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**A STUDY OF THE FACTORS WHICH
CONTRIBUTE TO SUCCESS FOR
MĀORI WOMEN IN TERTIARY EDUCATION**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the factors which contribute to success for Māori women in tertiary education. It focuses on the success of six Māori women who are in positions of responsibility and decision making in various education institutions and agencies. They were students enrolled at Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls in 1961 and have all achieved success in tertiary education over the past thirty years.

The focus on success factors is in part a response to the frustration felt by Māori at the concentration on failure, underachievement and barriers to success evident in much of the research which has been sponsored and supported over the past three decades. It is argued in this thesis that it is as important to identify success factors as it is to identify barriers to achievement. This study will complement the many positive initiatives which Māori, particularly women, have taken in the last twenty years of this century to regain control of the education of our children through *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa Māori*, by providing relevant research material for consideration.

The women's stories are presented as oral narratives in the women's own words. They are a contribution to the body of literature recording the lives of Māori women in Aotearoa, a body of literature which, though currently disappointingly small, is significant.

A primary feature of the study is that Māori women are central and essential as *kaitautoko*, *kaiākihaere*, research participants, *kaiwhakapakari* and *kaiāwhina*. Māori women were supervisors and transcribers. As the researcher, I am a Māori woman. The research is based upon Treaty of Waitangi principles and within *tikanga Māori* as outlined in the methodology chapter of the thesis.

The worlds from which the women in this study came are worlds of the past, worlds which Māori currently seek to restore and duplicate within such structures as *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa* and *wānanga*. Modern communication, an international economy and globalisation work against the duplication of the world from which these women came, but attention to the factors which enabled them to live and succeed in two worlds are the some of the factors which must be duplicated in this and the next generation to promote further success by Māori women in education.

HE MIHI

Ko Tararua te maunga
Ko Hōkio te awa
Ko Ngāti Raukawa te iwi
Ko Ngāti Pareraukawa te hapū
Ko Ngātōkōwaru te marae
Ko Te Whānui te tangata
Tēna koutou katoa.

Tēna koutou ō ngā hau e whā, ō te ao whānui hoki, ē titiro nei ki tēnei tuhinga.
Ki ā koutou ngā wāhine o ngā uri ō Kahungunu, ō Ngāti Raukawa, ō Ngāti Porou, ō
Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, i whakaae mai nei kia tuhia ēnei kōrero, hei whakaputa ki te
ao whānui, kā nui ngā mihi ki a koutou katoa.

Ki te Tumuaki hoki o te kura o Wikitōria i whakatuwhera mai nei i ngā tataua kia taea
ai te titiro ki te ao ō nanahi, tēna hoki koe.

Ki ōku ake kaiākihaere, ki a Kath, kōrua ko Robyn, tēnā kōrua.

Ki aku marumaru hau hoki, i tiaki nei i a au, i whakangāwari nei i taku noho kia pai
ai te haere ō ngā mahi, tēnā rawa ātu koutou.

Nā ā koutou werawera i taea ai kia ea ai te whakatauāki e ki nei:

Whiria te muka o te Whāranui
Kia whātoro atu ki te ao hunahuna ā kui mā ā koro mā
Inā kei reira a āpopo e tatari mai ana.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study looks at the success stories of six Māori women. It traces their pathways through primary schools in the fifties, Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls in Auckland in the fifties and sixties and through various tertiary education paths in the second half of the twentieth century. It quite deliberately concentrates on their success. Helen Clothier's observations are pertinent: "An abundance of research literature on Māori children's education exists heavily laden with underachievement data. Research on Māori students within tertiary institutions remains a site of minimal attention"(Clothier 1993:7). Looking at success within tertiary education is critical for Māori women, for educators, policy makers and for whānau, hapū and iwi. Manatū Māori noted in 1991 that "More research like the Mitchell Study (1988) is needed on the factors related to educational success for Māori students"(Manatū Māori 1991:50).

I have looked at the pathways of six Māori women including myself. All of us were at Queen Victoria School (hereafter referred to as Queen Vic) in 1961, all have trained as teachers in a variety of institutions - Teachers' Colleges and Universities and all have been successful in gaining tertiary qualifications over a long period of time. All six are either currently enrolled for further study in wānanga or universities, or have plans to do so. Our pathways are traced within this study and our stories told.

Within this research, I am positioned as an insider with a multiplicity of roles. I am a Queen Vic Old Girl, a Māori woman with teaching and university qualifications, the researcher, known by those who have been the research participants, a participant myself. I am an academic with ethical and cultural responsibilities and dilemmas, responsibilities both to the institution within which I am working, to my own whānau, hapū and iwi and to the women and their whānau, hapū and iwi.

I am "in the text" where "I" ought to be (Jones 1992:18) not hidden and invisible with the power to intellectualise from a distance about the women who agreed to be a part of this research but immersed in the tensions, conflicts and frustrations which are a part of this study. We were all enrolled in Queen Vic in 1961, the start of a new decade, new beginnings for us all, charged with realising the hopes and dreams of whānau, hapū and iwi, beginning new journeys as tamariki and rangatahi, teenagers, becoming young adults, women and educators ourselves.

Journeys of hope: towards a secondary education

In 1961, just after my twelfth birthday, Mum and I set off from Taihape for Auckland. I left behind six brothers and sisters and my father. Nanny looked after them while Mum and I travelled to Auckland with feelings of trepidation mixed with anticipation and excitement.

My mother talked about the opportunities I had before me as a result of leaving home and whānau to go to Queen Vic. I would get a good education, learn the Māori language and one day I could be a nurse like her, or even a doctor if I did really well. She hadn't had the opportunity to learn Māori at school and she and my Nanny were pleased that I had been accepted at this school so that I could learn Māori. If I was lucky, I might pass School Certificate and perhaps even University Entrance. The other new and wonderful opportunity was to learn to play the piano. Our next door neighbour, Paerau Batley, had bought me a satchel in which to keep my music books and when I came home in the holidays I would be allowed to go next door to practice on his piano.

My new uniform was sent from Auckland to be named. The Family Benefit of three pounds a month was transferred to the school for "incidental expenses". The Otaki and Porirua Trust Board paid the fees of sixty pounds per term. The Board was set up in 1943 to provide scholarships which have assisted children from the three local iwi, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Ati Awa, to continue their post-primary education, which at that time was secondary school and today extends to include tertiary education.

At school I was given a number - 102 - and in future our numbers were used synonymously with our names. One could in fact name one's belongings by using the number. Lockers for clothing, shoes, books and other belongings had one's number on the front and when the roll was called numbers were called, not names. I was now 102 and would remain so for the next three years.

Within a very short time I came to realise that I was somehow different from the other girls. They said I spoke differently for a start. I didn't pronounce Māori correctly and this caused considerable mirth. At some of the first meals, a girl would spell out a Māori word and ask me what it was, like pīpiwharauoa, or kōtare, or Whakatāne and the table would erupt with laughter when I obliged by saying it as I

had been used to hearing it in New Zealand society in the 1950s. In class they would ask where I came from, so that I could say Taihape and they would respond by asking if that is where people 'died happy'.

Second, there did not seem to be more than ten girls who lived south of Taupo and only two who identified as whanaunga of mine from Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga. Most seemed to be from "up north" and the "coast" as they put it and I definitely did not seem to have the right iwi connections. Unfortunately, at the time, I did not know I was also Ngāti Porou. My Ngāti Raukawa iwi, was the only iwi to which I knew I could whakapapa.

The only thing that enabled me to be accepted was that I won the junior swimming championships, the junior tennis championships and made it into the third form A netball team, all in the first term. Otherwise, I may not have been accepted at all. Another plus which helped was being in the top third of the class of thirty third formers. Mathematics was, according to a teacher, not offered as "Māori cannot do Maths". My parents and I did not realise that subject choice at school would have some bearing on future career options - particularly if the career option was in the science field. Neither mathematics, nor chemistry, science and physics were offered in the senior school. The subject choice was limited.

My Uncle Ran was a veterinary surgeon and idolised by the family for his "brains" and success at university. He was the only veterinary surgeon Ngāti Raukawa had produced and had married a veterinary surgeon from Australia. Mum's cousin, Whatarangi, had gone to the USA when I was at primary school to study at a university and while I knew about university from these three people, I had no ambition to attend one.

At Queen Vic I melted into the disciplined environment of highly polished floors shoes and faces. Appearance, standards, deportment and manners were highly emphasised by the Pākehā teaching staff and Miss Berridge, the Principal. June Māriu and her Uncle, John Waititi, were the only Māori staff and both had been educated at Auckland Māori Anglican boarding schools.

I was happy enough, though missed my family back home, particularly three little sisters aged eight, three and one when I effectively left home. I would have preferred not to be away from them and our home, family, familiarity and friends. Queen Vic beckoned though and the journey began with hope and high expectation.

Queen Victoria School: an historical sketch

The early beginnings of Queen Vic can be traced to 1844. The school had its origins in the Day School set up by the Reverend Kissling in 1844 at Te Araroa and in his Native Girls' School founded at Kohimarama in 1846. This was followed by a Native Girls' School at Parnell opened in 1848 and the Aboriginal Female Establishment in Parnell in 1850, which became the St. Stephens Native School for Girls, until 1860 (Taua 1983:22-24). These early schools were forerunners of the later support for a more permanent girls' school in Auckland.

The three clear aims of the parents and the Church were, "the wish for European education, the need for suitable marriage partners for St. John's College, [boys] and the spreading of Christianity" (Taua 1983:40). The Anglican schools would "educate and elevate" young women so that they became "suitable wives" (Carson 1991:193) whereas a Catholic school established in Wellington at the time "aimed to train young Māori and half-caste girls to be good domestic servants" (AJHR 1858 E-1 47). Clearly, the early schools in Auckland were not providing the same service for newly arriving Europeans. Rather their goals were to 'elevate' the young girls through education.

From 1860 to 1897, the provision of education for 'native' girls by the Anglican church in Auckland became "dormant" (Taua 1983:42). In 1897 interest was revived when the Native Church Board discussed the founding of a Māori girls' school in Auckland to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the accession of Queen Victoria. In 1901 a new beginning was signalled when the NZ. Herald reported the laying of the foundation stone on the site of the St. Stephen's Native School Estate by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York. In his address the Rev. F. Bennett, Māori missionary, commented on the need for Māori women to be educated, as men who had been educated returned to their homes and "whom could they marry?" (NZ Herald June 13, 1901). Fundraising had begun and contributions were sought from throughout the colony from individuals and from the Diocesan Boards to support Queen Vic in its efforts to provide an education for young Māori girls within a boarding environment. They would be in the care of European women in a school governed by the men who managed the affairs of the church.

Queen Vic opened on its present site on 23 May 1903, with twenty seven girls. The Church Gazette Supplement reported that the government had agreed to grant

twenty four scholarships which would provide the necessary finance for the running of the school. In the Headmistress' report for 1903, Miss Greensill proposed that the girls be trained to be teachers or nurses to benefit "their own people e.g. in the Native Schools"(Taua 1983:64). Her aspirations for the girls in her care appear to have been higher than those expected by the Church managers who saw the girls being trained in domestic skills. The 1904 Report of the Victoria Association for Befriending Māori Women and Girls recorded that the aim of the school was to give the girls "a sound practical training in cooking, laundry work, scrubbing and all domestic duties, also in needlework - plain sewing, darning, mending and knitting in order to fit each girl to become a good wife and mother"(Carson 1991:545). No doubt Miss Greensill ensured this was done and also sowed seeds in the minds of those who could aim to teach or nurse.

The decades of the nineteen twenties and thirties had seen the school consolidate. Girls were staying for longer than two years and beginning to enter the nursing or teaching professions. They were mainly in the role of junior assistants in the case of teaching and mainly as health professionals following a one year limited training course in the case of nursing. A new era dawned in 1942 when Miss Alice Berridge who had been teaching at Hukarere for five years, was appointed Headmistress with a roll of sixty five girls. She was to retain that position until 1975. In the Church Gazette (May 1943) she was "hopeful..." the seventeen senior girls "...would, during the next year, leave to become teachers and nurses as these were available openings with the best opportunities to the Māori girls." The Teachers' Colleges had begun in 1940 to reserve places for Māori students to train as teachers and to specialise in areas such as Art and Physical Education so that they could become advisers to Māori schools. This provided an obvious destination for girls who were successful in completing their schooling and gave them further relevant training to work amongst their own whānau, hapū and iwi.

Miss Berridge's comments in the Church Gazette (May 1943) testify to her conviction that a Māori secondary school was of definite value to the girls, that leadership training was integral to these Church Māori Schools, that the orderliness of the boarding school regime was beneficial and that the spiritual background was essential for the Māori pupils. The three elements of Māori, Church and Boarding contributed to the fourth, that of promoting leadership. She remained committed to this belief throughout her career. In her 1951 Principal's report she quoted: 'educate a man and you educate an individual, educate a woman and you educate a nation'.

She believed in the education of young Māori women and devoted her life to the girls at the school.

Taua records that from 1950 until 1960 the roll varied from sixty three to ninety two girls and that School Certificate and University Entrance examinations were introduced, enabling a further focus on academic success and the school received approval to accredit University Entrance in 1959. Those who were successful in University Entrance examinations attended Epsom Girls' Grammar while remaining as boarders at Queen Vic. Three girls became American Field Service Scholars and Keri Kaa, a young woman from Rangitukia School near Tikitiki on the East Coast became the fourth recipient in 1959. The school was beginning to look even further away for opportunities for the girls. The change was being made from extreme emphasis on domesticity and a return to rural homes, to academic success and life in urban New Zealand and even overseas.

The 1961 Department of Education Inspectors' Report and Miss Berridge herself still emphasized the teaching and nursing professions but girls began to be prepared for university as well. Mira Szazy, a former pupil, completed a university degree prior to 1950 and was joined by Zena Reid and Pare Hopa in the 1950s. Two others received diplomas from Victoria University. (Taua 112) These young women were moving away from the early expectation that they would attend boarding school to learn domestic skills which would help their families at home. They were becoming role models for other girls at home and at school by sowing the seed indicating that university might be an option for Māori girls.

Māori language had been introduced as a subject and was taught by John Waititi on a part-time basis. From 1959 those who were successful in University Entrance attended Auckland Girls' Grammar as day pupils, returning home in the evenings to the hostel. During the fifties, twenty five girls had passed University Entrance. (Taua 106) The expectations and goals were changing. Those responsible for the school - the Diocesan Trust Board, the General Synod, the Principal and the Management committee saw the school adapting to meet the changing needs of society, by improving its "academic status". It is into this changing environment that the women interviewed in this study were enrolled, one which still emphasized perfection in domesticity but which also began to promote academic possibilities which would lead to success in tertiary education for a selected group within the new post-war generation of young Māori girls.

