*, which also can further isolate future generations, if this knowledge is not passed on within the *whānau* and *hapū*. These sentiments are acknowledged by the following participants:

The biggest problem inaianei is the loss of the language, ko te reo anō te timatanga, ka kore te reo ahuatanga a tikanga.... So that is the biggest challenge now is to make sure our reo survives and with the survival of the reo. Hopefully, ngā ahuatanga, ngā mātauranga, ngā kaupapa, ngā tikanga o tātou mātou tipuna.

(Koro (D)-NA, 85 years old)

"It was actually after witnessing two family members have a stupid argument about Tūwharetoa, what he was famous for and what he wasn't, and just listening to this argument about them having about land, this whānau stole this land from us and we will never get it back. I was listening and not knowing anything. What land are you talking about?"

(Whaea (C)-NTKK, 44 years old)

Well the biggest challenge and I believe is we need to be much more familiar with our Ngāti Awatanga, what makes us Ngāti Awa and so on. So that they are comfortable even though you're Ngāti Awa I would say at this point while we are sitting here up to 80 percent of our Ngāti Awa people do not know how to describe what makes them Ngāti Awa and why Ngāti Awa's special, not because they are deliberately English, it's just never been instilled in their minds that it is an important for them to know what they're talking about when they talk Ngāti Awa, otherwise they lose all the Ngāti Awa and within the wider panel. But it's all part of them, but they need to be more specific what makes them, what is important aspects of their Ngāti Awatanga, to us of

course is *whakapapa*. I'm also a firm believer that we need to know the stories about what those people, what Wairaka did and those key figure in our Ngāti Awa history and Toroa for example. Very few people know what he actually did, the Ngāti Awa know in detail what he actually did or did not do. You know it's the little stories, you know like *Te Awa o te Atua*. The river there was menstruating. Well to me that's actually a good story because it signifies that it was something important. Like menstruating and what's happening, and it was commemorated in the name of that our coming out because it was only a small creek, it's not even the river. *Te Awa o te Atua* and little things like that Toroa knew, the other story was and I told you about *Te Haehaenga* where I started school. What happened was in *Te Arawa* was *Te Atua o te Atua* a bombed down and by that time the *tohunga*, *Ngatoirangi* had taking off *kua riro au ki te tonga*, he told *te kapua*, heading down to *Tūwharetoa* where he settled to the *Tongariro*, *kua riro au kit e Tonga*, so they got the canoe and it was stuck fast so *Tukunana Karere* to ask *Ngatoirangi* to come back and *karakia* the *waka* out, and his reply to *na karere* was *Kareta* you can't come back, *ko haehae tō*, he had already lacerated his feet in sadness for leaving and how sadness was expressed in those days, you cut your face, *ko haehae i koia* and then he said a very black magic thing as far as our Ngāti Awa side goes, he said *Na karere* the messenger who were there to try and talk him into coming back. Go and check Toroa your brother and that Toroa went over and *un-karakia* the *waka* out and it was free but it's horribly helling.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

The loss of *te reo Māori* and *whakapapa* and *whānau* knowledge through the schooling system was reverberated frequently through the narratives. The assimilative pressure to conform created much discomfort for *whānau* and *tamariki Māori*. This suffering is noted in the declining numbers of fluent native speakers of *te reo Māori* resulting from the extensive covert assimilative policies which were pushed through education legislation and embedded into the mission schools and native schooling system. This is outlined in the following statement:

The tragedy of loss of body language for my parents. They were told not to speak Māori, not to be Māori and words like that. They got told nah go home and ask your parent... Bud sadly they were brought up in a transition where they were told not to be Māori, not to talk Māori and they didn't learn anything.

(Whaea (C) - NTKK, 44 years old)

Several generations of Māori suffered because of the monolingual approach and antagonistic school environments where Māori culture was severely attacked by teachers, principals and Pākehā students and their families as being subservient to their culture. This attitude further subjugated Māori and made them feel inadequate and worthless. Within the hierarchical structures of the education system, this colonial attitude to Māori was further perpetuated by Pākehā Native School Inspectors and politicians, who took coercive actions to ensure that Māori stayed uneducated and men with men in manual labouring jobs and women as housewives. However, in some cases not all participants felt that this was their journey and

pursued other opportunities to get out of the conundrum that most *whānau* were living in Te Teko. This is discussed in the following narrative:

I felt out of place because everybody had known their surrounds and were fitting in and everything here, I was brand new. They had an interview with me to see what class they were going to put me in. Maths was good, English I was just out of my depth and they said to me what was my father's employment, oh occupation, what was your father's occupation. I never had heard the word before, and I said what is occupation. They said work, he works on the railway line and they milk the cows and I felt just terrible. They put me into 3G1 and it took me 6 months to find out that 3G1 was the top class of the general...But anyway I struggled through school and after I finished school I wanted to go teaching and I knew we had no money to buy me clothes or to set me up, I didn't even know how to find out how to get into teaching, they didn't have any assistance for asking me people what I wanted to do, assist people into what they wanted to do. So I can home and I really wanted to do teaching and dad was only working and they didn't have much money and there were 10 of us and I thought oh well and I stayed home from November/December to May and I use to go down and get the bread and help mum milk the cows and then I went down to get the bread one day and my friend said, what are you doing? And I said nothing, and she said shall we go nursing and I said where and she said look, look she had an ad in the Herald and it said nurses wanted, hospital it was a mental hospital. I didn't even know how to say psychiatric and I said but anyway I said yeah. You have accommodation free, uniforms free, 6 pound a week, wow dad was earning 8 pounds on the railways to feed a family of 10 and I thought that is rich 6 pound a week and free uniform, so I didn't have to buy any clothes.

(Nan) - Ngāti Awa, 75 years old)

The consequence of the past, through the banning of *te reo Māori* in schools has also contributed to the decline of speakers on the *paepae* in Ngāti Awa. During the isolation and integration periods, a significant loss of knowledge occurred in practices connected to roles on the *marae* and to *tikanga* related to cultural events such as *tangihanga*; knowledge which was generally handed down from one generation to the next generation. This is illustrated in the following narrative:

I don't know what it is but Ngāti Awa itself in Whakatāne have a huge problem with their speakers on the pae. Out of the 20 odd, not 20, 15 or something marae, they would only be a dozen speakers. So consequently, there are marae down there that don't have speakers, so speakers from other marae have to go and speak for them. How do I know because it comes up time and time again at our kaumatua hui which I go to very often, very seldom do I miss. So, I understand the consequences of the marae and why people are not going back, especially tangihanga. They are starting to find it expensive, so they are taking their tūpāpaku to their house and doing the tangihanga there. The Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa are trying their best to keep these marae going but unless they can their rangatahi back, it is very difficult. Okay, they do have wananga and people going along to them, but you never see them gain. Ka pai.

(Koro (A) - Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

The struggles for whānau within Ngāti Awa probably would be our numbers in speaking te reo and is really a struggle and it's going to be a challenge because the more we get of our Ngāti Awa people to speak te reo Māori would be good because we don't have enough there speaking so that would be a definite challenge and the other thing would be a struggle is, I don't think it would be just for Ngāti Awa to be honest, I think it be for marae it is the people on pae that is a real struggle for us because we don't have the generations coming through to sit on the pae. We seem to be doing alright with the younger generation in looking after our whare kai, but for the pae and the orators we don't we are struggling very in that area and it's a difficult one too because I think what is going to affect us a lot in Maoridom, is tuakan-teina, the gap, you know you have this gap here you have got the tamariki here going to kōhanga reo and they are doing really good and becoming orators in te reo Māori and then you have the older generation here who are passing on, but you have this generation in the middle that don't have the reo and what is happening is that those in the middle are not going to be able to be on the pae and is going to be a struggle and challenge on how we change, we need to be the ones. If teinas are the ones who have the reo and can do the korero but they cannot come before the tuakana so it is a real struggle on how we make it happen and we will make it happen.

(Aunty - Ngāti Awa, 55-65 years old)

Question 10 asked the participants to share their perspectives on the following: In your opinion, are *tamariki Māori* well supported and set up for educational success in mainstream schooling by *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*?

Table 37:

Ngāti Awa discourses on support mechanisms for nurturing educational success within whānau, hapū and iwi

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on support mechanisms		
Varied support amongst whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being supported by extended whānau; • Being nurtured and guided by kuia, female sides of the family; • Influence of grandparents in the transmission of whānau values, whakapapa and knowledge; • The important role of kaumātua in schools; • Not much role-models within hapū; • Uncertainty of any support for tamariki; • Focused parents supporting tamariki in school; & • Decisions made to send children to secondary boarding school for better education. 	9	Promote and strengthen educational success amongst whānau and hapū
Need better support systems within education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need more financial support for families; • Feeling alienated within education system because of teachers' unconscious bias towards Māori; • Deficit theorising of Māori students; • Not set up within mainstream schools for educational success; & • Too much theorising of Māori by Pākehā. 	5	
Indicators of success as Māori: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing up through the ranks with your people; • Actively involved in iwi; • Advancement of Māori-members of hapori, & hapū achieving success in higher education; & • Strong emphasis on succeeding in Māori world in Māori medium schooling. 	3	
Māori land trusts supporting whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tertiary education grants; & • Tertiary and Vocational scholarships. 	2	
TOTAL	19	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Table 38:

Ngāti Tūwharetoa discourses on support mechanisms for nurturing educational success within whānau, hapū and iwi

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on support mechanisms		
Supporting tamariki and rangatahi in schools: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Role of kaumātua in schools; • Establishing strong foundations of Māori language and knowledge within Kōhanga; • Whānau representation on schools' Boards of Trustees; • Whānau representation on local iwi settlement trust/committees; • Whānau setting high expectations, aspiring for children to do well; • Strong parental involvement in nurturing child in loving home environment; • Strong whānau leadership by parents; • Collective approach to supporting tamariki and rangatahi (marae involvement, Tūwharetoa leaders); & • Iwi financial support through education grants (kōhanga, kaumātua, tertiary, sporting, scholarships for vocational education). 	10	
Need better support systems within whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need more financial support for families; • More conscious effort of whānau to be involved in child/rens education; • Becoming involved in schools after children have left; & • Variance in level of whānau support in children/s' education. 	4	
Need better support systems within mainstream schools for Māori learners: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Design school curriculum to reflect cultural components connected to Tūwharetoatanga (Kawerau); & • Conscious awakening needed by educators and educational leaders to practice being equal partners with Māori students and their whānau. 	3	
Better support systems in kura kaupapa-Māori medium schools: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More whānau orientated; & • Collective approach instead of an individualistic approach to life. 	2	
TOTAL	19	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 10:

Support mechanisms for nurturing educational success within *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*

Question ten asked the participants their views on if they thought *tamariki* Māori were well supported and set up for educational success in mainstream schooling by *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. In both case studies, a total number of 19 responses were identified. For the Ngāti Awa case study four main discourses emerged from the participants' narratives. These were:

- Varied support amongst *whānau*
- Need better support systems within education
- Indicators of success as Māori
- Māori land trusts supporting *whānau*

For the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study four main discourses emerged from the participants' narratives. These were:

- Supporting *tamariki* and *rangatahi* in schools
- Need better support systems within *whānau*
- Need better support systems within mainstream schools for Māori learners
- Better support systems in *kura kaupapa* Māori-medium schools.

What is evident from these two case studies is the varied support that is available from some *whānau*, situated in Ngāti Awa. Overall, the participants' felt parents had to grow their minds and capabilities, so that could become the strong leaders and role-models their children and *whānau* needed. The narratives revealed that parents who could provide safe and inclusive home environments, further enhanced the growth of their *tamariki*, which increased their abilities to succeed at school. This conscientisation of *whānau* and a need for schools to involve their students' *kaumātua* came across strongly in the narratives:

I think that the schools need to bring in kaumātua to help out and there are plenty of kaumātua out there that are willing to share their knowledge even if it is a couple of hours a week. The reason I say that is because my moko in Perth they have a Māori person there, full time and in Perth. He is there full-time, he takes as much as he knows, he brings in personnel and teaches them kapahaka, but I don't see it in the schools here in New Zealand. It is very strange, and he is a Māori guy in Perth.

(Koro (A) - Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

I am not sure that our tamariki get that support they need from outside the school itself.

(Koro (D) - Ngāti Awa, 85 + years old)

Furthermore, the narratives from Ngāti Tūwharetoa also revealed that both schools and *whānau* contributed to the educational success *tamariki Māori* and in some cases, *whānau* needed to step up and support their *tamariki* better by reflecting on how well they provided a nurturing home environment, which included teaching *te reo* and aspects of *tikanga* and where schools needed to better cater for preferred ways of teaching and learning for Māori students. As this participant highlighted in their statement:

Now what about we all have different ways of nurturing our own people, our children, even some of our grown-ups have to parent, can't do more to what I see, I think it's the parent that want teaching not the Kōhanga. They smart, we got some smart kids but for some reason I'm not participating at all in the teaching it, but I feel the teaching of young children should be in the practical sense as far as the reo, or the reo is concerned but not so much paperwork. Paperwork is alright if they want to, if they want to do paperwork. But for their own gain in the practical sense, I would say that they will gain more, more so the reo, the kōrero, to kōrero the reo, teaching the reo by the book is not very good. The difference between teaching to me, teaching from the book and teaching in the practical sense is everything will come from your head and your mouth. Whereas in the physical sense. It'll come straight from here (pointing to heart) to your mouth if you understand.

(Koro (B)- NTKK, 84 years old)

Arguably, for another participant from Ngāti Tūwharetoa, they were not so convinced of the ability of mainstream schools to address historical issues because of their experiences of being situated in culturally unresponsive learning environments and professional awareness of how unresponsive environments impeded *tamariki Māori* to academically succeed and personally grow in. The participant was more convinced that *kura kaupapa* provided the learning environment that catered for *tamariki* to succeed in as Māori, than mainstream schools. This is illustrated in her quote:

No. They're set up to fail. In mainstream, they're set up to fail. I would really suggest that our whānau, hapū and iwi, if they really want to know Māori, they start looking at a kura kaupapa now. They have become more accessible, more normal to go to kura kaupapa now. My suggestion would be kura kaupapa Māori, mainstream setting you up to fail as Māori.

(Whaea (C)- NTKK, 44 years old)

During the *kōrero* with Whaea (C), she also gave her perspective of what she thought schools are doing, which is setting Māori up to fail. Her statement highlights that Māori students, often face the unconscious bias of educators and experience personal racism, that often makes Māori students feel undervalued, this often adds to fragmenting of their self-concept and marginalisation as Māori.

You're the brown face at the table, you're if they give you a little bit of competency in Māori just to tick the Māori box to learn Māori. This is where the downfall is for mainstream, for Māori you have to learn Māori, feel Māori, eat Māori, you have to walk Māori, you have to touch Māori. Mainstream they're Maths, English, Science. Māori Maths, English, Science is done in a different way, no longer conformed to being mainstream and be little soldiers. The new way of kura kaupapa is adapting our way of learning our natural tutu whilst learning and goal orientated way, instead of generically, you know, learning a whole years of English and you want to be a mechanic yeha.

(Whaea (C)- NTKK, 44 years old)

Additionally, other participants from Ngāti Tūwharetoa, stated strong support was provided by some *kaumatua* and *kuia* and the *iwi* settlement trust did provide financial and pastoral support for *tamariki* and *rangatahi* in mainstream schools in Kawerau. Greater *whānau* representation in leadership roles, such as school trustees and local councillors, provided a Māori voice to issues that concerned *tamariki* and *rangatahi* educational success in the Kawerau. As this narrative illustrates:

Yes, I will say that yes. They are, however adding to that it could be better. But yes, they're very supportive in the mainstream. My uncle for example, younger brother here is a kaumatua at our Tarawera High and it's really neat because a lot of our mokopuna, his mokopuna, nephews and nieces go to that school. A lot of whānau are on the Board of Trustees in the mainstream schools here and that's exciting stuff, because there didn't use to be. Waste of time Pākehā world, but now they're starting to get involved. This entity, the Settlement Trust supports a lot of mainstream schools and they might provide them a scholarship or something or something to help the kids which they've done, which they're doing. At the moment for our own people and that's fine, but it shows that support, but the support is also in the community because it's a power. This place, this is Tūwharetoa, you know so that's happening and it's getting stronger. I'm always saying it could be better.

(Matua (B) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Further *kōrero* with one of the community participant's from Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study, I asked the participant how could it be better? What could some of those things be that could make things better? This participant noted a general feeling from within all the narratives that more localising of the school curriculum was needed to enhance the learning environment for *tamariki* and *rangatahi*. This is illustrated in the following statement, where the participant is describing how schools could personalise the curriculum to reflect the community and the strong cultural values and history of Ngāti Tūwharetoa in Kawerau and Onepū:

Yep for me it's about learning, allowing, making or allowing the curriculum to reflect their local history, let alone national Māori history about allowing it, and I think that should happen because it also makes the community a part

of this community, the Māori community about learning, heck that history that's surrounds us. Let's make that a part of our curriculum somehow. Or taking the schools out on a journey, you know what I'm saying? Because a lot of these mainstream schools there's Kawerau South School, Kawerau Putauaki School is mainstream, and how you're saying to them and the college, the high school, have you guys been over to Waitahuna? Have you had a marae stayover at Hahuru marae? Why not? You're living amongst the local people, why not? Wouldn't it be beneficial for your students to understand that and know about that?

(Matua (B) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

The frustration felt by one participant who attended a Native/Māori school was experiencing discrimination as a young Māori student. Those students in Māori schools did not have the same treatment as the children who attended Pākehā public schools. This participant speaks of the discrimination he faced at school, describing the unfair access he had to school books in comparison to those students who went to Pākehā public schools. This type of action further marginalised Māori and would have had a detrimental impact on their educational success:

Well based on my personal experience I believe I was well supported but I can't really, I'm not comfortable with thinking that everybody had the same treatment that I had I suspect not and I think where we were lucky I think, and my partner we always had to work, you know in the gardens and weeding the watermelon and kamokamo. So, any spare time we were supposed to be out with our heiti top with our garden whole weeding. Unless you had homework. Of course. I had a lot of homework. So, I dodged the work to my brother, younger brother's consternation, but I still share but you know, I gave an excuse to do my school homework because it's part of the going to high school. The Māori schools didn't have any such thing as homework. You weren't even allowed to take your books home, so you missed all that extra work which the Pakeha schools were getting from there. So, I think to that extent we were greatly disadvantaged.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

The older generations of Ngāti Awa noted there was far greater emphasis on supporting adults than *rangatahi*, this has implications for successive generations perceptions of the value of education. This participate illustrates this:

I believe although we have our wānanga Aotearoa, Awanuiārangi, it is not enough, it is mainly for adults. There doesn't seem to be anything for the younger generation or the rangatahi, it's that in between thing that's not available.

(Koro (A) - Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

Generally, those participants who valued education, noted that strong parenting involvement in their *tamariki* education alongside providing a positive home environment, ensured their

tamariki were well set up for success to become active lifelong learners. This statement acknowledges these sentiments from both case studies:

In my personal experience, and from some of my immediate whānau you have got young ones, I think so. But I think it is more around the parents. The parents are focused on ensuring their kids do well in education, so I think they are more proactive too and they are at the schools if their children are not doing well or are slipping in their reports and they want to know why, they are very proactive parents and they also decided the best option for their children is to send them away to boarding school and that is what they have done well. I think it has got to be support of the parents and whānau how they help their child to succeed to be honest.

(Aunty - Ngāti Awa, 55-65 years old)

Yes, I do think that there's a lot of support out there for them, but it's not really structured for them to know that they can access it.

(Aunty - NTKK, 65-75 years old)

It was clear from the participants narratives that financial support from *iwi* organisations and Māori land trusts was transforming the lives of Māori students. Education grants provided by the *iwi* not only helped students access higher education, also gave *whānau* a sense of pride and empowered them to become more involved with their children or *mokopuna*['s] education journey. This is illustrated in the following statement:

Yes and no. I am saying yes and no because I am only just been made aware of say our iwi goes, and like Ngāti Awa, they have grants, not much they are grants to help our kids' education wise and then you get some trusts who do help some kids in tertiary education and now it is just a matter of us making ourselves aware.

(Koro (C) - Ngāti Awa, 70 years old)

Yeah, they have a lot more opportunities. Yeah, they have access to grants.

(Whaea (A) - NTKK, Under 40s-year-old)

It is evident from the *whānau* participants narratives from Ngāti Awa, that more resourcing is needed in mainstream schools to support Māori students and their *whānau*. In some instances, participants also reflected on how the home environment and parenting made a difference in their child's or children's preparation for school. Other factors identified included the impact of unconscious bias of educators and deficit theorising on Māori students impacted on their self-concept:

Yeah, I think Ngāti Awa as an iwi are doing really those education grants and stuff like that to support us. I mean those have been around for a long time so that's cool. I don't know if we are fully set-up for success in mainstream. I mean the focus now is on puna reo and kura kaupapa and though that is

cool, sometimes a lot of focus is on just succeeding in the Māori world which doesn't mean you are necessarily mainstream.

(Moko - Ngāti Awa, Under 30s)

I'm of a great position as a mother to have had a child go all the way kura kaupapa from Kōhanga Reo to Kura Kaupapa and then I've had my other child go kura kaupapa up until 11 and then go to mainstream. So, I think 12, so I can actually talk about how mainstream went and how kura kaupapa went and depending on you, because it's nature of the child to what they need, what they want from school, what they think school is about versus what you know it's about, that kind of conflict. So, my kura kaupapa child is easy, she's really easy. She loved kura kaupapa, she loved the friends, she loved the supportive environment, and because she knew nothing else but te reo and all that. I don't even think she thought that part of it was different from mainstream. It was only a small school, but she did very well and she's very bright. See both my children were brought up with a mother, because I studied in my thirties. So, they were all in their formative years, they've only known me to study so, bachelors, masters, PhD, in between research. So, it's all they've known, so they've been around conversations, academic type conversations because it's the nature of what I do. They don't always engage with me and those kinds of conversations because you know who wants to talk about you know colonialism and all that kind of stuff when you could play, Play Station, so my children are both aware of the importance of education and how much it meant to me. My daughter's kura kaupapa, sweet as fine. No problems, she loved it...My son not so, but there's a lot of factors that have want for better word impeded his journey to success at school. So, number one he's a boy. So, boys are different to girls and this is my opinion, boys are different to girls when it comes to school in expectations and abilities. He was an only boy for me. So, there was always conflicts about I was a solo mum. So, there's always conflict about him being the only boy in a woman household and all those kinds of things, let alone trying to get him to school and get him to learn and get him to do all that kind of stuff. And he went to kura kaupapa before he went into mainstream. So, all those factors; him being a boy, him sort of not being happy surrounded by women (those are his words) and having gone through kura kaupapa, the moment he sat down in a mainstream school, like myself when I went to Epsom Girls, it was here's a dumb Māori boy. He's not, he's put him in the lowest class. He can't learn, he's too hoha, he's too mischief. Having said that some of it is true, because my son could not sit still. He was just too much. He's too much for me and he's too much for them. Kura kaupapa was so supportive, it mattered but it didn't matter that he was like that, that was the good thing about kura kaupapa but the problem is by the time he went into mainstream some of his behaviour was just too much in progress, some of his rebellion, some of this I'm not going to sit and listen to you, your whatever you know, so he had trouble, trouble from the moment he sat down, so he was on daily report, he was wagging school. He was like all those things my son, he put me through the wringer. We laugh about it now, but oh my gosh, he just gave me such a hard time, but I went and visited his teachers, you know because me being me going through my educational journey, I was like the warrior mum, I'll go down that school what are you doing? What are you teaching? Why don't you do this? Usually why you're just putting this Māori, you're putting him in the dumb corner, like put him in a chair and turn him around and get him to face the corner. What are you guys doing with him? So, I had to calm myself down and see how we can work out, lucky enough for my son had a teacher

that saw past his rebellious little hoha all these sorts of things that he displayed in a classroom and we meet several times I met with his teacher. She made a really big effort to talk to my son about what he was doing or why he was doing it you know...She established a good one on one relationship.
(Whaea - Ngāti Awa, 35-55 years old)

You see, it is all very well if you come from a world of academia and the world of academia. Academia intellectualises what is happening, okay, theories, theorists rationalise it but that doesn't fix the people who are personalising it and doing it and there is our problem. Sometimes we are all around there and we are not the nexus of the problem. What we are doing is intellectualising it and theorising it and rationalising it whereas we should be personalising it. You see if we are talking about what we do about those kids then we need to look at what is their world, how do they see the world and I think too many academics and theorists do not, like I said, like Rangihau said sit in the world and see what they see, that is not empathising with them, that's just being compassionate.

(Matua - Ngāti Awa, 75-80 years old)

A key point raised in the narratives from Ngāti Tūwharetoa was the impact of positing Western knowledge over Māori pedagogies of teaching and learning in mainstream schooling. Participants believed mainstream schools in Kawerau needed to incorporate more Tūwharetoa knowledge into the schooling curriculum. One participant, who worked as a teacher in the local community for a considerable length of time, identified this as being one factor that hindered educational success for *tamariki* in the Kawerau area. As well personal motivation of the individual student was identified as a predictor and determinant of educational success in mainstream schools. This is illustrated in the statement below:

We know, we know for a fact that Māori don't succeed in mainstream. But I personally think it is up to each individual to push themselves to their limit whatever the environment of learning they are in, yeah it is up to the individual. I know that our Māori kids they have got a different way of learning thing and I think we just need to implement some of these strategies into mainstream.

(Matua (A) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Question 11 asked the participants to share their perspectives:

In your opinion, do tamariki Māori have positive role-models in their whānau and community who support educational success?

Table 39:

Ngāti Awa discourses on how positive role-models contribute towards tamariki Māori educational success

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on positive role-models in whānau and community		
Differentiation between supportive and dysfunctional family environments: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More building and nurturing needed in home environment; • Some whānau support, some don't care; • Variances in support across whānau; • Grandparents raising children; & • Kuia involvement in children/s education. 	5	
Cultural advisors (Kaumātua working in school, tuakana-teina workers): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grand-parents role in the transmission of intergenerational knowledge (whakapapa, whānau histories); & • Manaaki of younger generation (rangatahi/pakeke in trouble). 	3	The role of elders in leading and supporting whānau in the community/schools
Role-models and support agencies outside the home environment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited female role-models in community; • Prominent male role-models in community; & • Positive support from outside school agencies (SPELD & Learning centre Remuera). 	3	
TOTAL	14	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Table 40:

Ngāti Tūwharetoa discourses on how positive role-models contribute towards tamariki Māori educational success

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on positive role-models in whānau and community		
Traditional Māori parenting empowering the collective: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kuia empowering rangatahi in Onepū; • Nurturing the child through personal milestones; • Providing guidance and structural support into pathway for higher learning (tertiary/vocational); • Kaumātua and kuia acting as peace maker/ bridge between whānau and school; & 	6	Identify, locating and promoting our role-models in the community

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whānau working in schools are strengthening the relationship between school and home. 		
Awakening consciousness of whānau to become role-models within and across whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Learning family values, knowing what is right from wrong; & Differences in level of support from whānau. 	4	Empowering whānau to become prominent leaders within their whānau and communities
Role-models from Te Teko helping youth in Kawerau	1	
TOTAL	11	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 11:

Question eleven asked the participants their views on whether they think Māori have positive role-models in their *whānau* and communities who support educational success.

Generally, across both case studies there was variance in participants' perspectives. A total number of 14 responses were identified for the Ngāti Awa case study. The three discourses that emerged from the participants' narratives were:

- Distinctions of what supportive and dysfunctional family environments looked like.
- The invaluable role of elders in leading and supporting *whānau* in the community/schools.
- Role-models and support agencies outside the home environment.

A total number of 11 responses were identified for the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study. The three discourses that emerged from the participants' narratives were:

- Traditional Māori parenting empowering the collective.
- Awakening consciousness of *whānau* to become role-models within and across *whānau*.
- Role-models from Te Teko helping youth in Kawerau.

In the Ngāti Awa case study, there was a consensus that not all children have an equal footing in terms of having a stable, loving and nurturing home environment which set them up for success in school and later in life. Those children who had loving and stable home environments were exposed to positive role-models but children who came from dysfunctional family environments were disadvantaged, and this had an impact on their self-concept and cultural identity as Māori. These sentiments are highlighted in the following narratives:

Some families don't have the role-models and we can only help which is what I am trying to do with this one.

(Nan - Ngāti Awa, 75 years old)

Yep, I think so definitely. The thing is, the saddest thing is you have got whānau who are positive role-models and do really, really well and honestly, they are not the ones that we need to concern ourselves about or worry because they have a whole stream of support going down from the grandparents, parents, it's going to go to the children and even to those children's' children. To be honest it's those ones out there outside that area they are the ones who need the help. It's that group over there, there are so many groups out here that are gang affiliated they have got the drugs, the alcohol you know the dysfunctional families and they are really the ones who need so much help...I mean it's not going to be plain sailing for them, absolutely not. The kids are not the brightest of the brightest but they have to focus on what they want to do, where they want to go, they have the support even if they fall over you know it's not like everything is going to be handed to them on a platter.

(Aunty - Ngāti Awa, 55-65 years old)

There are some people who can help to look at being compassionate. What we have got to do and I'll go back to the analogy of music what is the genre of their music, what music are they playing, are you trying to fix a rapper with country and Western music or are you trying to do an operata to somebody just doing a little ditty or you know what do they say, are you hitting the thing with the sledge hammer where you should just use a jack hammer. You know just sometimes you need to listen to kids; you ask them little kids and they will tell you what is wrong. The problem is people who have come from early childhood start to look at the breakdown in family things and all those when the kid has probably done a tiko in his pants. You haven't asked the kid; you know we are trying to place too bigger thing on the issue that all it needs is a time and effort to look carefully and listen carefully to that. That is one of the other thing on the know, I think that all goes in with the things that we have been talking about identity, talking about the perspective that people look at the world from.