The ebb and flow of daily life at Queen Victoria School

It was into this school that my mother delivered me in February 1961. A child from a State primary school, where Māori language was non-existent, where Māori teachers were non-existent, where being Māori was all but ignored. I had grown up in a small central north island rural railway town, Taihape, away from my whānau, hapū and iwi in Levin and Otaki, dominated by a Pākehā farming community which during the fifties was enjoying the increased wealth experienced by sheep and cattle stations and farms. The town serviced the farming community, as did my Pākehā father who was a Stock Agent. Many of the children of the farming community were sent to boarding schools and I felt a part of that community, unaware that Māori Boarding Schools were unheard of by my contemporaries who were destined for the 'elite' schools - Woodford House, Ngā Tawa Diocesan School for Girls in Marton, Samuel Marsden Collegiate School in Wellington and St Matthews and Solway in Masterton.

The daily routines at my boarding school were military-like. Bells dominated the lives of the one hundred girls, two matrons, a live-in Principal, Miss Berridge and the two cooks. Domestic staff were not required as we were the domestics completing all the chores in the school, dining room, kitchen, toilets, laundry and dormitories. All the buildings were on one site linked by walkways. The grounds were also cared for by us. We washed our clothes by hand on two designated mornings per week, ironed on designated days, bathed or showered according to a strict roster at designated times, attended chapel twice a day at 7.30 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. and services at St Mary's Cathedral twice on Sundays. There was no access to a telephone, a letter home had to be written on Sundays and was handed in to the basket outside the Principal's office to be read before it was sent so that nothing which could 'upset our families' was written.

We stood to attention when spoken to, marched up St. Stephens Avenue in a crocodile to church, wore our black uniform with pride, polished our shoes with more shine than the armed forces polished theirs, spoke when spoken to and took enormous pride in our perfectly made hospital cornered beds. In the dining room when our voices rose above an acceptable level for young ladies, Miss Berridge rang her small silver bell which sat on the table beside her plate and the salt and pepper and cautioned us to speak quietly. She reminded us that one day we would be wives and mothers and that our husbands would thank her for teaching us the manners of ladies.

School and living blended into one and took place in one building - the classrooms below the dormitories. Discipline in everything was important, high standards were maintained in dress, deportment, table manners, presentation of oneself and in the cleanliness of the buildings. Everything shone, from the brass front door knob and bell, to the mirrors, basins and baths, tables and benches, hair and fingernails, vases and crucifix on the altar. The white pine floors in the bathrooms were scrubbed daily with sandsoap on hands and knees and at a glance Miss Berridge could tell if the floor monitor had swished the wet mop over as a short cut and the monitor was hauled from class back up the stairs to complete the job. The linoleum in the main passage to the dining room was polished twice daily by the Hall Monitor, morning and afternoon and we learnt to skirt along the edge so that the floor stayed shining for as long as possible.

My parents, grandparents, aunties and uncles expected me as one of the oldest children to do well, to set an example, which meant getting School Certificate in my fourth year if possible and that seemed to be the teachers' expectation as well. Only exceptional girls were expected to achieve a School Certificate pass in their first year in the fifth form. A 30% mark in English was considered a good mark, a 50% pass was outstanding, after all we were Māori.³

Primary School had been enjoyable for me and the teachers strict but Queen Vic's teachers were stricter, reserved and in most cases lacked warmth. They seemed to be performing their duty to God and the Queen by teaching in this school, a bit like I had done as a Brownie in my pre-Queen Vic days. I recalled the first lines of the Girl Guides Motto - 'I promise to do my best, to do my duty to God and the Queen'. Both God and the Queen played a big part in our lives. The school motto shining like a star from the polished brass badges of our black berets in winter and our cream panama hats in summer, flashed the School motto to the world: Mo te Atua me te Kuini. For God and the Queen.

John Waititi taught Māori trying out the early Te Rangatahi text scripts on us. I was at the bottom of the class for Māori and struggled to keep up with many of the girls who came from homes where Māori was still being spoken as a first language by parents and grandparents. Most also came from rural Māori communities where Māori schools and therefore Māori pupils were in the majority. In other subjects I stayed in the top ten and the top third in class. I was very keen on sports and represented the school in tennis, swimming and netball. Being good on the sports

field was respected. I won a prize for sewing but my achievement in general was mediocre.

Learning the piano was terrifying as the dark purple clad music teacher sitting in a dark corner of the music room didn't seem to like us at all and after two and a half years I persuaded my parents to release me from the torment of entering the darkened music room once a week after school, with the prospect of having my fingers swiped with a cane if I stumbled over my scales.

I had met the boys from St Stephen's, our brother school, and played tennis against them. However, I was excluded from the school dance at their school because I was the School projectionist in the fifth form and so had to stay behind to show a film to the juniors when the seniors excitedly departed for Bombay and a school dance.

In my third year I managed to persuade my parents that I wasn't achieving anything worthwhile academically and that while I would try School Certificate, which I wasn't expected to pass, I was sure I would do much better at the newly opened Taihape College. They agreed to let me leave at the end of three years. As expected, I failed School Certificate but miraculously managed 55% in English which was considered very good.

I left Queen Vic with relief although I had been exposed to a whole new world, one in which Māori girls were proud of being Māori and where many still spoke Māori with ease. We had been taken to opera such as Carmen in which my cousin, Hannah Tatana, a former pupil, sang the lead role; to Gilbert and Sullivan plays, to ballet like Swan Lake and movies like West Side Story on huge screens in Auckland theatres. I had shopped for sewing material in the thriving shopping area of Karangahape Road and walked down bustling busy Queen Street on my way to the theatre with all the other girls.

We picnicked at Waiheke Island, Rangitoto Island, Takapuna Beach and Browns Bay. I had come to know the Auckland museum so well from our frequent Sunday walks and some well known landmarks around Parnell and within walking distance of the school such as Mt Eden, Mt Hobson, Mission Bay, the Rose Gardens and the Botanical Gardens. Every year we had attended ANZAC Day at the War Memorial in front of the Auckland Museum where the Boer War Veterans fainted in the heat of the sun, Good Friday Church Services which took three hours at the Anglican Cathedral and I never missed a day's church in three years. I taught Sunday School

at the Cathedral after morning service, played tennis at Catholic, Anglican and State Schools, swam in the Olympic pool at Newmarket and at St Mary's where Kiri Te Kanawa was a pupil.

We were in an environment which exposed us to people, places and experiences which were foreign to many of our parents and yet also created in us a desire to continue those experiences. Attendance at concerts and shows was something one could only do in New Zealand's larger cities. Returning to small town and rural New Zealand became less attractive. Our worlds had broadened, our whānau expected us to be successful, we had become a part of a group of young women who were now reluctant to return to the homes we had left behind. We had been stimulated and our imaginations fired by those who had gone before us, those who returned and told of life flatting in Auckland, life at Teachers' College, even life in the United States of America.

Keri, Roimata, Ruhi, Tuihana and Kiri: Five 1961 Queen Victoria Schoolgirls.

Five young women who had been sent to school with instructions to do well, to be successful, to follow their tuakana, or their parents and to be role models were Keri, Roimata, Ruhi, Tuihana and Kiri. They are the five women who have joined me as the six women around whom this study is focussed and whose stories are told in their own words in Chapter Four. Here they are introduced both as school girls and as women.

In my first year at school, 1961, Keri Kaa returned from her year in Oregon as an AFS student and spoke to us about the USA. My imagination ran wild and I determined to one day apply for one of those scholarships. Roimata Sinclair was a prefect in my first year and my dorm prefect. She was tipped to be Head Prefect in the future. Both these girls came from the East Coast, a place I had never been to and hardly knew of. Ruhi Paora came from Te Kaha and was in the fourth form. She was hardworking and considered bright. On the third form register were two other girls whose surnames began with S like me. Tuihana Shepherd came from Whangaparāoa - a place I had never heard of - and had trouble pronouncing for a start. In our first few days we heard that Kiri Logan had been taken to hospital in the night with appendicitis. I longed to meet her as I heard she was from Otaki and at last I had heard of someone from nearer to home and who was Ngāti Raukawa like me.

These five women are all "achievers" in terms of academic success which is why I asked them to be a part of this study. They were young women whose parents or grandparents or both, sent them to Queen Vic like myself, for a better education. All except one had won a scholarship, either a government scholarship, a Church scholarship, or a Land Trust scholarship. All of us were sent with an expectation from the whānau that we would pass School Certificate and some knew that university was their destination. Four had attended Native Schools and two of us, State schools. All found both the discipline and the standards set by Miss Berridge as significant either in a negative or a positive way. Five of the six of us consider that the school being an Anglican school was relevant and important to their whānau. Three of us learnt piano from the frightening purple music teacher, one had already sat music examinations and tasted success in that area. Three spent only one year in the fifth form - they were successful in passing School Certificate at their first attempt. Three went to Auckland Girls Grammar in the seventh form with only one remaining at Queen Vic as a boarder while at Grammar. The other two found alternative accommodation with whānau. Three of us left to go to other schools as senior students - I returned to Taihape College. Teaching and nursing had been identified many years before by Miss Greensill and later Miss Berridge, as lofty mountains which some girls might attempt to climb. All of us eventually trained as teachers via various pathways. All are either currently enrolled in university or wānanga study, or have plans to do so.

Whāia te iti kahurangi

Ki te tuoho koe

Mē he Maunga teitei.

Five 1996 Educators

Keri Kaa

Keri Kaa of Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Kahungunu is a senior lecturer at the Wellington College of Education and well known in the performing arts. Her pathway to tertiary education began immediately following secondary school as a student at Ardmore Teachers' College where she successfully completed the teacher training course. She has spent the past thirty years as a teacher in primary, secondary and tertiary learning places, with time in the arts interwoven throughout her life. She is and has

been a motivator and supporter of many Māori women undertaking tertiary study in learning institutions in Wellington. As a lifelong learner, Keri herself is now enrolled in a Master of Education course at Victoria University.

Roimata Kirikiri

Roimata Kirikiri of Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāi Tahu progressed from secondary school at Queen Vic and Auckland Grammar to Auckland University where as a young student she completed a Bachelor's degree followed by a secondary teaching qualification at Auckland Teachers' College. She then began a teaching career. With her husband and sons she spent a number of years overseas in Fiji, Washington and London where her husband represented New Zealand in the Diplomatic Service. After returning to New Zealand, Roimata has been a teacher at the Wellington Polytechnic and worked for the Ministry of Education, the State Services Commission and as Māori Manager of the Early Childhood Development Unit in Wellington.

Ruhi Richards

Ruhi Richards of Te Whānau-a-Apanui began her tertiary education at Victoria University immediately after completing secondary school at Queen Vic and Auckland Grammar. After a year she transferred to the Auckland Teachers' College undertaking part-time university study. Her pathway has included various modes of learning - as a young part-time student, then a stint as a Massey University extra-mural student while mothering her children. After returning to a decade of teaching at Ngā Tapuwae College she was encouraged by Principal, Ann Gluckman to complete her degree which she did as a full-time adult student, wife and mother. Ruhi completed a further year at Ngā Tapuwae College and was then successful in applying for a position as a lecturer at the Auckland College of Education. Over the ensuing three years she successfully completed a Masters degree becoming the first person at Auckland University to complete a Masters in Māori Education. Ruhi has since lectured at Awanuiarangi in Whakatāne and for Rangakura, the Wanganui Polytechnic Teacher Training Course based in the Opotiki outpost. In 1995 she accepted a position in the National Office of the Education Review Office in Wellington.

Tuihana Pook

Tuihana Pook of Te Whānau-a-Apanui is a lifelong learner epitomised in the concept of ako - a teacher and a learner. Her tertiary pathway began reluctantly. She became a junior assistant in a Māori school during her sixth form and was accompanied to her Teachers' College interview by her whanaunga, John Waititi, in his role as kaiākihaere, encourager and carer. Tuihana completed a teaching qualification at Ardmore Teachers' College and began a teaching career. She has taught in primary and secondary schools and continued her tertiary studies part-time extra-murally through Massey University. Eventually she returned home to teach at Potaka School and then became the Principal at her own primary school at Whangaparāoa. She recently returned to tertiary study when she completed a Diploma in Bi-lingual Teaching at Waikato University. In 1995 she undertook a professional development contract for teachers in Māori Education with the Ministry of Education to develop resources within the schools situated in Te-Whānau-a-Apanui. In 1996 she is continuing with this contract working in her school and considering further post-graduate study. She continues to teach and learn.

Kiri Scott

Kiri Scott of Ngāti Raukawa has had, like many Māori women, an interrupted and varied path to tertiary education. She began kindergarten training in Wellington after gaining School Certificate at Queen Vic. Her study was, however, interrupted by her mother's illness and she returned to Otaki abandoning her study. Kiri married and while parenting undertook community education classes in Otaki and at Night School. After a move to Wellington in the mid-seventies the option of applying for teacher training in early childhood arose again as she and husband, Martin Winiata and their four children agreed that Kiri should enrol and complete her tertiary qualification. Kiri graduated as an outstanding student, the first Māori student who had enrolled in the course for a number of years. She became a part-time College of Education lecturer, worked in one of the early kōhanga reo in Wellington, then moved to the Department of Education as an Education Officer before becoming the first Māori Manager in the newly established Early Childhood Development Unit where she stayed for four years. She is now an Education Consultant and is a Masters student at Te Wānanga o Raukawa focussing on children's learning. Kiri is a life-long learner.

My pathway to University

My pathway was via Taihape College, where I passed School Certificate and eventually University Entrance after a year as an AFS scholar in the USA. Teachers' College followed in Palmerston North where I lived in a hostel. Only two other Māori women lived there. I attended Massey University part-time to begin a degree, not by choice but by compulsion on the part of the Teachers' College. If you had University Entrance you were compelled to enrol in a unit at university. I enrolled in English because four others in the hostel enrolled in English.

I was conspicuous at Massey University as one of two Māori who admitted to being Māori. I felt I couldn't consider full-time university even though almost all my classmates in the USA were at university. I would not have asked my parents for the financial support required. I had received my share of support by being sent to Boarding School and on AFS. I had five younger brothers and sisters. At Teachers' College we were paid and we could live on that allowance. I completed my Teacher Training Course in 1969 and took a further ten years to complete a BA in English, in the most part through extra-mural study.

After a two year working holiday in Britain and Europe and two years teaching back in Auckland, I returned in 1976 to Otaki where I was born, to live permanently among my whānau, hapū and iwi and to teach at Otaki College. My cousin Whatarangi Winiata had returned from the University of British Columbia in Canada that year to a position at Victoria University. More importantly for us, he returned to the whānau, hapū and iwi, with talk which we had not heard before. At marae and iwi meetings he spoke about setting educational goals and targets for the hapū and iwi, aiming higher in terms of educational achievement, moving Ngāti Raukawa people into decision-making positions in government, business and educational institutions and schools and about our own people sharing in decision-making and sharing of resources. He talked about equality of results rather than equality of opportunity and about achievement and success.

Our hapū, Ngāti Pareraukawa, was in the process of replacing the Whare Tūpuna, Ngatokowaru, which had originally been built in 1900. Our hapū development, a concept promoted by Whatarangi, was occurring in physical terms - the new house - as well as in human terms, with our whanaungatanga being nurtured, as we completed tukutuku panels and painted kōwhaiwhai patterns together. We opened a

new Whare Tūpuna in 1978. I had become the treasurer and Marae Committee meetings were held at least monthly.

In 1975 the Raukawa Trustees launched a programme called Whakatupuranga Rua Mano-Generation 2000. It launched us into looking ahead twenty five years, into identifying professions, setting goals in terms of numbers we wished to have in those professions by the turn of the century and promoting those professions to our school students. (Winiata 1979, 1988, 1994) The programme "embraced three major themes or 'missions'...which ...designed, promoted and directed: Pākehā Mission... Education Mission... Mission in Raukawa..."(Winiata 1994:1). The idea of planning for the twenty-first century in 1975 was awe inspiring to young idealists like me.

I wanted to be involved in all three missions and did so. Whatarangi told us that if we could be as successful in our missions as the Christian missionaries had been in converting us, then we were guaranteed success. Pākehā Mission involved organising hui at our marae for Pākehā people to teach them about us, particularly the good things about being Māori and our way of life at the marae. (Winiata 1979) Education Mission included visiting secondary schools in the area to encourage students to stay at school longer and to consider the professions rather than the trades, organising homework centres and examination preparation hui for senior students.

I was sent on a mission to the secondary schools to talk to girls who were considering nursing. My task was to preach the gospel of medical careers at university and to propose that the girls look at loftier peaks than hospital nursing. To the boys who wanted to follow their whanaunga into the building trades, I preached engineering and architecture. To the girls who wanted to train as primary teachers, the message was to aim for university and secondary school teaching. University was the goal, staying at school longer was the message.

The Mission in Raukawa involved running hui for ourselves at our own marae, to learn about ourselves, promote our whanaungatanga, clarify tikanga and kawa and to set new goals. Weekends were no longer for rest and relaxation, for sport and socialising, they were for hui. Within this decade and environment, living in Otaki and within my own whānau, hapū and iwi, exercising our rangatiratanga, I completed my degree extra-murally in 1980 and added one more person to the list of "qualified" people desired by Whakatupuranga Rua Mano.

Living in Otaki and as a Raukawa Trustee I have also watched the development of Te Wānanga o Raukawa as a part of the iwi development plan. In 1981 the Raukawa Trustees gave "formal recognition to (the) existence (of Te Wānanga o Raukawa) ... as a centre of higher learning ..." (Te Wānanga o Raukawa Maramataka 1992:10). Te Wānanga o Raukawa, centred in Otaki, has become the first wānanga to be recognized by the New Zealand Qualifications Authority. It offers a place for our rangatahi, mātua and taura to learn about ourselves and about the world around us from an iwi base. The wānanga is a positive response and a positive move towards tino rangatiratanga in making decisions for ourselves and providing for ourselves rather than a total rejection of the current tertiary institutions.

For the past twenty years I have been immersed in iwi development, in promoting higher educational achievement, in talking about success, the future and the twenty-first century. I have been a Careers Adviser and Career Consultant encouraging our rangatahi to stay at school until the seventh form, to finish school, to succeed and to challenge the structures which hamper their progress. I have managed a Learning Centre which encouraged and allowed young unemployed people in the Horowhenua to take a second and a third chance at education and gaining qualifications, particularly Ngāti Raukawa rangatahi.

Within this environment in 1992 I was supported by whānau in applying for a lectureship at Massey University and with it, the opportunity to undertake postgraduate research. My Masters thesis research is a study of the factors which have contributed to success for Māori women in tertiary education, a theme which itself is a continuation of the theme promoted by Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, Generation 2000 since 1975. We have left behind the concentration on failure and under achievement, the discussions about low retention rates in schools and tertiary institutions. We are focussed on success and hence this study. My own story is told here as are the stories of Keri, Roimata, Ruhi, Tuihana and Kiri in Chapter Four, following a Literature Review in Chapter Two and a discussion of the Research Methodology in Chapter Three.

Hūtia te rito o te harakeke
 Kei whea te kōmako ē
 Kī mai ki ahau
 He aha te mea nui o te ao
 Māku e kī atu
 He tangata he tangata he tangata!

Chapter 2 Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review is presented in four sections, each of which contributes to our knowledge and understanding of ourselves, our history and the influences on the development of education for Māori women and girls in Aotearoa New Zealand. It explains what has happened in the past and what is happening now for Māori women in education. It examines State policies which have impacted on the educational success of Māori girls and women, outlines research reports which analyse what has happened for Māori women and girls in particular instances or institutions or settings and which provide strategies for future action. Māori education theories proffered by Māori women and men are discussed, and finally it offers an analysis of Māori women's herstories.

Gibson's framework (1986:14) which provides 'levels of explanation' of inequalities in society provides the framework for this review. At the structural level the State develops policy, identifies priorities, finances and promotes the implementation of those policies. The first section of this literature review describes and analyses the impact of those policies 'on Māori' achievement and success in education. Explanations for such phenomenon as the Church's involvement in education and the denominational schools existence, for school curriculum, for the decisions to educate Māori girls throughout our history and the style and level of education that should be provided for them, emerge from those policies.

The second section of this literature review, the examination of research undertaken by various agencies under the auspices of both State agencies and independent researchers links to Gibson's second level - the institutional level - at which the schools and tertiary education providers operate. Research undertaken in the past decade has concentrated on identifying **barriers** to educational success, rather than achievement. These research reports are examined and gaps in the research priorities of the nation identified.

The third section, **Theorising Māori Education**, examines frameworks promoted by Māori, in particular the world views of a number of successful Māori women. Gibson's framework suggests that at the personal and interpersonal level, his first level, these explanations are necessary to examine what is happening for the individual, that explanations of social events can begin at this level. In addition two

models from Māori men are examined. First Graham Smith's Theory of Change - Kaupapa Māori Theory and second John Rangihau's framework used to describe and analyse Maori society.

The final section of this literature review, **Māori Women's Stories**, describes Māori women's lives, analysing their past, explaining the present, and giving direction for Māori girls seeking success in the world of tertiary education in the future. These stories provide valuable data for educators, policy analysts, teachers and legislators as they enable us to theorise about success for Māori women in tertiary education in ways which are original and based on Māori theoretical concepts and constructs.

Education Policies

This section examines policies which have impacted on the provision of education for Māori women and girls, the underlying beliefs which informed those decisions, the responses by Māori to the education offered historically in Aotearoa New Zealand, the effects of those policies on Māori women and girls and the omissions in the policies in terms of Māori women and girls and their opportunities to succeed in comparison with other groups in New Zealand society.

The first formal policy document of the State was the Treaty of Waitangi. Article I set up a partnership and subsequently a settler government which made laws for settlers as well as tangata whenua. Article II provided protections for Māori and guaranteed group rights. Article III provided for Māori to be given the rights of British subjects, individual rights. Article IV guaranteed freedom of worship or belief systems.

If one objective of the Treaty was to "minimize disadvantages to Māori people as a result of colonisation ... almost every measure of well-being, including ... education ... reveals alarming disparities"(Durie,M. 1989:285). Māori women as individuals and as a group have not yet enjoyed the success that non-Māori women and men have enjoyed in tertiary education. At universities they are conspicuous by their absence. Kath Irwin observed that there are so few Māori women on campus in employment related positions, whether they are general staff or academic staff, that as a Māori woman walking around the university, obviously in employment, you stand out. (In Manchester and O'Rourke 1993:70) We are under-represented as students, staff, managers and governors within the tertiary sector.

Prior to the Treaty of Waitangi the Church Missionary Society set up the first formal schools in Aotearoa "with one purpose; to further the spread of Christianity and show the natives the way to salvation"(Barrington & Beaglehole 1974:2). They were also seen as "the advance party to cultural invasion ... for them conversion to Christianity was synonymous with transforming the Māori from barbarism to civilised life"(Walker 1985:73). As the first providers of formal schooling the missionaries who were often not teachers, were the policy-makers and the teachers, deciding what needed to be included in the curriculum. Māori were intensely enthusiastic (Simon 1992) in their response to the schools and the churches were seen as providers of education by the State, so that after 1840, "the government provided subsidies to the mission schools"(ibid) in order that they continue in their role as educators.

The Native Schools Act 1867 signals a change of policy as a system of Native Schools was instituted with Māori providing land and resourcing for the schools. The Mission schools were redesignated "secondary" schools and received government support in the form of scholarships. (Simon 1992) Instruction in te reo Māori continued in the Native Schools until 1871 after which a policy change in line with the assimilation agenda of the State included English becoming the only acceptable language in schools.

State education policies during the nineteenth century set schools up to 'civilise' and 'christianize' Māori girls and later to teach them domestic skills. (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974; Simon 1992) The policy of assimilation (the absorption of Māori into Pākehā society) continued to dominate schooling throughout the twentieth century and the policies of the State departments in general. A review of the policy in 1930 resulted in some aspects of Māori being included in the school curriculum (arts and crafts and music) however te reo Māori notably was not one of them. The Pākehā way of life dominant for more than half a century had consolidated and Māori had become a minority in their own land their tangata whenua status ignored in policy, as in all areas of life.

The Hunn Report (1960) officially ended the policy of assimilation and promoted the new policy of integration which was to combine Māori and Pākehā (Armitage 1995) and which also "sought to adopt some aspects of Māori culture into the formal education system"(Davies 1993:13). Assimilation policies which had included a "mastery of English" and the emphasis on the practical rather than the academic left Māori as a group of under-achievers in society. (Barrington 1966) The "explanations for this disadvantage tended to fit a cultural deficit model", (Irwin 1988) which

emphasised perceived cultural and racial 'deficiencies' rather than the structural deficiencies or disadvantages which exist within the schools and institutions themselves.

The new integration policy of the 1960s and 1970s did not result in any reduction in educational inequality for Māori (Davies 1993:13) even though it was suggested the new policy would better serve Māori. Such policies were being developed and instigated by departments which were managed and staffed by Pākehā, people who theorised about what was best for Māori without having a "vision" (Bunch 1979) which was shared by Māori women, or a clear strategy which was shared by those for whom it was designed. Elizabeth McKinley's analysis of official education policy documents produced between 1960 and 1991 shows that Māori women do not feature in the text of most of the documents and contribute to very few of them; in many cases the documents work against them. (McKinley 1995:117)

During the 1950s, 1960s and the 1970s, Māori were moving from a rural lifestyle to urban Aotearoa and consequently were being educated more in State schools than Māori schools. The Department of Education had decided that the Māori Schools were to be phased out by 1969. Many Māori communities opposed this policy decision and with the introduction twenty years later of kura kaupapa Māori, many have even more reason to regret the loss of their community schools. They could have become kura kaupapa Māori serving their communities in a way which they originally had when opened on land provided by the iwi, funded partially by communities. The visions which Māori women have had in developing new educational initiatives for their own children through kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori were not foreseen or shared by the policy makers within the state structures and consequently valuable resources in the form of buildings have been lost in the restructuring of education and the sale of "education" land and buildings during the 1990s.

By the 1980s, institutional racism was being discussed as a barrier to educational participation and achievement by Māori. (Pua-te-ata-tū 1986, Hirsch 1990) John Rangihau described institutional racism as "the basic weapon that has driven the Māori into the role of outsiders and strangers in their own land". He urged our institutions to be more accommodating of cultural difference, that affirmative action programmes be instituted and that a more culturally inclusive society be promoted. Education institutions were perceived by Māori to be basically Pākehā institutions, operated under tikanga Pākehā and where being Māori and operating under tikanga

Māori had become a foreign rather than a local phenomenon. Māori women's experience in many educational institutions was such that when kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori were initiated they supported those initiatives with considerable enthusiasm.

Educational reforms ushered in during 1989 and 1990 brought some hope to Māori as tertiary institutions and schools were all required to submit charters which would have non-negotiable Treaty obligations and responsiveness to Māori clauses included. To date these hopes have not been realised. The Ministry of Education each year publishes a Ten Point Plan for Māori Education addressing "issues relating to Māori achievement in the education system"(Ministry of Education 1991). None of the ten points is dedicated specifically to the education of Māori women and girls.

However, various Ministries are concerning themselves with the education of Māori and looking for strategies for change and visions for the future. Discussion documents have been published by the Ministry of Education, *Education for the Twenty-first century* (1993), Te Puni Kōkiri's *What do we want from our education system - A discussion guide for Māori in the 21st Century* (1993); *Responsiveness to Māori Plan of the Ministry of Women's Affairs* (1993), all addressing the future. It is expected that from such documentation will come policies aimed at increasing Māori participation and achievement in tertiary education, although the mainstreaming of service delivery to Māori could well leave Māori women "invisible and ignored in policy documents"(McKinley 1995:117) as they have been in the past. Research such as this provides further analysis for consideration.

Māori women have a vision and a strategy for change. Since the 1980s they have exercised their tino rangatiratanga by beginning kōhanga reo on marae, in the garages and living rooms of our homes and in empty offices of our towns and cities. They have analysed the situation after a century of colonisation policies and found the state and its structures have not provided adequately for Māori women and children. Their judgements about what is best for Māori children's learning has led to "legitimate alternatives outside mainstream education settings"(Davies 1993:13). They have provided their own environments in which to operate pre-schooling, kura kaupapa Māori and wānanga and within the mainstream have pressured institutions to provide bi-lingual, immersion and whānau units of one form or another using the State resources rather than solely Iwi resources.