(Matua - Ngāti Awa, 75-80 years old)

In some instances, the narratives revealed the impact of self-perpetuating thoughts becoming realities for some Māori *whānau* when exposed to traumagenic environments, such as in the case of being banned to speak *te reo Māori* in schools during the Isolation period. The structural changes that existed in the mainstream system, during the Inundation and Isolation Periods not only marginalised Māori, caused further disenfranchisement for them, by way of failing to provide equal access to education, which was a detriment to their future opportunities of accessing higher education, such as not being able to access university. This is illustrated in the following participant's narrative:

Well one of our problems is that I think a lot of our Māori parents got convinced that they needed to speak English at home to better their children's education. They were told that by the school and of course they accepted that as the truism, you know. When I was at school see I told you there were five of us, two on our side of the river who were Māori, the only ones who passed because they were answering the English in their home, and I think to that extent we were misled by the school to think that if we spoke English at home that will help us in our schooling. And crap the reality is exactly the opposite in what I experienced. I really better be careful what I

was a bit weary to generalise, but my suspicion is that many of the houses who went over to speak in English were encouraging their children to speak bad English. When it came to the school, they were using bad English and failing their assignments, their exams in that region which you know makes me sad for our people that that happened which would never have happened. We should have been allowed to stay speaking a language we were comfortable with and then learning English from the teacher rather than from your parents who had grossly inadequate skill and knowledge of English, and I think that's one of the things that held us back as people is the fact that we got taught bad English at home.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

One participant identified there are typically more female role-models than male role-models for children and youth to look up to and be guided on their pathway through life. Sometimes this can impact on the child's self-concept and cultural identity. This showed that more Māori role-models are needed for young men to look up too. This is illustrated in the statement below:

I think there are a lot more positive role-models for girls now than there are for boys. My daughter encountered a lot of positive role-modelling, you know wahine toa because those are the kind of circles that I hung out with so whether my daughter fully realised it or not, she met a lot of women that were very forthright and strong and all that. Not so much for my son. So, I think there are a lack of role-models for my son. My son, his father is overseas most of his upbringing, and he had his koro, but that was kind of about it, and yeah, I think a lot of our role-models are Māori role models are fortunately like rugby league players, and I'm not saying unfortunate because you know, there's nothing wrong with rugby league players, but I think we need to have more Māori role-models. I know there are people out there that have been part of sorry witness to some on the work that is going on, on some marae about developing support groups based around Māori men supporting, you know, like big brother type programmes. I got to a stage with my son where he didn't have enough role-models and everything where I actually took him along to a big brother programme out in Henderson, but they were all Pākehā, and I don't think he would have wanted to be around a Pākehā big brother.

(Whaea - Ngāti Awa, 35-55 years old)

In the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study, there was general consensus that being raised in the traditional Māori way, that is growing up with your grandparents and extended *whānau* made a difference to children feeling supported and loved, which had a great influence on their motivations and drive to achieve in school and later in life. This is clear in the following statements:

It's not the same as being nurtured by your own people, that bring one and couldn't come back into investing from one of our parents to our kuia to the mokopuna or the Kōhanga Reo with the Pākehā system.

(Koro (B) - NTKK, 84 years old)

Four participants acknowledged that children need to have positive role-models in and outside of the home environment. The reason for this is that positive role-models help to guide children in their personal development and this in turn had a secondary effect on their behaviour at school and aspirations in life. This is illustrated in the quotes below:

No. Well they have some positive role-models but it's not an ongoing thing. An example is if there is anything at the marae, your role models are supposed to be your pakeke, your koroua, your kuia they are supposed to guide our rangatahi, how to act on the marae, what to do on the marae, well what not to do on a marae but I found, especially over here at Hahuru that our kuia are good but our koroua shut down our rangatahi. Next minute our rangatahi don't turn up to the marae. In the community, I think there are people who try to be good role models for our rangatahi because there are different agencies that are set up over there. I think it is yes, there are some people who are role-models for our rangatahi.

(Matua (A) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

I can't think of anybody, oh no we have got a few judges haven't we, a judge at least and some Professors. So yeah, we do have role-models although they are male.

(Whaea (C) - NTKK, 44 years old)

They do, I reckon they do, every family has somebody, I just think they've got to know who that somebody is. Kapua. Yeah, he's from Te Teko. He was the best role-model. He was working for Hauora, he's the guy that I was telling you, he had a big influence on a lot of kids. Now those types of people I would say are role-models because he came from a background where they're used to, and they know of, but he made a positive future, where they wanna go. How to get there. He was teaching them, he used to take them fishing, showing them like a lot of them never went down to the dam bloody beach, which not far from us, to do fishing. None of them knew how to do any which we've got the big rivers for. None of them knew how to do it because no one took the time. But he took the time to take a lot of the kids in.

(Whaea (B) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Those who do have an education, or who are successful in their education, I would say they do get you know a lot of whānau support, but those who don't have any whānau support, don't get a good education simple. I mean you still hear them honing around in the middle of the night.

(Kuia (B) - NTKK, 73 years old)

Question 12 asked the participants to share their perspectives on the following:
What do professionals / kaumātua / iwi need to know about cultural disconnection and the impact this has on Māori educational success over successive generations?

Table 41:
Ngāti Awa discourses on building pathways for intergenerational educational success for tamariki Māori

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on building pathways for intergenerational educational success for tamariki		
<p>Understand how intergenerational historical and cultural trauma through mainstream schooling has impacted on educational success for Māori:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand how epigenetics impacts on educational success of Māori (traits and behaviours passed onto the next generation); • Educators, policymakers, and leaders need to be informed about their unconscious bias towards Māori learners; • Demeaning attitude and behaviour to students; • Personality clashes with children; • The impact of insensitive teachers approaches and reactions when dealing/engaging with Māori students; & • Understand and become informed about being and living as Māori (strengthen relationship / partnership). 	8	Impact of educators and leaders' actions that continually marginalise Māori learners, their whānau and communities
<p>Embedding Māori perspectives into education:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invest in resourcing into Māori knowledge, language within schools; • Value and appreciate Māori culture; • Reclaim the art of storytelling within whānau; • Retrace tipuna footsteps within whānau; & • Invest into traditional approaches of teaching and learning, & • Embed Māori pedagogies more within mainstream schooling. 	7	Make structural changes within mainstream schooling in New Zealand education system
<p>Develop Māori healing models as a result of the transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma from mainstream schooling:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-establish the transmission of intergenerational knowledge, whakapapa and connections amongst whānau and hapū; • Support whānau and hapū to face challenges and heal from trauma; & • Increase awareness amongst whānau in defining who are positive role-models. 	4	
TOTAL	19	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Table 43:

Ngāti Tūwharetoa discourses on building pathways for intergenerational educational success for tamariki Māori

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on building pathways for intergenerational educational success for tamariki		
Healing from the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening whānau to become empowered in changing their mindsets in the value of education and creating a legacy for successive generations to follow; • Unpacking and recognising maemae of the past for whānau and hapū; & • Iwi supporting hapū better by reviewing structural mechanisms that perpetuate inequities across whānau (sharing the wealth amongst the people). 	5	
Strengthening understanding of roles within Māori context: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raising conscious awareness of kaumātua, kuia roles in leadership of their whānau/people; • Invest in Māori leadership – grow our leaders; • Develop apprenticeship-pukenga model within hapori, to support and empower whānau of the next generation; • Decolonise the practices of trustees on Māori land trusts; & decolonise thinking does not tacit Western knowledge and ways over Māori knowledge and ways. 	5	
Embedding Māori perspectives into education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invest in structured learning of the Māori way; • Value and appreciate Māori culture; • Reclaim the art of ‘story-telling’ within whānau, of the past, related to colonisation on Māori; • Retrace tipuna footsteps within whānau; & • Invest into traditional approaches of teaching and learning & embed Māori pedagogies more within mainstream schooling. 	4	
Understand what intergenerational historical and cultural trauma through mainstream schooling has impacted on educational success for Māori: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand how epigenetics impacts on educational success of Māori (traits and behaviours passed onto the next generation); & become consciously aware of how government organisations tacit Western knowledge over Māori ways of being and doing. 	2	
TOTAL	16	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 12:

Discourse on building pathways for intergenerational educational success

Question twelve asked the participants their views on *what professionals/kaumātua /iwi need to know about cultural disconnection and the impact this has on Māori educational success over successive generations*. A total number of 19 responses were identified in the Ngāti Awa case study. The three discourses that emerged from the participants' narratives:

- Understand how intergenerational historical and cultural trauma through mainstream schooling has impacted on educational success for Māori.
- Embedding Māori perspectives into education.
- Develop Māori healing models as a result of the transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma from mainstream schooling.

A total number of 16 responses were identified in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study. The three discourses that emerged from the participants' narratives:

- Healing from the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma.
- Strengthening understanding of roles within Māori context.
- Embedding Māori perspectives into education.
- Understand what intergenerational historical and cultural trauma through mainstream schooling has impacted on educational success for Māori.

Generally, most participants narratives identified different aspects of how disconnection had occurred because of traumatic pasts in families and events they experienced at school. However, most participants had not really thought about the impact that disconnection influences outcomes related to educational success of *tamariki* across successive generations. As one participant told me:

So, having been on marae committee on and off for many years now. Yes, we do talk about this stuff. Yes, we do talk about I mean like I spoke about Ngāti Awa and the amount that live here that we don't see, we talk about how we are going to get them, how we are going to bring them in. What are we going to do. We talk about the disconnect, the concerns that we have that a lot of our Ngāti Awa people don't you know, our knowledge bases is depleting because there's things that you learn on a marae formal or informal that you don't learn anywhere else, and if we're not getting them on the marae, how are we going to bring them into our collective? How are they going to get that help? How are we going to get that support?

Disconnection was also connected to participants' experiences in mainstream primary and secondary schools. Due to the overt and covert policies of assimilation in mission and native schools, many of the participants spoke of the impact of being punished for speaking *te reo Māori* and the impact this had on their sense of identity and self-concept. In general, most

participants felt a sense of powerlessness as student and a sense of disenfranchisement from having to be forced into taking on Pākehā culture, values, and the English language. Most older participants felt it deeply impacted on their beliefs, values, and worldviews as Māori. This is illustrated in one participant's statement who told me that acknowledging the hurt and healing from the trauma of mainstream schooling was needed, including bringing back the art of storytelling:

Well, I believe you know my generation, I'm now in the kaumātua stage I think the majority of my age group have neglected to their disadvantage, to their Māori inheritance side. Not that they don't assume that it's not particularly relevant or useful. I dispute that very much. I think we are one. So, the way I see it is we can recover this in our stories. See our people are very good story tellers, part of their skill is they're very good at telling/relating stories. But I think what happened is this skill has been allowed to flounder a bit. You know, it's no longer has the high regard that it use to do when I was a child, you know to me the elders would tell the stories and I would listen to a rapt attention, you know, and I found it very interesting but I was a minority in that way of thinking most of them thought that korero or rukau was lies and exaggeration at its best, and I never heard that. To me a story, see my attitude is a story is a story, if it's telling lies who cares, you know, it makes a good story even back later you discover it was only half the truth. Still to me it's a good story and I witnessed some of them down and I read them. I get all the pleasure because the one I tried to do when I wrote them, tried to reading their stories remembering them telling me that story and to them I remain eternally grateful to them passing that story on and I personally think for our people, you could try and gather the stories that they recall. My view is you should write them down otherwise you'll forget" The main thing is to try and capture the words of that story as they were told because that's how the people saw it. To me that makes us Māori, not the waiata and a lot of our waiata come from the East Coast anyway, pop tunes. I'm very fond of mōteatea but I'm not very good doing them but I like the meanings in mōteatea. That's where I think we fell over and forgotten how worldly we are. All of us are good storytellers.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

During the participant's interview, he also told me a story of lost knowledge from my own *whānau* histories which had never been told to me by my mother. This further aligns with the art to learn an old skill as part of capturing the past for the future, before it has vanished, as noted by Koro B. Two lost stories of my *whānau* and ancestral connections are retold by Koro B as follows:

One of my favourite story when we all went to see the Queen; the traffic was bumper to bumper on the Kawerau tunnel to Rotorua. Tikitere Hill, the big hill Pikitū pulled his truck out and passed everything. We were looking at; we go anywhere that raggedy bus couldn't go through Tuwhai went to borrow the Awakeri school bus and the next school along. We were looking and they were looking at Pikitū and this long line of traffic going up the hill and Pikitū your koro overtook the lot. We were all gasping in amazement. And then Kopa one of the Raimonas said that and he renamed Pikitū, Piggy Four.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

Have I told you my father's story about your Koro Pikitū? About in the pub going on about Tūwharetoa and my father walked up hoha and went. A tena? Ko wai te waka a Tūwharetoa? Pikitū with a surprised look according to Papa. Ko wai te waka a Tūwharetoa? Have you heard that story before? And my father pointed down Te Arawa te po tugata atu. Then he pointed down to his penis. I like that expression. Well that's colourful when people used to do to Pikitū they enjoyed telling stories like that. They were all Tūwharetoa stories but.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

Furthermore, Koro B also spoke about Pikitū and where he spent his time when in Te Teko and, my *whakapapa* connections to both Ngāti Tūwharetoa in Turangi and Onepū:

It was Te Teko Pub and then he would go to work in Kawerau. He was cheerful, everything was Tūwharetoa, but he was not Taupo Tūwharetoa, he wasn't particularly interested in Tūwharetoa in Onepū. Well my recollection that is, but he may well have been. But he was always Tūwharetoa Te Heuheu. But you can go whakapapa straight into Onepū one, because of Raki aye.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

From the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study, most participants had not really thought about the impact that disconnection has on educational success of *tamariki* across successive generations of *whānau*; and the contribution that colonisation (through land alienation and loss of language in schools) has contributed to educational success of *tamariki* across successive generations of *whānau*. Other aspects raised included the impact discrimination and racism (unconscious bias towards Māori) has had on relationships between Māori and with government agencies connected to the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma. This participant notes the negative connotations of being Māori and speaks of the gang's role in providing a family for those *whānau* members who have become disconnected from their first *whānau*:

Part of me says I don't think they really know, part of me probably the city part of me says they don't want to know, but they need to know the impact of colonisation. They need to know that they need to accept that, they need to understand it. Not go, not brush it off or you know, they need to understand it that it has an impact and how far back this has come, that it has started from. They need to understand what the Treaty of Waitangi means to both Māori and Pākehā and they're talking things like partnership and participation, they need to accept that. I believe there are a lot of kaumatua, our iwi leaders, but they don't want to engage with that for reasons of being that, for them it's nonsense. It's not a reality, you know our people just need to get over themselves and get on with it, that sort of attitude and I know that because that's what I hear from a lot of our iwi leaders, kaumatua and kuia, and I believe a lot of that is because of their own negative experience around it. Some of them will say well back in my day, we got on well with so and so,

you know our Pākehā neighbours were friends, professionals from I look at it from being teachers from community, Koromatua council leaders, to even the professional government institutions that we have WINZ, whoever they need to accept it and understand the impacts of what they do, whatever they decide disconnects or otherwise to people out there in the community even I might add even the Police. The people like CYFS, all the mental health services or social services or Hauora, they need to understand that these issues are part and parcel of disconnection. They need to find a way forward to get around that, even our own Māori Hauora that is just down the road here. You know living a Māori view/worldview and you wanna understand what's made that happen. Mental health of Māori has come from somewhere, that doesn't mean to say they grew up and they're a nutcase, it comes from somewhere pressures, stress, anxiety, no jobs, don't know how to be a parent, the tamaiti dies, bad parenting, whatever, they need to understand why they end up going to the Mongrel Mob pad down the road here. Why? How could they reduce this? How does my brother who's in the Mongrel Mob. My pōtiki, says, well brother at least at the end of the day your son's got a family. Hurt me that but he was right.

(Matua (B) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

I also found similar issues in another participant's narrative, who displayed frustration at community health services abilities to relate and form culturally responsive relationships with Māori. There was evidence that this participant had possibly not healed from the trauma of being banned from speaking *te reo Māori*. Also, this participant's narrative highlights the internalisation of racist colonial attitudes, talking about the effectiveness of government health services:

Well for example, our doctors were very good. Today, they don't give a shit. They really don't give a shit. He'll tell you, I needed to see the doctor about something, and I said oh I wonder if it's because of the colour of my skin that I can't get in there. I did say it to him, and he said oh don't be so stupid, you know, but it started, I'd sooner put up with my pain and gonna listen to them. They go you go in there and that's the only parts of Social Services I use, but our people are now moving into Council, which is good, with the support of our Māori people, which is what we need. But otherwise, I don't know about any of the services that are available and how well they operate I really don't know about that.

(Kuia - NTKK, 73 years old)

Another participant has also identified leadership issues adding to disconnection amongst the people. After post-treaty settlement, this participant identifies that leaders appear to continue to posit Western knowledge and organisational structures in current Māori leadership structures such as *rūnanga* and settlement trusts. This is outlined in the statement below, where Māori leadership is critiqued by the participant as occurring from an oppressive stance and promoting more of the Western values of individualism over collective Māori ways of being and doing:

Oh, they already know. A lot of our leaders, poor leadership really, it's you know, what is a leader. Leadership aye. Leadership is about action. But too many of them look at it as a position they have a higher priority about them being the leader and not really acting enough to provide a better future. This is the lot of them that are like this. So, leadership is about action, it's not about position. So, I've some evidence of the treaty settlement, treaty claim settlements. It's like as though they are building empires before they apply anything to the wider good of the people still very much. It's not encouraging them to be independent and still very much a subservient model. See what these rūnanga structures I'm not impressed with them because the main social order lies with the hapū not the iwi. So, the hapū got to grow itself to encourage people and whānau to grow themselves. But this way it's done, rūnanga is feeding the hapū. The rūnanga gets all the wear off and how they apply it doesn't fit the bill with some because some hapū get nothing, I guess. In a lot of cases, the leaders hapū that are selectively favoured by them.

(Aunty - NTKK, 65-75 years old)

The theme of positing Western knowledge within the political legal institutions (government structures) over Māori ways of being, across generations has impacted on Māori, where they have not been able to access the benefits of an education system, which overtime, has tended to promote Western ways of being and knowledge systems. This participant's response acknowledges this sentiment of privileging Western knowledge and the resentment he has of Pākehā traumatic acts made against Māori:

Okay one more important. They have what they call a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) whole country. Have control of that and we can manage everything. Education, GDP will pay for. Now they are struggling to have those universities that keep going well for the likes of education. But the money the Pākehā are using the money and taking it out of the country. Give them the mana of the GDP and we'll do the rest. We don't have to be told how to do things. Go back to the taumata, tino rangatiratanga, you know whānau, and hapū of this country, we are the sovereignty of this country. The Pākehā over there isn't the sovereignty of this country, but they are playing the games of thrones. They use the Crown against us, or the Crown using ownership on the laws that they pass, pass over us in this country. One has to go back to the laws of this country. But the Indigenous people have one above the laws they bring in, which they are using what they call the Kartian laws. It's ancient Roman ancient law and Western International Law they are using upon it. Whereas our natural law, LORE against the LAW. We can't get anywhere. We haven't got a hope because they are using that law above us. As I've just mentioned before, that financially, the monies not being given, and they are marginalising us. You must be remembering those resources of this country belong to us, doesn't belong to the settlers, which they are, the Pākehās and their companies are settlers. Well 184 years until now, we're being disconnected from our maraes and broken up in that manner".

(Koro (B) - NTKK, 84 years old)

Question 13 asked the participants to share their perspectives on the following:
What do you think educators, the Ministry of Education and policymakers need to know about educational success for tamariki Māori?

Table 43:
Ngāti Awa discourses on building pathways for intergenerational educational success for tamariki Māori

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on whānau voice: Doing better for Māori in education and society		
Need to embed mātauranga Māori into mainstream schooling: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conscious effort to learn Māori ways of being; • Deepen understanding of preferred Māori ways of teaching and learning; • Deepen understanding of how to develop culturally responsive relationships with Māori through whanaungatanga; & • Invest in upskilling of educators / leaders on preferred Māori approaches to teaching and learning and kaupapa Māori ideology. 	6	Deepening the breadth of knowledge and cultural capabilities that educators, government agencies possess related to Māori worldviews and traditional Māori models of teaching and learning
Continual perpetuation of colonial attitudes within the mainstream schooling impact on Māori self-concept and cultural identity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledge the impact of colonial schooling on whānau; • Understanding the impact of unconscious bias and racism by educators towards Māori; & • Understand what unresolved grief and the impact this has on Māori whānau. 	6	Acknowledge the detrimental impact of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma on tamariki Māori educational success
More financial investment and support provided by the government to schools: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strategically support local people and whānau to be employed into schools; & • More resourcing put into teachers and schools to preserve te reo Māori within the mainstream education system. 	2	
TOTAL	14	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Table 44:
Ngāti Tūwharetoa discourses on building pathways for intergenerational educational success for tamariki Māori

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourse on whānau voice: Doing better for Māori in education and society		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Know Māori learners preferred way of teaching and learning; • Provide cultural counter spaces designed by Māori for Māori with Māori; • Know Māori culture counts; • Know how to speak te reo Māori; 	8	Deepening the breadth of knowledge and cultural capabilities that educators, government agencies possess related to Māori worldviews and traditional

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embed mātauranga Māori into mainstream schooling; & • Traditional parental roles extended to other whānau and elders. 		Māori models of teaching and learning
Raising conscious awareness of life difficulties of whānau realities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Māori born into socially constructive environments; & • Continued marginalisation of Māori in mainstream schools (e.g., facing personal racism). 	4	Understand how the impact of structural changes and psychosocial challenges affects successive generations of whānau
Ingrained beliefs and assumptions impact on Pākehā and Māori relationships: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be aware of tacit of Western knowledge over Māori knowledge, ways of being and doing as Māori within mainstream schooling. 	3	
Invest into initiatives that strengthen in, with and between whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue to be good treaty partners in upholding obligations within the Treaty of Waitangi; & • Develop cultural competency skills of educators and leaders to work with Māori learners and whānau. 	3	
TOTAL	18	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 13: Doing better for Māori in education and society

What do you think educators, the Ministry of Education and policymakers need to know about educational success for tamariki Māori?

Question thirteen asked the participants what they think educators, the Ministry of Education and policymakers need to know about educational success for Māori defined by Māori. A total number of 14 responses were identified in the Ngāti Awa case study. The three discourses that emerged from the participants' narratives:

- Need to embed *mātauranga Māori* into mainstream schooling.
- Continual perpetuation of colonial attitudes within the mainstream schooling impact on Māori self-concept and cultural identity.
- More financial investment and support provided by the government to schools.

A total number of 18 responses were identified in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case-study. The four discourses that emerged from the participants' narratives:

- Know Māori learners preferred way of teaching and learning.
- Raising conscious awareness of life difficulties of *whānau* realities.
- Ingrained beliefs and assumptions impact on Pākehā and Māori relationships.
- Invest into initiatives that strengthen in, with and between *whānau*.

The concept of embedding *mātauranga Māori* and Māori cultural concepts such as *whanaungatanga* into mainstream schooling was constantly repeated throughout the narratives. These two statements reflect this desire and expectation of the participants on educators, principals, Ministry of Education, and policymakers to better serve Māori and non-Māori in New Zealand's education system and to work more cohesively together through the concept of *mahitahi* (to work together, collaborate):

What I would like to see happen would never happen in a hundred years. The reason being is that we don't have the right people in education. We don't have Ministers that know about te reo Māori, te ao Māori. Until we get these sorts of people in there, we will just stagnate along how we are for many a year. If we could get the Māori Party back into government. We'll we had a situation where the last government brought in these Charter Schools. We had one down here at Ngāti Whātua, not Ngāti Whātua, next to Papatūānuku (earth mother) Marae and I went down and had a look and of course they are all Māori, there might have been the odd Pākehā there, but those kids were happy. Whether they learnt something or didn't learn anything, they were happy with what they were doing because there was whanaungatanga there.

(Koro (A) – Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

I think they politicians make a lot of noise of introducing te reo Māori and making the reo compulsory apart from the reo of the politicians, to make that happen you really need the support of the so-called educators that you are talking about now. It is no use the politicians making all the noise if the educators don't follow suit and be serious about the preservation of te reo Māori as a whole within the education system.

(Koro (D) – Ngāti Awa, 84 + years old)

Yeah, they need to find what an education system curriculum or a way of learning that excites rangatahi Māori or Pākehā, if they're not learning the way that we teach, then why don't we start teaching the way that they want to learn in the way they learn. Changing the mindset, turning it on its head, you know. You have an education system that you know my good friend Whatarangi Winiata points out and even other Māori, kura kaupapa are not doing too well. But they need to change a system that's not working for our youth, Pākehā/Māori especially Māori, because it's the Māori that's at the bottom and are failing big time and to take a giant leap of faith and make some changes/decisions, whether it's government level, or even teachers, you know principals, they're the key leaders in the school, you know I'm at a school, at the moment mainstream school which has about 74 percent Māori in it and Pacific Islanders that have just grown a spine and said well we're gonna do it this way. And I tell you from a school that had a bad reputation 12-13 years ago, is now a school that everybody wants to go to. Is now busting at the seams and running out of classes. They've got over 600 students, keeping the years 7 and 8, rumaki reo, total immersion students, and you've got others even including me with my mokopuna want to send our kids to that school. Why? Because it's a successful school that has taken a giant leap in you know reconnecting their kids. You know my church is just straight across a road that used to be scribbled on and tagged on all the

blimmin time. City A is like a nobody didn't want to live in City A because it was one of those communities back in the day, and you know I've been a Minister there now for about five and half years, and when I got there my parish said to me. Oh, these people need to know who you are. So, they stuck a billboard for me of all things in front of the church, and so it's got a pic of me on it. Nau mai haere mai, if you need him for anything baptisms, funerals whatever you know, and my church mates from other denominations, we meet every two months and they go oh brother, your gain putting it out there. I'll give it a better month and they'll start scribbling over it, it's been there for five and a half years, not a scratch on it. And I say to them, you know why's that? Because these kids respect what they see over there. It's not because it's Matua B that's on there that might help, but they respect that connection. That school was also connected to our church. We have after-school activities like bible classes because parents want that. We provide workers for their breakfast clubs. I'm also the kaumātua in the school, so those kids see me every, every kid that I go past, oh kia ora Matua. Gee who was that kid and I'm there every time for the staff and for the kids and I'll hold a whānau room for them, for staff who are stressed out or kids or families and I've done things from blessing taonga to funerals to unveilings, even marriages, just a general partial key.

(Matua (B) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

It was very clear throughout both case studies narratives that there are specific intergenerational issues, where both older and younger generations reveal that educators, principals, Ministry of Education and policymakers are unaware of their unconscious bias, racist actions and the structural mechanisms of the education system (the covert and overt assimilation policies that prohibited Māori access to higher education in universities) have impacted on educational success as Māori and secondly, contributed to negative life outcomes for some struggling communities and *whānau*. This is possibly connected to the trauma experienced by those participants born during the isolation and integration periods, who have not actually healed from their grief and soul wounds. So, for some of these participants, the transmission of intergenerational trauma associated with their *tūpuna* and parents, is beginning to re-emerge and manifest in younger generations across *whānau*. This is illustrated below in the following statements for Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa:

"Ah okay over generations. Well this is just a smaller side there Tūwharetoa Ki Kawerau, well Tūwharetoa they've got a different name now. Anyway, Tūwharetoa Ki Kawerau they supply all the uniforms for college children and books. I believe and that you know these uniforms cost a mint, 70 bucks a pair of trousers, a 140 bucks for a jersey, a lot of families can't afford that and then so many of our people have got this pōhara attitude you know. I'm pōhara, I can't afford it. So, I know what I'm talking about".

(Kuia - NTKK, 73 years old)

They need to know that our tamariki Māori have a different way of learning compared to other cultures. During my years of teaching, I found that our tamariki are more hands-on learners. They don't like bookwork; they don't like the pencil. They do a lot of their learning through hands on activities

being out in the environment during hands on experiences. There are people in those agencies that don't see, well they do see it, or they may just ignore advice from other people, especially our boys they don't like this pen/paper they are hands on activity learners.

(Matua (A) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

I put my kids through the Pākehā system, the mainstream system, they didn't get anything out of it. One went to Aussie and they passed their credits and gotten what they had to get, they weren't but they had left school with some credits in it and went over to Aussie and it didn't matter what credits you had, it didn't matter when they were going for their jobs. I said you went through all those years at school, we went through all those ups and downs for it not to matter, and she was going for a social worker over in Australia and her credits back here didn't matter. So, she had to go and sit their qualifications over there. My other child". Went through the Pākehā system, she had the same thing had to do the Australia Tafe to get qualified over there. My son got his nah he was a dropout and he in Taiwhara now. What did they do for them? Did they make a great thing for them? Nope.

(Whaea (C) - NTKK, 44 years old)

I think principals, if they understand that a lot of them are, it's a cycle that hasn't been broken. Because I have lived it you know with my own. In my own home and the way, I was brought up without having a dad, you know you become, without means, so you learnt to use other means to try and make things work and you think it is natural. But when you get older and you realise you know that we didn't have to go through all those hardships and you try your best to make it better for the next, so yeah.