The State at a structural level grapples with the funding issues these "alternatives" create and schools grapple with equity issues as non-Māori parents question whether

the provision of "alternatives" is "elitist" or whether it smacks of "separatism" or even "apartheid". Individuals at the personal and interpersonal level (Gibson 1986) may challenge the basic assumptions which underpin all these initiatives and the question is now asked why Māori children should be treated with such 'advantage'. While participation and retention by Māori in education is increasing, so too is the gap between Māori and non-Māori in terms of achievement increasing. (Davies 1993) We are therefore making no progress in comparison with the other groups in Aotearoa. A key question for Māori theorists is the question this study addresses - what is it that really makes a difference, what are the key factors which contribute to success for Māori women in schools and in tertiary education?

E kore au ē ngaro

He kākano i ruia mai i Rangiatea

Research about Māori women and girls in education

This section of this literature review identifies the reports which have explained and analysed issues surrounding success for Māori women and girls in education. It also identifies the gaps evident in the research available to date and comments on priorities for future research of Māori women and girls.

"Hiding in the reports and policies on education that have emerged in this country over the last thirty years are the lives of Māori women"(McKinley 1995:117). They are almost invisible in educational research which has in the main been undertaken by non-Māori, mainly men, who have been the source of knowledge about both women and Māori. Consequently there is little research available on success stories of Māori women and girls in education at any level. It is an urgent priority. (Clothier 1993; Irwin 1991, Manatū Māori 1991) Urgent because the inequalities need to be explained and strategies developed to overcome those inequalities. Urgent too, so that studies such as this can become a part of a significant body of literature rather than an isolated piece of research.

In 1989 Wally Hirsch was contracted by the Ministry of Education for a six month period to investigate "the broad issues of Māori achievement in the education system" (1990:5). He set out to 'identify, define and describe the issues related to enhancing Māori achievement and to advise on strategies and policy options that address the educational needs of young Māori'(ibid). What he failed to do was to

identify and acknowledge that Māori women and girls are a distinct group. In his report "Māori women become invisible once again"(McKinley 1995:121).

Hirsch's report identifies thirty issues which need to be addressed to enhance Māori achievement in education. They include empowerment of Māori at many levels of the education system, language issues, teacher and teacher education, school management, research, racism and finally programmes "targeted to meet the needs of young Māori women as mothers and caregivers". (1990:15) While Hirsch's report acknowledged the considerable amount of educational research which had taken place over the previous quarter of a century, there was also a plea for action rather than report writing, a plea which remains unheard.

Just a year later a Ministerial Planning Group's report to the Minister of Māori Affairs, *Ka Awatea*, heralded a 'new dawn for Māori' with education being a key to achieving excellence and "expanding the potential for young Māori"(1991:10). The report recommended the government create a climate for prosperity and make provision for Māori to develop their own resources. Further, it suggested institutions increase their responsiveness to Māori needs, redress underachievement and address questions of equity and access to education. It dealt with the issues which Hirsch's report had addressed the previous year and acknowledged there are a "multiplicity of factors" relating to "Māori educational underachievement". It is another report which gathers dust. We should also consider who the researchers are that produce these reports, and how much weight they carry with the decision-makers in government. While some members of the Ministerial Planning Group were Māori, McKinley (1995:122) addresses the problem of who is actually speaking in such reports? Researchers and writers may be invited by a government agency to participate and to present their report to them but we cannot assume that because a single Māori woman is invited to be a part of a team that the report is any more likely to address the needs of Māori women.

Manatū Māori produced a status report (*Ē tipu ē rea*) on Māori education in the same year which highlighted that there was a "lack of information in a number of areas" but brought together data which described "the current situation for Māori". With regard to University statistics regarding Māori, estimates were made as "official enrolment figures for Māori students at university are only available for the years 1986 - 1990."(1991:23) It noted low participation by Māori in tertiary education and low retention to senior secondary school.

Less than a year later Tamati Reedy was commissioned by Te Puni Kokiri to survey the "barriers and constraints that affect Māori educational outcomes"(1992:1). He identified the main barriers as assimilationist policies, lack of political will, intergenerational inequities and the rejection of Māori values and beliefs. He concluded that the current system will never empower Māori and recommended a "revolutionary approach" to attack the continued failure to empower Māori to develop their own systems.

Te Māori i roto i ngā Mahi Whakaakoranga: Māori in Education (Davies 1993) brings together a comprehensive statistical picture of the education of Māori within the New Zealand education system. It is the most useful statistical picture available. It identifies that "inequitable outcomes at the secondary level" must be addressed before progress can be made at tertiary level where enrolments have increased but by comparison with non-Māori women, Māori women remain under-represented.

Davies' report illustrates the fact that where Māori women make up the majority of Māori in teacher training - 77% - they are under-represented in secondary training programmes. Māori women are also older than their tertiary peers. At university Māori women are under-represented in full-time study, are older than their peers and are concentrated in part-time programmes in education and the humanities.(Davies 1993:88) "The greater tendency for Māori women than men to study part-time and externally probably reflects the fact that Māori women are more likely to be balancing education activities with other activities such as raising a family, working in paid and unpaid employment, or both of these. (1993:74)

The Ministry of Education's *Annual Programme of Research* (Education Gazette, October 1995) registers forty-six current projects but not one researching Māori women or girls in any area of education. While historical barriers and under achievement themes predominate, such as "behavioural and learning difficulties experienced by Māori children at home and school;... an ethnographic study...with a particular focus on the experience of Māori students who truant;...demand for separate language services among Māori and Pacific Island populations," attracted some funding, there is not one project addressing Māori women and girls. Two other research projects aim to evaluate professional development programmes.

What Happens to Māori Girls at School? (Carkeek et al 1994) however is significant for a number of reasons. It is a rare gender specific Māori education report; looks at achievement and success; confirms that, "there was very little research available and

virtually no empirical research which specifically focused on the schooling experiences of Māori girls and women." It looked at girls in three different programmes, immersion, bi-lingual and mainstream and the school-based factors which affected their achievement. The key features which were found to be critical to success may well be features which are also critical in other learning places - features such as learning environments, the level of involvement of whānau within the place of learning and the role of whānau. It also encourages the policy analysts to ensure Māori girls needs are addressed as specific Māori girls needs, not as "generic Māori" needs. (1994:49)

In the main, this series of reports written in a six year time span, continued to focus on underachievement and barriers to success, rather than on success itself. While the Ministry of Education identified girls and women in education and training as an area of focus, it has not specifically dealt with Māori women and girls. Even the most recent 1994/95 *Annual Report and Strategic Direction for Māori Education* continues to list as an objective "identify key issues in Māori education".

These research reports are consistent in identifying the barriers to achievement and give clear direction to Ministers and decision-makers about what the issues are for Māori. We have seen little change as a result of these reports. Māori women and girls must receive high priority in terms of research rather than remain invisible. Success stories of Māori women need to be recorded by Māori women under kaupapa Māori.

Theorising Māori Education

Theorising by Māori about Māori and for Māori offers Māori women the opportunity to have their own lives described, explained and analysed within a culturally safe environment. It is about tino rangatiratanga, providing explanations for ourselves, determining our own futures, strategising for our own survival, progress, attainment and excellence. This section of the literature review provides models from which to analyse the success stories of Māori women in education and from which to answer the question this study addresses, namely, what are the factors contributing to the success of Māori women?

Each hapū and iwi has its own stories of wāhine rangatira: wāhine who led; who made decisions; composed; negotiated marriages and alliances with neighbours; made peace; planned vengeance against enemies and signed the Treaty of

Waitangi. Rangi Topeora was such a woman from Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa. She challenged Henry Williams who brought the Treaty of Waitangi to Kapiti Island to be signed because he was not inviting women to be signatories with a woman, the Queen, Victoria from Britain. (Orange 1987:90). When she was baptized she took the name Rangi Kuīni Wikitōria Topeora (Sparks & Oliver 1992:253) Iwi throughout Aotearoa record such women:- Wairaka from the Mataatua waka; Hinemoa of Mokoia and Rotorua; Rongomai-wāhine of Kahungunu; Te Puea of Waikato; Whina Cooper who became known as the Mother of a Nation. (Jenkins 1992) "Within the last century dominant Māori women have played a significant role in the settler history of this nation"(ibid). They have been significant and successful, important and influential women.

In theorizing about Māori women and education, we ask ourselves how it came to be that one hundred and fifty five years after Rangi Topeora signed the Treaty on Kapiti Island, Māori women are "the ones who always feature in the socio-economic indices as being sick, poor and locked into bad mothering patterns" (Smith,L.1992:59) as well as featuring extensively in the negative statistics in education, health, as beneficiaries, single parents, asthmatics or smokers and in government reports "which highlight the substantial disadvantage experienced by Māori in education"(Davies 1993:13).⁶

Bunch (1979) suggests a four part interrelated model for theory: description, analysis, vision and strategy. In describing the state of education for Māori women it is helpful to consider the policies which have impacted on Māori women in education since the signing of the Treaty. It is these policies which the mission schools and later the denominational schools implemented, which the school teachers in Native schools imposed upon communities, which guided those who served on school committees and later, the measures which the school inspectors used to determine whether schooling for Māori was adequate.

The second part of the model invites us to analyse " why that reality exists ... determining its origins and the reasons for its perpetuation"(Bunch 1979:15). An analysis of the education policies of the State tell us: how the State organised education for Māori women; the assumptions made about our needs; the benefits to the settler society as well as the perceived benefits to Māori society of having girls educated in the "European fashion"; why schooling concentrated on domesticity and the reasons teaching and nursing were eventually felt to be the highest attainable vocations for Māori girls.

"Is there any use in educating Māori girls? On their return home, are they not worse than they were before they came to school? Why not leave them in their happy natural state?" (Hall 1931:276) Mere Hall was an old girl of Hukarere and Principal in 1931 when she addressed these questions. She emphasised the domestic training given to the girls, that the girls loved cooking, were fond of housework and keen to learn, the refining influence of learning music and the possibility that a few girls could become teachers or nurses. In the last half of the twentieth century, this view of what may be best for Māori girls has altered.

The primary goal to keep a good home, is now replaced by such goals as those advocated by the Raukawa Trustees and Whakatupuranga Rua Mano - to be involved in areas of decision-making, not just at the marae but in the corridors of government. For Māori women to be in those corridors they need to succeed in tertiary education institutions, gaining qualifications which will prepare them for the world of decision-making. Achievement as described by Arohia Durie (In Hirsch 1990) includes knowledge of being Māori, of strength and pride in that identity. Māori see success and achievement not in individualistic terms alone but in terms of being part of the whānau, hapū and iwi. They share in the pride of achievement by whānau who graduate from university. Young Māori students frequently feel the tremendous pressure of being the first in the whānau to go to university. They realise they are under the scrutiny of the wider whānau, more so than the Pākehā student from the nuclear family which may hope that education will make a child more independent of the family in her thinking and certainly more autonomous in her ability to support herself. Māori however, are under an increased obligation to whānau once they have received a higher education.

Tilly Reedy's vision for the future includes her "taha Māori and all that embodies"(1979). Her whakapapa is essential, knowing who she is, her identity. Wairuatanga a spiritual force greater than herself and her ancestors provides protection. She also recognises the paradoxes and the conflicts wrought by the Pākehā world - the individualism versus the needs of the whānau, hapū and iwi. The essential ingredients of Māoritanga are: āroha, a concept she believes is misused, it includes giving a little more back than has been received. Tautoko involves Māori women supporting one another, an essential theme identified by many successful Māori women; whanaungatanga is in the same kete, support from whānau; manaakitanga for Tilly includes courtesy and hospitality. Te reo Māori is absolutely essential and the marae "the last bastion against annihilation of my taha Māori."

These essential ingredients are identified in this study by the women whose stories are told in Chapter Four.

Graham Smith as a Māori educator advocates for Kaupapa Māori as a Theory of Change. He describes it as a "resistance initiative" which "speaks to the validity and legitimacy of being and acting Māori; to be Māori is taken for granted" (1992:13). Two key elements intertwined and woven together, not seen as separate entities are educational success and success in life. The six principles outlined by Graham Smith include: *tinu rangatiratanga* (relative autonomy principle), *Taonga Tuku Iho* (cultural aspirations principle), *Whānau* (extended family structure principle), *Ako Māori* (culturally preferred pedagogy) *Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga* (mediation of socio-economic and home difficulties principle) and *Kaupapa* (collective vision; philosophy principle). This is an important indigenous framework and one from which the influence of Māori boarding schools and the role of tertiary institutions can be analysed. It also provides a vision and a strategy for change.

The *tinu rangatiratanga* principle, essentially "control over one's own life and cultural well-being" includes greater involvement in decision making, in choosing the best place for education and the preferred model for education (*kura kaupapa*, *wānanga*). Choice and consequential commitment are key concepts. For the women who were interviewed for this study, the increasing range of tertiary providers now emerging have provided greater opportunities for tertiary study. *Wānanga* are an attractive option, extra-mural and block mode delivery of programmes make access to tertiary study more feasible.

Taonga tuku iho places being Māori as the *tahūhū* from which the *poupou* extend, each supporting the other. It means that being Māori is pivotal to one's being. Schools which view Māori girls as in deficit when they arrive at school because they are perceived to be disadvantaged simply by being Māori, will never empower Māori. The schools need to change. Attending the denominational boarding schools placed young Māori girls in a position of being in the majority, where being Māori was and is the norm. While the teachers and staff may have been *Pākehā*, an overriding influence on the girls was other girls, all of whom were Māori. To date our tertiary institutions have taken little account of being situated within a country which has a rich *tangata whenua* tradition. Tertiary education has too often required students to ignore their Māoriness at best, and to deny it at worst.

Graham Smith's third principle of *whānau* links into the support structure evident in the Native schools, the Māori boarding schools and more so in the new initiatives of *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa* and *wānanga*. Involvement by *whānau* in Māori friendly structures brings a greater investment of their time and energy. Within the university setting Māori women continue to initiate support groups, radiate towards one another, promote the development of *kōhanga reo* on campuses and concentrate themselves within the education and humanities programmes in part-time undergraduate certificates and diplomas (Davies 1993:88). The women whose stories are included in this thesis all identify *whānau* support structures as essential to their success.

Ako Māori promotes culturally preferred pedagogy, settings in which the Māori world view is valued and centred as the norm. It is only within settings controlled and promoted by Māori that such pedagogy can be practiced. The institution controlled by Māori is the *marae*. The "last bastion" as Tilly Reedy says, which embodies her *taha Māori*. State controlled institutional frameworks are "essentially culturally antagonistic to many Māori students" (Smith, G. 1992). The women interviewed for this study all became educators and have worked to influence changes within the current educational structures and institutions which have alienated Māori. Schools and tertiary institutions which are controlled by Pākehā and where being Pākehā is the norm are alienating for Māori and within these environments Māori find success only with difficulty.

Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga allows *whānau* to "reinvest in schooling and education as being some worthwhile potential for their children". (ibid) Negative attitudes which many *whānau* have towards schooling can be transformed. It is within the new initiatives where Māori have regained control of what their children are taught, by whom and where, that will enable girls to move into the future with a more positive view of learning. At the university level while in many cases the environment is alienating, the supports which Māori staff and students develop for themselves go a small way towards enabling Māori students to survive and to succeed.

Kaupapa including a collective vision is the basis for *kura kaupapa* Māori. As Graham Smith emphasises, this list is not definitive but includes key elements for success. His case study applying this model to an Auckland University example shows the potential of the model to make the university a less debilitating place for Māori women and to provide a greater likelihood of success.

Rose Pere's concept of *mātāpuna*, of lifelong learning, is represented by her *parapara* tree where each leaf symbolises an aspect of life and learning - spirituality, *whakapapa*, *whanaungatanga*, humanity, *papatūānuku*. These are the "dimensions that influence me" (Pere 1979). Her spirituality includes respect for all that is sacred: knowledge of *whakapapa* is a rope linking generations to a tap root within her *iwi*; kinship ties bind her to that *iwi* and as a woman her roles are clear; humanity is the dimension which respects human rights and relationships; and finally *Papatūānuku*, the earth mother, the land, the source of life and the woman to whom we return at death. "There is my *taha Māori* and the five dimensions that influence my life ... a strong core, a force-field that can help me to stand up and do something for myself in today's world." Rose Pere's theorising is extended and elaborated in Ako (1982) and Te Wheke (1991) which describe and analyse the world of the Māori from the world view of a successful Māori woman entrenched within her *taha Māori* and working internationally within indigenous and education networks.

In 1975 when *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano* was initiated by Ngāti Raukawa, John Rangihau was using a framework of *Māoritanga*, (Appendix 1) developed with Tamati Reedy, to describe, analyse, promote a vision and strategise for change within Aotearoa. On one occasion I attended a hui at Raukawa Marae in Otaki where John Rangihau presented his framework. It is uncomplicated and clear in its simplicity. It describes *Māoritanga* with the proviso that each *iwi* should substitute the word *Māoritanga* for their own *hapū* or *iwi* acknowledging that we are not an homogenous group of Māori, rather that we are uniquely different with some commonalities. Concepts which Rose Pere has described as essential dimensions of her life are all included as are those which Graham Smith has analysed. Tilly Reedy's five essential values are also included in John Rangihau's model. It is an all encompassing model from which to help non-Māori understand Māori and within which Māori can delve into their own *iwi* traditions, finding strength and confidence to take on challenges in the non-Māori world.

Māori women who theorise about the influence of their *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* on their success describe elements included in John Rangihau's framework. Kath Irwin (1992a:52) describes the influence of *whānau*, *whakapapa* and *whanaungatanga* on her career path, of the need to contribute energy to Māori *tipuna*. Their influence continues to drive and influence her as a doctoral student and academic. Their dreams are her dreams. Coping as a Māori woman within the university environment, to "endure the reality of its impact on a day to day level" can be dangerous but "the reason I stay here is because of the decisions my grandmother

made and because of the decisions my mother made..."(In Manchester and O'Rourke 1993:70). Without our tūpuna, whakapapa, whānau, whanaungatanga, it would be more difficult to survive as Māori women.

"Liberating Learning" (1993) offers insights into the lives and learning of a number of successful Māori women. Hera Johns, currently Principal of Queen Vic says her "Māori heritage, my background have been major influences in my life." She includes whānau as important, her father's expectations and aspirations for her in educational terms and his desire that she hold on to her "Māoriness" while being educated for the Pākehā world. Her father also encouraged her to hold on to her reo but also to learn English. Her years in the Auckland Girls' Grammar environment were difficult but the desire of her whānau for her to be a teacher enabled her to go on to teacher training. Their tautoko, āroha, manaakitanga all included in Rangihau's model were her supports.

Keri Kaa begins her chapter in *Liberating Learning* with:

*"I am
a child of ritual and tradition.
The past
has made us what we are
but I live in the here and now and
I am concerned about tomorrow."*

Keri reaches into the past, lives in the present, looks to the future, a familiar framework on which Māori build their lives. She also talks of a "very strong Māoritanga background and whakapapa" (In Manchester and O'Rourke 1993:78). Like Hera Johns, Keri Kaa was influenced by her father wanting her to get a good education and to speak both English and Māori well. Like Graham Smith she talks about those who demanded excellence from her. She was influenced by important whānau members and is now in a position to influence other Māori women, to tautoko, to manaaki, to promote Māoritanga under kaupapa Māori.

Georgina Kirby discusses whakapapa, whānau influences, the importance of tūrangawaewae, whenua and her iwi. She returned to formal education as an adult as her father saw no future in her desire to be an artist. She was influenced and supported by other Māori artists who had been to Teachers' College and was able to tautoko them and they, in turn, her. Freda Paratene says, "My cultural background is really the essence and the drive behind achieving what I have set out to do"(In

Manchester and O'Rourke 1993:123). Her love of learning came from whānau. Her tūpuna wanted her to be educated at one of the boarding schools and there was an expectation that she would succeed. She promotes the team approach, the collective effort, whanaungatanga.

Iritana Tawhiwhirangi describes the influence of whānau, hapū and iwi on her future educational aspirations. Apirana Ngata's influence and encouragement were factors in her desire to pursue an education. His influence on so many successful Māori women and men is a continuing theme. Iritana also became a teacher following secondary schooling at Hukarere.

Patricia Grace begins with her whakapapa, describes the influence of her whānau, her home, her kaumātua, kuia, mātua, manuhiri, her marae, tūpuna, her ability to learn from both cultures. She also trained as a teacher during the nineteen fifties. All these women clearly identify the solid backing from whānau, their taha Māori, the Māoritanga John Rangihau invites us to consider as the essential factor for movement forward into the future.

There is no research available on the influence of boarding schools on Māori women but it may be that the Teacher's College environment is more conducive to learning for Māori women who have enjoyed the boarding school experience than those who have not. Teachers' Colleges have in the past offered hostel accommodation and support more like boarding schools. The hostel environment combined with the equivalent of a wage, allowed women to train who might not otherwise have been able to do so. Whānau financial resources frequently ran out after providing a secondary education. Teachers' Colleges were also places where Māori women have been able to identify one another easily and form a whānau structure to support one another.

All of these women were motivated by others from an early age, all received support, pressure and push from whānau members. All are lifelong learners, all have continued to value their tribal links, their Tuhoetanga, their Kahungunutanga, their Tuwharetoatanga.

Linda Smith's challenge for Māori women is "to assume control over the interpretation of our struggles and to begin to theorise our experiences in ways which make sense for us...the first task of any theory is to make sense of the reality of the women who live within its framework"(1992:34,35). This study seeks to explain the

realities of the women who participated successfully so that we can learn from their experiences.

Kath Irwin (1991a) states that "a basic tenet of feminist theory: that as women we have a right to our herstories," encourages the recording of the lives and experiences of Māori women, the basis of this study. She offers a four part framework for analysis. First, *Māori society: te ao tawhito, te ao hou* invites us to look at our past in order to understand our present within each hapū and iwi context. The same point was made by John Rangihau. The second, *Te reo Māori: the Māori language*, acknowledges the oral traditions as well as written sources from which to learn about our past. The third, *Māori women's herstories*, promotes empowerment of Māori women to record their stories, to reclaim their past and to celebrate their lives. The fourth, *Tikanga Māori: Māori cultural practices* encourages Māori women to research our past tikanga so that we know what has changed, who changed our tikanga and why. Again we are invited to move into the future sure of our past. These frameworks can also be used to analyse the success stories of Māori women so that we can strategise and plan for success in the future..

Titiro whakamuri, mātakina to ao o ngā Tūpuna
 Mātakina, ēngari kāua e noho atu i rēira
 Titiro ki nāianeī, ki te wa e noho nei koe ēngari
 kaua e tukuna kia whakaporearea i ōu whakaaro
 Titiro whakamua ki āpopo, ki ngā rā kei te heke mai,
 Ka hanga ai he ao mou,
 mai i ngā painga o nanahi me nāianeī.

Māori women's stories

The fourth section of this review of the literature provides an analysis of the herstories of over a hundred Māori women. They provide a link with the past, with our tūpuna and a link to a number of Queen Vic Old Girls who were successful at school and in tertiary education. Some are women who have been leaders and role models for generations of girls plodding their way through secondary school and tertiary institutions seeking almost elusive qualifications. Some are today's leaders. They provide a picture of women over ten decades from the past to the present. They complement the stories of the six women whose stories are told within this study and reinforce those factors which are common to their success.

This review of the stories of Māori women confirms that recording Māori women's stories is a new activity, particularly stories recorded by Māori women. In terms of this study it provides us with a picture of what has been recorded to date, by whom and for what purpose. It is a part of the description of what is already available. In terms of Kath Irwin's framework for analysis (1991a), it provides us with some historical data, enables an analysis to be undertaken, is the basis of written sources about Māori women and gives an insight into the cultural practices of these women. (Irwin 1991a:6,7)

Collections by Māori women

Only three collections of Māori women's stories by Māori women have been published and all three since 1990. They are: *Te Timatanga Tātau Tātau* (Rogers & Simpson 1993), *Mana Wāhine* (Brown 1994), *Toi Wāhine* (Irwin 1995). They record one hundred and sixty nine stories of women who span over a century of life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Overwhelmingly they record the stories of women who are successful within their whānau, hapū and iwi.

The largest collection *Te Timatanga Tātau Tātau* (1993) began with a suggestion from a Maori Women's Welfare League President and Queen Vic Old Girl, June Māriu. At the 1988 League conference she suggested to members that it was time to record the League's beginnings. (1993:x) New Zealanders were looking for ways to celebrate the 150 year anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and such a publication was suggested. The recording of the stories of sixty six of the League's founding members found favour with various funding organisations and the "talk of these 66 Grand Old Ladies"(1993:ix) was recorded in Māori and in English.

The stories in Māori were recorded by a 1930s Queen Vic Old Girl and League member Dame Mira Szaszy whose story is also told in both English and Māori. Ten of the women's stories record that they were Queen Vic Old Girls, women taking a lead in their communities. The women are kuia. Their early lives are the lives of rural New Zealand Māori women struggling through the years of the wars and depression, marrying early themselves and having large families as their mothers had done. Their stories tell over and over of early deaths of mothers, leaving large families, of children dying very young, of husbands and fathers not returning from the wars in Europe, of women who in many cases left school as children to work on farms and help support families and their siblings. The opportunities for primary and

secondary education were limited for many of these women. Often the community selected children for an education while others worked to support the whānau from an early age. Mira Szaszy, for example, describes how she could not start at primary school until she was seven as she was caring for a younger brother. When he turned five, they both went to school. The early lives of these women were characterised by poverty and hardship and barely survival. Tertiary education was more than a world away and simply not a realistic goal for many young Māori girls in rural communities.

The stories of their later years tell of moves from rural to urban New Zealand, the early days of the League, working together for other women and families. This collection of herstories, while focusing on the League, has at the same time provided us with a wonderful record of the early lives of Māori who were born in the early part of this century, women who are truly national treasures. They were successful as leaders, motivators, role models and as educators in the university of life. Many valued formal education as something which was unattainable for them but something which they wanted for their children and many now grasp for their mokopuna.

Mana Wāhine - Women who show the Way (Brown 1994) contributes the stories of twenty four Māori women. These women range in age from a teenager to women in mid-life, women who are nationally recognizable, women who work within and alongside their whānau and hapū, women who are highly successful scholars in universities and women who are successful in business, as lawyers, actresses and sportswomen. The overwhelming impression which one has after having read and experienced this book is of hope. The women are predominantly tertiary educated, successful in their careers, strong in two worlds and prepared to operate in both Māori and non-Māori worlds [essential if one is to influence the decision-makers] positive with elements of defiance about the injustices of our past, confident to work in urban Aotearoa. They are leaders.

Suzanne Sarich, featured in this volume, in mid-1995 succeeded James Ritchie as Manager of Public Relations for the Tainui Māori Trust Board and she is editor of one of New Zealand's successful Māori newspapers, *Kia Hiwa Ra*. Suzanne is the daughter of a Queen Vic old girl who sent Suzanne to Queen Vic because she too had been there. Born and brought up in Te Kuiti, Suzanne's father died before she was a year old. She regards her mother as "independent and capable", qualities which were instilled in her and her sister, so that they would succeed in life. "We come from a line of strong women"(In Brown 1994:54). As a youngster being Māori

wasn't 'different' but when she got to Queen Vic she realised it was. She enjoyed the opportunities "to go to ballet or plays and we saw previews of movies." She also comments on the "good English teachers", the planned curriculum which was academic and the exposure to Māori speakers who came with positive messages for the girls. Many of the girls were aiming for nursing and teaching in the 1970s when she was there, just as many had been for half a century prior to that. While waiting to turn twenty and begin her training as a nurse, she attended a journalism course and found her niche in a career in which Māori have been severely under-represented. In this profession, she has built a successful newspaper on success stories, achievement and positive happenings rather than the negative. Her aim is to "highlight positive Māori people" (In Brown 1994:157). Her newspaper is a source of information. Suzanne's story provides a link with the school in the seventies and with a younger generation of successful Queen Vic Old Girls.

The most recent edition *Toi Wāhine* (Irwin 1995) presents material contributed by twenty three Māori women each of whom made decisions about her own contribution. Two of these women are Queen Vic Old Girls, Dame Mira Szaszy and Keri Kaa, both nationally recognized and who feature in several publications where the stories of Māori women are collected. Within this particular collection they are Māori women who challenge the world around us: Keri in her letter to Mrs Government about the needs of her people; Mira Szaszy challenging the new graduands whose work is about to begin, as did hers when she was one of Māoridom's earliest graduates during the Second World War. Her whanaunga Merimeri Penfold who travelled to Queen Vic with Mira and continued from there to teacher training with her, edited *Ko kui ma te kaupapa* (MacDonald, Penfold & Williams, 1991), a collection which includes fifty-six Māori women. Merimeri's educational path took her from Queen Vic to Auckland University where she has been a successful Māori academic, providing support and encouragement to other young Māori women.