(Whaea (A) - NTKK, Under 40 years old)

Well I think all the time that I've been around I always had the view the Ministry of Education head office, which hurt the influence of Māori school's curriculum. I always taking the view that their task was to convert those children into Pakehas. Now that sounds like a very cruel thing to say, but I think that is actually the reality of the situation where they saw their role as convert these humble natives into educated Pākehā at least in line with Pākehā children, but it was always working class, you see they wouldn't for example, you know in now, Māori at Natau Road, their headmaster started to teach them Latin, and the Ministry told him not to, because in those days to get to university. Latin was almost a pre-requisite but then they tried to make sure none of the Māori children, that's why Apirana Ngata was the first graduate. They tried to say they didn't want them to get a University qualification they wanted them to be educated working class people that was our wrong, and it was the Ministry of Education head office. I've always had a bad view of that Ministry head office and how they operate, and to me they did us a grave disservice. And you already know that but you're just hearing me go on your knowledge. You know to me even if they were well-meaning and it was still the wrong thing to do even if well intentioned.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

That's an interesting one what do they need to know about, I guess they need to know for starters that Māori think different to mainstream and I don't know maybe to most probably other cultures, but we do think different. We do learn well, kanohi ki te kanohi like people talking to us you know if you had

somebody came and showed us how to do something our kids would learn so much quicker than telling them to get the book over there and read it. The majority of people I know can't stand reading a book to get the information out of. Not so much reading the book to get the information but it's more about understanding what the book is trying to tell them as opposed to somebody coming into show them. Māori are more about being taught with actions and I guess than written and they need to know that and they need to know I think I guess they need to know it is important for the Ministry of Education to look at how best to teach us that is what I think. I don't even think they even know how to teach us Māori but I guess you have to go and do a research paper or something to figure out what is the best way to teach Māori because they can learn but we do tend to pick up things a lot quicker the actions side of things as opposed to the reading side so it's about going to as many people as you can to find out how did you learn the best there must be some techniques in the way that you teach people and what would be the best ways to teach our people even though there are a lot of success stories in the way our people have gone through the education system now with the system they have got I don't know, maybe we are looking at how we get more success stories.

(Aunty - Ngāti Awa, 55-65 years old)

Yeah, you know my quick answer to this and it's the radical in me, is that I don't think the Ministry of Education really understands how racism is trickling through our mainstream education system. I don't think they really fully comprehend when someone sits in their class and they're judged the moment, their non-sits on the seat, about who they are, what they know, and what they can know and all that. I don't think they have a good awareness of how widely broadly that happens for Māori, for Pacific Islanders, it's sometimes, it's just your name. You just walk in the door, and say your name and the teacher or somebody, a teacher is like I know this person. I already know what this is going to be like for me, you know, I think there are other things set up around this other systems that are basically, there's racism and they're racist systems that you know schools only do set types of sports because their not only lower decile, or lower resourced. You know that schools are able to do different things and I don't know whether educators sort of fully think of the things like, if you're a rich person in a rich whānau, you go to a rich school, you make rich friends. So, you do rich things, you have rich hobbies, you have rich interests, you have yachting let's say because that's your home life, that's your school life, that's your friend's life, you know, so that's your set up. Okay, poor Māori boy, poor school, poor resources, poor friends, poor the home environment, poor whatever, can have a proper job, can have a poor thing, you know. It's so I'm being very blanket here once again, just to get a conversation going on in our education system supports this rich thing going on as they say, and they try and support this poor thing going on. You know it was equality, if it's not an equal playing field and it's equity aye. So, we're talking about educational equity. So, there's no fairness...Poor people have harder circumstances, harder things to deal with, and on top of that there's like I said, it's racism that happens in the environments that they're going into the schools are going into the people they come across. For the poor people they already have enough things going on, you know, when I say rich people it's predominantly white, but do you hear them talking about white privilege, do you hear them talking about you know, how something happened just because of their name or anything. Well it doesn't really happen to them. Well you look at Māori boys and it

happens to them a lot, they say their name, you know. They say a Māori name and okay we know you, and so our systems I think there's still racism through the multi levels that we have from the teachers, to the principals, to the policymakers, to the supporting education systems, you know, but I don't want to say it's all doom and gloom because there's a lot of organisations and I've seen them that are out there that are really trying to counteract these things. So, I'm giving a real sort of overall picture, but I think there's a lot of things that happen with some organisations with Māori education that they're working really hard to stop these things from happening and making people more aware of micro racism. Teachers that aren't actually racists, they don't actually know what they do is actually racist.

(Whaea - Ngāti Awa, 35-55 years old)

Feeling alienated from the education system was seen as a determinant that impacted on the educational success of many generations from both case studies. The colonial attitude that Māori is better suited for manual, and more practical aspects of curriculum and learning has come across clearly in most narratives. Additionally, there is the feeling of being second class citizens, where participants feel they are not equal or as capable as Pākehā students and families. A further issue raised is the fact that they were and continue to being taught in environments that did or do not support the culture of Māori students, and that teachers were antagonistic to Māori views of knowledge, values and beliefs systems. This is illustrated in the following participants' statements:

First and foremost, they better know your culture. Because damned if anybody up there knows our culture. Because the way they put out their curriculums for us to be taught. It's all Pākehā. If you go the wharekura's, totally different aye. It's because some of those teachers that are tuturu Māori in the learning world, the kid might not know how to, cause I've got a nephew when he first went to school, he had a lip, or we thought he had a slip, we thought he had a lisp. But the time he was just talking too fast. We didn't know this, but she korero Māori to a T, so she slowed him down, and told him to read a sentence in Māori, he added his words in, but she realised then when he slowed down, people knew what he was talking about. If you were to hear his English, it sounded like this but he's actually talking. We thought there was something wrong years ago, and I says, well your well damn good bloody teacher. She took her time to teach, she put herself into her students, which is what we do as Māori. So, with the policymaker, get down to the ground is all I can say. First of all, if you are Pākehā, you're never going to know Māori culture. Never. I don't care how Pākehā you are, how you want to be Māori, you still will never know what Pākehā culture's all about because it's embroiled in us. It's naturally who we are, where they have to work at it. They can never be a Māori because they can never just be, what Māori can be, it's who you are. Yes, so if they work with somebody like, work with somebody alongside them, get them to understand where we come from as a culture, then maybe they might be able to change these policies.

(Whaea (B) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

I think it needs to be in their curriculum to learn about the values and be respectful. That is the only way they can learn about being respectful. It's

down to the basics. Actually, it's down to respect. It's got to be the road within you, can't make anybody respect you and some people don't want that, they don't want to change. Even to other cultures for that matter. If they can't do it for one, they won't do it for anyone. As we are tangata whenua here, they should pay us that respect that they should know their own Indigenous people. (Nan - Ngāti Awa, 75 years old)

Question 14 asked the participants to share their perspectives on the following:

What types of initiatives (social / cultural / political / economical) would you like to see implemented by whānau, hapū and iwi to help support struggling whānau, build cultural connection amongst ahikā and rāwaho and promote educational success between whānau, hapū and iwi?

Table 45:

Ngāti Awa discourses on initiatives to support stronger connections between ahikā and rāwaho and nurture educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourses on initiatives to support stronger connections between ahikā and rāwaho and nurture educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi		
Create new roles such as kaitiaki to work within hapū and communities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building people through re-engaging whānau to their marae, ancestral connections; • Strengthen whakawhanaungatanga within whānau, hapū and their communities; & • Act and address the impact of drugs and alcohol abuse, family and child violence within the Ngāti Awa rohe & instil high expectations as whānau, become the best we can be. 	10	Raising consciousness of iwi (TRONA) on the realities for struggling whānau and the division divide amongst the tribal elite
Provide alternative pathways into vocational education for rangatahi/pakeke within Ngāti Awa rohe: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue and provide more access to education grants at all levels of the education system (e.g., Kōhanga, early-childhood, primary, secondary, kaumātua, health, discretionary); & • Identify graduates and source skills for iwi strategic plans. 	4	Drive to re-engage whānau with their hapū, iwi and community Comeback to help people
TOTAL	14	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Table 46:

Ngāti Tūwharetoa discourses on initiatives to support stronger connections between ahikā and rāwaho and nurture educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourses on initiatives to support stronger connections between ahikā and rāwaho and nurture educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi		
Strategies to support tamariki and set them up for a great future: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feeding tamariki; • Providing support for uniforms or clothing allowance at all levels; • Changing mindsets of whānau related to financial literacy and educational success; • More support needed from Iwi to help people connect; • The role of the church in supporting and working alongside whānau in hardship, difficulties, and grief; & • Help more whānau into home ownership. 	10	More financial investment into supporting and establishing programmes to help whānau create wealth for their families
Develop work stream opportunities within whānau and hapū: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nurture better home environments within whānau, supported by hapū; • Strengthening hapū connections with whānau; • More financial support needed from Iwi Settlement Board for hapū to help their whānau in their communities; & • Support hapū to reconnect whānau to their whānau heritage, whakapapa and ancestral connections. 	5	Awakening the consciousness of iwi leadership by providing more support.
TOTAL	15	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 14:

Question fourteen asked the participants *what types of initiatives they would like to see implemented by whānau, hapū and iwi to help support struggling whānau build cultural connection amongst ahikā and rāwaho and promote educational success between whānau, hapū and iwi.*

A total number of 14 responses were identified in the Ngāti Awa case study. Two discourses emerged from the participants' narratives:

- Create new roles like *kaitiaki* to work within *hapū*, and communities; and
- Provide alternative pathways into vocational education for *rangatahi/pakeke* within Ngāti Awa *rohe*.

A total number of 14 responses were identified in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study. Two discourses emerged from the participants' narratives:

- Strategies to support *tamariki* and set them up for a great future.
- Develop work stream opportunities within *whānau* and *hapū*.

It is evident throughout both case studies narratives, there is a specific need to provide more financial support to all *whānau*, particularly *hapū* organisations (*marae/hapū* committees) because of the general hardship faced by many *whānau* within the Eastern Bay of Plenty. This sentiment is common amongst many of the narratives, expressing the belief that Māori be self-determining, be the creators of change in their circumstances because of the structural injustices they have faced over a considerable time, yet this is difficult to do because of a lack money or financial resources provided from the *iwi* post settlement. This is illustrated below in the following narratives:

I think there should be more initiatives that are really Māori grounded in that there really is no underlying white privilege, white underpinnings. You know what you call that, a round table with the world, there's not that underpinning it. It's so having been on the marae, and kind of things that we could do there and how we want to bring people in and how we want to run wananga and everything. Well we're restricted as a lot of organisations are about what can we really do when we've got no money. We can't actually even afford to have an administrator for our marae to even email everybody to organise it and to get our funding. We're already spending on our own personal time to be here, to be doing what we're doing. How can we do more, and you know in terms of equity...How do we make sure marae have the capacity to be able to help Māori more? I still think in urban centres that marae are quite untapped potential. They have a lead role in the cultural influence on the life of young Māori. And the only way we could start to release that potential, is to give them more funding to figure out themselves, what to do and how to do it and I think the answers are there. It's just time, money and capacity, those types of resources. Then I think if the marae is not equipped to be able to work out something for themselves and they should be able to utilise funding and an outside source to help them.

(Whaea - Ngāti Awa, 35-55 years old)

Two policeman were talking about the policing problems in the Bay of Plenty that is why I know that while they moved a lot of people out of Kawerau, there are people from Te Teko have moved in again to the drug scene. Now you talk about what can we do but there is little things. This is the way you know poverty and things have done it but what needs to be addressed is how do we change. You know we need to stop some of the things that are happening you know like we need to stop the selling of alcohol and making it accessible to people. Whereas if we go in and say you stop selling alcohol, it will stop it and anybody that gets caught selling you will go, alcohol causes problems, drugs causes problems all these other things cause problems. It escalates into a cycle of depression. *(Matua - Ngāti Awa, 75-80 years old)*

One participant told me that it is essential to return to some of the old traditions of past, such as the growing of *mārakai*/gardens by *whānau* and requests from *iwi* to provide more financial initiatives to support *whānau* into their own housing. This is outlined in the following statement:

Back to basics. Initiatives back to basics. Pātaka kai, grow your kai, mahi kai. There have been a few that have tried some initiatives, reality is the dedicated few. A lot of people have to go to work to make ends meet, housing – social housing around here sucks, three hundred bucks a week to rent. Basically, basic things, and you're lucky if you get there's none around. Two to three bedrooms you just don't turn your nose up. That's really expensive. So, a lot of the people who come from here, they live in Kawerau, they rent a lot of homes but they're also finding themselves homeless. Because they're not the fortunate ones that can buy their homes. You've got a lot of outsiders coming into buy a home here because it's cheap. Now they are just people I went to school with, good people, homeless. Iwi could look into the initiative of housing. I know it sounds like they don't want to become landlords, but the reality is to become landlords. A lot of settlement trusts out there you know; they have to look at housing now because it's a reality of your beneficiaries. You got your own beneficiaries that haven't got homes or substandard homes.

(Whaea(C) - NTKK, 44 years old)

Additionally, in some of the participants' narratives there is a sense of disenfranchisement within *whānau*, at the types of *iwi* governing structures created from the post-settlement process and the continual perpetuations of misunderstandings held by outsiders, such as local bodies, on contemporary and traditional leadership amongst Māori. The issue lies with the post-settlement *iwi* entities being able to support aspirations of the people, where the capacity to support is limited given that the economic capacity to develop is at the *iwi* level and not at the traditional structure being *whānau* and *hapū*. This is illustrated in the statement as follows:

Those people who are in those roles, those positions of authority, what kind of initiatives have they been doing to help support struggling whānau. The rūnanga I have never supported that structure because it empowers a body that and provides tokenism to where it is most needed, and it upsets me when you have local bodies like lawyers, CEOs and they claim the rūnanga is the authority of the local people when it's not, it's the hapū. With Tūwharetoa Kawerau I'm not impressed with them. They decide whether your whakapapa qualifies for you to be a fully-fledged beneficiary, voting beneficiary or if you're whakapapa only qualify for the benefits as they will determine. But you don't get a vote, so it's very selective and compromising. It compromises your tino rangatiratanga, your tangata whenua tuturu and they do that in breach of their own treaty settlement legislation.

(Aunty - NTKK, 65-75 years old)

Another common issue raised within the narratives by participants was the need to provide more avenues for economic autonomy within both *iwi*. This economic autonomy for some *whānau* is difficult because of their education levels and their negative perception of their

abilities to do more than depend on wages or the benefit from the government. This is highlighted in the following participant's statement:

Yeah make things available, like with the mill coming up they should at least know what sorts of jobs are coming up to get the ones, having courses available because a lot of people at the mill are employed from Whakatāne. My brother works in there and he goes you know there are only two of us on the shift that live in Kawerau, everyone else drives in.

(Whaea (A) - NTKK, Under 40s years old)

The participant was further asked why is that *whānau* from Kawerau are missing out on the jobs?

Because it's up to who you know, not as qualified. And having first choice of having them, you know the course because they are within the community.

(Whaea (A) - NTKK, Under 40s years old)

So, this narrative above, reflects some of the unresolved grief, anger and built up resentment over time, that still exists within *whānau* affected by the trauma of the alienation of land during the 1953-1954 to build Kawerau and the Tasman Pulp and Paper Mill. This unresolved grief further disenfranchised people and makes them feel powerless to change their circumstances.

Question 15 asked the participants to share their perspectives on the following:

What do you think policymakers need to know about the types of support systems which contribute to building intergenerational educational success?

Table 47:

Ngāti Awa discourses on support systems which contribute to building intergenerational educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourses on support systems which contribute to building intergenerational educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi		
Conscientisation of whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grow the mind about what the Treaty of Waitangi is; • More pathways to support whānau to access better health and social outcomes; • More funding needs to be made available to support the development of urban Māori; • Become active participants in developing their knowledge on accessing support service and opportunities within the community; & • Providing pathways to access and participate successfully in higher tertiary education/vocational education. 	6	Empowering and growing whānau minds and knowledge Place importance on whānau to provide safe nurturing home environments for children and families to flourish Developing the next generational leaders of Māori within the hapū and hāpori
Focus on Māori health models that acknowledge and heal whānau from	3	Embed and utilise mātauranga Māori within policy frameworks.

intergenerational cultural and historical trauma: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective community health agencies (A one stop shop located in hapori); & • Review the selling of alcohol and accessibility within vulnerable communities. 		
Focus on policies that enable higher proportion of Māori into housing ownership.	1	More accessibility for Māori getting into home ownership
More funding and resourcing needed to deliver and maintain te reo Māori within hapori.	1	Te reo Māori is a taonga
TOTAL	11	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Table 48:

Ngāti Tūwharetoa discourses on support systems which contribute to building intergenerational educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Discourses on support systems which contribute to building intergenerational educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi		
Embed Indigenous methods and worldviews in design learning curriculum within schools: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop Tūwharetoa tangata localised to Kawerau/Onepū/Matātā within mainstream schooling; • Better understand Māori culture, and adopt Māori perspectives into the school curriculum; • Provide more resourcing to growing te reo Māori within whānau and their communities; & • Grow the depth of te reo Māori delivered in mainstream schools. 	8	<p>Embed traditional Māori models of teaching and learning into mainstream schooling.</p> <p>Acknowledge the governments hand in the transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma.</p> <p>(Impact of structural changes from legislation that oppressed, subjugated, and marginalise Māori).</p>
Conscientisation of whānau: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support transformation of families; • Help change the way that families are living, make it better for them; & • Help whānau to support and prepare children into career pathways (realising dreams, aspiring). 	4	<p>Empowering and growing whānau minds and knowledge.</p> <p>Place importance on whānau to provide safe nurturing home environments for children and families to flourish.</p> <p>Developing the next generational leaders of Māori within the hapū and hapori</p>
Government agencies need to become better at working in partnership with Māori <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve communication and strengthen relationships through whanaungatanga 	2	Government agencies need to become better Treaty partners and learn to work better and alongside with whānau.
TOTAL	14	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 15:

Question fifteen asked the participants *what policymakers should be aware of in terms of the types of support systems from a Māori perspective could be used to contribute to educational success of tamariki Māori.*

A total number of 11 responses were identified in the Ngāti Awa case study. Four discourses emerged from the participants' narratives:

- Conscientisation of *whānau*.
- Focus on Māori health models that acknowledge and heal *whānau* from intergenerational cultural and historical trauma.
- Focus on policies that enable higher proportion of Māori into housing ownership.
- More funding and resourcing needed to deliver and maintain *te reo Māori* within *hāpori*.

A total number of 14 responses were identified in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study. Three discourses emerged from the participants' narratives:

- Embed Indigenous methods and worldviews in design learning curriculum within schools.
- Conscientisation of *whānau*.
- Government agencies need to become better at working in partnership with Māori.

Generally, a common theme coming through was the conscientisation of Māori *whānau* in understanding their role in participating at the local and central government decision making process and becoming more knowledgeable of what the Treaty of Waitangi is. The narratives revealed that the Māori voice was often not included in decisions that concerned *whānau* because of the lack of government agencies cultural competencies and understanding of how to work alongside and with Māori. This is illustrated in the statements below:

Make good decisions when working with Māori. Well the policy makers might be alright it's the ones that are giving it to administer at the next level.

(Koro (C) - Ngāti Awa, 70 years old)

The main thing is the Treaty of Waitangi. Our knowledgeable people must keep pushing for it. The Treaty of Waitangi is not a joint treaty, it is the actual meaning that everybody needs to know of course. You get these intellectual Pākehā that change the meaning and we lose the mana of the Treaty and so we need to have our people with that knowledge to spread the kaupapa of the Treaty of Waitangi of the way the Māori sees it, not the way the Pākehā sees it. Of course, we seem to be getting blinded by these intellectual Pākehā

how they interpret the Treaty. The Treaty is a very tricky thing because as I said before, if you don't know it properly, if you don't understand it properly, you will get people out there who will interpret it to what it should really be.

(Koro (A) - Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

One participant, acknowledged that Māori have different ways of teaching and learning that does not often get the recognition it deserves, and should be considered by government health agencies working within *Hauora Māori*:

The hapū can help for example with the hauora of whānau. Getting the right people in whether they hold a tohu or not. If they don't hold one teach them to get one, but what they know is something you can't learn of a paper and I always say that it comes naturally to you, to that person to be able to do that, yet they never went to get a paper.

(Whaea (B) – NTKK, 53 years old)

Two participants identified that policymakers need to be more aware of how Māori operate (traditional approaches to learning and *tikanga*) and how they work together as a *whānau*.

This is illustrated below:

They just need to be aware of them and maybe contribute to them. I mean Māori operate in a different way to Pākehā. They just need to be aware of that, acknowledge it and support it. Wānanga, or even going to the marae and helping out when something is happening. You learn from your kaumatua, going around with your koro going to various pōwhiri and stuff like that or whakatau.

(Moko - Ngāti Awa, Under 30 years old)

Well first of all, if you know what kind of policy, you're after, if you need it on the Māori culture side, don't go to a Pākehā and say no the Māori should have this and that really. Which is happening to date, everything is about the Pākehā and the Māori is just coming around the corner.

(Whaea (B) - NTKK, 53 years old)

Similarly, another participant identified that more resourcing is needed to establish a working level of *te reo Māori* at a community level to strengthen *whānau*. This quote highlights this:

The encouragement of the reo to our people. Because the reo is what we have that nobody else in the world has is our reo. To me the key for us, is if we can bring the reo back to a working level reo. I believe that we will get stronger and more useful to ourselves and our community.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

In comparison to the above statement, one participant identified that the Tūwharetoa Settlement Board in Kawerau needed to help *whānau* learn more about their cultural connections and teach the people the difference between them and Tūwharetoa in Taupō.

This statement illustrates this sentiment:

To me, as for the iwi is make people knowledgeable. There's nobody that knows of, half of them don't even know who they are around here. Well I

think it was two years running that we got acknowledged and we went over to the awards over in Taupo.

(Whaea (B) - NTKK, 53 years old)

Question 16 asked the participants: From a Ngāti Awa perspective what do you think should be in a model of educational success?

Table 49:

Discourse of elements (pou) that contribute to a model of educational success (Ngāti Awa)

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Elements (pou) that contribute to a model of educational success		
Embed traditional Māori knowledge into learning: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spending time with students in te ao Māori environment • Utilise whakairo Māori in learning; • Promote co-operative groupings and Māori teaching approaches; • Fostering of whanaungatanga and building connections; • Developing and strengthening Ngāti Awatanga within mainstream schools' curriculum; • Better accountability by all mainstream schools to broaden implementing of Māori language in their school curriculum; • Embedding permaculture, sustainable recycling, and reuse, and kaitiaki (guardian) of the whenua into the curriculum; • Develop budgeting and financial literacy skills; & incorporate history of colonisation of Ngāti Awa in all schools. Ngāti Awa in all schools. 	10	Value Mātauranga Māori and preferred Māori approaches to teaching and learning for Māori learners Māori notions of being and doing The place and valuing of te reo Māori as a taonga for the intergenerational transmission of inter-generational knowledge (whānau whakapapa and narratives)
Develop strong family foundations that are handed down from one generation to the next generation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting whānau to encourage children to stay at school; • Grow positive role-models within whānau and the hāpori; • Encourage whānau to be the best parents, strengthen their parenting skills; • Nurturing children in safe, caring and loving home environments; • Changing mindsets and attitudes about educational success; • Become more involved in storytelling to children; & • Parents share a love and appreciation for reading. 	9	Raising consciousness of whānau about the value and purpose of education and the impact this has on quality of life Grow and nurturing a safe, caring and loving whānau environment
Defining educational success: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Getting a good education; • More access to STEM (Science, technology, engineering and math) curriculum in mainstream schools; 	4	Valuing education as a determinant for later life success

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Boost educational success amongst whānau; & develop and practice regularly student centred weekly wānanga on Ngāti Awatanga. 		
More culturally competent teachers in mainstream schools: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Practice and understand manaakitanga; & Bringing the talents out of Māori children/students. 	3	Grow outstanding teachers who embrace Māori ways of being
TOTAL	26	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 16:

Question sixteen asked the participants what they thought should be in a model of educational success. A total number of 26 responses were identified in the Ngāti Awa case study. Four discourses emerged from the participants' narratives:

- Embed traditional Māori of knowledge into learning.
- Develop strong family foundations that are handed down from one generation to the next generation.
- Defining educational success.
- More culturally competent teachers in mainstream schools.

In general, all participants wanted *whānau* to do well in life and felt that this could only be done through the constant encouragement and support of *whānau*. This participant's statement represents the role of *whānau* to raise their families up strong but also to support their children into the fields that they excel at:

Well whānau for a start can keep pushing them to school. Just having the right attitude and communication. The tikanga, having a little bit of knowledge around how you respect people through the Māori processes. I have got another nephew down here, never liked school. He kept going to school. I don't think he finished third form, he can shoo horses, he can break horses in, you know he can do anything with animals, and he is not 21 yet and he has gone away and he has learnt how to weld. He has got it all, but it wasn't through school, it was through the people".

(Koro (C) - Ngāti Awa, 70 years old)

Getting a great education was strongly dependant on the family background. As many of the participants noted, not all children have an equal footing when they start off in life. Some participants also noted an underinvestment in education by poorer families and the impact of parents' decision making in valuing educational success within their own families. This also correlated with the notion that educated parents tend to encourage their children more to

achieve at higher levels of education which later meant they had a better quality of life. What is clearly identified is the education transmission from this participant to his children and then on to their children. This narrative illustrated the difference one generation made to the next generation by having a solid family background and in promoting and valuing education through the generations:

For intergenerational success you must have a good solid family base and that you handed down from one generation to another certain edicts that are if you can make it relevant for each generation that is good. If you shape it for one, you shape it that is it has a general application, you could go right through from one to another. Well the same thing has happened for my children. You know, all of them have passed the need to do educational advancement and social advancement, the whole of them. So, it's done and it's going to go down to the next generation. So, I have made the platform and the foundation and it's going to go on, it just needs to start somewhere. It's got to be a seeping of attitudinal changes over generations, start a little bit, maybe this generation we will start to get rid of the drinking, the next one is such and such. Mine took over generations before my kids start you know. I have been able to share with my children the need and the requirements of advancement in economic, social and educational. Work on something that has a positive element for that family and then you will have sequential advancement, positive advancement the upward mobility. I would like to have four people in my whānau with doctorates. Kimi has just started, her brother is next, my mokopuna are next. What for, for my personal ego not because it makes them, for my personal ego. Now you see that cure for advancement of the people. There are some good things that have come out of Te Teko. My thing is I would like my family to be good contributors to the development of a positive society, that they have something to offer that is of credit worthiness that would make a change in the future generations.

(Matua - Ngāti Awa, 75-80 years old)

Other elements for an educational success model that were discussed through the narratives included embedding traditional models of teaching and learning preferred by Māori, specific to Ngāti Awatanga (arts, *kōrero*, *pūrākau*). This is noted in the following statements:

teach them whakairo, spend time with students, rather than sitting in little groups away from one another, they are sitting together, and they are enjoying one another because of the whanaungatanga is there.

(Koro (A) - Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

I think story-telling should be emphasised as a discipline in itself, you know rather than thought I was tagged onto various Abel Tasman said and so on. Storytelling that those people told of Abel Tasman told a lot of stories. A lot of people it is never recorded in the way he told them because storytelling has not been regarded as a discipline in its own right.

(Koro (B) - Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

Educational success is about choosing a pathway that you want to go to university or get employment or even running your own business. To me educational success is achieving what you want to be doing. In some scenarios, you need to some degree be educated you just can't be, I don't think that you can. You have to some degree be educated enough to communicate, to stand your ground and stand on your own two feet.

(Aunty - Ngāti Awa, 55-65 years old)

One participant also suggests ways for the *iwi* to move forward as a people through actions of education and social advancement:

In terms of what Ngāti Awa do now, while a lot of work is mainly on economic development following the Ngāti Awa settlement, while we are talking about cultural redevelopment te taha Māori, ngā kaupapa Māori, social development we need to put that talk, translate that into action rather than talk.

(Koro (D) - Ngāti Awa, 85+ years old)

Another participant also suggested skills that *whānau* needed to gain in order to have a great life, that often were not specifically taught by parents and in schools:

Understanding how to budget. I think budgeting is really lacking and the reality of the outside world. Permaculture, understanding the recycling, not being wasteful, manaakitanga of the whenua, for the whenua to feed us we need to look after it. That relationship with the environment because that is really important to start off young and you can only do that by being a role model for yourself.

(Nan- Ngāti Awa, 70-85 years old)

From a Ngāti Tūwharetoa perspective what do you think should be in a model of educational success?

Discourse of elements (pou) that contribute to a model of educational success (Ngāti Tūwharetoa)

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Elements (pou) that contribute to a model of educational success		
<p>The whānau environment:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upskilling of people about financial investment (e.g., creating wealth for your whānau); • Learning to stand on your own two feet; • Recognising the impact of traumatic pasts on whānau dynamics; • Whānau learning about how to heal from trauma; • Return to the whānau after finishing your qualifications to transform hapori, communities you come from; • Holistic nurturing from cradle to child to youth; • Strengthening connections within and across whānau, hapū and iwi; <p>Providing children with broad experiences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Getting children into sports/sports teams and going on vacations away from Kawerau; • More parental involvement – teaching values, discipline, integrity, hard work • Whānau are active learners • Whānau teaching whakapapa • Whānau are all positive role-models • Whānau supporting whānau through life • Whānau establishing high expectations within their whānau • Setting high expectations to succeed • Have options and pathways of progression from schooling (e.g., Tertiary, vocational, careers in army). 	24	<p>Strengthening the whānau</p> <p>Markers of flourishing whānau</p>
<p>Embed traditional Māori knowledge, teaching and learning approaches into mainstream schools:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening cultural identity through teaching the history of the tribes of Tūwharetoa and the relevance to the Kawerau district; • Leaders acknowledge the unconscious bias of teachers in their schools; • Teaching the impact of colonisation and land confiscations on Tūwharetoa people; • Learning and teaching Tūwharetoa-tanga in schools; • Growing our own whānau to become teachers in our communities; 	19	<p>Value Mātauranga Māori and preferred Māori approaches to teaching and learning for Māori learners</p> <p>Māori notions of being and doing</p> <p>Valuing of te reo Māori as a taonga for the intergenerational transmission of intergenerational knowledge (whānau whakapapa and narratives)</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Symbolic landmarks of Tūwharetoa Ki Kauerau; • Māori centred model; • More programmes that teach being entrepreneurial, caring for the environment as kaitiaki; • Collective approach to supporting students in school, including whānau more in schools (teaching and learning programmes); • Using more technology in learning; • More sharing of tipuna stories passed down to the next successive generations; & • Provide more scholarships for youth to get access to tertiary/vocational education. 		
TOTAL	43	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 17:

Question seventeen asked the participants *what they thought should be in a model of educational success*.

A total number of 43 responses were identified in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study. Two discourses emerged from the participants' narratives:

- Strengthening the *whānau* environment.
- Embedding traditional Māori knowledge, teaching, and learning approaches into mainstream schools.

In general, all participants wanted *whānau* to do well in life and felt that this could only be done through the constant encouragement and support of *whānau*. These participants statements acknowledge how *whānau* can raise their families to be strong and to support their children into becoming respective contributors of their communities and, normalise going to university amongst *whānau*.

Having the whānau help them with their homework and seeing to them, making sure whatever it is they need to do you know. My mokopuna you know the one that just went out. Her kids went up to the snow, or one of the kids went up to the snow and she wanted him to have the best of everything. So, she rang me, and I mean, yeah, it's all very well. I mean she had to pay it back, but you know they bring on these things. Okay they're part of education but are they necessary. Did the people, do the parents really need that added expense?
(Kuia - NTKK, 73 years old)

The best education of course, but yeah, I would like them to know their roots and how precious they are to have this, you know from here and utilise their own area. Because Māori like to be taught by Māori.
(Whaea A – NTKK, Under 40 years old)

Teach our kids of today about colonisation. Because a lot of kids assume, they're born this is just the norm, but it's not we were taught this way. We were changed this way. I've seen the rallies, to do with something in te reo Māori. I'm like when they do the walk like Whina Cooper did the walk for the lands, and you got now doing the settlements for the lands and you got a lot of kids going uhh why are they getting dirty and want all these lands. So, they don't realise that a lot of the lands people are getting back is due to colonisation, and how the lands were stolen.

(Whaea B - NTKK, 53 years old)

You know what. Make uni a normal thing, like it's not out of reach. This is the next step, Uni. I grew up with only the brainy ones went to uni. So, to make those higher levels of education seem normal within this community.

(Whaea C - NTKK, 44 years old)

One participant also suggests markers for the flourishing of *whānau* through participating in education and the importance of grandparents in raising children up with *whānau* values and beliefs that reflect a Ngāti Tūwharetoa worldview:

Provide them with the opportunities. Because my grandparents provided me with the opportunities, my parents supported that, my grandparents provided if you like the funding support to be able to make that happen. So, I went through boarding school. They provided me with opportunities, and I came across, you know like the rivers. And do my nanny would say well which one excites you mokopuna? I like this pathway Nan. I liked the education pathway you know the awhitangata pathway. She said well follow that pathway and then you might decide it might lead off into another opportunity.

(Matua (B) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Another participant also suggested that *whānau* needed to be more involved within their children's' schools and work along schools in localising their school curriculum to be more inclusive of Māori worldviews, related to Ngāti Tūwharetoa:

I think in kura they need to bring people from our community, they need to have a kaumatua going into the kura, explaining to those children where they come from, who they are, getting these kaumatua taking these children on field trips, taking them to these landmarks identifying where is Tūwharetoa, Tūwharetoa is over there, there is the landmark.

(Matua (A)- NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Question 18 asked the participants: looking into the future, what are your aspirations for your *whānau* and the next generation in terms of educational success?

Table 51:

Ngāti Awa discourse on whānau aspirations for the next generation

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Aspirations for next generation		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourage more children/people to succeed in education. • Continual advancement in higher education. • Support all children to flourish ie give them a good start in life. • Stay connected as whānau. • Support all whānau. • Be interested in your children, nurture their interests. • Know your pathway. • Be able to stand on your two feet. • Be happy in life. • Become active citizens of your whānau, hapū and communities. • Make the marae more accessible to the people. • Participate in university – get a degree. 	15	Maintain and instil the importance and value of educational success
TOTAL	15	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Table 52:

Ngāti Tūwharetoa discourse on whānau aspirations for the next generation

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Aspirations for next generation		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Be able to have access to participate in higher education. • Normalisation of University within whānau. • Be supportive of whānau returning from University. • Be grounded and know who you are. • Be able to access and participate at all levels of education. • Educate our people to understand financial literacy. • Be kaitiaki of our environmental resources. • Raising consciousness amongst our own to challenge the unconscious biasness of people and the systems that exist in New Zealand (e.g., Māori Land Court). • Whānau become more aware of their whakapapa and stories of their whānau. • Whānau provide better home environments for their children • Strengthening understanding of Tūwharetoa-tanga and reclaim connections of oneself, within the whānau and hapū & understand land ownership (eg., how to succeed to tūpuna land). 	15	<p>Raising consciousness of self-perpetuating assumptions becoming realities</p> <p>Setting high expectations and aspiring for advancement of hapū into the future</p>
TOTAL	15	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 18:

Question eighteen asked the participants *what their aspirations were for whānau and the next generation*. A total number of 15 responses were identified for both Ngāti Awa and in the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study. The main concept that emerged from the participants' narratives for Ngāti Awa was:

- Maintain and instil the importance and value of educational success.

Generally, all participants wanted the younger generations and successive generations to come was to follow their passions and dreams whilst holding onto the cultural values, and practices connected to their upbringing. All participants felt it was necessary to get *whānau* to establish their own legacies within their *whānau* through academic or vocational education. This is expressed in the following participants statements:

That they all get degrees. That would be so cool. If everybody went and studied and go get their degrees that would be so awesome. Like if that's what they wanted to do, then they all go achieve it. To me educational success is achieving what you want to be doing. In some scenarios you need to some degree be educated you just can't be, I don't think you can.

(Aunty - Ngāti Awa, 55-65 years old)

I mean my aspirations for my whānau are just too it's pretty simple be happy. If they want to do, I'm happy for them to aspire to success in however, they see, however, they interpret successful. I don't want to cage them in my terms of my success in education, otherwise as long as they're happy and they're not actually hurting anybody, I think that's all anyone wants.

(Whaea - Ngāti Awa, 35-55 years old)

One participant identified his aspirations for *whānau* and the next generation to care for one another in the future and stay connected:

A lot of them, my children and my nephews and that have gone and got jobs. Our grand nephews and that oh some of the younger nephews but those ones what we are trying to achieve for our whānau is support one another, try and work, even if we have to buy our own plot of land where we can raise cattle, sheep and that and so when we have tangihanga or things we have our own supply of meat or and then some more land for the vegetables and for those younger ones to step up now and take charge of an area that they think, like manaakitanga. So my son they are teaching all our, even our hapū really, those things, marae protocols, tikanga, waiata, haka so in respect really that is the thing if people respect you and you have a good aura or good nature they will ask you to do things for them and that could lead to better things, to communicate better from my level down because we haven't in the past, what are you doing, come and do this. But in saying that my nephew and brother and with your uncle when they say we are going to get some firewood and he will say oh I have got some rata somewhere come up and we will get it you know so their little group and I will get a load of rata.

(Koro (C)- Ngāti Awa, 70 years old)

The older generations of participants wanted the younger generations to pursue the pathways they wanted to undertake in life. These participants' statements reflect this aspiration for younger generations to be supported by the older generations:

Ko te mea nui he whakatipu i te kākano, the seed of success is there. I suppose it is dormant now if we were to make that seed grow and develop and then we need to do a lot more, we need more action. As I said before, it is no use talking about it we need to help that dormant ability to be realised within our kids. Our kids are born with that ability put it that way to move forward. To enable them to do that, we need to feed it.

(Koro (D)- Ngāti Awa, 85 + years old)

Well I've been always been a believer that children know at a time quite early in their lives what they would like to be. But then they see parents tend to try and encourage them to do what the parents want rather than listen to what the children see as an attractive future for themselves. The child should be encouraged. What would you like to do? And then having them determine who they are, you know, they don't need to stick to it, but then the question then should be, how do you think you go about achieving that, see what I mean. Rather than the parents tending to it will it on their children as things that they should have done but they didn't get around to it. So, when I think that's one of the failures of our Māori families is that we tend to will our own personal aspirations on to our children. I believe that is the wrong way to go about it.

(Koro (B)- Ngāti Awa, 76 years old)

Another participant also raised points on how *marae* could transform in terms of repurposing their functions and operations in the future:

The marae should be open at least 12 hours per day. We need to have people to be here to be representing social services, the government or whoever so that people that do come here, come here on their own. If you go to any marae in Ngāti Awa, they are empty, there is nobody in them unless you have got a kaupapa like we have got today. We have got three groups here. We have the college, we have got the Black Power, there is a documentary going on and we have got the woman from the prison. That is very unusual to have four groups at the one time. But it has to happen, and that is what happens with the rangatahi, we can mix together, we can be a part of one another. Our people are keen to mix with anybody, they don't care. But if you do it the Pākehā way, there are rules there that you can't do this, you can't do that, but this is Maoritanga and I like to see a lot more of it.

(Koro (A)- Ngāti Awa, 79 years old)

The main concepts that emerged from the participants' narratives for Ngāti Tūwharetoa included:

- Setting high expectations and aspiring for advancement of *hapū* into the future.
- Raising consciousness of self-perpetuating assumptions becoming realities.

Generally, all participants wanted the younger generations and successive generations to follow their passions and stay connected with their Ngāti 'Tūwharetoatanga'. All participants felt it was necessary to get *whānau* to establish their own legacies within their *whānau* through strengthening their 'Tūwharetoatanga' and education. This is expressed in the following participants' statements:

My aspirations for them are that they become world leaders, and always backs through their Tūwharetoatanga, that they are iwi taketake, tuturu o kōnei, that they stand like their ancestors did. That they stand up like Waitaha Ariki kore did who's tekoteko above on that ancestral house at Hahuru, be like Tewhairangi who brought people in and established Hahuru marae. That they stand as leaders, world leaders in their community, proud of who they are, knowledge about who they are, and speak their reo, understand their reo and take it out into the big wide world. Because the world out there is hungry for kaupapa Māori, that world out there is hungry for a template that is successful in the world of education, the world of business, economy, Hauora. Even in the way that communities are the world out there is hungry for that. So, my aspirations is that they will do that. I'd like to be that person that's there going whoo to that fire and being there for them, not in front of them, but with them walking hand in hand, and guiding them, and that's my aspirations, and these kids they can do that.

(Matua (B)- NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Knowing there whakapapa. I suppose money goes a long way but at the same time depending on what the parents are like. Aspirations for my whānau I want them to be happy to be perfectly honest. Being happy. Just knowing who they are, loving themselves and especially knowing who they are in God.

(Kuia - NTKK, 73 years old)

First, it's most important that because if they didn't pick it up (younger generations) who's going to carry it on you're going to lose it, you know if it's not instilled into our up and coming generation. Yeah, it's likes of you fellas. It's a big thanks. For you going around like this are all for the betterment of yourself, but then again is helping spread the word for our younger generation coming up. They all want betterment for their children, for their mokopuna and for our maraes.

(Koro (A)- NTKK, 73 years old)

One participant (a former teacher in the area) identified his aspirations for schools to become better at serving the needs of Māori students and the next generations to come:

I would like schools to really focus on pushing our low achievers. Well they call them low achievers, but they are not low achievers because every individual has got a strength, it's just a name put on to them. They may be low achievers in reading and writing but the world is not all about reading and writing. They need to realise that all our children have strength. They have got potential, that we care, that there are establishments out there that cater for all our individual, not only the wānanga, there could be other learning establishments within our rohe that could be set up you know so that they can be successful that there is a purpose in life for them.

(Matua (A)- NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Question 19 asked participants, do you have any other comments you would like to contribute to this research?

Table 53:

Other important factors for the research (Ngāti Awa)

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Further kaupapa to consider in the research		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouraging mothers to read to their puku (belly). • Continual parental encouragement through their children/s lives. • Nurture educational success within and across whānau, hapū and iwi. • Develop financial literacy of whānau/hapū. • More sharing and teaching amongst our own people (whakapapa, land, marakai, caring for the environment). • Understand the importance and value of Māori spirituality and religion in families. • Return to hapū and share new skills to strengthen the community. • Nurturing growth and development amongst the hapū. • Dealing with conflict and addressing conflict within whānau. • Complexities of dealing with raruraru in hapū and in Te Teko community. • More whānau being role-models and guiding other whānau to stand up. • Understand the impact of growing up as a child/ren within a dysfunctional family and home environment. Including, identifying the impact related to the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma to successive generations. • Be aware of the seed you are creating within your whānau – the passing on of traits/behaviours from one generation to the next generation (e.g., normalisation of alcohol abuse, family violence and drug abuse). • Naming the demons that rupture families. • Standing up against demons in families, hapū and in the community. • Holding high expectations for all. • Teaching strong whānau values to know right from wrong, be an upstanding member of your community, serve the people. 	18	<p>Nurturing learning and love for literacy before birth</p> <p>Instilling and teaching family values, beliefs, work ethic and practices onto children and the next generations</p> <p>Rethink, reimage, and deconstruct how iwi's structural mechanisms support hapū capacities to serve their whānau/communities</p>
TOTAL	18	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Table 54:
Other important factors for the research (Ngāti Tūwharetoa)

Categories	Frequency	Concepts
Further kaupapa to consider in the research		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents not teaching children values and giving into them demands. Parents allowing the overuse of IPADs by children in the home environment. Returning and sharing the knowledge learnt and skills with the people. 	3	Factors that hinder a child/rens' development and learning from within the family environment
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Spreading the word to the next generation. Being resilient. Reaffirm position and worldview as Indigenous people. Learning the value of whakataukī. Being Māori and showing manaakitanga, arohatanga and demonstrating whanaungatanga. Poking the conscience of whānau. What's not working in our community, knowing the reality for whānau in our community. 	6	<p>Growing the mind, nurturing the next generations to come</p> <p>Whānau becoming grounded and anchored in Māori values, tikanga and practices</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Removing, eliminating prejudice thought that discriminate against Māori. Reclaiming the use of rongoa as an alternative/alongside the use of Western medicine. 	2	Develop cultural competencies of health practioners when working and dealing with Māori patients and clients
TOTAL	11	

Note: These figures represent individual responses

Thematic analysis and summary of Question 19:

Question nineteen asked the participants *did they have any other comments that would like to contribute to the research*. A total number of eighteen responses were identified for Ngāti Awa and a total of eleven responses for the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study. Some key points emphasised from the eighteen narratives included providing all children with a good start in their family environments, and *whānau* becoming grounded and anchored in Māori values, *tikanga* and practices, as part of creating positive change, within their own *whānau* and breaking the cycle of perpetuating trauma from one generation to the next generation. These sentiments are identified in the following participants' statements below:

I suppose for the younger generation, it's that whaia i te kahurangi. Take little steps and when you meet with any obstacles. When you find the going getting tough bale off to a lofty mountain. Set your goals and challenges and if you experience difficulties, just keep on going, don't give up.

(Aunty - NTKK, 65-75 years old)

It is something that is impacting on our tamariki today and its these devices that tamariki have got in their homes that are readily available. I got nieces and nephews who spend nine hours on these devices, and you know sometimes I have to go to their whare, and I say get off that machine and get yourself outside. But once my back is turned, they are back on these devices. I say this has got a lot to do that's impacted on their learning because that is all there world. Is get home, get on these devices, turn it on, stay there on there until early hours of the morning have a little, they are not ready for school. The parents are the big problems and they're not hard on, you can say be on here for an hour, two hours the max and then you are off there. Yeah, it's the parents, it's their fault. But I really feel sorry for the children who turn up at school who have spent all night, early hours of the morning on these devices and of course they are not going to be ready for learning, their brain is dead.

(Matua (A) - NTKK, 55-65 years old)

Summary results of the data

Table 55 below provides a summary of all the data into categories, concepts, and emerging theory progression.

Table 55:

Data table of categories, concepts, and emerging theory progression (Ngāti Awa)

Interview Questions	Ngā Hononga Categories	Ngā Putanga Concepts	Ngā Hua Key research themes
1 - 5	<p><i>Knowing who I am</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of cultural self and whānau connections. • Personal stories of struggle and self-determination. • Acknowledgement of tūpuna and whānau whakapapa and stories. • Ancestral connections between Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau • The relevance of marae to Māori wellbeing and strengthening cultural identity. • Embedding of traditional Māori teaching and learning models. • Parental Influence on children. • The fluency levels of native speakers, nurtured and raised in te ao Māori environments (home and marae). • Impact of multiple forms of trauma experienced across successive generations of whānau, hapū and iwi. • Breakdown in the whānau kinship model. • Strengthening the intergenerational transmission of hapū knowledge related to Ngā Maihi to the next successive generations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening urban identity as Ngāti Awa. • Re-connecting, strengthening relationships within and across whānau. • Differences in upbringing between ahikā and rāwaho. • Discourses on transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma across generations. • Impact of the past on the present and perpetuation of a traumatic and colonising environment. • Understand how the institutional settings and wider culture of New Zealand's settler state impacted on Māori at different stages in history. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influences that impact on cultural identity, cultural connection and on the transmission of intergenerational knowledge across successive generations of whānau, hapū and iwi. • Discourses that explain how the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma has impacted on Māori learners' educational success.
6	<p><i>Parental and Tūpuna background on their education histories in mainstream schooling</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Background and description of individual (self) identity and whānau, hapū and iwi identity through ancestral connections, whakapapa and pūrākau. • Background of educational histories and outcomes from mainstream education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-connecting to ancestral connections, reclaiming whakapapa and whānau, hapū and iwi histories and heritage and strengthening cultural identity as Ngāti Awa living as ahikā and rāwaho. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parental background in education a causal factor in transmission of intergenerational educational success.
7	<p><i>Education is a determinant of success</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable schooling experiences that promoted educational success. • Factors that hindered educational success and whānau flourishing as a whānau. • Tūpuna and parents' experiences of schooling. • Whānau experience of success at school. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impact of Western theorising and exposure to Western teaching and schooling impacts educational success for Māori. • Impact of colonisation on people of Te Teko through forced assimilation. • Continual perpetuation of colonial attitudes related to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empower Māori students through schooling anchored in mātauranga Māori and Māori approaches to teaching and learning.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other whānau factors that positively impact and/or hinder tamariki, rangatahi, pakeke or kaumātua cultural identity, health and educational success. 	<p>educating Māori in mainstream schooling.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manifestations resulting from the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma. 	
8	<p>Strong fluency in te reo Māori, in-depth knowledge of whānau whakapapa and histories and strong connections across and within whānau is a marker of strong cultural identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Definition of connection Definition of disconnection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Re-connecting and strengthening connections with ancestral lands. Impact of the transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma. Structural mechanisms and psychosocial challenges impacted whānau. Loss of language and impact on transmission of intergenerational knowledge within whānau. Dislocated people who are disenfranchised are engaged in antisocial and criminal behaviour. Whānau living in traumagenic environments. 	
9	Discourse on challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acknowledging the different types of trauma arising from colonisation during and after signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and post-settlement of WAI claim on whānau, hapū and iwi of Ngāti Awa. Transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma. Changing mindsets and empowering whānau to flourish. Strengthening whānau capacities in order to flourish. 	
10	Discourse on support mechanisms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promote and strengthen educational success amongst whānau and hapū. 	

11	Discourse on positive role-models in whānau and community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The role of elders in leading and supporting whānau in the community / schools 	
12	Discourse on building pathways for intergenerational educational success for tamariki	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impact of educators and leaders' actions that continually marginalise Māori learners, their whānau and communities. • Make structural changes within mainstream schooling in New Zealand education system. 	
13	Discourse on whānau voice: Doing better for Māori in education and society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deepening the breadth of knowledge and cultural capabilities that educators, government agencies possess related to Māori worldviews and traditional Māori models of teaching and learning. • Acknowledge the detrimental impact of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma on tamariki Māori educational success. 	
14	Discourses on initiatives to support stronger connections between ahikā and rāwaho and normalise educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acknowledge the detrimental impact of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma on tamariki Māori educational success 	
15	Discourses on support systems which contribute to building intergenerational educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowering and growing whānau minds and knowledge. • Place importance on whānau to provide safe nurturing home environments for children and families to flourish. • Developing the next generational leaders of Māori within the hapū and hāpori. 	
16	Elements (pou) that contribute to a model of educational success	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Value mātauranga Māori and preferred Māori approaches to teaching and learning for Māori learners. • Māori notions of being and doing. 	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The place and valuing of te reo Māori as a taonga for the intergenerational transmission of intergenerational knowledge (whānau whakapapa and narratives). • Raising consciousness of whānau about the value and purpose of education and the impact this has on quality of life. Grow and nurturing a safe, caring and loving whānau environment. • Valuing education as a determinant for later life success. • Grow outstanding teachers who embrace Māori ways of being. 	
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Table 56:

Data table of categories, concepts, and emerging theory progression (Ngāti Tūwharetoa)

Interview Questions	Ngā Hononga Categories	Ngā Putanga Concepts	Ngā Hua Key research themes
1 - 5	<p><i>Knowing who I am</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Description of cultural self and whānau connections. • Personal stories of struggle and self-determination. • Acknowledgement of tūpuna and whānau whakapapa and stories. • Ancestral connections between Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. • The relevance of marae to Māori wellbeing and strengthening cultural identity. • Embedding of traditional Māori teaching and learning models. • Parental Influence on children. • The fluency levels of native speakers, nurtured and raised in te Ao Māori environments (home and marae). • Impact of multiple forms of trauma experienced across successive generations of whānau, hapū and iwi. • Breakdown in the whānau kinship model. • Strengthening the intergenerational transmission of hapū knowledge 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening identity as Ngāti Tūwharetoa; strengthening relationships within and across whānau. • Differences in upbringing between ahikā and rāwaho. • Discourses on transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma across generations. • Impact of the past on the present and perpetuation of a traumatic and colonising environment. • Understand how the institutional settings and wider culture of New Zealand's settler state impacted on Māori at different stages in history. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influences that impact on cultural identity, cultural connection and on the transmission of intergenerational knowledge across successive generations of whānau, hapū and iwi. • Discourses that explain how the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma has impacted on Māori learners' educational success.
6	<p><i>Parental and Tūpuna background on their education histories in mainstream schooling</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Background and description of individual (self) identity and whānau, hapū and iwi identity through ancestral connections, whakapapa and pūrākau. • Background of educational histories and outcomes from mainstream education. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Re-connecting to ancestral connections, reclaiming whakapapa and whānau, hapū and iwi histories and heritage and strengthening cultural identity as Ngāti Tūwharetoa living as ahikā and rāwaho. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parental background in education a causal factor in transmission of intergenerational educational success.
7	<p><i>Education is a determinant of success</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable schooling experiences that promoted educational success • Factors that hindered educational success and whānau flourishing as a whānau • Tipuna and parents' experiences of schooling • Whānau experience of success at school 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impact of Western theorising and exposure to Western teaching and schooling impacts educational success for Māori. • Impact of colonisation on people of Kawerau and Onepū through forced assimilation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empower Māori students through schooling anchored in Mātauranga Māori and Māori approaches to teaching and learning.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other whānau factors that positively impact and/or hinder tamariki, rangatahi, pakeke or kaumātua cultural identity, health and educational success 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continual perpetuation of colonial attitudes related to educating Māori in mainstream schooling. Manifestations resulting from the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma. 	
8	<p><i>Strong fluency in te reo Māori, in-depth knowledge of whānau whakapapa and histories and strong connections across and within whānau is a marker of strong cultural identity</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Definition of connection Definition of disconnection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Re-connecting and strengthening connections with ancestral lands 	
9	<p><i>Discourse on challenges and struggles</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Powerful assumptions become self-perpetuating realities. Changing and shifting mindsets and empowering whānau to flourish. Self-perpetuating realities impact on kaumātua generation. Strengthening whānau capacities in order to flourish. Manifestations of the transmission of Intergenerational historical and cultural trauma on people. Markers of vulnerable family/ies impact on cultural identity. Markers of vulnerable communities' impact on cultural identity, and life, education and health outcomes. Normalising mindsets to aim high and achieve potential within whānau. Transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma across generations. 	
10	<p><i>Discourse on support mechanisms</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support mechanisms for normalising educational success within whānau, hapū and iwi. 	
11	<p><i>Discourse on positive role-models in whānau and community</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Identify, locating and promoting our role-models in the community. 	

		Empowering whānau to become prominent leaders within their whānau and communities.	
12	<i>Discourse on building pathways for intergenerational educational success for tamariki</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Healing from the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma. • Strengthening understanding of roles within Māori context. • Embedding Māori perspectives into education. • Understand what intergenerational historical and cultural trauma through mainstream schooling has impacted on educational success for Māori. 	
13	<i>Discourse on whānau voice: Doing better for Māori in education and society</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Know Māori learners preferred way of teaching and learning. • Raising conscious awareness of life difficulties of whānau realities. • Ingrained beliefs and assumptions impact on Pākehā and Māori relationships. • Invest into initiatives that strengthen in, with and between whānau. 	
14	<i>Discourses on initiatives to support stronger connections between ahikā and rawaho and normalise educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More financial investment into supporting and establishing programmes to help whānau create wealth for their families. • Awakening the consciousness of iwi leadership by providing more support. 	
15	<i>Discourses on support systems which contribute to building intergenerational educational success amongst whānau, hapū and iwi</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Embed traditional Māori models of teaching and learning into mainstream schooling. • Acknowledge the governments hand in the transmission of intergenerational historical and cultural trauma. • (Impact of structural changes from legislation that oppressed, 	

		<p>subjugated, and marginalise Māori).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empowering and growing whānau minds and knowledge. • Place importance on whānau to provide safe nurturing home environments for children and families to flourish. • Develop the next generational leaders of Māori (within the hapū and hapori). • Government agencies need to become better Treaty partners and learn to work better and alongside with whānau. 	
17	<i>Elements (pou) that contribute to a model of educational success</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Value Mātauranga Māori and preferred Māori approaches to teaching and learning for Māori learners. • Māori notions of being and doing. • The place and valuing of te reo Māori as a taonga for the intergenerational transmission of intergenerational knowledge (whānau whakapapa and narratives). • Raising consciousness of whānau about the value and purpose of education and the impact this has on quality of life. • Strengthening the whānau. • Markers of flourishing whānau. 	

A summary of the data is displayed in Table 55 for both Ngāti Awa (pp. 287 - 290) and Table 56 for Ngāti Tūwharetoa (pp. 291 - 294), in the order that the questions were asked. The table is divided into four columns. These columns identify the interview question number, the categories, concepts, and emerging key themes. Furthermore, a Summary Table 57 for both case studies (p. 296) is provided as part of the discussion section in this chapter. Chapter Eight will explore the emerging key themes that emerged from the data in more detail and link them to the literature reviewed in Chapter One through to Chapter Five.

Table 57:

Summary data table of categories, concepts, and emerging theory progression for both case studies

Ngā Hononga Categories	Ngā Putanga Concepts	Ngā Hua Key research themes
Inside the home environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma across successive generations of whānau • Impact of material poverty on whānau • The influence of tipuna and parental education on tamariki Māori educational success 	The socio-historical and contextual factors (family interactions, institutional structures, structural) that affect the whānau environment and tamariki Māori educational success
Inside the community environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transmission of HT & CT across successive generations of whānau • Impact of material poverty on the community 	The socio-historical and contextual factors (family interactions, institutional structures, structural) that affect the community environment and tamariki Māori educational success
The school environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma across successive generations of whānau • Structural mechanisms that impact on schools providing culturally responsive learning environments 	How education systems influence the intergenerational transmission of education
Survival of te reo Māori, and Mātauranga Māori (whakapapa and whānau histories)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transmission of HT & CT across successive generations of whānau 	The contextual factors that impact on Māori cultural identity, and on the intergenerational transmission of mātauranga Māori (knowledge) across successive generations of whānau, hapū and iwi

Summary

This chapter focused on identifying the categories, concepts and emerging themes from the eighteen narratives. The production of the narratives identified the influence of mainstream schooling and its contribution to the educational success of Māori students and towards the economic and social advancement of Māori. This included analysing participants' reflections of growing up within rural and urban communities and as members of their respective *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi* and *hāpori*. For most of the participants, as Māori learners, they participated in monocultural and monolingual native, mission, and public state schools during the late 1930s to 1960s, and 1960s to the 1990s. The participants' life and educational experiences influenced their self-perceptions and contributed to and shaped their Māori identity, cultural

connections as Ngāti Awa or Ngāti Tūwharetoa, educational success as a Māori learner from Ngāti Awa or Ngāti Tūwharetoa, their acquisition of *te reo Māori*.

In summary, the political and legal structures of the settler government alienated Māori from their resources leading to material poverty. This material poverty, in and of itself, created hardship which in turn has caused suffering amongst generations during the latter half of the isolation and integration periods. In addition, a secondary effect of material poverty is a dependence on the settler economy, in particular, entering as a second-class citizen. Within narratives there is evidence that this produced a sense of shame and stigma for some individuals. Furthermore, material poverty placed pressures on *whānau* to compromise their children's education and future economic opportunities by going out earlier to work, in order to supplement parents' income to support the family, which perpetuated the cycle of subalternisation.

The next chapter presents a discussion of the findings.

Chapter Eight: Findings and Data Analysis

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to explore the Māori voice on how *whānau* conceptualise educational success as Māori from either Ngāti Awa or Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. This objective was achieved with the the data findings from Chapter Six. This chapter presents a discussion of the findings that focused on building an understanding of the lived experiences and current realities of *whānau* living in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. These findings are related to the literature reviewed in Chapter One through to Chapter Five. The findings from this research may be valuable for use by educators, the Ministry of Education and policymakers who work in the education system in New Zealand and for informing Māori collaborative approaches that are *iwi*-led to create a new narrative for Māori to reach their full potential in New Zealand's education system and thereafter, in their chosen careers. Recapitulating, this thesis strives to make three contributions:

- (1) a contribution to educational theory from an Indigenous Māori *whānau* lens;
- (2) a contribution to the empirical literature from a *whānau* perspective of the factors that encourage and shape Māori educational success as Māori within the school environment, and outside of the school environment; and
- (3) a contribution to *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* knowledge through the repositories of elders' narratives related to Māori enjoying educational success as Māori.

Drawing from the discussions and identifying the findings, the contribution of the thesis focuses on key areas of significance:

- (1) education and schooling;
- (2) impact of intergenerational transmission of cultural and historical trauma; and
- (3) *whānau*, Māori culture and identity.