Ngā Mōrehu

This volume warrants a separate section because it is unique, being a history of women who survived against incredible odds to record their stories. It is the most outstanding publication from the eighties - *Ngā Mōrehu - The Survivors*. (Binney & Chaplin 1986) It offers the herstories of eight kuia, from an era now past, from rural communities in the Bay of Plenty, East Coast and Poverty Bay. "It is the first book in which different Māori women speak, in their own words, about the changing

circumstances of their lives" (back cover). This was then, the first such book and published only ten years ago.

In *Ngā Mōrehu*, Reremoana Koopu relates that she went to Queen Vic in 1907 from Omaio in the Bay of Plenty and returned by schooner from Auckland in 1910. Nothing is recorded of her days at the school but we can reflect on the distance travelled in 1907 by a seven or eight year old child to Queen Vic which was then a primary school. Reremoana stayed for three years learning about the way of life of another people. With modern transport today, it is easy to forget the huge sacrifices that many children and families made in order to receive a Boarding School education. It also reflects the way that many communities valued the education their children received. Reremoana was chosen to go to school and it was intended that she teach what she had learned to her own people when she returned home. A secondary education was not available to these girls; a tertiary education unheard of. Opportunities were limited. An observation made by Nelson Mandela of his own people is just as true during this period in the history of the education of Māori girls in rural communities, "It was not lack of ability that limited my people but lack of opportunity"(Mandela 1994:34).

These herstories are the most significant and in depth herstories of kuia. They are recorded by non-Māori women academics (Judith Binney and Gillian Chaplin) who were at pains to record the words of these kuia without alteration. There are no publications resembling this publication. There are no publications of women's herstories written by Māori women in the 1980s. This is a book for which I feel grateful. It is a rare contribution to our written literature about women from an era past. It is also precious because it is the only one of its kind. It need not be in the future if priority is given to further record the lives of such women before the end of the twentieth century.

Collections by non-Māori women

During the past two decades Māori women's stories have also been recorded in collections by Pākehā women. In the early eighties it was not uncommon to find a collection of New Zealand women's stories with one or two Māori women included. *Beyond Expectations* (Clark 1986) includes Kath Irwin as the only Māori women in a collection of fourteen; *Women Today and Yesterday* (Keene 1987) and *Under Northland Skies* (Keene 1984) record the lives of seventy four Northland women, nine of whom are Māori women. The earlier volume records the life of Sophie

Cherrington who attended Queen Vic from 1935 during Miss Bretherton's time as Principal. Sophie recalls how strict the headmistress was, the regime of "housekeeping and other daily chores", the punishment in the form of a smack with a slipper if the dusting was not satisfactory, the importance of prayers and discipline, themes which women sixty years later telling their stories for this study, repeat about their school days in the sixties, thirty years after Sophie attended. The discipline, the importance of chapel, the role of the Principal in instilling high standards in doing housework stayed for more than half a century and was certainly reinforced during the nineteen sixties while Miss Berridge led the school.

Keene's later collection included four Māori women and records the life of a former Queen Vic pupil and a Māori Women's Welfare League president, Violet Pou. She came from a small rural farming community to go to Queen Vic during the Second World War - to learn Māoritanga, a reason why many parents sent their girls to the school through the years. After leaving the school Violet was enrolled in the Northland Business College for further training in office administration. Like Queen Vic Old Girls Mira Szaszy and June Māriu, Violet Pou became a League President and served from 1980 - 1983. She is a leader and a role model.

Mira Szaszy is featured as one of two Māori women in *Head and Shoulders - Successful New Zealand Women talk to Virginia Myers* (Myers 1986) a publication about "how nine outstanding New Zealand women blazed a trail to public success" (back cover). The author chose the women because of their success in public life. Mira Szaszy, a Queen Vic Old Girl from the thirties with tertiary qualifications from New Zealand and Hawaii completed in the forties, was an early League member in the fifties, League President from 1973 - 1977 and recorder of stories in *Te Timatanga Tātau Tātau*.

The Myers story is particularly valuable because it includes the educational herstory of Mira Szaszy and adds to the information recorded in the herstory of the Māori Women's Welfare League. It records that Mira was the seventh of eight children born to a non-Māori father. Her mother died when she was three. She was influenced by her early years of poverty and by having a father whom she felt was remote from them as children. As a result of the teasing of other children because her whakapapa included a Yugoslav father, she became fearless, a fighter, a survivor. She developed a love of books provided by her Pākehā teachers and also saw herself as influenced by Apirana Ngata's teaching of "Whaia te mātauranga a te Pākehā".

In 1936 she went to Queen Vic from the far north with Merimeri Penfold after their community had pulled together to support them. They were fostered and cared for by Pākehā families in Auckland who later influenced them to go on to teacher training and university. This family was a positive and strong influence and support. A disadvantage for her in having gone to Queen Vic was the loss of home life since she and Merimeri were only able to return to their homes once a year because of long distances, and limited financial resources. Mira is critical of the school at that time - the late thirties - and describes aspects of her schooling as "painful" and "humiliating". She was successful in passing her examinations through an outside College to enable her to continue to Teachers' College and was tenacious in seeking a scholarship from Prime Minister, Peter Fraser in Parliament so that she could complete her Bachelor's degree following the completion of her teacher training. Eventually Mira continued to Hawaii to complete a post-graduate qualification in the Social Sciences.

Mira held on strongly to her Māoritanga, her reo and her dignity. She felt the double oppression of being Māori and Yugoslav and the oppression of being a woman. She experienced racism in many forms including being denied housing in Auckland because of being Māori and spent a lifetime fighting multiple oppressions in many of its forms.

Mira has described the response to her application for the job of secretary to the Women's Welfare League in 1952. She was unsuccessful because she was "too highly educated to be able to relate to our people"(1993:219) a decision made by the men advertising the position, Māori men in Māori Affairs. Their attitude towards those with academic qualifications gained from New Zealand and in Mira's case an American university issued a warning. It was considered a handicap rather than an advantage, a view that has not altogether been dispelled within our whānau, hapū and iwi. Tilly Reedy warns, "Beware of the book writer and the speech maker who become instant experts at your expense"(Reedy 1979:47). Māori academics can be held in suspicion just as non-Māori can be. Travelling too far away from the world of the whānau and hapū has its dangers for those contemplating tertiary education.

Keri Kaa, profiled in numerous publications is one of ten Māori women featured within *Mediawomen's Awards* (1982) which received six hundred nominations for the 1982 Suffrage awards. Fifty of the women nominated were selected for a publication, *Mediawomen's Awards*. They are portrayed as representative of women

everywhere rather than as uniquely Māori women, at a time when Māori women were seen as a part of "women as a group"(McKinley 1995:124). Māori women had not at that time found a place in the publishing world and as "Pākehā women have had better access to getting material published than Māori women"(McKinley 1995:123). Māori women found a small corner within these collections, before they began to publish their herstories themselves.

In the nineties, as Māori women have become more politicised and vocal, claiming that they have their own issues separate from those of Pākehā women and claiming separate resourcing as a unique tangata whenua group, Pākehā women began to question whether it was acceptable to include Māori women within their collections and if so in what capacity. *Mothers and Daughters* (Gray 1993) is limited to "Pākehā women ... as ... to include one or two women from other cultures runs the risk of tokenism"(Gray 1993:9). Gray is acknowledging Māori women as a separate identity, a position Māori women have claimed and are slowly winning for themselves, rather than being considered as an adjunct to Pākehā women.

During the nineties there has continued to be an increase in publications by women about women which include Māori women's stories. Increasingly the women selected are tertiary educated, seen as role models, high profile, entertainers, or indeed all three together. *Convent Girls* (Tolerton 1994) includes three Māori women who attended Catholic schools and who are included in numerous other publications. Moana Maniapoto-Jackson was educated in one of the original Hawkes Bay denominational boarding schools, St Joseph's, is a lawyer and high profile entertainer, recognized by Māori women as a role model and encourager of young Māori to succeed. She accepts invitations to talk to young Māori women encouraging them to aim for the stars, to hold on to their Māoritanga and to be proud.

Hana Te Hemera's path to tertiary education is as an adult, a pathway common to many Māori women, where education is undertaken part-time, simultaneously with childrearing and motherhood. She is a woman who has balanced the multiple responsibilities so many Māori women have - as described by Kath Irwin about Patricia Grace. "I just couldn't believe that she could be a secondary school teacher, a writer, a mother of seven children and still be married to their father, her husband, all at once. It just didn't seem possible"(Irwin 1995:10). Māori women who have succeeded in tertiary education and retained their links and responsibilities to their whānau, hapū and iwi, as well held down a job and raised a family find there is

indeed pressure to balance all those acts at the same time. The Māori world frequently operates in the weekend when the Pākehā world takes time out for family and leisure. The double oppression of being Māori and a woman is now frequently replaced by the multiple responsibilities of being Māori, woman, educated, parent, role model, successful, leader, indeed a superwoman.

Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku is well known as the first Māori woman to complete a Ph.d in New Zealand and she is profiled in several publications. (Convent Girls 1994; Mana Wāhine 1994; Women and Education in Aotearoa 1988). Her pathway took her through extremely difficult times at school where she was not successful until she came face to face with a principal whom she found was prepared to give her yet another chance, someone who believed in her, had faith, and who was prepared to encourage and support her. She was most secure when she was with her kuia who made her feel special and safe, the woman who was an example to her, a protector, "my most beloved mentor and my strongest influence"(1994a 26). Ngāhuia identifies mentors, women who were examples to her, the privileges of growing up in a "traditional environment", again key themes in the stories of many successful Māori women, including those central to this study.

Filling the Frame - Profiles of 18 New Zealand Women, (Nissen 1992) includes three Māori women. Rima Te Wiata, Joanna Paul and Moana Maniapoto-Jackson are television entertainers and personalities, high profile young women, each nationally recognized, successful in her field and role models for young women. The inclusion of Māori women is perhaps an attempt to ensure that Māori women stand alongside Pākehā women as 'New Zealand' women.

Liberating Learning, Women as Facilitators of Learning (Manchester & O'Rourke, 1993) is particularly important as a record of the educational aspirations and lives of ten Māori women (from the thirty seven herstories). The publication records for us stories of Māori women who have walked various pathways to achieve qualifications in tertiary institutions and provides us with the reasons for their success. It makes all these women visible as successful teachers and leaders in the community, women who represent Māori women in both Pākehā and Māori contexts. The publication builds upon the number of written sources available, to add to "an authentic and authoritative Māori database [from which we can] study the role and status of Māori women and Māori feminisms"(Irwin 1991a:7) and gain strength from the visions of Māori women.

Finally, *A People's History - Illustrated Biographies from The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Volume One, 1769 - 1869* (1992) includes twelve Māori herstories of tūpuna kuia from over a century ago, stories of women whose influence remains, whose achievements are awe-inspiring, women who were rangatira. They are women who signed the Treaty of Waitangi, like Rangi Topeora of Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira, women who were acknowledged leaders, decision-makers, negotiators, women from the pre-colonisation Māori education system as described by Kath Irwin (1992). Their stories link us firmly with our past, the strengths of which we must use in the present to propel us resolutely into a future in which we feel more confident and which may guarantee our children greater success at all levels of education. They provide us with the visions of our tūpuna, women we can never know.

The women's stories which have been recorded are exciting. They are the stories of women who can identify their support networks. They provide us with Māori women's experiences from the past, their visions for a better future and opportunities to learn what strategies were used to ensure success. At an individual level, we can plan for change and work as individuals with our own children. But it is not enough to plan for change only at that level. The second level (Gibson 1986) the institutional, must also be targetted to ensure that "those who work within our institutions do not reproduce inequality"(Gibson 1966:14). At level three, the structural level, we have numerous reports which indicate that "the system will never empower Māori"(Reedy 1992) and that a "revolutionary approach is required". (ibid) Gibson urges that all three levels be linked so that action is planned for and takes place at all three levels.

Thus, this literature contributes to our knowledge of ourselves, of what has happened and is happening with Māori women. A description of policies gives us a basis for analysing our past. The research reports provide information about what has happened and warn us that Māori women are not yet a priority with education researchers. The theorising by Māori women and men offers frameworks from which to view the world of Māori women. The herstories describe Māori women's lives, analyse their past and give some direction for Māori girls seeking success in the world of tertiary education. They provide valuable data for educators, policy analysts, teachers and legislators. They enable us to theorise about the factors of success for Māori women in tertiary education.

Chapter 3 The Research Process

Introduction

This chapter describes the processes followed in undertaking this research. It outlines the principles and ethics upon which the study was based and the process of developing the research topic. The supervision process forms a section of this chapter as a key to the research process. The research design is outlined, followed by a description of the steps undertaken in negotiating with the women who were participants in the study. I have discussed the role conflict which I found became a feature of the study as a part of my being an inside researcher known to the women being interviewed and also the multiple and contradictory roles which I played as a friend, colleague, relative and researcher all at one time with the five women who participated. The development of the research questions and preparation for the interviews form separate sections from the interviews with Keri, Roimata, Tuihana, Ruhi and Kiri. The final section outlines the processes and negotiations required in the tape transcription process.

The chapter has a two-fold purpose; first as a description of the research process which I followed and second as an in depth record of the process for other young Māori women undertaking research within whānau, hapū and iwi. The discussion of some of the tensions which arose for me may serve to assist other young researchers.

The Treaty of Waitangi and Research

The Royal Commission on Social Policy in its 1988 April Report focuses on three Treaty principles - partnership, protection and participation. These principles can be applied to kaupapa Māori research, research which is by Māori, for Māori and with Māori (Smith, L. 1995:1) They provide the framework on which I based the research undertaken for this study.

Partnership

The Treaty is a partnership at a national level between two formerly independent peoples, the State represented by the New Zealand Government as one partner and iwi as the other partner. The Royal Commission on Social Policy commissioners argued that, "partnership cannot be effective if the partners operate from positions of

disparity and inequality" (1988 Volume II:78), and they emphasised that there is a, "need for partnership to be real with effective power-sharing and decision making at all levels"(ibid:79).

It is these concepts which have provided a foundation on which to build the levels of partnership required in order to undertake this study involving a group of wāhine toa and their whānau. It is this concept of power-sharing that has been in the forefront as this research has been planned.

The University is seen by many as a State agency and certainly Māori communities view the universities as wealthy agencies in terms of resources, buildings and indeed in terms of funding. In approaching the women to be included in the study I was aware of the perception that I came not only as a school friend but as a member of one of the State's wealthy and privileged institutions. Forming partnerships within this environment requires commitment, sensitivity and stamina.