This chapter will focus on discussion that will help answer the following research questions:

- (R1): How do *whānau* conceptualise educational success for their children?
- (R2): What Māori values inform *whānau* views of educational success for their children?
- (R3): What other factors do *whānau* consider as imperative for the educational success of their children? (cultural identity, language, culture and knowledge)

Finally, this chapter summarises solutions to the challenges for Māori students on their education journey that can be found by renewed collaborative projects between experts and the communities of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau, to enable *tamariki Māori* to reach their full potential and shift the mindsets and practices of teachers, educators and policymakers who are the *kaitiaki* (guardians) of the education system.

Discussion and interpretation of the findings

Eighteen *whānau* participated in this research and agreed to be interviewed. Each participant shared their learning experiences in mainstream education, and revealed the background of their lives, the realities of living within their *whānau* and their community environments, and the multiple pathways that they, as students and as *whānau*, have experienced educational success.

The objective of this research was to gain a deeper understanding of how *whānau* conceptualise educational success and how both the *whānau* and community environments can have a direct impact on their children's attitudes, perceptions, values and belief systems, and it either hinders or supports their children's' potential in achieving educational success as Māori.

Key areas of significance: Education and schooling

A flourishing and culturally responsive environment for *whānau* embraces learning opportunities that enhances their knowledge and understanding from a Māori worldview. *Whānau* are not motivated by traditional Western approaches to education as alluded to in *He Awa Ara Rau: A journey of many paths* (Māori Collective Futures, 2020a) and *Ngā Mātau Ā-Wheako* (Māori Collective Futures, 2020b). This tribally-led research acknowledges *rangatahi* are motivated to learning in, on, with and through the *taiao* (environment), or they will seek educational pathways which enable them to stay connected to their *whakapapa* and *tūrangawaewae* (Māori Collective Futures, 2020a & 2020b). *Whānau* have identified education and schooling as a significant factor to have detrimentally affected successive generations of *tamariki*. The ongoing impact of factors that affect the *whānau* environment also has contributed to their educational success and journey in mainstream schooling.

Theme: The factors that affect the *whānau* environment - Parents' educational achievement and educational beliefs and behaviours.

It is widely accepted that parental and family environments can influence and contribute towards the educational success of their children (Hattie, 2009). Parents' educational attainment is a powerful predictor of what parents provide in the home environment (identified

in Chapter Seven, Table 29 and Table 30, p. 174 & p. 175). This is also highlighted in the case study of Ngāti Awa where *whānau* have placed significant emphasis on getting a good education by making a conscious decision to ensure that each different generational age group had achieved at the different educational transition stages. For example, primary, then transitioning into secondary and then on to tertiary or going into trades vocation. Matua (Ngāti Awa as a father and grandfather his emphasis on parental expectations were important to achievement behaviours in the home and subsequent achievement at higher education in the tertiary sector. This strategic focus from the Ngāti Awa *whānau* has certainly seen multiple lives changed and shaped where educational success is normalised throughout the three different generations. This shared notion of high expectations by parents and a nurturing of educational behaviours and beliefs is also noted by the Ngāti Tūwharetoa *whānau*.

This study found that parents perceptions of educational success is highly dependent on the skills, qualifications, cultural knowledge and having a confidence in speaking *te reo Māori*. Most participants recognised the role parents played in their children's success. As parents they understood that they needed to structure the home and educational environment for children so that they could excel in their schooling endeavors, but also learn about their Averill et al. (2014) that *whānau* value their children learning about their culture, language and identity reflecting the key messages outlined in varying developments of the Māori education strategy, *Ka Hikitia: Hāpaitia-Māori education strategy* (Ministry of Education, n.d.); and research projects like *Te Kotahitanga* (Bishop et al., 2009), *He awa ara rau: A journey of many paths and a journey of many paths: The journey of our rangatahi Māori through our education system* (BERL, 2019; Māori Futures Collective, 2020a), and *Ngā Mātau Ā-Wheako: Lived experiences of education and employment in Te Waipounamu* (Māori Futures Collective, 2020b) that recognise the confidence gained when culture, language and identity are included within education that is for children, youth and *whānau*.

Theme: Parental and *whānau* educational expectations for children, educators, school leaders, communities and cross-agencies involved in the education system in New Zealand

The findings of the research concur with the literature that the impact of parental and family educational expectations and teachers' expectations are influential factors that contribute towards the educational success of Māori students in mainstream schooling. Research by Hattie (2009) found that parents can have a major effect, in terms of the encouragement and expectations that they transmit to their children. The Office of the Children's Commission (2013) also identified that parents, families and *whānau* contribute to some of the factors that lead to educational success and government strategies and policies contribute too.

This research provides a *whānau* Māori voice and had identified trauma as a factor that impacts on the family environment and can hinder the progress of *tamariki* Māori reaching their potential as they navigate their educational journey from entry through to transitioning and exiting the education system. Secondly, the research presents a *whānau* perspective of understanding the contributions that parents, families and *whānau* have towards the educational success of their children. This study is consistent with the literature on Māori enjoying success as Māori (Berryman & Elley, 2017; Durie, 2003; Webber & MacFarlane, 2018; Webber & MacFarlane, 2020).

The findings of this research identified that empowering *whānau* to become more actively involved in the education pathways of their children is needed through participating in co-constructing educational strategic plans and curriculum programmes with educators and school leaders. School leaders and educators need to support and acknowledge the knowledge systems that have been practised by both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa by embedding this within the school curriculum and giving emphasis to the integrity of tribal cultural knowledge and skills. This was noted within the narratives of both case studies and aligns with the literature of strengthening strong connections between Māori and the education sectors' workforce (Māori Future Collectives, 2020a & 2020b).

Theme: Parents and *whānau* involvement in education pathways for children.

In Chapter four and the review of previous studies relating to educational success highlighted that recent conversations with *whānau* on what Māori see is needed to improve education and ensure equitable access for all Māori learners (New Zealand Government, 2020) is particularly helpful to understand *whānau* perspectives. In this study, all participants shared a common understanding that high expectations were needed for their children to achieve in their schooling, but also affirmed an urgency for future generations, to be self-determining in their chosen pathway and reminded them to hold onto the legacy of their tūpuna (ancestors) through re-connection to their families' *whakapapa* and continuing to hold on to the Māori language. The narratives also revealed that there were instances where participants from within both case studies, knew of many families who were struggling to provide positive role-models for their children and foster a safe family environment that promoted Māori values like *manaakitanga* and *whanaungatanga*.

Theme: *Whānau* voice of schooling experiences.

This research identified that inequality exists for Māori children and their *whānau* within the boundaries of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau, particularly in how they have

been underserved as Māori learners by the education system. This aligns with the ongoing call by Māori research and *iwi*-led collaborations to address the social issues faced by Māori in the education system with new innovative ways that empower their people and create partnerships with experts to enable *rangatahi* and *whānau* to reach their potential and determine their own pathways in the education system as noted in *He awa ara rau: A journey of many paths* (BERL, 2019; Māori Future Collectives, 2020a).

This research identified several factors that impacted on *whānau*, their communities and their children's educational success to reach their potential in the education system. The literature in Chapter four identified that trauma can impact at multiple levels, such as the individual, family and the community (Evans-Campbell, 2008), and for some Māori *whānau* they continue to live in traumatic environments although the original trauma has passed on some generations ago and they suffer as a result of such long-term oppression (Pihama et al., 2014; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). This is a very similar situation acknowledged in the research on Indigenous American Indian/Alaskan Native (AIAN) communities (Brave Heart, 2003; Duran, 2006; Evans-Campbell, 2008). A major finding identified from the two case studies, is that Māori have not recovered from colonisation, evidenced by the impact of 204 years of historical and cultural trauma experienced across successive generations of *whānau* that has resulted in the loss of language, culture and identity.

There are marked differences between descriptions and explanations of Māori *whānau* lived realities, located within the two case studies:

- Generally, most participants shared that some parents in their communities needed to make shifts in their mindsets related to parenting and how their actions and practices needed to nurture a family environment that foster the values of *whanaungatanga*, *manaakitanga*, *aroha* and *kaitiakitanga*, that instilled a sense of pride and ownership in themselves and their children in being Māori. The narratives also noted the importance of the community environment in supporting *whānau* and creating new pathways where tamariki Māori are encouraged by *whānau* to engage in their cultural identity, learn their *whānau* histories and *whakapapa* in order to become more connected to the wider *hapū* and *iwi*;
- Participants discussed the social issues that impacted significantly on their communities and *whānau*, such as the hardships of living without the most basic necessities in life (such as food, shelter and employment), the *mamae* (hurt) from living within their communities including the external factors that impacted on *whānau* lives

such as living in a vulnerable community where drugs, alcohol, family violence and gangs are on their doorsteps; and

- For most participants, a common theme that flowed through their narratives was a shared understanding that teachers, school leaders and educators needed to empower Māori students in mainstream schooling by embedding *mātauranga Māori* and other Māori approaches to teaching and learning that foster their culture and language.

The narratives in both case studies, illustrated how cultural trauma was experienced in mainstream schooling, across successive generations of Māori. Factors identified by the 18 participants include:

- The forced cultural assimilation of Māori in society through the education system;
- The historical roots of schooling which has diminished Māori ways of being;
- The fact that Māori students are taught by culturally unresponsive teachers and are immersed in learning environments that favour the dominant Western culture; and
- The continued bias and racism experienced by Māori students within mainstream schools.

These issues reflect a growing nuance in the literature discourse identified in chapter three that acknowledges the difficulties that Māori students and their *whānau* go through when navigating their learning journey in New Zealand's education system. Several Māori scholars have alluded to the adverse effects of the colonial encounter enacted in New Zealand during 1816 to the late 1900s, and the power imbalance of Pākehā domination and Māori subordination in mainstream schooling (Barrett, 2018; Berryman & Eley, 2017; Bishop et al., 2009; Hetaraka, 2019; L. T. Smith, 2012; Walker, 2016). They also commented on the reproduction of systemic bias in the education system which derails Māori students to low-skilled, low-paying menial jobs that fail to create a platform for *whānau* wellbeing (BERL, 2019; Māori Future Collectives, 2020a).

Healing process: *Whānau* creating new pathways in mainstream education

Whānau asserting their *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination) in formalising their education pathway later on in life and becoming more involved in their children's schooling was considered to be part of the healing process from traumatic experiences of their past. This is considered to be an important finding in this research. This perspective on healing is shared

by other Indigenous theorists in relation to soul healing and acknowledges how trauma that is from the original ancestral wound, will continue to be passed down through generations if left unresolved (Duran, 2006; Lawson-Te Aho, 2013). The research results for the selective *whānau* groups showed interesting differences between both case studies. These differences included: how members of the *whānau* had valued education; their varying experiences related to the level of success in the educational system, and their involvement in their children's education in mainstream schooling. The *whānau* group from the Ngāti Awa case study had taken control of their destiny by the actions of the grandfather (*whānau* participant 8-Matua) who strategically changed the blueprint of his family by nurturing a growth for learning and an aspiration for higher education within his family. This blueprint not only impacted on his children, but also influenced his grandchildren's lives. The *whānau* group from the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study had taken control of their destiny by the actions of each *whānau* participant who strategically changed their *whānau* blueprint of their family by returning to engage as older students in the education system. These *whānau* recognised the importance of participating in higher education so that they could move into meaningful employment rather than remain in labouring roles and therefore being able to get employment where they can provide an improved quality of life for their *whānau* such as buying a home.

This research found through both case-studies, that historical and cultural trauma was experienced by *whānau* and *iwi*, and furthermore, continues to impact today on generations of *whānau* and the community. This can be attributed to the political and legal structures of the first settler government who alienated Māori from their land resources leading to material poverty (Reid et al., 2017a). This material poverty, in and of itself, created hardship which in turn has caused suffering amongst generations of *whānau* during the latter half of the isolation and integration periods. The case studies showed that some *whānau* supplemented their income through working collaboratively to grow large gardens and taking on the milking of cows on their own lands to alleviate pressure on the family household. In some instances, *whānau* sought employment outside the tribal boundaries to take care of their families, returned home to live with parents, and shared homes with many families to save costs of a changing time period. In addition, across the *whānau* participants narratives across both case studies, there is evidence that this produced a sense of shame and stigma for some *whānau*. Furthermore, material poverty placed pressures on *whānau* to compromise their children's education and future economic opportunities by sending them out earlier to work in order to supplement parents' income, in order to support the family, which perpetuated the cycle of sub-alternisation, that is, being minorities that are suppressed.

Key area of significance: Impact of intergenerational transmission of cultural and historical trauma

Theme: The stressors that impact on *tamariki Māori* education pathways: The influence of socio-economic status on *whānau* environments and educational success.

This research has found that socio-economic status has had an indirect impact on the educational success of *tamariki Māori* in schooling and more support is needed for those families who are struggling to cope with several barriers. For example, home ownership, paucity of food in the home, excessive exposure to alcohol and drugs, and the gang influences within the communities they reside in within the tribal boundaries of both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa. The narratives revealed that not all students had a good start in life and their family environment were less than desirable and unconducive for learning and development. The findings also support the narratives of the *whānau* participants in that parental behaviours and involvement in their children's learning are influential factors for educational success of their children. The New Zealand Children's Commissioner (NZCC) acknowledges that there is evidence that supports the rationale for having a greater focus on supporting homes, parents, caregivers, family and *whānau* to help all New Zealand children to achieve their potential (Office of the Children's Commission, 2013). The NZCC suggests that not just focusing solely on early childhood education and schooling will be enough to allow all children and young people to achieve to their full potential (Office of the Children's Commission, 2013).

Theme: The influence of trauma on parents and the *whānau* environment.

Hattie's (2009) research identified that family environments can either be a nurturing place for children or it can be a place of low expectations and a lack of encouragement in learning. This thesis attempts to theorise the link that the transmission of historical and cultural trauma also known as intergenerational and collective trauma impacts on educational success in both case studies. Including, the implications this form of trauma places on the *whānau* environment. Based on the *whānau* narratives in response to four questions (question 6 through to question 9) from the questionnaire in Appendix 1, this thesis asserts that self-determination at a *whānau* level has an instrumental role towards the development of attitudes and values in children needed for succeeding in life.

Theme: Interpreting trauma from the narratives of *whānau* from the case studies.

The narratives from questions six through to question nine are interpreted through the lens of historical and cultural trauma, known as soul wounds, linking the impact of colonial education to manifestations of cultural disconnection and internalised oppression from successive years

of exposure to culturally unresponsive teaching and immersion in culturally unresponsive education settings such as Native schools, District High schools, Mission schools and in some state primary and secondary schools. Cultural disconnection, alienation of land, loss of Māori language, Māori identity, Māori culture and *mātauranga Māori* were identified in the findings as an outcome of soul wounding and resulted from the transmission of both historical and cultural trauma across successive generations and confirmed within Chapter four, the Indigenous trauma literature of this research. The narratives provided from *whānau* participants are their stories as told to me for the purpose of this research. No judgement or *tikanga* interpretation has been made regarding the authenticity of these narratives.

Theme: Disclosure of information about historical and cultural trauma in the case studies.

The first question asked for background information about the participants. This allowed participants to share details about their lives and the stories of their *whānau*. Some participants shared the trauma experienced within their *whānau*. For some participants, their experiences clarify the existence of trauma located within *whānau* and *hapū whakapapa* and histories, particularly incidents pertaining to mainstream schooling, loss of land due to confiscation in 1867 within the tribal boundaries of the Eastern Bay of Plenty and in the establishment of Kawerau as a town in 1954 in conjunction with the development of Tasman Paper and Pulp Mill. These narratives begin the process of healing for *whānau* affected by such traumatic events and the potential to shape new pathways for *whānau* in the future.

Soul wounding of Māori in mainstream schooling within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty) is evident in the *whānau* participants stories. This research has uncovered historical and cultural trauma from the narratives of *whānau* which is consistent with the literature presented in chapter one through to chapter four. The transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma and its effects identified in the narratives has impacted on the education pathways for *whānau* in mainstream schooling. The narratives of *whānau* from the case studies may better inform the field of educational success for Māori and further add to both tribal repositories of knowledge related to educational success and better future pathways for generations of *tamariki* Māori encountering mainstream schooling. This perspective parallels recent findings in BERL (2019), a collaborative report between Waikato-Tainui (term used for the tribes whose ancestors came on the Tainui canoe and whose territory includes the Waikato area), Ngāi Tahu (tribal group of much of the South Island), Southern Initiative and the Business, Economic, Research-Lead (BERL) consultancy who tracked a cohort of 70,000 rangatahi through education into employment. BERL (2019) argues that the current education system needs remodeling through removing the obstacles to achieving at secondary and tertiary levels and achieving education that has relevant and quality

employment opportunities. Furthermore, this 'need to do better' is reinforced within a revised Māori education strategy, *Ka Hikitia: Hāpita* (Ministry of Education, n.d.-I), which notes a level of responsibility by successive governments for an education system that has underperformed for many decades and makes attempts to redress the injustices done to Māori in the education system.

The colonial system of education in New Zealand was founded on oppressive ideologies of assimilation, civilisation, and Christianity that aligned to the dispossession of Māori from their lands and cultural, spiritual, economic and societal structures (Simon & Smith, 2001; L. T. Smith, 1997; Walker, 2016). This archaic system has caused much harm and humiliation to generations of Māori (L. T. Smith, 2012), and is reflected in the *whānau* participants narratives of both case studies. This factor is also supported by numerous Waitangi Tribunal reports across different tribes referring to issues in education including the impact assimilative education had towards rate of decline of *te reo Māori* across *iwi* (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986 & 2011C).

The narratives highlight *whānau* concerns related to unconscious bias of educators and a lack of culturally responsive teaching and learning afforded by Māori students. *Whānau* participants narratives align with the ongoing concerns and issues noted in both Indigenous and Western literature which are vehemently debated by Māori scholars proliferating the discourse on the positioning of Māori language, culture and knowledge within the mainstream education system, and the continued failure of the system to provide for Māori (Pihama et al., 2019).

Theme: Challenges for *whānau* in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty). Introducing the colonising environment within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Comparing and contrasting findings with other research highlighted that both *iwi* central to this research suffered immensely from the impacts of colonisation between 1840-1960. The findings consistently highlighted *whānau* participants agentic management of resistance and their shared, collective desire to inform Māori leadership (*kaumātua* and *hāpori*), *iwi*, educators and policymakers about the trauma they experienced (unconscious bias, racism, negative attitudes) from their teachers in the education system and the trauma from the development in their communities. Specifically, the trauma associated with the development of Kawerau and Tasman Paper and Pulp Mill.

The findings of the Ngāi Tahu Research Centre, *Whenua project* (Reid et al., 2017a) were considered relevant to this thesis because the project forefronts *whānau* perspectives and honours their voices through addressing the challenges *whānau* faced from land alienation and from being exposed to the colonising environment (Reid et al., 2017a). This research deepens understanding of the trauma from colonisation, its causes and the structural mechanisms which continue to perpetuate this trauma for Māori, particularly, *whānau* from Ngāi Tahu (Reid et al., 2017a). These insights are relevant to this research as part of examining how the colonising environment created and perpetuated by the settler state has impacted on Māori, particularly, those participants and *whānau* living in the tribal boundaries of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa in the Eastern Bay of Plenty.

The responses of *whānau* participants indicated they had experienced cultural trauma from their schooling over a lengthy time in the education system. Many of the *whānau* participants, were also exposed and immersed in foreign environments of the settler institutions such as mainstream schools and this impacted on their individual view of themselves. This was strongly reported in the narratives of *whānau* from the 60-85 years plus generational age groups in each of the case studies. Currently, Māori populations, located within each *iwi* are at, or near the bottom of socio-economic statistics, particularly in terms of educational achievement, where they are clearly disadvantaged as an ethnic group in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2020a, July 6). Barrett (2018) in her doctoral research, noted that this current reality has resulted from the catastrophic effects of colonial schooling, and the continual systemic perpetuation of inequities through schooling approaches and practices and attitudes of Western educators that exist within mainstream framed educational institutions (schools, universities).

During the onset of colonisation, the 1867 Land Wars and confiscation of lands and rebellion arising from alleged resistance in the Eastern Bay of Plenty was identified in the WAI46 Report (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999a). In the narratives from the case studies, it is clearly noted by the *whānau* participants that several factors (including events) had affected the *whānau* environment, which in turn, had an influential effect on the educational success of *tamariki* Māori, and caused disruption in the breakdown of the *whānau* kinship model. This disruption was noted by the *whānau* participants to have affected the transmission of intergenerational knowledge across successive generations of *whānau* from Ngāti Awa. These factors included:

- Fear for the survival of *te reo Māori* by *whānau*;
- Fear for the retention of *mātauranga Māori*, and *whānau* and *hapū* knowledge;
- Changing *tikanga*;

- Normalising culture of drugs amongst the community and in *whānau*;
- Further marginalisation as a result of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* being disconnected to *te Ao Māori*
- Being inundated with psychosocial challenges has impacted on the health and well-being of *whānau* which has led to material poverty;
- Low number of *kaikōrero* (orators) on the *paepae* (orators' bench on the *marae*);
- More strategic planning needed and investment into strengthening *hapū*; and
- The impact of material poverty on the *whānau* environment.

As for Ngāti Tūwharetoa, the following discourses were identified in the narratives and had a high influence on the *whānau* environment:

- Impact of material poverty on *whānau* and community;
- Living in traumagenic environments;
- Impact of legislation allowed for privileging Western settler future generations;
- Unresolved trauma within *whānau*;
- Factors leading to joining gangs in Kawerau;
- Loss of *whānau* knowledge, *whakapapa* and *pūrākau*;
- Impact of colonial schooling and colonial attitudes towards Māori students and continual perpetuation of inequities in society;
- Micropolitics that exist within community;
- Impact of establishing the Tasman Paper Pulp Mill in Kawerau/Onepū

As previously mentioned in Chapter Four, the trauma literature signals the challenges that exist for successive generations after the initial trauma events have occurred (Pihama et al., 2014; Reid et al., 2017a; Sotero, 2006; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). The findings of this research highlight the devastating impacts of cultural and historical trauma on successive generations from colonisation noted in the two case studies. These detrimental impacts on Māori and their lives is discussed further in the doctoral studies of other Māori scholars from Ngāti Awa (Barrett, 2018; Harvey, 2018; Mather, 2014). They all refer to the detrimental impact of land alienation and colonisation on Māori from Ngāti Awa and in Barrett's (2018) doctoral research, she affirms how structural bias in the education system affects Māori educational success and this view is also reflected in the findings of my doctoral research.

Theme: Challenges for *whānau* in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty). The forms of structural mechanisms that impact *whānau*.

The first set of traumas identified in this research were triggered by structural mechanisms, which caused both psychological and physical harm, derived from the immersion and exposure of Māori *whānau* to the institutions of the New Zealand settler state and noted in the trauma literature of a colonising environment (Reid et al., 2017a). The traumatising structures identified across the *whānau* participants' narratives in the research included:

1. Being alienated as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* from their land, caused hardship and angst for *whānau* unable to assert their *tino rangatiratanga* and *mana motuhake* and access their human rights to social justice related to their grievances. This in turn, created *whānau* divisions and left many holding onto unresolved grief and *mamae* (hurt). A secondary effect of this loss of land resulted in material poverty, and the dependency on the government as wage labourers for *whānau*. An example of this is clearly identified in the case study of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, where the use of legislation allowed the government and private sector, the right to establish the township of Kawerau and Tasman Paper Pulp Mill.
2. Being exposed and immersed as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to the settler political and legal institutions (politico-legal), and the systems used and feeling a sense of disenfranchisement, that is, being in a state of powerlessness over their situations and livelihoods.
3. Being exposed as *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to the New Zealand education system which promoted the 'Westernising' of *tamarki Māori* over their Indigenous way of being Māori thus totally ignoring the government's responsibilities of being treaty partners as acknowledged and inherent within the founding document of New Zealand, *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (Treaty of Waitangi).

Theme: Challenges for *whānau* in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty): Introducing psychosocial challenges

The psychosocial challenges that perpetuate trauma are considered damaging long-term for Māori (Reid et al., 2017a). The *whānau* narratives in both case studies revealed the psychosocial challenges arising from assimilation into mainstream education had severely impacted on their cultural identity and self-worth. This in turn had an impact on their educational achievement at secondary education and thus limited their access to tertiary education. *Whānau* participants revealed they were overwhelmed by their educational

experiences, often feeling inferior, and having a sense of shame because of teacher's insensitive teaching approaches and negative attitudes expressed towards them as Māori students. For most participants they recalled the impact of suppression of their culture and the Māori language in mainstream schools. *Whānau* participants highlighted the pressures that existed at both primary and secondary education with trying to fit in within a Pākehā education environment as Māori students. In the case of the *kuia* from Ngāti Awa and *kuia* and *koro* (A) from Ngāti Tūwharetoa their sense of personal dignity, self-esteem and self-efficacy were affected from being immersed in foreign environments they had lived through in mainstream schooling (Reid et al., 2017a). The combination of shame and identity contradictions at an individual level were identified in these narratives and this had often translated into social problems at family and community scales as individuals who have internalised the narratives express their sense of disempowerment, shame and confusion through harmful behaviours (Reid et al., 2017a).

Key area of significance: *Whānau*, Māori culture, *whakapapa* and identity

The participants responses to the questions identified in Appendix 1, expressed the central determinants of Māori language, *whakapapa*, culture, identity and a positive 'go-getter attitude' have contributed to their children's educational success in life and positive self-concept of themselves, in terms of their abilities and beliefs to do well; and, having a strong sense of who they are and the connections they have within their own communities and to their *tipuna* and *tūrangawaewae* are also relevant factors. The responses suggest that if *tamariki* Māori have a strong sense of who they are and where they come from, this significantly influences their cultural identity and their place in *te ao Māori*. Many of the participants' responses echoed that their *tamariki* needed to feel proud of their cultural identity, Māori heritage and connections as much as they do in the home and in the school environment. Moreover, teachers and school leaders are reported to have played an important role in supporting the cultural identity of *tamariki* Māori within their classrooms and in the school environment.

Analysis of the participants' responses identified that *whānau* were key people in the lives of their *tamariki*. The responses identified parents, *whānau* and Māori leaders are critical role models whom *tamariki* learn their Māori culture, identity, and *whakapapa*. Māori culture, *whakapapa* and identity are the building blocks from which *tamariki* Māori begin to understand and develop their place and purpose in the world. The support of *whānau* is an important element in the nurturing of goals and aspirations in children whilst they begin their education journey desire and their success on their journey can likely impact on their employment decisions, perceptions and pathways in life. These building blocks (if positive) can either

provide support or hinder their stability as they progress on their journey in education and in life.

In this research, addressing equity in education is seen as a catalyst to transforming the education journey for *tamariki Māori*. In the narratives, assimilation in education is seen as the suppressing of cultural knowledge, histories and the language has been directly identified by the *whānau* participants. Loss of *mātauranga Māori*, language and *tikanga* is noted in the literature to have an impact on cultural identity and on the *whānau* environment (Borrell et al., 2018; Caccioppoli & Cullen, 2006; Pihama et al., 2014; Reid et al., 2017a; Wirihana & Smith, 2014). *Whānau* collectively have agreed that tribal authorities need to work more collaboratively to support *tamariki* on their educational journey, particularly in mainstream school settings. Additionally, *whānau* voices have identified the need to raise the consciousness of tribal authorities for Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa of the lived realities and experiences of struggling *whānau* within the communities and encourage rethinking and reframing of how programmes can make a difference at the *whānau* level through:

1. Creating new roles like *kaitiaki* to work within *hapū*, and communities.
2. Create new opportunities to explore solutions as a united collective within schools to structure tailored pathways into vocational education for *rangatahi / pakeke* and inform teachers and leaders of the practice of cultural concepts unique to each tribe.

Nevertheless, this thesis provides direct insights into the positive outcomes that can arise from a serious commitment to developing the untapped potential of Māori students and their home communities, shown in the case study of Ngāti Awa and as depicted in Ngāi Tahu, tribal-led projects like *Hawaiki Hou* and *He awa ara rou: A journey of many paths* (Māori Future Collectives, 2020a). This perspective is again reflected in the growing urgency to reframe thinking related to how the education system can best cater for Māori students and their *whānau* through a resurgence in education policy that is more culturally located as identified in the revamp of *Ka Hikitia: Hāpaitia-Māori education strategy* (Ministry of Education, n. d.-l).

Theme: *Whānau* perspectives and values of educational success as Māori.

Narratives of *whānau* participants pave the way for understanding what would make a difference in the development of a culturally responsive education system. The narratives from each case study, illustrate how educational success emerged within families where students are learning as culturally located people, and when their values and prior knowledge and experiences are integral to their classroom and school learning environments. However,

recent research acknowledges that the education system continues to normalise Western education and teaching approaches and, in some ways, has continued to further alienate Māori students on their educational journey (BERL, 2019; Māori Future Collectives, 2020a; Māori Future Collectives, 2020b; Webber, 2015; Webber & MacFarlane, 2018). These research perspectives are shared within the findings offered in this research and importantly, that empowering Māori students in mainstream schooling requires shifts in educators' teaching practices and honing of their leadership and teaching skills to embrace *mātauranga Māori*, Māori language and Māori approaches to teaching and learning.

The case studies for both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa noted the need for better support systems in education and within the *whānau* environment, particularly addressing teachers' unconscious bias and deficit theorising towards Māori students and sharing the locus of power with *whānau* in the designing of localised school curriculum that reflects the cultural components of each *iwi*. This finding was also identified by Barrett (2018) that the education debt suffered by Ngāti Awa after the tribe had settled all historical grievances with the Crown in 2005 for losses suffered during the unjust confiscation of land and related social, economic and cultural consequences. However, Barrett (2018) points out that "these major injustices and their long-standing consequences from this significant period in the history of Ngāti Awa, are yet to be included into schools' curriculum alongside Māori language, kapa haka and sport" (pp. 233-234).

Māori values do inform *whānau* perspectives of educational success for their children. The findings found that reframing conversations with *tamariki* by *whānau* related to educational outcomes was a necessary building block for creating strong grounded tamariki who had great self-belief, were intrinsically motivated and had a high level of self-determination to succeed and face challenging situations on their educational journey and in life. Additionally, *whānau* valued strong connections within and across *hapū*, *iwi* and the communities they come from. Several important messages acknowledged within both case studies that *whānau* need to work towards creating nurturing home environments, which included teaching *te reo* and aspects of *tikanga*, while schools needed to better cater for preferred ways of teaching and learning for Māori students. *Whānau* participant voices acknowledged that it was important for all families to have conversations with their children on their educational journey and to help them with identifying potential pathways (jobs and careers) for the future. This also included identifying, locating and promoting the role-models within both the *whānau* and in the communities of both tribes.

Additionally, *whānau* participants appreciated the schools who included the use of culturally specific strategies and teaching and learning pedagogies based on *kaupapa Māori*, Indigenous values, processes and practices in education. This aligns with the literature that Māori language, distinct *iwi* knowledge and role models matter for Māori student and *whānau* success in education and in life (BERL, 2019; Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Bishop et al., 2009; Bishop et al., 2010; Māori Future Collectives, 2020a & 2020b; Webber & MacFarlane, 2018).

Furthermore, the narratives of *whānau* identified they valued *te reo Māori*, cultural identity, culture and knowledge as part of their children's learning. However, *whānau* within both case studies were somewhat disappointed that mainstream schools continue to be reluctant to acknowledge Māori histories and the trauma they experienced from being educated in culturally unresponsive learning environments that devalued the use of *te reo Māori* (through lack of action to integrate it within the classroom) and failed to take on professional development as educators to improve the teaching of Māori students. Again, this confers with the growing field of research undertaken by Māori Future Collectives (2020b):

...that affirms whānau voice is crucial to the human-centred design process and helps us to set aside our own assumptions about the world in order to gain insight into whānau perspectives and start designing around their needs and aspirations (p. 5).

Summary of the key research findings

Table 58 provides a summary of the key findings of this research. This is located, in Appendix 5.

Summary

A key factor of this research was to deepen my understanding of the education journeys that *whānau* experienced in mainstream schooling and their current position in life. *Whānau* have identified many underlying factors that impacted on their educational journey in New Zealand's education system. My decision to focus on the experiences of *whānau* was due to the paucity of literature available on these factors, particularly from the perspective of *whānau* within educational research localised to Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty).

Addressing the root causes of inequities for Māori in our education system is advantageous to working out how it is to be mitigated. The body of evidence from the findings of this research correlates with proven Māori-centred research that New Zealand's education system carries a racist legacy where systemic bias exists and is reproduced in many New Zealand schools

(Māori Future Collective, 2020a & 2020b; Webber & MacFarlane, 2018 & 2020). Examples of such bias and systemic issues identified in the data findings of this research include teachers' negative attitudes of Māori students, streaming of Māori into ability groups and denial of Māori language and culture into daily structured programmes of learning in mainstream schools. These biases also impact on various indicators of *whānau* well-being, such as living healthy lifestyles, participating confidently in both the Pākehā and Māori worlds, enjoying economic security and empowering their own families within the wider community.

This research highlights that the systemic bias of New Zealand's education system has had a detrimental impact on the educational success of Māori across many successive generations. A major finding identified from the two case studies is that Māori have not recovered from colonisation, particularly the impact of 204 years of historical and cultural trauma experienced across successive generations of *whānau* that has resulted in the loss of language, culture and identity. Another key finding identified was *whānau* asserting their *tinio rangatiratanga* through re-engaging in higher education later in life and becoming more involved and proactive in their children's schooling. This proactive stance by *whānau* is considered an important step as part of the healing process from participants' negative experiences of their schooling. Lastly, the research findings acknowledge that a systematic shift in the education system is urgently needed and a renewed collective responsibility from *whānau*, educators and policymakers to create educational pathways that better serve *tamariki Māori* and their *whānau*.

The next chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations from this research. The research data provided by the *whānau* participants will be used to inform a conceptual framework outlining indicators for intergenerational educational success for *whānau* and *tamariki Māori*.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations arising from this research. A framework will be introduced outlining indicators for intergenerational educational success which imbues Māori values, identified from the narratives of *whānau*, and located within the worldview of both tribes, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa respectively. The final aspect of this chapter will discuss the limitations of the research and provide suggestions for future research.

Overview of the research

The overall aim of this research study was to explore the voice of *whānau* and their lived experiences and perspectives of succeeding as Māori in the education system, including identifying the factors that impact on their children's educational success in the education system and the values that informed their perspectives related to defining educational success as Māori by *whānau*. The purpose of this research is to deepen an understanding of the road that *whānau* are navigating in mainstream schooling within their unique communities, and the underlying forces and stressors that shape their options, directions, destinations and realising their potential as *whānau*. Four key conclusions are presented here which relate to the three research questions that have guided this research project.

Conclusion 1: Related to overarching research question

How do *whānau* conceptualise educational success for their children?

Theme: Māori culture, Māori language, Māori knowledge and Māori identity matters for whānau.

The *whānau* voice counts in their children's educational success as Māori and in their educational journey. The research findings identified that *whānau* aspire for primary and secondary mainstream schools to deliver a localised and authentic curriculum where *te reo Māori* and *mātauranga Māori* is naturally enacted and embraced within all classes by teachers and by all school leaders. This has implications for school leaders and teachers in mainstream schools as they will need to develop a greater appreciation of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, to make shifts in teaching pedagogy and to be more innovative in engaging with Māori learners and their *whānau* in co-designing the school curriculum that is responsive to *whānau* Māori aspirational needs. This research highlights key messages shared by *whānau* about what counts for educational success for their children. *Whānau* value education that is inclusive of Māori culture, Māori language and Māori identity in learning programmes, embedded within

the school culture and grounded within teachers' competencies and practices. *Whānau* voice affirms:

- Embedding traditional Māori knowledge, teaching and learning approaches into mainstream schools; and
- Having more culturally competent teachers in mainstream schools.

In this research, the *whānau* voice acknowledges that teachers and school leaders in mainstream primary and secondary schools need to really lift their professional competencies and teaching skills related to implementing Māori pedagogies in teaching and learning and in delivering Māori language programmes that move passed simple phrases used by teachers, and correct pronunciation of Māori words and Māori students' names. Additionally, the *whānau* voice indicated that there were schools within their communities that continued to miss real opportunities to build educationally powerful partnerships that lead to enhanced outcomes for Māori students, and provide educational pathways that embraces Māori aspirations to see them enjoy education and succeed as Māori. This expectation is further reiterated as a requirement of those teachers, school leaders and policymakers entrusted with ensuring that the education system delivers opportunities and experiences that foster Māori students enjoying educational success as indicated within current Māori education and language strategies, *Ka Hikitia: Hāpaitia and Tau mai i te reo* (Ministry of Education, n.d.A).

Theme: Whānau exercising their self-determination, tino-rangatiratanga and authority is realised in mainstream schools.

A common belief held by *whānau* involved in this research is that their voice is often misunderstood and interpreted in mainstream schools. *Whānau* voice expressed a more conscientious effort was needed from teachers and school leaders to commit to collaboration with *whānau* and Māori leaders that encompasses a Māori worldview. Furthermore, the *whānau* voice has historically been excluded from co-developing educational policies and the development of localised curriculum that reflects the aspirations, values, lived realities and experiences of *whānau* Māori, as intended within Te Tiriti o Waitangi. There is growing recognition to undertake tribal-led collaborative research that captures *rangatahi* and *whānau* voices to help shape their educational journey and pathways and strengthen their authority and self-determination to do this within the education system and in their communities (BERL, 2019; Māori Future Collectives, 2020a & 2020b). Central to shared partnership implies a sharing of locus of control between schools and *whānau*, but *whānau* within both case studies has found that such power- sharing overtime has been diminished and even non-existent.

The *whānau* voice in this research acknowledges their aspiration to have a more active role in the co-designing of school learning programmes that embed Māori world views, values, language and culture into mainstream schools based on altering the narratives of the past and reframing how to be inclusive of their voices and lived realities. Decades of research noted in the literature review (Chapter One through to Chapter Five) has shown that the educational journey for Māori students and their *whānau* is riddled with barriers from within the education sector, and many students are grappling with challenges that exist in the *whānau* environment stemming from the impact of trauma of the past. The *whānau* voices from within this research acknowledges that the school curriculum needs to highlight their individual tribal histories, their communities' histories, *whakapapa* and engage with Māori experts and elders more within their communities to support their *tamariki* and *rangatahi* on navigating their educational journey. Evidence from the data (Chapter Seven) has shown that *whānau* voice advocates for more shared power in the co-design of school curriculum with educators who are considered as *kaitiaki* (guardians) of the education system.

The *whānau* voice identified that *hapori* (community) leaders and tribal authorities are also *kaitiaki* within the communities that *whānau* come from. *Whānau* aspirations espouse a common desire to share power with tribal authorities in co-designing programmes that empower *whānau* to support their *tamariki* in *normalising* educational success and, in supporting those *whānau* who are struggling from inequities that hinder their journey to flourish as *whānau* such as mental health issues, poverty, and the influence of drugs and gangs within communities. The *whānau* voice identified they need literacy, social and financial programmes that help struggling *whānau* to empower them to reframe their *whānau* environment grounded in *te ao Māori*. *Whānau* hold high expectations of the education system and of tribal authorities regarding supporting their endeavours to transform the way education serves their *tamariki* and in transforming the narratives of *whānau* as part of them being able to reach their full potential. Such opportunities include *whānau* being in the position to own their homes and have access to employment within their own communities. Strong foundations must be established within the *whānau* as part of providing their *tamariki* with a strong start in life.

Conclusion 2: Related to research question two

What Māori values inform *whānau* views of educational success for their children?

Theme: Whānau value Māori values, culture and tikanga and want this maintained in both the home and school environments.

Māori families do value educational experiences that are reflective of several fundamental Māori values such as *whanaungatanga*, *maanakitanga*, *aroha*, *tino rangatiratanga*, and *mahitahi*. *Whānau* want their *tamariki* to maintain a strong sense of belonging in their schools and they also want their children's culture, language and identity fostered within the school environment.

Overwhelmingly, the *whānau* voice asserted that belonging and feeling connected to your *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* were essential components of your cultural identity from childhood through to adulthood. A collective approach by parents and the extended *whānau* drew on this strong connection to learning within both the home and school environment. *Whānau* explicitly taught Māori values through their interactions within the home (ie. sharing and teaching of ideas, reading together, going on trips), through the community (ie. attending *hui* at the *marae*, participating in team sports, attending, and supporting *tangihanga*, attending graduation ceremonies) and in the natural environment (ie. growing of vegetables, hunting for food, caring for the land). These exchanges between the child / parent, grandparent / parent had been further fostered and nurtured within the child as part of encouraging this type of attitude and behaviour to be enacted in their school environment.

Therefore, it is imperative for *whānau* to give their children a strong foundation in life and to support them to deal with challenges as they encounter them through socially constructing their *whānau* environment. Instilling and teaching family values, beliefs, work ethic and passing these traits and practices on to their children and their *mokopuna* (grandchild/ren) has shown in this research, to have had a positive impact on their educational journey and success in life. The research also identified that *whānau* have high aspirations for their children and *mokopuna* to be able to participate within both *te ao Māori* and the Pākehā world. However, they recognised that not all *whānau* in their communities were able to provide a safe, loving and nurturing home environment because of several stressors that had impacted on their lived realities. One of these key stressors of being disconnected from *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, was noted to have a detrimental impact on children and adults' pride and self-worth and their connections to each other.

Whānau voice in this research, identified several positive stressors and factors that had impacted on the *whānau* environment which in turn supported the educational success of their

children. The *whānau* voice identified that strengthening the *whānau* environment such as modelling positive behaviours and parental practices with their *tamariki*, through encouraging conversations on aspirations, future pathways, and on knowing their *whakapapa*, and unique histories, are necessary elements needed for establishing strong foundations that can be handed down from one generation to the next generation. More importantly, *whānau* (parents, grandparents and elders) are *kaitiaki* and are important influencers of their families and promoters for social advancement and academic achievement, including the survival and maintenance of *te reo Māori* in the home environment.

A prevailing message coming from the elder generation, the *kuia* and *kaumātua* voices, was that *whānau* were changing and becoming distant from their *marae* and *hapū*, which made them more disconnected from their culture, identity and language. *Kuia* and *kaumātua* voices recognised that *whānau* generally became disconnected from the extended *whānau* for several reasons. Some of these reasons stem from their individual *whānau* pasts and from unresolved trauma and grief linked to their own childhood upbringing. *Kuia* and *kaumātua* identified that as part of the healing process *whānau* needed to reconnect with their *tūrangawaewae* and become involved within their own *hapū*. Critical for those reconnecting *whānau*, is the need to become more grounded and anchored in Māori values, *tikanga* and *whānau* repositories of knowledge and cultural narratives. *Whānau* voice recognised that *whānau* have a collective responsibility with *hapū* and leaders of their communities for passing on the gifts of the past from *tūpuna* that connected to their families such as important *whakataukī*, *hapū-specific pūrākau* and *whakapapa*. However, *whānau* did recognise that not all *whānau* were continuing to pass this information on within their *whānau* for several reasons such as *whānau* who have moved away to the city for employment and the loss of elders in the family. As such, *whānau* were becoming further disconnected and alienated from each other which created significant disruption to the intergenerational transmission of knowledge across generations.

Conclusion 3: Related to research question three

What other factors do *whānau* consider as imperative for the educational success of their children?

Theme: Whānau hold diverse needs and aspirations. They need to be understood in the context of their diverse experiences and lived realities.

The journey of *whānau* through the education system and in life is likened to navigating a turbulent river. There are several challenges to the process of healing from the transmission of historical and cultural trauma experienced in mainstream schooling for *whānau* and the continued impact of colonisation on the *whānau* environment.

The *whānau* voice identified that an overarching stressor that affected the educational success of Māori students was *whānau* themselves, and the type of *whānau* environment that their children grow up in. A thriving *whānau* environment is safe, secure, supportive and nurtures children to learn about their connections within *te ao Māori* and build their confidence as individuals affirming their identity as Māori.

Recommendations

On a personal note, this journey has empowered me to heal the trauma from my past and ensure that I continue to have access to ‘the flow of the *awa*’ and not be prejudiced by the barriers that exist in the education system. This doctoral journey has enabled me to have a voice, by creating a space to legitimise the knowledge and experiences I bring to transforming outcomes for Māori students within their families as an educator and, by exerting my *tino rangatiratanga* and authority to inform and challenge the education sector to reconceptualise how they value *whānau* perspectives in mainstream schools. There certainly is a space to have Māori views considered alongside Western world views when determining action that affects Māori in the education system.

The education system plays a crucial role in supporting Māori identity, language, and culture, particularly for *tamariki Māori*. This thesis provokes further thought and discussions to be had with *whānau* about their children’s journey in the education system. Strong *whānau* connections are critical to their child’s educational success in schools and in their *whānau* environment. *Whānau* voice was a crucial tool in this research. Their voice is recognised in its entirety as their truth. *Whānau* have expertise and knowledge about their families and communities.

A cultural space was provided in this research to hear *whānau* voices as part of providing insights that could inform changes in the education system. By providing a space for *whānau*

to be heard allows for accepting how their lived experiences can make positive contributions to changing outcomes in their own families and communities. *Whānau* voice is recognised to be an underpinning element in the human design process of research that helps to gain insight into their worldviews and perspectives related to their needs and aspirations (Māori Future Collectives, 2020b). This research also resonates with recent tribal-led research (Māori Future Collectives, 2020a & 2020b), highlighting the vital role policymakers have in designing policy that enables the necessary shifts to occur within the education system and agrees with the mandating of culturally responsive professional learning for all teachers, particularly *tauiwi*.

The findings of this study have led to the development of six recommendations. These recommendations are relevant for *iwi*, teachers, educators, leaders, and policymakers and key stakeholders in New Zealand's education system. Educators can make changes to their actions (being reflective of their assumptions and beliefs) and practices to ensure Māori students stay in 'the main flow of the river' as they navigate their educational journey. Although this was a small-scale study, readers of this thesis may choose to explore how these findings might apply to their own setting. Further research and investigation into systems and barriers permeating within the infrastructure of our education system is warranted and as such, challenges the impact of educational success of Māori in mainstream schooling in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau.

The following recommendations are actions that can be taken by teachers, school leaders and policymakers to bring about positive change and create a new improved future that addresses the inequities in the education system.

Changing the conditions that impact on Māori success in the education system

1. That professional development and learning programmes cover aspects related to understanding the different ways in which Māori engage in learning aspects of their culture, language, identity and worldviews;
2. That adequate resourcing and ongoing leadership is offered to all mainstream schools in the design, implementation and evaluation of structured and sequential Māori language programmes that are localised to their *whānau* aspirations and school communities as part of strengthening the revitalisation of *te reo Māori* in mainstream primary schools;

3. That teacher education providers strengthen their learning programmes with regards to the significance of Te Tiriti o Waitangi to New Zealand and New Zealanders, the impact of deficit theorising, unconscious and implicit bias, streaming (achievement grouping) assimilative pressure (trauma from having to fit in), and understanding Māori worldviews and approaches to teaching and learning;
4. That dedicated *whānau* leaders' positions across schools are established. These *whānau* roles would be to support school communities in strengthening productive relationships with *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Furthermore, the role would involve strengthening teachers and school leaders' understandings of Māori worldviews and knowledge systems used by *whānau* that can be valued within the school environment. *Whānau* leaders would help to develop practical workshops for teachers and school leaders to inform their skills and knowledge based in *te ao Māori* and champion preferred methods of teaching and learning for Māori students. *Whānau* leaders would also support teachers in mainstream schools to become more familiar with engaging *whānau* in the learning process and coordinating between learning in the classroom and learning at home, including how to establish and sustain the conditions required for educational success as defined by *whānau*. *Whānau* leaders will be human bridges between *whānau* Māori/community and mainstream schools.

Transforming the conditions in mainstream schools to support Māori thriving and succeeding as Māori

1. School environments should reflect *whānau* voice and embed Māori values, adopt *tikanga Māori* into the classroom and within the school culture. Teachers and school leaders must provide innovative learning environments that imbue a Māori-strengths base approach that supports high expectations of Māori students, is inclusive of *mātauranga Māori* as part of the design of the curriculum and assessment plan, and involves local *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* as part of their children's school and class learning programmes. A school environment that makes these shifts makes for a thriving school community supportive of Māori students and that makes their *whānau* feel welcomed because it affirms Māori culture, language, and identity.

Invest in innovative design and collaborative tribal-led research that informs a framework and better pathway for Māori students in mainstream primary schools in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau.

1. That both *iwi* central to this research commit to working collaboratively to create a new future where all Māori students in mainstream schools within their tribal boundaries can experience success as Māori and are not inheriting the educational experiences of their ancestors, parents and *kaumātua*. A first step could be co-designing a collaborative research project that tracks and supports a cohort of Māori thriving and succeeding as Māori across the education system in Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. Critical to this would be to look at this perspective from both *rangatahi* and *whānau*.

Future research

In order to maximise spaces that legitimates Māori frameworks of knowledge and values, future research should potentially examine creating cultural spaces that empower *whānau* voice in mainstream schools, as part of empowering their children to stay in ‘the flow of the river’ whilst they support their children to navigate their educational journey. The unforeseen ‘flow of the river’, that is, the undercurrents that affect children are not easy to discern. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the complexities that exist in the respective *whānau* backgrounds and the factors that support their children’s learning, particularly, their stances, perceptions and responses that may help researchers to identify and narrow down specific areas for further investigation and examination. As for educators, primary teachers and school leaders, it means they will need to know how to strengthen connections and relationships with Māori students in their classes in a much better way, and support *tamariki Māori* by working alongside them to transform outcomes and increasing educational success as Māori.

The recommendations for future research revolve around teachers and educators in becoming more cognisant of learning and teaching practices that embed the knowledge systems of the tribal groups, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty). The findings reinforce the need for healing from the trauma of mainstream education for Māori as there is little work in the literature pertaining to this area. As previously mentioned, research into student achievement and educational success often examines and discusses the areas of quality teaching and leadership. *Whānau* perspectives have not yet been given emphasis in the educational discourse literature, although we have a revamped Māori education strategy and some consultation that has involved small groups of Māori (Māori Future Collectives, 2020a & 2020b). The implementation of the Māori education strategy has not truly come to fruition

within all schools located in mainstream education (Berryman & Eley, 2017; Turner et al., 2015). This study, therefore, identifies that there is still much more work to be done to identify factors that hinder or support Māori enjoying success as Māori from the time they start school at five years old and up to year 13.

Future research could be extended across different *hapū* within both the *iwi* in this study and extended to include a longitudinal approach with more numbers involved in the research. Very little is known in our current literature about how Māori families promote achievement and what the successful pathways or mechanisms are for predicting intergenerational achievement. *Whānau* voice and tribal-led Māori perspectives offer the potential for further study. Lastly, future research might consider adopting an alternative methodology to the one currently employed here in order to gain greater insights. For example, a mixed-method strategy (focus groups) involving an Indigenous analysis approach might provide useful insights.

Implications for Theory and Research

This research study has laid a valuable foundation of knowledge for a deeper understanding of the factors that support Māori enjoying success as Māori in mainstream schooling or what is otherwise referred to as English-medium schools. This thesis seeks to make several contributions to the development of knowledge and the existing body of research in the field, which are considered below.

The contribution to theory refers to the development of 'The He Putauaki model', an original analytical framework of understanding a Māori worldview by the researcher related to important Māori cultural values and concepts adapted from John Rangihau's model. The framework sought to re-contextualise the existing Rangihau model to highlight Māori perceptions of understanding the world in the context of their realities, but also drew out many other exciting findings such as the importance that Māori culture, Māori language and Māori knowledge and Māori identity matters for *whānau*. Hence, the thesis contributes to theory by developing and utilising the analytical framework for the provision of original knowledge and evidence.

Implications for educators' transforming their teaching practice in mainstream schooling or English Medium Schools

There is a paucity of research exploring *whānau* perceptions of Māori enjoying educational success as Māori, particularly located in the tribal communities of Ngāti Awa and of Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Bay of Plenty). The literature review has highlighted a paucity of research with Māori *whānau* and their communities in exploring factors of the school environment and

outside the school environment that hinder Māori enjoying educational success as Māori. This research adds to recent tribal-led collaborative research that validates the place of Māori voice from *rangatahi* and *whānau* (Māori Futures Collectives, 2020a & 2020b).

Whānau perspectives offer a significant contribution to the literature on healing from the transmission of cultural and historical trauma in mainstream education and adds to the literature on *whānau* defining educational success for Māori and in building authentic collaborative partnerships between Māori, educators, leaders and policy makers. Additionally, this research makes the connection between the transmission of cultural and historical trauma and the impact this has had towards educational success for Māori students in mainstream schooling thus building on the dearth of literature in this field.

Whānau perspectives and tribal-led research are emerging as important collective initiatives with some tribal groups in New Zealand. This study provides insights into how educators, leaders and policymakers need to develop their understandings of Māori worldviews, pedagogical knowledges and skills, particularly located in the tribal worldviews and cultural concepts of the two tribes, Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa, and, how *whānau* can become empowered on their educational journey as part of creating new pathways for the future success of successive generations of *whānau* to come.

Creating new experiences and pathways for Māori students

This section commences by introducing the conceptual framework, *He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe*. The second aspect of this section will discuss the development of the conceptual framework, as well as historical catalysts that led to its development. The third aspect of the section will discuss Māori theorists, and theoretical underpinnings that contributed to the model. The fourth aspect will discuss key dimensions of the framework. The final aspect of the section will discuss strengths and limitations of the framework.

Introducing ‘He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe framework’

Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa are proud people. The two tribes both occupy the region surrounding the mountain, Pūtauaki and are both located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty extending from inland around the lake district to the coastline.

He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe is a Māori proverb that can be used to acknowledge the transformation process that *whānau* and *kaitiaki* such as teachers, school leaders, and educators, can make together as a collective to create new pathways for normalising educational success across successive generations within the region. Acknowledging the

past is important in this research. Six central indicators have been identified alongside critical Māori values and cultural concepts.

The foundation of He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe as a conceptual framework for transforming pathways for *tamariki Māori* through creating intergenerational educational success for *whānau* stems from *whānau* voices located in this research, and the researcher's own lived experiences during her dedicated time of two decades of service, teaching Māori students and working alongside *whānau* and communities within mainstream schools in predominant Māori communities. The He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe framework encapsulates a collective approach and entails a multi-dimensional process to teaching and learning of Māori students within mainstream schools. The *kaupapa Māori* approach emphasises the importance of building power sharing and inclusive relationships within a cultural space for Māori students and their *whānau* in mainstream schools and sees teachers and school leaders supporting *whānau* to realise their aspirations for their *tamariki*.

The model was initially constructed to bring to the fore determinants that support healing from traumatic experiences in mainstream schooling and strengthens the experience of *tamariki Māori* on their educational journey where culture, language, *mātauranga Māori*, *tikanga* and Māori values are visible and accepted as norms, values and practices of all teachers and school leaders in mainstream schools.

This framework is defined through a Māori lens, as its approach utilises Māori epistemological philosophies, pedagogical traditions, customs, values, and cultural practices. The He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe is a framework that is anchored by the principles and practices that exist within *Kaupapa Māori* Theory (KMT). Several key features of this framework include strengthening aspects of self-determination, Māori identity and educational success as Māori students, including healing from the trauma experienced in mainstream schooling as *whānau*. Critical to strengthening such aspects for example is the notion of self-determination. It includes supporting Māori students to reconnect with *whānau* and to reclaim lost *whakapapa* as part of strengthening their ancestral connections within the wider context of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*.

The emerging intergenerational educational success framework gained its name as a result of many *kōrero* over the last six years with the researcher's elders and reflections from her own healing journey. The framework has the potential to be further developed with *whānau* and the community as part of future research. Hence the concept of the transformation journey represented in He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe that emerges from this framework.

The definition of He rere pepehe kitea anuhe narrates the journey of the caterpillar in becoming the beautiful butterfly. This Māori analogy is a powerful expression that can be interpreted as growth, change and transformation that Māori students, *whānau* and the collective *kaitiaki* of the education system will go through to create new pathways that lead to prosperous futures for Māori students and their *whānau*. *Whānau* and *kaitiaki* are pivotal to this transformational journey for Māori students. A collaborative approach can really strengthen connections between members of the collective, that is, students, *whānau*, teachers, school leaders, Māori communities and policymakers. The collective as one unit have a shared responsibility to ensure all Māori students have access to equitable opportunities in education and have the mutual support and commitment needed to create new pathways for future success.

Historical catalyst for transforming outcomes for Māori students and *whānau*

The conceptualisation of an emerging framework for intergenerational educational success compels the researcher to ensure that cultural practices and approaches for working with *whānau Māori* are grounded in a Māori worldview, as part of her obligation to addressing the inequities and disparities Māori students and their *whānau* face within mainstream schooling in the education system. The events that led to the development of He rere pepehe kitea anuhe stemmed from the researcher's belief that teachers and school leaders in mainstream schooling need to address their assumptions and beliefs related to the discourse of Māori enjoying educational success as Māori.

Upon reflection of over 20-years of teaching service in mainstream schooling across the primary, secondary and tertiary education sector, the researcher believes it is now time to seek new innovative approaches where Māori are able to succeed in the education system and are not being denied opportunities because of the continued perpetuation of teachers' unconscious bias towards Māori students, the continued use of streaming via academic groupings in classrooms, and the often disguised discrimination of not valuing Māori worldviews, practices and *tikanga* such as dealing with suspension and stand-downs, and approaches to learning preferred by Māori students and *whānau*. The positioning of the framework is clearly a critical response to better support those Māori students often let down by the education system and are sighted as failures or misunderstood by teachers who do not share the same cultural capital as them or do not have an in-depth understanding of the challenges facing Māori students and their *whānau*.

Māori theoretical underpinnings

He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe conceptual framework is built upon the ideology of transforming positive outcomes for Māori students as they navigate the mainstream education system. He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe is a decolonising model that removes assumptions and posits Māori culture, knowledge, principles and practices as the way for validating and accepting Māori perspectives. The He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe conceptual framework is intended to address inequities caused by the taciting of Western knowledge over *mātauranga Māori* contained in *te ao Māori*, holistically this Indigenous framework attempts to identify cultural practices that support better outcomes for Māori students in mainstream schooling. Therefore, there are synergies that exist with theorists' research such as Ka'ai (2020), L. T. Smith (2012) and Waretini-Karena (2019a & 2019b).

Waretini-Karena's (2019a & 2019b) developed the Putaketanga Model which presents insights into the impact of intergenerational cultural trauma on Māori and the intergenerational minefield Māori had to navigate based on ideas of superiority, discriminative legislation, elitism and capitalism. Waretini-Karena (2019a & 2019b) argues that these mechanisms devastated Māori society through loss of traditional Māori lands, cultural identity, language and heritage and contributed to the current deficit statistics for Māori, in health, crime and education. Waretini-Karena (2019a & 2019b) suggests that this is where the problem lies for Māori, in that, the manifestation of the disastrous repercussions of the past, particularly from colonial education and the barriers and constraints that continue to exist in the education system, can be seen in the deficit statistics of Māori educational achievement and their lack of opportunities to advance their career pathways (Māori Futures Collective, 2020a; Waretini-Karena, 2019a & 2019b). Waretini-Karena (2019a & 2019b) further argues that these issues stem from Te Tiriti o Waitangi and Māori experiences of intergenerational historical trauma which must be recognised, acknowledged and resolved.

The intention of He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe conceptual framework begins with addressing the intergenerational issue of Māori students access to higher education and the transformative outcomes associated with successfully transitioning through primary schooling and on to secondary schooling. The bicultural professional supervision model in social work developed by Lisa King (2014), offers ways to deconstruct, unpack and inform non-Māori supervisors of Māori students about what is involved in Māori ways of being and knowing. Additionally, the emergent postgraduate supervision model known as mahitahi explains the deconstruction of postgraduate research supervision practice to help transform outcomes for Māori postgraduate students to support them navigate the Western academy which often

privileges Western knowledge and ideology over Māori approaches to teaching and learning and *mātauranga Māori* (Ka'ai, 2020; Māori Futures Collective, 2020a).