At another level partnerships were formed at Massey University by myself as the researcher. These were initially within the department in which I worked so that I could receive necessary approval for the research; with the Massey University Research Fund Committee so that financial support was available to support the research; with the Ethics Committee as researchers within the university are required to have their approval for a project before conducting research.

At another level, the setting up of a supervision whānau (Irwin 1994:29) was also a partnership whose success was dependent on power-sharing and meeting the needs of both the supervisors and the student. As an adult student my needs have been recognized as being different from a more youthful student and, as a mother, partner and employee, my needs are recognized as being different from those of a young full-time student without the family or professional responsibilities that I have.

The supervision partnership has also recognized the needs of the partners, not as a business relationship but as a whānau relationship. (Irwin 1994) Meeting needs of the partners cannot be a one way process as may be expected in a non-Māori supervision relationship. If we operate from a tikanga Māori base then the obligations and responsibilities of belonging to a whānau must also be nurtured within a supervision whānau.

At yet another level a partnership was entered into between the researcher and the women who were research participants. I was keenly aware that only one of the women who became a research partner was a member of the iwi with which I identified most strongly, Ngāti Raukawa. Partnerships were therefore being formed with other iwi introducing tensions associated with cross-iwi research. Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku (1991) suggests that there is an issue to be addressed in restricting iwi research to those within the iwi, in order to reduce the tensions and possible conflicts and to enhance the value of the research.

The principle of partnership must have built into it the concept of mutual mana enhancement, a concept frequently promoted by Whatarangi Winiata from Ngāti Pareraukawa at many hui which I have attended over the past twenty years. In particular, he promoted this concept when iwi entered into partnerships with the Crown or its agencies. It promotes the idea that both parties should benefit from the partnership and that neither partner should take any action which would diminish the mana of the other partner. It is about genuine power-sharing. This concept forms the basis of any partnership between a researcher and her participants.

The primary relationship in this study was between the women participants and the researcher. It was my responsibility to ensure that the partnership grew and developed as the research progressed. There was also a need to maintain the former relationships outside the research relationship, so that when the research was concluded, other relationships could continue to flourish with these women and their whānau.

During the research I was committed to power sharing within the spirit of partnership, trying always to ensure that my own needs, timelines and deadlines were not given greater priority than those of the participants for example, when I asked them to plough through pages of tape transcriptions and return them to me within particular timeframes that met my needs or, when I tried to negotiate interview times that fitted in with my travel arrangements. At those times I reminded myself that partnerships did not include pressing my own needs ahead of those of my friends and willing participants.

Protection

The Social Policy Commissioners (1988) argued that, "Protection is implicit in the Treaty" and that it should be "considered at three levels":

- 1) State protection of Māori interests,
- 2) Tribal obligation to tribal members,
- 3) Signatories' protection of the honour of the Treaty.

The protection of taonga is explicit in the Treaty.

Entering into the field of research required a great deal of care particularly in a climate where "researchers and academics generally have a poor reputation in the Māori community and are viewed with suspicion at best, contempt in the main"(Irwin 1994:38).

In this context and with some trepidation, I entered into the research partnership, aware of the need to protect both myself and the women involved. I was working under the auspices of a university and therefore was under an obligation to ensure that the institution also provided protection to both researcher and researched. However, I was aware of my responsibility for ensuring that the protections were in place.

My view was that these participants and their stories were taonga and required protection as taonga. They came into the research as women from an era past, some as Native speakers of Māori which gives them special status owing to the ever dwindling numbers of native speakers of Māori. They brought taonga with them - intangible, invaluable taonga which belonged to their whānau, hapū and iwi, some of which would be shared with me and inevitably with the institution which would in the end require copies of the research to be deposited in the library as a record of my work, a library which is a public place. This idea caused one of my participants to reconsider her participation.

It was incumbent upon me to provide all the protections necessary to protect these women, their tapes, and their printed stories. This was particularly important with the unedited tapes and the transcriptions because at that stage the women's words were exactly as they had been recorded during the interviews and before they had had the opportunity to edit out any material which was of a confidential or sensitive nature.

I was aware that protection would also extend to the four corners of our beings: te taha whānau, those things which pertain to our families; te taha tinana, those things which pertain to our physical wellness and being; te taha hinengaro, those things which pertain to our emotional and psychological wellness; te taha wairua, matters of spirituality.

In applying the principle of protection as outlined by the Commissioners, of State obligation to Māori people, I saw Massey University as a State agency offering me protection both as an employee, as a researcher and as a Māori woman. I felt that the protection they offered would assist me to ensure that the research project in turn protected the women, their stories, tapes, paper records and communication with them. In December 1993, during my absence from the university for a day, my office with all my books, furniture and personal belongings was stripped on the instruction of the Faculty Administrator as the office was to be reallocated to a newly appointed secretary to the Women's Studies Department.

The woman who ordered the custodian to strip my office knew nothing about power-sharing and partnership. She had never spoken to me about the reallocation of my office and knew nothing about protection. This incident reinforced for me that the protections which I had put in place for myself by having my room blessed and my whānau accompanying me to that room two years previously, were insufficient in the face of such arrogance and insensitivity.

The four corners of my house were very shaken: my taha whānau, as my children and partner arrived the next day to help sort through my belongings; my taha tinana and hinengaro responded as one who is violated responds, tearful and shaken for many weeks; and my taha wairua was thrown out of balance by the event. My research programme was interrupted for two months while I dealt with the invasion and searched for computer discs, papers and books amongst the boxes.

Quite unexpectedly my privacy had been invaded in my workplace where my office was surrounded by colleagues, other researchers, professionals, members of the University Ethics Committee. The latter had gone to great pains to ask me when I proposed the research, how I would protect the women's stories on tape, paper, on my computer and on computer discs. They asked where I would store the material. I and they would not have considered a locked office on the eighth floor of the Social Science tower an unsafe place on a Thursday afternoon in December.

It was fortunate that all of the tapes and all the paper copies of the transcriptions were safely in my home. Computer discs were however, buried amongst books and papers, photographs, posters and personal belongings which it took me a further eight weeks to re-sort. It took me longer to recover emotionally from the trauma, the invasion, the shock, the disbelief. Deadlines for material came and went. It was necessary to grow a new protective cover before I could begin again.

Protection of taonga is explicit in the Treaty. Māori women who agree to participate in research are taonga and their stories are taonga. I learnt from this research that the principle of protection is essential and that the unexpected and unbelievable should be anticipated. As the researcher, the person responsible to the women and responsible for their stories given to me in trust, I had a special obligation to provide the protection, not only as a requirement of the Ethics Committee within te ao Pākehā, not only because I had undertaken to do that for the women who were giving so much of themselves to my project but also because I was involved in research with women from other iwi. Māori people look for signs, for reasons why sometimes inexplicable occurrences happen. It may be that we are being tested, it may be that there is a reason yet to emerge.

Participation

The third principle presented by the Social Policy Commissioners is that of participation which especially challenges agencies to address Māori issues. In applying this principle to research it is imperative that non-Māori researchers who wish to research Māori communities address the issues which are being raised by Māori researchers (Bishop and Glynn, 1992; Cameron, 1985; Irwin, 1994; Smith, L., 1991 and 1995; Te Awekōtuku, 1991; Walker, 1979) and by Māori communities themselves.

Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku challenges researchers to consider variants such as "ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation, religion, disability" and issues of "social responsibility, moral accountability, social relevance"(1991:13-15). I was aware that we were all Māori women of similar age and educational background with a similar fluency in language - that being English. Of greater concern was my request for the women to participate in research which was being conducted under the umbrella or protection of a university, a non-Māori, and not always particularly culturally sensitive, institution.

Participation was dependent on their trust in me as a Māori woman, Queen Vic Old Girl, colleague, friend and relative. In agreeing to participate they were keen to contribute to the research in the hope that their participation would benefit our children and grandchildren and provide some answers to the questions the research proposed addressing.

Their continued participation was also dependent on my ability to communicate effectively, and keep them informed and interested without making unnecessary demands on them and their time. Throughout the two years I have written letters to them all telling them of milestones reached, offering further information and checking at each stage that each is comfortable with the processes being used and, confirming that while I hoped fervently that each would remain a part of the study, that they were free to withdraw if they wished.

One of those interviewed in the initial group chose after the first year to withdraw as a participant. She had been concerned and anxious about who would have access to her story and how widely it might be read. She also felt pressured as the rest of the group had agreed to the use of their own names and identities.

While a part of me would have loved to have exerted some pressure on her to remain a part of the researched whānau, because her story is so wonderful, my own wishes and desires were forced into the background as I remained firm with myself that participation should be entirely voluntary and that each of the women could withdraw at any time or vary their conditions for participation.

In agreeing to participate in research these women have given much of themselves, their whānau and their own wairua. It was with a great deal of respect and aroha for them that I humbly accepted their participation knowing that I would benefit greatly from their input. The reality is that they have offered me the opportunity to gain a Masters qualification through their participation. As researchers we need to be reminded about being clear and honest with those who help us in this way.

Research Ethics

Massey University provides its researchers with a Code of Ethical Conduct which "deals...with those activities where human beings are used as subjects"(1990:1). It outlines five major principles which it advises should be applied in the context of the

research being undertaken. These are: informed consent, confidentiality, minimising of harm, truthfulness and social sensitivity.

These principles can be linked with the Treaty of Waitangi principles for example, they provide for a partnership through informed consent, although there is no requirement or intention that genuine power-sharing should be an element of the partnership as is the intention within the Treaty of Waitangi. It is a concept of which researchers need to take account particularly when working with Māori communities or individuals. The Code warns staff to recognise the "power relationships" involved in research and also reminds its members that ethics are broader than the law.

The other four principles in the Massey University Code link with the principle of protection and it is explicit in the code that it is intended to protect the "subjects of human research" as well as the researcher and the University. The Treaty of Waitangi principle goes further in requiring State protection of Māori interests. This code could extend its protection where research with Māori is approved by non-Māori, through a tangata whenua committee approving such applications.

In asking the women in this study to be participants I felt a greater responsibility to them than I did to the institution and indeed, a greater obligation to them than the code required, particularly if something went wrong.

The Massey University Code also acknowledges that its staff belong to professional associations but reinforces that they belong to a "socially accountable institution". Māori would argue that the University's standards have not protected them from researchers whose primary objective has been to fulfil the requirements for a qualification or to advance their own knowledge. (Reedy 1979, Smith 1991) I have certainly been aware throughout this study that being a University researcher has disadvantages.

In discussing the "Social Context", the code encourages staff to be "aware of cultural sensitivities, the Treaty of Waitangi..." but provides no further illumination, which in an institution that employs mostly non-Māori staff and many non-Pākehā staff (overseas academics) there is a need to address the issues being raised by Māori researchers about research conducted on Māori by non-Māori. A group to specifically address these applications needs to be formed. It is the principle of participation which challenges agencies such as the university to address Māori issues raised by Māori researchers and Māori communities. (Bishop and Glynn 1992;

Cameron 1985; Irwin 1994; Te Ariki et al 1992; Te Awekōtuku 1991; Smith, L. 1991 and 1995; Walker 1979.)

The Code encourages its members to be aware of the changing social system and it is this warning that needs to be heeded. Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku's discussion paper outlining the history of Pākehā researchers' involvement in the Māori world (1991) offers sound advice. She distinguishes between those Pākehā who have used the Māori community to enhance their own careers and those who have developed long term and meaningful relationships with Māori communities where genuine power sharing has been a cornerstone of the relationship. Such relationships as those forged between academics James Ritchie and Anne Salmond with two Māori communities are examples of relationships which operate from a position which Whatarangi Winiata may well argue are mutually mana enhancing and which fit the partnership criteria of the Treaty of Waitangi partnership principle.

While my position as a Māori researcher differs from that of a Pākehā researcher, the added dimension of belonging to different iwi from some of the women included in this study, adds some similar dynamics to the relationships and greater responsibilities to hapū and iwi.

Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku's discussion paper concludes with an outline of Principles of Ethical Conduct for Researchers in the Māori Community. It should be appended to the University Code of Ethics. The idea that responsibility to those being researched transcends the interests of sponsors and institutions is one which Māori communities would easily support and which I certainly do. This set of principles defining ethics from a Māori perspective, is an invaluable contribution to the whole debate about ethics and the Māori community.

The New Zealand Association for Research in Education also provides its members with Ethical Guidelines. In examining these beside the Treaty of Waitangi principles, they provide in the first instance for the protection of research subjects, clearly over and above the interests of the association or institution - consistent with the previous discussion paper. The general principles all provide protections for those assisting the researcher with data.

The principle of partnership is implied within the Massey University principles relating to research subjects, although the guidelines would be strengthened by a more explicit reference to genuine power sharing and decision making and further

strengthened by addressing Treaty of Waitangi principles and Māori research issues, in a spirit of partnership.

Developing the Research Topic

Soon after my arrival at Massey University in 1993 the Head of Department, Professor Ian Shirley set me on the path towards a Master of Philosophy by encouraging me to enrol in a Social Policy paper. He insisted that the major assignment for the paper should focus on a policy area in which I would eventually write my thesis. I had considered myself rather fortunate to have completed a Bachelor's degree in 1981 after thirteen years of intermittent study. Focussing on a thesis topic and post-graduate research in the first three months of employment in my new position required a major shift in my thinking.

He was insistent I decide on the topic area immediately so that I could proceed without delay. I consulted *Ē tipu ē rea* (Manatū Māori 1991) which outlined the current status of Māori education and went back the next day with my research topic taken from the publication. "Success stories in Māori education"(1991:50). I wanted to look at success stories of Māori women. And so the broad topic was agreed. I undertook to research the history of Māori education in Aotearoa/New Zealand during that year. The appeal for me was that I would be studying areas about which I felt passionate - Māori girls and women, education, success, tertiary education.

After further consultation with the Graduate Studies Director Dr. Robyn Munford, it was decided that I should approach a Māori woman to help develop and supervise my Master's research. Kath Irwin, a senior lecturer in education at Victoria University, a Māori woman academic and a friend and colleague of mine, had been announced the successful Hodge Fellow for the following year and she agreed to supervise. It was a key to an important partnership.