Key dimensions of He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe

The He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe conceptual framework depicts the journey of a Māori student with their *whānau* prior to entry into school and tracks their progress through the different year levels in mainstream primary schools before transitioning into the mainstream secondary schooling system. When the framework is applied to educational statistics for Māori students, it highlights culturally responsive teaching and learning practices anchored in *kaupapa Māori* epistemology, theories, pedagogies, customs, and practices preferred by Māori students and their *whānau*. The He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe conceptual framework promotes Māori concepts and bicultural values being embedded within the mainstream school environment to be used by teachers, educators and school leaders and in the *whānau* context (parents, grandparents, extended *whānau*).

The He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe framework is underpinned by Māori philosophies, worldviews and values and is a unique Māori approach to supporting healing for *whānau* from the transmission of HT and CT and transform educational success of Māori students. It is a framework which also advocates for appropriate teaching expertise and the development of skills for teachers, educators in their teaching and leadership practice. He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe framework adopts Māori strategies and methods such as *tuakana-teina*, *whanaungatanga*, and other culturally responsive methods that encourage the development of cultural identity, a sense of place and belonging and establishes the relevance of *mātauranga Māori* in teachers and school leaders' leadership practices, and the teaching and learning environment. The adoption and implementation of Māori concepts and cultural practices enables a safe environment for teaching and learning. It also strengthens the relationships between *tamariki Māori* and *whānau*, teachers and school leaders, policymakers and the community.

Figure 10: He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe framework (A)-Transforming pathways for *whānau* through intergenerational educational success – Indicators

He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe framework (A)

Transforming pathways for *whānau* through intergenerational educational success – Indicators



Source: Researcher's design (2020)

Figure 11: He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe framework (B)-Transforming pathways for *whānau* through intergenerational educational success – Ngā Pou Connectors

Whanaungatanga Kōrerorero Tino rangatiratanga	Whakapapa Ako-te hiringa taketake Āhurutanga	Aroha Tuakana-teina	Kaitiakitanga tūpuna	Manaakitanga Rangatiratanga
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The He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe framework in Figure 11 and 12 above acknowledges interrelated indicators and connectors central to *tamariki* Māori students' educational success and development of *whānau* capabilities and skills required for working within their communities. He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe is firmly grounded in *te ao Māori*; there are six indicators and 12 *Ngā pou* (connectors between the indicators) of the model. Firstly, the

indicators will be outlined, followed by explanations of the *pou*, and how the *pou* could be adopted within the mainstream class and school environment.

Six indicators of the framework: Transforming pathways for whānau

■ *Indicator One: Acknowledge and recognise trauma*

Recognition from the education system of the significance of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma and helping children and *whānau* to heal so their communities can heal. Understanding that Indigenous Māori healing could include reconnecting to *tūrangawaewae*, *kōrero* with *kaumātua* and spending time reconnecting to the people at *marae* hosted events for *hapū* and *iwi* as part of exploring the deep-rooted pain.

■ *Indicator Two: Nurturing of a thriving whānau environment*

It is important that educators understand that *whānau* Māori value inclusiveness and support developing connections with their own and in the school. *Whānau* have a genuine interest in developing relationships and the energy that *whānau* members regularly place on supporting and talking together with their children on the value of education and doing well at school in the home environment is crucial to their children's academic, cultural and personal development. *Whānau* deemed it important to share and teach *whakapapa* to their children and sharing *pūrākau* of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* histories. As part of growing children, *whānau* believe in fostering children's passion for reading in the home and teaching their children to become disciplined through a range of activities such as doing their homework, studying for school tests together, growing *māra kai* (gardens), playing in sports teams and looking after their home and the *whenua* that they connect too.

■ *Indicator Three: Nurturing of a thriving school environment*

It is critical that educators understand that for *whānau*, developing strong relationships with them and their children is vitally important; understanding that children and *whānau* are intrinsically linked and should not be seen as separate. *Whānau* have *aroha* for their children and want them to do well academically, culturally, and in their sporting and individual pursuits. School environments are historically Western in design but nevertheless teachers and school leaders' philosophies and teaching/leadership practices can cushion this by including *mātauranga Māori* within this environment from the architecture platforms for academic and cultural aspirations for Māori children, and the values that *whānau* feel are important to them are incorporated in teachers and school leaders' philosophies and teaching/leadership practices. A thriving school environment is considered to embed and value Māori culture, pedagogies, values, language, knowledge, and identity in learning. In classrooms spiritual components are incorporated which reflect Māori student's connection to the natural environment, to the spiritual dimension (*karakia*, *hīmene*, *pepeha*, *mihi* (to greet, acknowledge) and are meaningful and not seen to be tokenistic.

► *Indicator Four: Positive role-models and support systems in and outside of the school environment*

Positive role models and support systems within *whānau*, in the school, and across the community (*hapū* and *iwi*) help to strengthen children's relationships with their *whānau*, their self-belief and confidence in both their academic and cultural abilities to succeed at school and in life. *Whānau* have a central role in role-modelling positive attitudes and traits to their children that help them to become successful in both school and in life. Secondly, *whānau* and *hāpori* (community) leaders have an obligation to act as positive role-models to Māori children in relation to helping Māori children to culturally connect with their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* as part of building their Māori identity and understanding of the world and place that they come from as Māori. Having a network of positive role-models within and outside of schools are important to growing Māori children's self-confidence as they progress in life and to act as *kaitiaki* working alongside Māori children to help them choose career or vocational pathways that foster educational outcomes and success in reaching their potential.

► *Indicator Five: Strengthening connections and relationships*

Building relationships across the education system is vital to Māori students' success in school and within *te ao Māori*. The school community must engage with Māori experts from within the local community and broader *hāpori* including *hapū* and *iwi*, to develop their connections and foster relationships that are necessary for their children's educational success and cultural identity as Māori. Having strong connections to local *marae*, *kaumātua* and the *hāpori* will help to develop understanding, knowledge and skills to be included within the learning programmes reflective of local people, historical and culturally relevant places and stories, that are both meaningful and authentic to *whānau*.

► *Indicator Six: Māori aspirations creating pathways for the future and healing from trauma*

In order to support Māori aspirations requires an investment in structures and mechanisms that embraces a Māori worldview. This can be done through investing in cultural reference groups (Māori community researchers, network of Māori experts) that engage with educators and relevant Governmental agencies to deepening their understanding of cultural concepts and Māori values for engaging with Māori *whānau* related to education; and who can work alongside Ministry of Education to develop Indigenous Māori Models of engagement with Māori in mainstream education; and through establishing cultural-located spaces whereby, Māori *whānau* are able to safely engage in *hui* (*wānanga*), share their narratives and perspectives with the relevant Governmental agencies, teachers, educators, and school

leaders that recognises Māori *tikanga*, Māori cultural processes (knowledge systems and values) and Māori ethical principles.

Table 59: Ngā Pou Connectors of He rere pepepe e kitea anuhe framework

The central pou of the framework-Māori cultural concepts and values that are embedded within the framework

Whanaungatanga	Whanaungatanga can be referred to growing relationships through shared experiences and working together which provides a sense of belonging. It is underpinned by the universal values of tika, pono, and aroha. A whanaungatanga approach recognises the centrality of strong relationships between whānau, teachers, school leaders and Māori children in mainstream schools. Whanaungatanga can be demonstrated through shared kai, whakatau (to welcome officially), pōwhiri (welcome) and in inquiry group projects based on interests, passions, and curiosities.
Kōrerorero	Kōrerorero refers to Te kai o te rangatiratanga – that strong communication is one of the characteristics of great leadership as it affirms balance and restoration in relationships over a period of time. This involves all being respectful and reflective in shared discussions between teachers and school leaders with both the whānau and their children in which a kaupapa Māori analysis is applied to kaupapa and take (reason, cause). Kōrerorero respectfully identifies our responsibility to those we speak with and have an obligation too, and that, at all times, in discussions, we must uphold the mana of the people we meet with and the reasons for meeting. Kōrerorero are the discussions and agreements within the procedural process / procedural actions of dealing with concerns such as behavioural problems leading to suspension / restorative justice and seeking to work collaboratively as part of seeking solutions that empower whānau and their children.
Tino rangatiratanga	Tino Rangatiratanga relates to the practice of nurturing self-determination. This is achieved by upholding the mana that each person/or group brings, recognising the privilege of working with each other in the classroom environment and creating an environment where the teacher encourages the student to being self-determining.
Ako / Te Hiringa Taketake	Ako / Te Hiringa Taketake relates to critically engaging with mātauranga Māori, cultural practices, te reo Māori and non-Māori knowledge for transformative possibilities in teaching practice. It recognises the reciprocal nature of the relationship between teachers and Māori students as both teachers and learners alongside whānau.
Āhurutanga	Āhurutanga is about nurturing a culturally safe classroom space that fosters reflection and discovery as a Māori student. This space provides a warm and protected place to feel comfortable to share feelings on factors that were causing maemae on one's progress and well-being. Additionally, the space allowed for exploring ways to reframe, problem solve and reconcile the tensions that are part of the educational journey in mainstream schooling which is also a part of hohou te rongo (to make peace) within ourselves and the choices we make.
Manaakitanga	Manaakitanga is developed through a process of actions that involves caring for others and a willingness to support each member of the whānau. Both within the classroom and school environment teachers and school leaders foster a supportive and caring culture is found to be important to whānau for their children. Manaakitanga can be expressed through ritual processes such as cultural welcomes like pōwhiri, whakatau and in class hui and through fostering tuakana-teina relationships between both older and younger children.
Aroha	This value is about showing a duty to care for each other. This involves parents and whānau demonstrating an ethic of care to encourage, help and support their children with the best resources and information that help them to grow and become healthy, citizens and role-models for their peers and their whānau.
Rangatiratanga	Rangatiratanga can be referred as the right to exercise authority. Whānau and teachers give Māori children the opportunity to make informed choices by providing them with strong foundations to develop as confident leaders. Māori children have access to information, can co-lead events, such as whānau days, school reporting events, through a shared negotiation of the rules with teachers and whānau.

Tuakana-teina/taina	This is about elder and younger relationships. The shared strength of collectivism where an older student is assigned a younger student to take care of within the classroom. Developing the sharing of information with younger children can help them to confront challenges and barriers that they may come across with being in the school environment. Such as dealing with pressures of learning or making friends.
Whakapapa	Whakapapa helps to connect people to knowledge through stories and narratives, it is an acknowledgement of genealogy and lineage and heritage of the surrounding area. It can connect Māori students to their tūpuna, whānau and the marae. Whakapapa can strengthen social relationships through opening up a person to communicate with kin connected to one's tūrangawaewae, Whakapapa can connect Māori students to different generations of their whānau as part embracing a Māori worldview and different categories of knowledge for Māori.
Tūpuna	The stories of Māori students tūpuna can inspire, motivate, connect and teach them on their journey in life. They also act as role-models for Māori students and their whānau to look for inspiration, particularly, in times of adversity, but also to show a way forward into the future.
Kaitiakitanga	This is about guardianship, a shared collective responsibility to care for the environment, the culture and the connections that are important to Māori students and their whānau. Educators have a role as kaitiaki to navigate all students on their journey through the awa (education system in mainstream schools). Policymakers have a role to ensure that the structural mechanisms (legislation and the organisational culture that impacts on leaders and teachers) enable educators to do their roles in supporting students to achieve success as Māori. This also includes working in partnership with iwi that is reflective of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the principles of 'Partnership', 'Participation' and 'Protection'.

Conclusion:

My hope is to show, through a critical analysis of educational success, has been applied to a programme derived from a Māori ontology. That through a *Kaupapa Māori* approach it is possible to have constructive conversations towards advancing *Kaupapa Māori* practice, embedding *tikanga Māori*, *mātauranga Māori* and *te ao Māori* (by educational leaders and educators) in the curriculum and school culture of mainstream schools within the local context of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau schools. This embedding of Māori ideology has the potential to lift system performance (with policymakers) and ensure equitable outcomes for Māori students located in the tribal regions of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau. In accordance with the intentions set out in the new Education and Training Act 2020, creating an authentic Treaty based partnership premised on a willingness to do better for Māori by the Crown with the two iwi, can only enhance possibilities of a more prosperous future for the next generations of Māori students and their *whānau* to come. I argue that this thesis provides new knowledge and contribution to the academy:

- (i) a space for *whānau* voices to be heard;
- (ii) a critical starting point to advance conversations and a collective responsibility to shift practices of educators and policymakers across the education system (transitioning from earlychildhood, to primary, through secondary, into either tertiary or vocational learning), as part of strengthening diversity and integration of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in mainstream schools so that Māori students receive equitable educational outcomes;
- (iii) a means to understand the differences in experiences for each of the *whānau* participants from Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa; and
- (iv) tentative steps towards a process for healing from the transmission of intergenerational cultural and historical trauma within and across generations of Māori *whānau* in New Zealand.

Looking to the future. In the Democracy Action October 2020 Newsletter (Democracy Action, n.d.), the Ministry of Education announced the implementation of a new programme called, *Te Hurihanganui* that has the potential to radically change the New Zealand education system.

True to the doctrine of a Treaty partnership, the Ministry has been working with Māori academics and educationalists to design a blueprint for a ‘transformative shift’ in the education of our children and grandchildren.

The aim of the scheme is to “‘decolonise’ the system”

... with plans in place to create a structural and cultural shift across early childhood education, schools and the tertiary sector. This change is

dominated by the intention to create a system based on a Māori world view, prioritizing the values and philosophy, culture, and interests of Māori society.

Furthermore, on the 8 December 2020, Associate Minister for Education, Hon Kelvin Davis announced that a programme called *Te Ahu o Te Reo* would be rolled out in 2021. It is a 120-hour programme to inspire people in the education sector (except tertiary) to improve their Māori language proficiency, acquisition and general use in a safe space. It is delivered through weekly classes, online lessons and *noho/wānanga*. Underpinning the programme is the intent of ‘normalising’ *te reo Māori* across the education sector. It is built on a pilot which ran from May 2019 to July 2020 and feedback from the 1000+ teachers, principals and support staff who participated in the pilot suggests that the programme is an opportunity for teachers to begin to understand a Māori worldview, to engage in cultural practices, narratives and histories relevant to Aotearoa - New Zealand that will support the education of all children (Ministry of Education, 2020, Dec 9).

Te Ahu o te Reo Māori is currently based on a *te reo Māori* competency framework called Ngā Taumata o Te Ahu o te Reo Māori (Ministry of Education, n.d.-m). The five focus areas include:

- Local Dialect – Local words, phrases, *karakia*, *waiata* and sayings;
- Use – Practise of *reo* use appropriate for a classroom setting;
- Grammar – Foundations of grammar and writing conventions;
- Curriculum – Development of learning content for regular activity; &
- Revitalisation – Language planning for the school/early learning services/classroom.

The Ministry of Education is targeting participation from these groups:

- English-medium teachers from early learning services through to secondary school;
- Māori-medium *kaiako*, from Kōhanga Reo through to wharekura; and
- Non-teaching and support staff in kura, schools, wharekura, early learning services and Kōhanga Reo.

Therefore, based on the findings from the *whānau* participants, these latest two developments instigated by the Ministry of Education, and with recent legislative changes as outlined in the Education and Training Act 2020, put *iwi* (Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa ki Kawerau) in a strong position to engage directly with the Crown on ensuring that educational success for their children is possible in the future, and that cultural trauma may well be a matter of the past going forward.

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Glossary

Ahikā	a person who lives within tribal area
Aho Matua	provision of culturally unique education based on Indigenous philosophical beliefs. A foundation document for Kura Kaupapa Māori.
Ako	to learn, reciprocal teaching
Ākonga Māori	Māori student, learner
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Amo	upright supports of the lower ends of a meeting house
Apa-Koke	which means Apa limping
Aroha	love, feel concern, feel compassion
Atua	Deity
Awa	river
Hapori	section of kinship group, community
Hapū	sub-tribe
He Pūtauaki	Indigenous research model – Māori worldview
Hinengaro	the mind
Hīmene	hymn/s
Hui	to gather, assemble, meet, meetings
Hui Taumata	National Conference
Iwi	tribe
Indigenous	originating from a natural place; native identity
Kahui Ako	communities of learning
Kai	to eat, consume food
Kaikōrero	orators
Kāinga	home
Kaitiaki	guardian, steward
Kākahoroa	original name of Whakatāne
Kapahaka	Māori cultural group
Kaputerangi	A fortified village near Whakatāne
Karahipi	scholarships
Karāti	grants
Karakia	chant, prayer or recitation
Karanga	to call
Kaumātua	elderly man, elder/s, elderly woman
Kaupapa Māori	Māori approach, Māori customary practice, Māori ideology
Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT)	Indigenous Māori methodology. Asserts a position that to be Māori is normal. A transformative praxis.
Kaupapa Māori Tikanga	inclusive of Māori practices and Māori principles, and Māori ethical practices
Kaupapa whānau	group of kaumātua for mentoring and support alongside my primary and secondary supervisors, non-kinship family that consists of academic supervisors, academic administrator and their whānau
Kawa	customs, values, practices, marae protocol
Kāwanatanga	government, authority, governor
Kawerau	Small town located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty.
Koha	a donation; form of contribution
Kōhanga Reo	early childhood language nest
Kōrero	discussion, talk

Kōrero tawhito	sources of rich Māori literacy treasures
Koro	grandfather, elderly man
Koroua	to be old, elderly, elderly man
Kuia	elderly woman, female elder
Kūmara	sweet potato
Kura kaupapa / Māori	primary school operating under Māori custom and using Māori as the medium of instruction
Kura-ā-iwi	tribal schools
Kutu	headlice
Mahinga kai	food gathering place
Mahitahi	to work together, collaborate
Maihi	barge boards – the facing boards on the gable of a house, the lower ends of which are often ornamented with a carving
Mākutu	refers to omen, inflict physical or psychological harm spiritual and even death through spiritual powers, cast spells and bewitch
Mamae	feeling of hurt, sore
Mana	authority
Mana motuhake	separate identity, autonomy, personal pride and a sense of embedded achievement
Mana Tangata	unique leadership potential
Mana Tangatarua	broad knowledge and skills
Mana Tū	tenacity and self-esteem
Mana Ūkaipo	belonging and connectedness
Mana Whānau	familial pride
Mana whenua	territorial rights, authority over the land
Manaaki	to support; give hospitality
Manaakitanga	the process of showing respect, care and generosity for others
Manuhiri	visitor/s, guest/s
Māori	Indigenous person of New Zealand
Māoritanga	explanation. meaning
Māori whānau	families
Māra kai	A food garden
Marae	the open area in front of the wharenui, where formal greetings and discussion take place and often used to include the complex of buildings around the marae
Marae-ā-kura	culturally determined spaces in mainstream secondary schools
Mātauranga-ā-iwi	tribal knowledge that operates within tribal context
Mātauranga Māori	body of Māori knowledge originating from the ancestors, including the Māori world view and perspectives
Maunga	mountain
Mauri	life-force
Mihi	to acknowledge, to greet
Moana	sea, ocean
Mokopuna	grandchild
Moutohorā	Whale Island
Ngākau	heart, mind and soul
Ngā Hononga	data categories
Ngā Hua	emerging key research themes
Ngā Maihi	hapū of Ngāti Awa, ancient tribe before Mataatua waka arrival

Ngā Putanga	concepts
Ngā pou	connectors between the indicators
Ngāi Tahu	tribal group of much of the South Island
Ngāti Awa	tribe in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, came off Mataatua waka
Ngāti Rangitihi	a iwi (tribe) who descend from eponymous ancestor Rangitihi based in the Eastern Bay of Plenty.
Ngāti Tūrangitukua	hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa
Ngāti Tūwharetoa	tribe in the Eastern Bay of Plenty, came off Te Arawa waka
Ngāti Umutahi	hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Eastern Bay of Plenty)
Oreore	lament, to shake, quiver, move
Pā	fortified village, fort
Paepae	orators' bench
Pahipoto	hapū of Ngāti Awa
Pākehā	European
Pākehātanga	Pākehā world
Pakeke	adult, mature
Papakāinga	original home
Papatūānuku	Earth mother, wife of Ranginui
Patu	to strike, club
Pa maioro	military mechanism based in a trench form used for defence
Patu ngākau	deep wound that is related to an event that causes shock, form of trauma
Pepeha	tribal saying
Pono	be true, valid, honest, genuine
Pou	post, upright, support, pole
Pōwhiri	to welcome, rituals of encounter
Puku	to swell, swelling, abdomen, belly
Pūkōrero	speaking with authority
Pūrākau	myths, legends, stories
Rangahau	research
Rangatahi	youth
Rangatira	chief, esteemed, of high rank, revered,
Rangatiratanga	chieftainship, right to exercise authority
Raru	to be in difficulty, troubled
Raruraru	problem, dispute
Raupatu	confiscated, confiscation
Rāwaho	person who lives away from tribal areas
Ringawera	kitchen worker
Riri	be angry
Rohe	boundary, district, region
Rongoā	traditional medicine
Rotoiti-paku	In traditional times, was a shallow lake fed by the spring of Te Wai Ū o Tūwharetoa. An industrial waste site in contemporary times.
Taiao	environment
Taiaha	long wooden weapon
Taku Mahere Rangahau	my design framework
Tamaiti	child
Tamariki	young children
Tamariki Māori	children of Māori descent
Tangata hara	outlaw

Tangata whenua	Indigenous people, people born of the whenua/land
Tangi	funeral
Taniwha	water spirit
Taonga	treasure
Taonga tuku iho	heirloom, cultural property, heritage, something handed down
Tapu	sacred, restricted
Tarutaru	cannabis, marijuana, small vegetation
Tauīwi	non-Māori
Tautoko	to support
Teina	younger sibling, younger person
Te ao Māori	the Māori world, Māori worldview
Te ao Pākehā	European worldview
Te Arawa	A tribal group that occupies the Rotorua Lakes District in Central Bay of Plenty
Te Hapū-oneone	descendants of Toi
Te Ika-a-Māui	North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand
Te Kahua	Māori mainstream pilot project
Te Kotahitanga	is an iterative school reform that supports teachers to improve Māori students' learning and achievement
Te Onepū	a rural community/village situated between Kawerau and Te Teko
Te Paepae o Aotea	Volkner rocks
Te Pae Tuatahi: Te Kairangahau	the researcher
Te Pae Tuarua: Ngā Kaupapa rapunga whakairo	theoretical paradigms and perspectives
Te Pae Tuatoru: Rautaki Rangahau	research strategies, narrative storytelling
Te Pae Tuawhā: Te Kohikohi raraunga me Te Tātaritanga	use of case studies and research strategies
Te Puia ō Whakaari	White Island
Te Rae o Koohi	Kohi Point headland
Te reo Māori	the Māori language
Te reo me ngā tikanga Māori	the Māori language and culture
Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa	tribal authority of the tribe Ngāti Awa
Te taha wairua	spiritual aspects
Te taha kikokiko	physical aspects
Te Teko	a rural town situated between Whakatāne and Kawerau
Te Tini-a-Toi	many descendants of Toi
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi. A fundamental document of New Zealand constitution acknowledging the agreement and partnership between the Crown and Māori of Aotearoa New Zealand
Te Toka o Irekewa	Irakewa rock standing in the river
Te Wai Ū o Tūwharetoa	the mother's milk of Tūwharetoa, cultural, historical landmark, spring located in Kawerau/Onepū
Tika	be correct, true
Tikanga	correct cultural procedure/cultural practices
Tinana	the physical body
Tino Rangatiratanga	self-determination
Tīpuna / tūpuna	ancestor
Tipuna wharehenui	ancestral house
Tohunga	expert
Toto	blood

Tuakana	elder sibling, older person
Tuakana-teina	refers to a relationship between an older person and a younger person
Tuakiri Tangata	Māori centric framework on preferred cultural pedagogy and attributes of Māori students/learners
Tūteao: Poupou tāhū	direct line of ancestry through the senior line, ridge post of a house
Tumuaki	head, leader
Tūpuna / tīpuna	ancestors
Tūrangawaewae	place of belonging, standing place, one has right to stand
Tūtara-kauika	mode of transport, the right whale
Tūwharetoa mai Kawerau ki te Tai	tribal settlement board for Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Eastern Bay of Plenty)
Tūpāpaku	deceased person's body
Urupā	burial ground, cemetery
Wahine	woman - of Māori descent
Wāhi tapu	sacred site
Waiata	song
Waikato-Tainui	term used for the tribes whose ancestors came on the Tainui canoe and whose territory includes the Waikato area
Wairuatanga	cultural concept related to spirituality
Waka	canoe
Wānanga	residential hui, intense discussion, gatherings
Whaikōrero	to make a formal speech, oratory
Whakaari	White Island
Whakamā	to be ashamed, embarrassed
Whakamana	to give authority to, confirm
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whakatau	office welcome speech
Whakataukī	proverb
Whakawhanaungatanga	process of establishing relationships; relating well to others
Whānau	family
Whānau pani	chief mourners, bereaved family – the relations of the deceased
Whanaungatanga	extended family, relationship, sense of family connection
Whāngai	adoptee, fostered
Wharekai	dining hall
Wharemate	house of mourning
Wharenui	ancestral house
Whare wānanga	place of higher learning
Whenua	land

APPENDIX 1: Interview Schedule – Participants

Project title: Iti noa ana, he pito mata: A critical analysis of educational success through a Māori lens and two case studies of whānau within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Mihi whakawātea

1. Age group: 18-25, 25-35, 35-45, 45-55, 55-65, 75-85, above 85 (circle one)
2. Male/Female (circle one)
3. Whānau/Professional/Kāumātua/Māori experts (circle one)
4. Ethnicity:

5. Hapū:

6. Mainstream education/Home schooling/ Māori Medium/ Marae setting/other
 - If other, please explain
7. Tell me about your schooling experiences (early childhood/primary/secondary)?
 - What were the most memorable experiences?
 - What were the most disliked/troubling experiences?
 - Do you know about your tipuna (ancestors) experiences in schooling? If so, can you please share this.
 - Has your whānau or other whānau experienced success in mainstream education (primary)?
 - Has your whānau or other whānau experienced troubling times in mainstream education (primary)?
8. Tell me about your connection or disconnection with whānau, hapū and iwi? (Your interaction within the whānau & hapū)
 - From your perspective, how do you define connection to and disconnection for whānau, hapū and iwi?
 - What do you consider are the difficulties, challenges and barriers that make it easy or either difficult to connect with one's whānau, hapū and iwi?

- What do you consider is the impact of being disconnected as ahikā, rāwaho and whānau who don't know their whakapapa and cultural knowledge of their connections to the whenua and people?
 - How connected are members of the whānau with the hapori (community)?
 - How important is it for whānau to relate to the hapori?
 - From your perspective do whānau value and understand the importance of their cultural identity? If not, can you give some reasons for this.
 - What do you consider would help with reconnecting to whānau, hapū and iwi?
9. What do you consider are the challenges and struggles of Māori whānau within Ngāti Awa? Or, what do you consider are the challenges and struggles of Māori whānau within Ngāti Tūwharetoa? (Only choose one).
10. In your opinion, are tamariki Māori well supported and set up for educational success in mainstream schooling by whānau, hapū and iwi?
11. In your opinion, do tamariki Māori have positive role-models in their whānau and community who support educational success?

Building Pathways for intergeneration educational success and whānau resilience

12. What do professionals/kaumātua/iwi need to know about cultural disconnection and the impact this has on Māori whānau resilience and educational success over successive generations?
13. What do you think educators, the Ministry of Education and policymakers need to know about educational success for tamariki Māori?
14. What types of initiatives (social/cultural/political/economical) would you like to see implemented by your whānau, hapū and iwi to help support struggling whānau, build cultural connection amongst ahikā and rāwaho and promote educational success between whānau, hapū and iwi?

15. What do you think policymakers need to know about the types of support systems which contribute to building intergenerational whānau resilience and educational success?
16. From a Ngāti Awa perspective-What do you think should be in a model of educational success?
17. From a Ngāti Tūwharetoa perspective-What do you think should be in a model of educational success?
18. Looking forward into the future, what are your aspirations for your whānau and the next generation – in terms of educational success.
19. Do you have any other comments you would like to contribute to this research?

Karakia whakamutunga

APPENDIX 2: Participant's Information Sheet

Project Title: Iti noa ana, he pito mata: A critical analysis of educational success through a Māori lens and two case studies of whānau within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Tēnā koe

My name is Hazel Abraham. I am currently enrolled in the Doctor of Philosophy degree with Te Ipukarea at the Auckland University of Technology. I seek your help in meeting the requirements of research which forms a substantial part of my doctoral degree.

The purpose of this research is to inform education policy and practices of schools in meeting the educational and holistic needs of tamariki Māori in mainstream schools within both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Eastern Bay of Plenty). Secondly, this research will help to strengthen the resilience of whānau in determining how educational success should look like for their tamariki. The benefits for participating in this research is your support will help me as the researcher to improve my knowledge in gaining a new qualification. More importantly, your contribution from participating in an interview will inform the development of a Māori-centric model for educational success, located in the worldviews of Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

I request your participation in the following way

I will be attending scheduled hui at local marae in Te Teko and Kawerau from August 2018 to September 2018. At these hui (meeting) I will explain the project and the recruitment process. This includes going through the selection process for being a participant. An invitation will be given to participate in the research. Further to this information sheets and expression of interest forms will be handed out and collected in at the end of each hui. A follow up contact call will be made only with expression of interest.

Selection of participants

The inclusion criteria for participating in this research are:

- Participants must be over 18 years of age and able to participate without injuries.
- **Participants for whānau:** They must whakapapa to either Ngāti Awa or Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Eastern Bay of Plenty); live as ahikā (people from the area who keep the home fires burning) or rāwaho (people who live away from the tribal area); and have three different generations.
- **Participants for experts:** They must be recognised specialists within the whānau participants region of either Ngāti Awa or Ngāti Tūwharetoa (Eastern Bay of Plenty).

What will happen in the research

I will be collecting data using an interview schedule and would appreciate being able to interview you at a suitable time and a mutually agreed designated venue. Interviews will take place from August 2018 to September 2018, at a time that is suitable to you.

Interviews will be conducted in privacy and will be no longer than one hour. I will also be asking you to sign a consent form regarding this event immediately prior to the interview. Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible. I will be digitally recording your contribution and will provide a transcript for you to check for accuracy before data analysis is undertaken. The research findings will be used for future academic publications and conference presentations. The completed thesis will be presented as a taonga to both iwi at a marae ceremony in Te Teko in 2020.

The discomforts and risks in this research

Due to the nature of this research, you may be identified in the findings. I will offer as much confidentiality as the study allows and I will do my best to have no identifiable factors. I can offer pseudonyms if you choose to not be identified in this research. I do hope that you will agree to take part and that you will find this research of interest. If you have any queries about the project, you may contact my supervisor from AUT University, Professor Tania Ka'ai, tkkai@aut.ac.nz, (09) 921 9999 ext. 6601.

Also, if you have concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTC, Kate O'Connor, ethics@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext. 6038.

I do hope that you will find this study of interest and will agree to participate as your contributions will be extremely valuable. I would appreciate an initial response from an expression of interest form or an email response at your earliest convenience to indicate your interest in participating in my study. During this time, I will arrange a mutually agreeable time to meet.

Should you accept, I will gain your written consent at the time of the interview. Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You can also contact the research team as follows:

Researcher contact: Hazel Aroha Abraham, hazelabraham@hotmail.co.nz, (09) 921 9999 ext. 6601

Project Supervisor: Professor Tania Ka'ai, tkkai@aut.ac.nz, (09) 921 9999 ext. 6601

I look forward to working on this project with you.

Ngā mihi nui
nā Hazel Abraham
PhD student, Auckland University of Technology

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 8/8/18, AUTC Reference number 18/269.

APPENDIX 3: Confidential Agreement

Project title: Iti noa ana, he pito mata: A critical analysis of educational success through a Māori lens and two case studies of whānau within Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa.

Project Supervisor: Professor Tania Ka'ai

Researcher: Hazel Abraham

- ☐ I understand that all the material I will be asked to type is confidential.
- ☐ I understand that the contents of the notes or recordings can only be discussed with the researchers.
- ☐ I will not keep any copies of the transcripts nor allow third parties access to them.

Typist's signature :

APPENDIX 4

Table 5:

Maramataka o te kaupapa (1800-2020): Approach to Māori, education and te reo Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand

Decade/period	Year	Landmark
Early 1800s	1816	First Mission school established and beginning of formal education at Rangihoua in Bay of Islands. The missionaries provided education in the medium of te reo Māori.
The missionary phase-establishing a rapid network of village schools	1820s-1830s	Three main missionary groups were Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS), the Methodist Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) and the Catholic Church (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c).
Inundation 1840-1890	1840	Te Tiriti o Waitangi signed on 6 February, embracing the notion of partnership between British Crown and Māori. Te Reo Māori was the dominant language.
	1847	The Education Ordinance Act , which was used to expediently place their children in boarding, rather than day mission schools, removing them from their traditional villages. Establishing education curriculum-religious instruction, industrial training, and instruction in English. The Act was an assimilation policy developed out of nineteenth century beliefs about race and civilisation.
	1850s	The Pākehā population exceeds the Māori population and te reo Māori becomes a minority language.
	1852	The New Zealand Constitution Act Ended direct government input from Great Britain, thus enabling the self-government of New Zealand (Simon, 2000).
	1853	Governor Grey implements a system for funding schools through annual grants to the three main providers Anglican, Catholic, and Methodist (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c, p. 16).
	Mid 1850s	The establishment of six self-governing provinces provided a mechanism for state funded education outside of the church schools. Provinces charged house rates to fund education and allowed schools to charge fees (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c).
	1858	English Laws Act , entitled all English Laws that existed on 14 January 1840, predating Te Tiriti o Waitangi come into force in New Zealand.
	1858	Native Schools Act , supported Mission schools and funding was provided to schools on average weekly attendance, to a maximum of £10 per pupil per annum ⁶⁵ .
	1860s	Withdrawal of Māori from schools due to the warfare (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c).
	1863	Suppression Rebellion Act punished Māori for rebelling against the Crown. New Zealand Settlements Act entitled the Governor could confiscate land if a tribe, or a considerable section of a tribe, was deemed to be in rebellion. A total of more than 3 million acres of land confiscated. The Native Lands Act 1865 , removed pre-emption, enabling land to be transferred to individualised titles which could then be sold. This act specifically ended Māori communal land tenure and facilitated Pākehā land buying. Native Land Court entitled to implement land ownership to 10 owners or less.
	1865	Outlying Districts Police Act , allowed for enforcing the law and for arresting criminals in certain districts of New Zealand Colony. Native Schools Act

⁶⁵ Native Schools Act 1858, sections III and IV.

		Part of the assimilative agenda. Native schools were used to diminish and replace traditional Māori culture with European concepts and values. Schools for Māori focused on manual instruction than academic subjects. Māori teachers could be employed in Native Schools.
	1867	The new act provided for a national secular native village schools system run by the Department of Native Affairs. It was designed as a response to the collapse of schooling for Māori. Further issues were the contradictions between the 1867 School Act and Native Schools Code. The 1867 Native School Act specified school committees have the general management of the school but the code gave these responsibilities to the teacher (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c).
	1877	Education Act did not provide for a free state funded national secondary school's system. Only those who could afford secondary schooling attended. The Act set up of the Department of Education. The Act brought all Māori children into a state-run schooling system.
	1877	Education Act Children 7-13 living within two miles of school by public road were required to attend school at least half the time it was open; the compulsory part of the act did not require children to attend until 1894; gave teachers discretion to refuse to admit particular children to schools (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c).
	1879-1884	Crown purchasing of Ngāti Awa land was part of the plan for economic benefit and military advancement.
	1880	Native Schools Code - an expectation that teachers should have a working knowledge of Māori language. However, there was an expectation that teachers were to be familiar with the discovery of New Zealand land wars (Barrington, 1965, p.7 as cited in Manning, 2017). Increased the minimum requirement for land donated by Māori communities for schools to two acres along with further cash or land contributions ⁶⁶
	Late 1800s	Technical Schools introduced provided trades training in the evening. Aimed at people leaving primary school and entering the workforce. ⁶⁷
Isolation 1890-1940	1894	School Attendance Act Made attendance at school compulsory for Pākehā children between the ages of 7-13; for Māori children only compulsory to attend school up to age of 10 (end of primary school).
	1896	The New Zealand Census recorded the Māori population at 42, 113.
	1903	1903 Secondary Schools Act which provided free secondary schooling to students passing proficiency certificates at primary school. Matriculation from primary to secondary school would later lead to tertiary studies.
	1903	Nation-wide policy to impose ban on te reo Māori in the playground. A wide range of punishments used against children who speak te reo Māori at school (Controller and Auditor General, 2020).
	1903	School Attendance was made compulsory for Māori children aged 7-13 to enrol at a Board school if there was no native school within a radius of three miles ⁶⁸ .
	1905	Technical Schools day classes offered ⁶⁹
	1906	1906 report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Te Aute and Wanganui Collegiate School Trusts.
	1907	The Tohunga Suppression Act

⁶⁶ (Native Schools Code 1880, AJHR 1880, H1F, p. 1 as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c)

⁶⁷ <https://teara.govt.nz/en/tertiary-education/page-2>

⁶⁸ (Barrington, 2009, p. 73 as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c)

⁶⁹ <https://teara.govt.nz/en/tertiary-education/page-2>

		abusive use of legislation authority and power to suppress Māori spiritual basis to healing and treatment. Including the imparting of their Māori worldviews.
	Nineteenth century	Education policy and practice endorsed Māori as naturally physically and of limited intelligence (Hokowhitu, 2004, p.18).
	1913	90% of Māori school children could speak te reo Māori (Waitangi Tribunal, 1986; Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori, n.d.a). Outbreak of smallpox interrupted the work of Northern Schools, in some cases Māori children were forbidden to attend school (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c, p.28).
	1914-1918	First World War I
	Post war	Pākehā racism was becoming prevalent and widespread during the post war years (Harris, 2004 as cited in Manning, 2017).
	1914	New Education Act places the responsibility for decision on establishing new schools in the hands of regional boards. The Act did not require Boards to completely fund new schools. In some cases, communities had to provide board and contribute to salary costs of teachers, based on average attendance of less than 10 pupils. ⁷⁰
	1915	Department of Education has an assimilation policy for Māori and low expectations of Māori students (Controller and Auditor General, n.d.).
	1917	Native Land Amendment Bill Māori land to be made available for return Māori servicemen. Failure to include Māori ex-servicemen in rehabilitation benefits after the First World War to the same as Pākehā serviceman.
Perpetuation of institutional discrimination and deficit theorising of Māori	1920-1930s	The Director of Education, Thomas Strong continued to place limits on Māori access to knowledge. He warned that educating the dark races and encouraging pupils to a stage beyond their present needs or their future needs was a fatal facility (Strong as cited in Hokowhitu, 2004, p.195).
	1922	Correspondence School was established. Assisted with education to children in remote districts. Materials were not provided in te reo Māori until 1949 ⁷¹
	1923	Māori Ethnological Research Board established to promote the study of Māori language, culture and traditions, and to publish the works of Elsdon Best, Peter Buck and Henry Skinner ⁷²
	1925	Kāingaroa plains preparation for planting of pine trees.
	1930	Blocked attempt by the Director of Education to have te reo Māori introduced. In his view, the natural abandonment of the native tongue involves no loss to the Māori and the deficit theorising of Māori. Where the Director states that education should lead the Māori lad to be a good farmer and the Māori girl to be a good farmer's wife (Controller and Auditor General, 2020).
	1930s	Depression years: Government made a number of cutbacks in education, preventing those under six from starting school.
	1935	Free state secondary schooling and raising the school leaving age to fifteen years old by the Labour government
	1936	Abolition of the Proficiency examination.
	1939-1945	World War II The 28 th Māori Battalion joined the War II allied forces. A generation of native speakers never returned from the war, leaving a depleted number at home.
	1939	The first intake of students under the Māori quota system was admitted to Auckland Teachers' Training College. Students (some were return serviceman) were bonded to three years in Native schools (Walker, 2016).

⁷⁰ (Education Act 1914, s54(6) and (7) as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c: p. 88)

⁷¹ (John Garner and Katherine Forde, The Correspondence School: Golden Jubilee History, 1922-72, Government Print: Wellington, 1972 as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c)

⁷² (Māori Ethnological Research Board, 1929, as cited in Walker, 2016)

	1941	The establishment of Native district High Schools serving remote areas, consisted of secondary classes added onto a rural primary school (Barrington, 2008a & 2008b). However, it was found that the Native District High Schools had a very minor impact on the retention of Māori beyond primary school (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c, p.35).
	1944	Thomas Report - addressing secondary school education in New Zealand. This report prompted the introduction of Social Studies as a new compulsory curriculum subject.
	1949	Maharaia Winiata is appointed Māori tutor in adult education at Auckland University (Walker, 2016).
Integration 1950-1990	1950-1970s	Rural - Urban Drift Relocation to towns, cities and urban centres, changes in social systems and cultural values. A cognitive shift in learning for Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa Ki Kawerau in requiring new knowledge and skills for wealth. Western influences in the cities having an influence on Māori families, who raise their children as predominantly, English speakers.
	1950s	The emergence of the Māori Womens' Welfare League and other organisations challenging the Government's policies on the teaching of te reo and Māori history in schools (Harris, 2004, p. 44 as cited in Manning, 2017).
	1954	Emergence of the town of Kawerau. Tasman Pulp and Paper Company (Uncle Tasman).
	1960	Hunn Report (Hunn, 1960) Considers the integration of tikanga Māori into state curriculum. First report to acknowledge a problem with state education. The report drew attention to the educational disparities between Māori and Pākehā because of inadequate schooling system during the post war years. Between 1900-1960, the number of Māori fluent in the Māori language had decreased from 95% to 25%. Māori unemployment was three times that of Pākehā; there was a 'statistical blackout' of Māori in higher education; and Māori life expectancy was 15 years lower than that of Pākehā.
	1961	Māori Education Foundation established to assist Māori to complete secondary and tertiary education through competitive scholarships ⁷³
	1962/1963	The Currie Commission Report (Commission on Education in New Zealand & Currie, 1962). Māori education elevated to an area of concern. The report acknowledges bridging the gap between Māori and Pākehā. Blamed placed on poor parenting and parental apathy, not the historical rhetoric of the education system. The report centralised the notion of Māori educational under-achievement and began a flooding of compensatory education programmes.
		Benton Report Showed the Māori language was quickly dying out. This report contributed to the establishment of Māori medium education.
	1967	The Report on Māori Education reflected a growing interest of biculturalism.
	1970s-1980s	Māori Renaissance Period need to secure te reo Māori has a treasured taonga, and land marches. Many bilingual units appeared in communities.
	1970s	Ngā Tamatoa and the Te Reo Māori Society lobbied for the introduction of Te Reo Māori in schools.
	1971	The Report of the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education advanced the concept of Biculturalism.
	1973	All seven Teachers Colleges had established courses in Māori Studies.
	1974	Revision of the scaling system for School Certificate for Māori language (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c).

⁷³ (Openshaw et al., p. 72 as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c: 37).

	1975	Treaty of Waitangi 1975 Act , the Waitangi Tribunal was established as a permanent commission of inquiry to decide on issues raised by Māori with regards to hearing grievances and seeking redress.
	1975	Initiating of Taha Māori into the school curriculum (New Zealand Department of Education, 1984,1 as cited in Hokowhitu, 2004). Only simplistic and basic knowledge expected of teachers.
	1975	Government introduces a new policy whereby it would provide the cost of constructing a play centre of kindergartens in areas with high populations of Māori and Polynesian children ⁷⁴ .
	1979	The Te Ātarangi Movement was established as a community initiative to teach Māori language to adults using the 'silent method'.
	Early 1980s	The establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo (Language Nest) a programme based on placing children from birth to age five in a situation where Māori language and values of Māori are practised (Doherty, 2009)
	Mid 1980s	Waipa Kokiri Arts Centre was established in Te Awamutu, specialising in practical skills and modules in carving, weaving, plumbing and boat building (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c, p. 40).
	Late 1980s	Establishment of Kura Kaupapa primary and secondary schools. A parallel system opened up spaces for Māori to begin to regain what it meant to be Māori. Cultural aspects of Māori are included into the delivery of the curriculum.
	1981	Hui Whakatauirā of Māori leaders proposes and establishes the first kōhanga reo as a response to the impending loss on te reo Māori.
	1981	The opening of Te Wananga o Raukawa Iwi lead initiative to fostering Māori language and culture in tertiary education in Otaki (Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c, p.40).
	1982	Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust established, and core roles evolved including working with various government agencies (Doherty, 2009).
	1984	The Labour Government introduced new economic and political policies based on New Right Ideologies that affected the emerging voice of Māori. The tenets of 'user pays' were applied to education (Hokowhitu, 2004 p. 199). The 1984 curriculum review and the inclusion of Taha Māori dimension (Manning, 2017).
	1985	The first Kura Kaupapa Māori was established at Hoani Waititi Marae, West Auckland.
	1986	The Report of the Waitangi Tribunal on Te Reo Māori Claim (WAI 11) asserted that te reo Māori is a taonga guaranteed protection under Article II of Te Tiriti o Waitangi.
	1987	The Māori Language Act 1987 Māori language recognised as an official language of New Zealand. Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori was established.
	1988	Picot Report-Administering for Excellence Brian Picot, an economist originally came to New Zealand to examine forestry industry, headed a committee that formed the blueprint for educational developments known as Tomorrow's Schools.
	1 October 1989	Tomorrows Schools- A new era in education Replacing 110-year old education system with two tier structure. This involved the replacement of the Department of Education and Boards to a new structure, the Ministry of Education and Boards of Trustees. The shift in power associated with the schools failed minority groups whose parents lacked skills to govern a school (Abraham-O'Leary, 2015).
	1989	The Education Amendment Act Formally recognises Kura Kaupapa Māori and Wānanga (Māori universities) as educational institutions.
Invigoration 1990-onwards	1990	The Ministry of Education wanted an integrated system of early childhood education and took control of kōhanga from Te Puni Kōkiri, the successor to Māori Affairs (Walker, 2016).

⁷⁴ (AJHR 1975, E1, p. 27 as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c: p. 37)

	1990	Parliament gave statutory recognition to wananga through an amendment to the Education Act 1989 ⁷⁵
	1992	Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal allows for contemporary claims from 21 September 1992 to be heard from claimants related to national points of interest.
	1993	Te Māngai Pāho, a Māori broadcasting funding agency was established to promote Māori language and culture through the media.
	1993	The government grants full wānanga status to Te Wānanga o Raukawa and the Aotearoa Institute (now Te Wānanga o Aotearoa) enabling them to access government funding (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999b p. 14).
	1998	Te Aho Matua was tabled by the then Minister of Māori Affairs, Tau Henare introducing to parliament. The amendment to the education bill incorporated the philosophies that governed the guiding principles of Kura Kaupapa Māori. Opposition to the bill came through Māori operating in mātauranga-a-iwi
	1998	Government funding for a Māori television channel. Te Puni Kōkiri report identifies education system's underachievement for Māori. First Māori education strategy developed by the Ministry of Education and Te Puni Kōkiri (Controller and Auditor General, 2020).
	1999	As noted in WAI 718 by the Waitangi Tribunal add year), it would not be difficult to argue that the seeds of Māori underachievement in the modern education system were sown by some of the past education policies.
2000	2000	Introduction of NCEA for secondary schooling workshops.
	2001-05	<p>First Hui Taumata Mātauranga hosted at Hirangi Marae agreed on three goals for Maori educational advancement and aspirations.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To live as Māori; 2. To live as citizens of New Zealand; 3. And to enjoy the benefits of good health and well-being (Durie, 2004). <p>These goals further integrated into educational policy as evident in the Māori Education Strategy, Ka Hikitia (Ministry of Education, 2008).</p> <p>These hui initiated by the Minister and Associate Minister of Education and Ngāti Tūwharetoa to debate issues, barriers, and future directions. Redeveloped the Māori education strategy, drawing on the Māori Potential Approach policy (Controller and Auditor General, 2020).</p>
	2001	The number of Māori speakers had stabilised at around 130,500 people between 1996-2001, constituting 25% of the population.
	2002	Shift in policy to reject deficit thinking. Policy initiatives to improve services to Māori, such as Ka Awatea (1991) and Closing the gaps (1999) were considered because they were seen to reflect deficit thinking (Controller and Auditor General, 2020).
	2003-2005	National Certificate of educational Achievement (NCEA) model set up as a flexible standards-based assessment model, rather than building a holistic understanding of the subject (Sheenan & Ball, 2020).
	2007	The introduction of the New Zealand Curriculum. Little historical knowledge prescribed in the New Zealand Curriculum. Little guidance given to how young people will create an Aotearoa New Zealand in which Pākehā and Māori recognise each other as full Treaty partners. Teachers choose to engage in New Zealand's difficult histories (Sheenan & Ball, 2020).
	2008	Narrow the gap, fix the tail, or close the curves. Māori are shown to be far behind dominant ethnic groups Pākehā and Asian groups (Controller and Auditor General, 2020).
	2008	<i>Ka Hikitia-Managing for success: The Māori education strategy 2008-2012</i> (Ministry of Education, 2008).

⁷⁵ (Education Act 1989, Section 162(4)(b)(iv) as cited in Waitangi Tribunal, 2011c: 40)

	2008	Te Ipukarea (National Māori Language Institute) ⁷⁶ established at AUT University. The centre's core elements involve pursuit of excellence in scholarship, teaching, and research in te reo Māori.
	2008	In Ngā Haeata Mātauranga 2008/09, the Ministry of Education's Māori Education report, Dr Pita Sharples acknowledges the challenge is to create an education system that supports the rights of Māori students to live and learn as Māori, to reach their potential, and go on to contribute to their whānau, iwi and our nation (Ministry of Education, 2008, p. 4)
	2009	Best Synthesis Evidence Report on school leadership (Robinson, Hohepa, & Lloyd, 2009), the Ministry of Education identified leadership as critical to improving student outcomes in both Māori and English medium schools (Rangahau Mātauranga Māori, Te Kotahitanga: The experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori students in mainstream classrooms, p7-10 as cited in Controller and Auditor General, 2020).
2010s	2011	The Waitangi Tribunal's report (WAI 262) highlights the decline in the number of Native speakers and children in Māori immersion education. The report states that the language is in crisis. It recommends sweeping changes across twenty government agencies including the Ministry of Education. Te Whare o Rongomaurikura (International Centre for Language Revitalisation) ⁷⁷ was launched at the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in New York. This organisation is the international arm of Te Ipukarea Research Institute.
	2012	Tau mai te reo: Māori language development in schools is a key element of the New Zealand governments' Māori language revitalisation strategy.
	2013-2017	Ka Hikitia: Accelerating success, 2013-2017 (Ministry of Education, 2013b)
	2013	The New Zealand Government invests \$8 million over four years for Māori language research and development.
	2014	The first draft of the Māori Language Bill, which will replace the Māori Language Act of 1987 and amends the Broadcasting Act of 1989 and the Māori Television Service (Te Aratuku Whakaata Irirangi Māori) Act of 2003.
	2015	Secondary school students, Waimarama Anderson and Leah Bell instigated a petition that called for the Māori wars between the Crown and Māori to be introduced into the curriculum (Sheenan & Ball, 2020).
	2016	The Māori Language Bill passed by the New Zealand Government in April.
	2019	Rebranding of Te Ipukarea Research Institute at AUT University.
	2020	Call for systems level change from across all education sectors (Abraham et al., 2020).

Changed to Te Ipukarea Research Institute in 2019

⁷⁷ Changed to Te Whare o Rongomaurikura (Centre of Language Revitalisation)

APPENDIX 5

Table 58:
Summary of research findings

Key area of significance	Dimensions	Findings	Summary
Education and schooling	The factors that affect the whānau environment	Parents' educational achievement and educational beliefs and behaviour	Parents' educational attainment is a powerful predictor of what parents provide in the home environment.
		Parental, family and teacher expectations	The impact of parental and family educational expectations and teachers' expectations are influential factors that contribute towards the educational success of Māori students in mainstream schooling.
		Parent's perceptions of educational success	That parents' perceptions of educational success is highly consisted of the emphasis on skills, qualifications, cultural knowledge and having a confidence in speaking te reo Māori.
		Trauma as a factor impacts on the family environment	Trauma as a factor impacts on the family environment and can hinder the progress of tamariki Māori reaching their potential as they navigate their educational journey from entry through to transitioning and exiting the education system.
	Role of Parents	Be positive role-models and foster a safe, nurturing family environment grounded in Māori values	Role-model and foster a safe family environment that promoted Māori values like manaakitanga and whanaungatanga.
		Parent involvement in children's' education pathways	Strengthening strong connections between Māori and the education sectors' workforce – ie schoolteachers, principals.
		Parental behaviours: parents establish high expectations for their children - be self-determining - remember their tūpuna - treasure whakapapa - treasure Māori language	Understanding that high expectations was needed for their children to achieve in their schooling but also affirmed an urgency for future generations, to be self-determining in their chosen pathway and reminded them to hold onto the legacy of their tipuna through re-connection to their families whakapapa and continuing to hold onto using the Māori language.
		Foster self-determination at a whānau level with children	Self-determination at a whānau level has an instrumental role towards the development of attitudes and values in children needed for succeeding in life.
Impact of intergenerational transmission of cultural and historical trauma	The stressors that impact on tamariki Māori education pathways	The influence of socio-economic status on whānau (family) environments and educational success	Socio-economic status has an indirect impact on the educational success of tamariki Māori in schooling.
		Support whānau to confront challenges	More support is needed for those families who struggle to cope with a number of barriers (for example, home ownership, paucity of food in the home, excessive exposure to alcohol and drugs, and the gang influences within the communities they reside.

		Inequities prevalent in whānau environments	All children need a good start in life and have a family environment that fosters learning and development and underpinned by values of arohatanga, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga.
	The factors that affect outside the whānau environment ie. impact on education pathways for whānau in mainstream schooling	Soul wounding are outcomes of the transmission of both historical and cultural trauma	Cultural disconnection, alienation of land, loss of Māori language, Māori identity, Māori culture and mātauranga Māori were identified in the findings as an outcome of soul wounding and resulted from the transmission of both historical and cultural trauma across successive generations.
		Māori underserved by the education system over successive generations	Continued ongoing concerns related to unconscious bias of educators and a lack of culturally responsive teaching and learning afforded to Māori students.
	The colonising environment created and perpetuated by the settler state has impacted on Māori outcomes	Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa suffered immensely from the impacts of colonisation between 1840-1960	Agentic management of resistance and their shared, collective desire to inform Māori leadership (kaumātua and hapori), iwi, educators and policymakers about the trauma they experienced (unconscious bias, racism, negative attitudes) from their teachers in the education system and the impact of events (such as land alienation and material poverty, including the development of Kawerau and Tasman Paper and Pulp Mill) over accumulative periods of the nineteenth century and later parts of the twentieth century.
		Exposure to foreign environments and settler institutions impacted on individual self-concept	Exposure and immersed in foreign environments of the settler institutions such as mainstream schools.
	Factors influencing the whānau environment contributed to disruption of the transmission of intergenerational knowledge across generations of whānau	Factors identified by the Ngāti Awa case study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fear for the survival of te reo Māori by whānau; • Fear for the retention of Mātauranga Māori, and whānau and hapū knowledge; • Changing tikanga; • Normalising culture of drugs amongst the community and in whānau; • Further marginalised as whānau, hapū and iwi from being disconnected to te ao Māori; • Inundated with psychosocial challenges which has impacted on health and well-being of whānau is a result of material poverty; • Low number of whaikorero (oratory) speakers on the paepae (orators' bench); • More strategic planning and investment into strengthening hapū; and • The impact of material poverty on the whānau environment.
	Factors influencing the whānau environment contributed to disruption of the transmission of intergenerational knowledge across generations of whānau	Factors identified by the Ngāti Tūwharetoa case study	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impact of material poverty on whānau and community • Living in traumagenic environments • Impact of legislation allowed for privileging Western settler future generations • Unresolved trauma within whānau • Factors leading to joining gang in Kawerau • Loss of whānau knowledge, whakapapa and pūrākau

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Impact of colonial schooling and colonial attitudes towards Māori students and continual perpetuation of inequities in society • Micropolitics that exist within community • Impact of establishing the Tasman Paper Pulp Mill in Kawerau/Onepu
	Structural mechanisms caused both psychological and physical harm, derived from the immersion and exposure of Māori whānau to the institutions of the New Zealand settler state		Being alienated as whānau, hapū and iwi from their land, caused hardship and angst for whānau unable to assert their tino rangatiratanga and access their human rights to social justice related to their grievances.
	Structural mechanisms cause whānau divisions	Creation of whānau divisions has left many individuals holding onto unresolved grief and maemae (hurt).	A secondary effect of this loss of land resulted in material poverty, and the dependency on the government as wage labourers for whānau. An example of this is clearly identified in the case study of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, where the use of legislation allowed the government and private sector, the right to establish the township of Kawerau and Tasman Paper Pulp Mill.
		Exposure to settler political and legal institutions impacted on whānau outcomes	Exposed and immersed as whānau, hapū and iwi to the settler political and legal institutions (politico-legal), and the systems used and feeling a sense of disenfranchisement, that is being in a state of powerlessness over their situations and livelihoods
		Exposure to Western education system impacted on education pathway for tamariki and directed Māori into menial labouring work	exposed as whānau, hapū and iwi to the New Zealand education system which promoted Westernising of tamariki Māori over their Indigenous way of being Māori and totally ignored the government's responsibilities of being equal treaty partners as acknowledged and inherent within the founding document of New Zealand, '1840 Te Tiriti o Waitangi' (Treaty of Waitangi).
	Psychosocial challenges impacted on cultural identity and self-worth of whānau	Internalising the colonial narratives of the dominant settler identity and pressure to assimilate	Māori believing that one is inferior and developmentally behind the coloniser.
		Internalising of shame and unwanted identity depictions can impact at the family and community level	Type of internalising can be translated to social problems at the family and community scales where individuals who have internalised the narratives express their sense of disempowerment, shame and confusion through harmful behaviours (such as taking of illicit drugs and harmful use of alcohol within both case studies).
		The failure of the education system across many generations of Māori	Generations of whānau have been underserved as Māori learners by educators, teachers and principals and have loss connection to their language, culture and identity.
	Factors that impacted on the whānau environment	Cultural trauma experienced in mainstream schooling, across successive generations of Māori	The forced cultural assimilation of Māori in society through the education system; the historical roots of schooling which has diminished Māori ways of being; Māori students are taught by culturally unresponsive teachers

			and are immersed in learning environments that favour the dominant Western culture; and the biasness and racism experienced by Māori students within mainstream schools.
	Healing process: Whānau creating new pathways in mainstream education	Empowering whānau to become more actively involved in the education pathways of their children	Empowering whānau to participate in co-constructing educational strategic plans and curriculum programmes with educators and school leaders.
Whānau, Māori culture and Identity	Whānau voice	School leaders and educators need to support whānau and acknowledge knowledge systems and practices of tribes in the school curriculum	School leaders and educators need to support and acknowledge the knowledge systems that have been practised by both Ngāti Awa and Ngāti Tūwharetoa by embedding this within the school curriculum and giving emphasis to the integrity of tribal cultural knowledge and skills.
		Raising consciousness of tribal authorities on the realities of struggling whānau, to invest more into programmes at the whānau level	Tribal authorities need to review programmes and further explore opportunities to engage in social led research similar to that of Ngāi Tahu as part of embedding whānau voice into strategic planning that encourages self-determination and a prosperous future for whānau.