We began immediately. She sent me Hans Wagemaker's paper, "What Makes Good Research?" and information from Victoria University's Education programme. We met early the following year to outline the general theme in which I was interested, Māori education, women and girls, success stories, Queen Vic and also to plan my study which would consume me for the next two years. Kath Irwin made it sound absolutely feasible, do-able, achievable. We planned the research, mindful that my life included three teenagers, a totally supportive and loving partner, a lectureship in Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University in Palmerston

North and commitments to my hapū Ngāti Pareraukawa and to my iwi Ngāti Raukawa, commitments which I wanted to maintain. I felt that staying grounded within the whānau and hapū would keep me centred, remind me of my own whakapapa, and I needed the support of kaumatua and kuia to remind me of my roots and my obligations to my own whānau, hapū and iwi.

I was also nervous of the attitudes of some of my tūpuna in dealing with university researchers. I had heard stories of how my tūpuna never divulged a whole story when being interviewed by Pākehā, of how information was always withheld and even small "mistakes" were made deliberately when relating stories so that the true stories were safeguarded within the hapū and iwi. Keri Kaa alludes to this in *Liberating Learning* (1993) "Well, you know the joke don't you, about the Māori nuclear family? Two parents, two grandparents, eight kids and a pet anthropologist! As children we had Pākehā academics swarming through the house"(1993:79). I didn't want to be one of "those" academics.

In writing about the work of "Western intellectuals" who "romanticize [the] voices" of their subjects, frequently from third world situations, Salazar (1991) addresses the problems of power held by those "occupying the margins" who will choose what knowledge they wish to remain silent about, to keep as secret. In this study, I did not wish to delve into the secrets of the women and was comfortable with them protecting themselves and any information which they chose to with-hold. On the other hand I was also aware of the validity of the "product" which Judith Stacey (1991) has addressed as one of the dilemmas which arises for feminist researchers. One of her concerns is with the manipulation which may occur by either the researcher or the researched. At best she suggests we may end up with a product which is "unauthentic"(Stacey 1991). I had to be aware at least of the possibility of unintentional manipulation on either side.

I did not want to be "distrusted" by my own peers either. Linda Smith's warning was noted: "there is a deep distrust and suspicion of research. This distrust is not just of Pākehā researchers but of the whole philosophy of research and the different sets of beliefs which underlie the research process"(1991:51).

The thought of interviewing people about their personal lives was daunting and I realised I would have to plan the process with precision and expertise. In seeking advice from my partner, Whare Te Moana, he impressed upon me that I needed to

base the research within tikanga Māori. I should hold to the adage that it was to be Māori research, about Māori and for Māori and by Māori.

I also felt enormously grateful to Kath Irwin for agreeing to supervise my research and was in many ways in awe of her as a young Māori woman, mother and partner, successful academic, highly regarded in education circles and who was about to become the first Māori woman to complete a Ph.d. from Victoria University. Because of all those things I didn't want to let her down, waste her time, go unprepared to supervision, be late to our meetings or fail to complete a piece of work which I had undertaken to complete, however small it seemed. While I was grateful and looked forward enormously to our supervision sessions in Wellington I was pressured by my own need to do the very best I could. I had also become a role model to my own children who eagerly waited when a completed paper was returned to see what the grade was that I had been given and that created a pressure for me as well. My children began to accept the inevitability of a university education for themselves and sought information about university courses and options.

Kath Irwin had suggested I enrol in a Māori Education paper at Victoria University in the same year that I was to undertake the research and so a commitment was made to attend lectures there on Tuesday afternoons. Some days that meant travelling from home in Otaki to Palmerston North for the morning to attend Departmental meetings and then to Wellington for supervision hui and the class at Victoria University in the afternoons, returning to Otaki with my partner, Whare, in the evening again. Frequently I used the travel time to review and recap on the day's learning and decisions. Careful planning and commitment became the order of our lives to accommodate all my whānau.

The Supervision Process

Critical to the process was the supervision which had been negotiated. Kath Irwin, as a Māori woman academic feminist motivator and supervisor of research students, was a key to the process. As a mature Māori woman student my motivation to achieve was at a peak but my levels of anxiety were also extremely high as I stepped warily on to the path, fearful, humble, careful, needing reassurance, lacking confidence at times and with preconceived notions of how academics ought to write and express themselves.

I was also unsure of how tikanga Māori fitted into the world of the university. My observations of the universities were that they better resembled North American and British institutions than Pākehā New Zealand institutions and the world of tikanga Māori seemed not to have made any impact. There appeared to be more non-New Zealanders employed in the universities than New Zealanders and Māori people had not yet become visible. However, Kath Irwin had agreed to walk in partnership beside me in this venture, officially as Research Supervisor but more importantly as a Māori woman operating under the umbrella of kaupapa Māori, overseeing research about, with and for Māori women.

My supervisor needed to be a Māori woman who was clear about my goals, ngā taumata, my dreams, ngā wawata and who could accept that I came from my whānau, hapū and iwi, not as an individual and that my accountability included accountability to the hapū and whānau and would eventually include accountability to the women who would become a part of the study and to their whānau. Accountability to my supervisors also became a further dynamic. Multiple accountabilities would apply throughout the research process. My supervisor also needed to understand clearly that if I felt uncomfortable as a Māori woman in any particular process that I would refer the issue to my partner, Whare and to members of my whānau and hapū to whom I am ultimately accountable. Frequently on our journey home from Wellington, Whare commented on decisions Kath Irwin and I had made, gave advice and monitored our work. While he did not participate in our hui his role was one of he whakaruruhau, a protector, a shelter, a sounding board. We did not formally name him as kaiwhakaruruhau but we were aware of his protection and his shelter.

The supervisor needed to be: a kaiākihaere - an encourager and a mentor; a kaitautoko - a supporter; a kaiāwhina - a helper, someone who would encourage and promote research within te ao Māori. It needed to be a woman who would be all those things and a friend when tears and emotion enveloped me during the study and I lost my way or stumbled on the path. I have been fortunate to have found that person in Kath Irwin.

Within te ao Pākehā we agreed that I should draft a supervision contract based on the Department of Social Policy and Social Work guidelines so that we were clear about our obligations to one another. While this was not necessarily something which was crucial in our relationship, for me the novice it was helpful as a means of clarifying the new partnership which Kath Irwin and I were to embark upon in the

supervision - kaiākihaere relationship. It was helpful in that we were colleagues and friends prior to this newly negotiated partnership. We agreed to use the first half hour of each session for personal and whānau matters before embarking on supervision matters.

I took a written agenda to supervision hui, recorded and returned meeting notes following each session. These proved to be extremely valuable over the next two years, particularly as part of action and reflection exercises. As a supervisor, kaiāwhina, kaitautoko, Kath Irwin dealt with every issue which a mature Māori woman working at a beginning Masters level and after a decade away from academia would face. She also suggested that we approach Arohia Durie, a Māori woman educationalist in the Department of Education at Massey University, to be a part of our whānau, so that should I need advice or back-up in Palmerston North, then Arohia would be there. Arohia agreed and received the notes from our hui, provided reading material when requested and became a kaiāwhina in close proximity to my workplace.

In supervision, I was offered advice about a University Research Funding Application to assist with research expenses and my application to the University's Human Ethics Committee was vetted and completed.

Supervision hui were the times when my world changed, as learning about writing myself "into the text" (Jones 1992:18) were new concepts which initially I enveloped with hesitation. My preconceived notions about what constituted an academic writing style were dispelled by Alison Jones (1992) and Gloria Steinem's claim that initially she had ignored her own "voice" (1993:12) when writing and had made a decision to rewrite so as to include it in order to maintain authenticity.

Our supervision sessions were for discussion, for referral to readings, for advice about using the computer to advantage such as beginning a bibliography immediately not only in the computer but also in a cardfile. The early advice about what might be called systems management has paid off in the long term. Early in the process Kath Irwin encouraged me to start writing. Her advice was to begin writing and keep writing, and then to bring the pages to the next session. I had written annual reports for various organisations, submissions to Parliament, funding applications for organisations, employment contracts and long letters to family and friends but writing for a thesis seemed so much more daunting. Tentatively, gingerly, I tapped the computer keys and began to write about my life as a child in Taihape,

my primary schooling and my boarding school days at Queen Vic. The memories flooded back, some lost for years and hidden away, some exciting, many painful. I stopped writing and took the pages back to my "supervisor", my kaiāwhina, kaitautoko. We both cried, mine tears of anxiety and fear and then relief that she did not say it wasn't what she wanted. We shared. Partnership, protection and participation were key elements within the supervision hui.

The supervision process and relationship is uniquely individual. I could not have worked as productively in a purely professional relationship within a non-Māori context with a non-Māori person. I was encouraged to use Māori communication methods, "kanohi ki te kanohi", to explore Māori methodologies, Māori research methods, Māori research processes and to trust the advice given to me by kaumātua even though it wasn't written in a textbook.

It was also helpful to be able to confirm with the women interviewees that Kath Irwin was involved as a kaiākihaere, supervisor, kaiāwhina. In the world of non-Māori research researchers frequently go to great pains to disguise the identity of their "subjects". In the Māori world it is difficult to mask the identity of Māori women over forty years of age who have tertiary qualifications as there are so few! Thomas Fitzgerald, an American who came to New Zealand and studied Māori graduates in the mid-nineteen seventies had given each of his subjects a pseudonym when publishing his research. As my partner Whare and I read the first paragraph of each chapter of his book we were able to identify who the "subjects" were. There seemed to be little point in hiding the identity of the women in my study. They needed to have confidence in the researcher and to know that the supervision provided was of high quality. We needed to have faith in one another, to be safe with one another and to feel protected.

The women I was asking to participate all knew Kath Irwin either personally or by reputation, a positive advantage. In order to maintain the momentum and because I wanted to continue to enjoy my study I was anxious that we maintain the relationship throughout the final year after Kath Irwin returned to lecturing at Victoria University and yet I was also hesitant to ask for more of her time. It was an enormous relief that she was determined to see the project through to the end and declared she was definitely remaining with me until the thesis was presented. There was absolutely no question of her commitment to me, to the women interviewed and to the study in its entirety.

The Department of Social Policy and Social Work required that a member of the Department be designated Supervisor in the thesis year and so we selected a woman in whom we had faith and confidence. Dr. Robyn Munford agreed that she join the supervision team so that we could work as a whānau in moving the project through to its conclusion meeting all Departmental and University requirements. Robyn Munford had also become aware that Kath Irwin and I had developed a productive relationship which she indicated she did not wish to impede. We welcomed her to the whānau for her expertise in supervision, to advise about Massey University regulations and because of her sensitivity to the issues of women and research and Māori women participating in post-graduate research within Massey University.

Our hui were then convened in Otaki half way between Robyn Munford's base in Palmerston North and Kath Irwin's in Wellington. Our roles were clarified at our first hui, Kath as Kaihautū, Robyn as Kaitautoko and representative of the Department in which I was enrolled at Massey University. Robyn was also to become kaiwhakapakari, the disciplinarian, monitoring my workload and ensuring that the University meetings I attended necessitated my being there. Kath also became a kaiwhakapakari in challenging any notions I had of undervaluing my abilities and in self-esteem building.

Research Design

I wanted to record the women's stories using the oral narrative methodology. (Gluck and Patai 1991) Oral narratives in this sense refer to "the material gathered in the oral history process, typically using a tape recorder"(ibid). It is a method which has been used by women who are committed to feminist oral history and comes from a wide variety of disciplines such as history, anthropology, psychology, sociology, literature, linguistics and folklore.

The research was qualitative as "people's experiences, feelings and the development of their beliefs"(Middleton 1988:127) necessitated the use of an approach which adequately recorded in brief the life histories of the women. It is described as "the in-depth open-ended interview"(Patton 1990:10) and as the "elite" interview where the interviewer "wants to probe the views of a small number of elite individuals. An elite interview is one directed at a respondent who has a particular experience or knowledge"(Anderson,G. 1990:223). The stories, reflections and knowledge of the women provided data for analysis and from that data, themes emerged.

I accepted as "valid" their "adult memories and interpretations of the events of their lives"(Middleton 1988:130). I had no reason to doubt the validity and truth of their own interpretation of their lives. They were free to leave out information which they did not wish to discuss or to edit out information from the transcripts which they did not wish to be public. Some of them did that.

It is claimed that in the research interview people only tell the interviewer what they want to know, although the process of collaboration may minimise the gap between the partners(Middleton 1988:130). In this study because of the relationships of the partners, there was potential for both to happen, that is a limitation of information but also an extension, because as the researcher I was party to much inside information as an ex-pupil myself.

The oral narrative approach was crucial. I wanted to interview a group of women recording their stories and then to analyse the data looking for common themes within their stories which would answer the research question. I began compiling a list of questions to guide the interview but not to restrict it. The elite interview was the basis for the collection of data. I wanted to hear the stories and the reflections of these women on their lives, to record them so that they and I and others could also reflect on them.

Refining the topic

Having spent much of my adult life as an educator in various contexts I was quite clear about what was driving my research. I wanted to know why some Māori women had succeeded in navigating their way through the tertiary education system while others had barely stumbled through the secondary system. I wanted to know who were the influences in Māori women's lives and at what stage in their lives they had been influenced to consider tertiary education as an option. And I wanted to know what other factors had driven these women. The question which excited Sue Middleton in her doctoral thesis also excited me, "What part, if any, had our schooling played in making all this possible?"(1993:48).

Negotiating Access

I had met a number of women in Wellington who were possible participants and through informal discussions with them they had indicated their support for the project and a willingness to participate. The kumara vine, a local version of the grape vine, is an efficient way of communicating within the education networks and through this I was able to identify a dozen women, all Queen Vic Old Girls from the early sixties who would be possible participants. The personal approach is also a cultural preference method (Irwin 1994) in terms of identifying research participants and it certainly worked well.

Bogdan and Biklen (1982:66) describe the technique as the snowball sampling technique. I used it by approaching a woman from my own iwi which seemed sensible and appropriate approach - beginning with someone I knew well. After receiving a positive response and the names of others I had not known who were working in Wellington I felt encouraged and realised that the snowball was rolling. I added more names to the bottom of the list so that in the event of being turned down by any of the first six I would have additional women to approach.

Because of my whānau and full-time work commitments I initially considered interviewing women only in Wellington because of ease of access. After further consideration I decided to seek support from some women who were living and working among their own iwi rather than in the city. I wondered whether there may be some significant stories from those who had left home to go to a secondary boarding school, received a tertiary education and returned to the iwi, rather than staying in the city away from home as so many have done.

The first four women whom I asked to participate in Wellington agreed and I made a decision to approach two women who were working with their own iwi, Te Whānau-a-Apanui, in the Eastern Bay of Plenty and who were whanaunga of my partner, Whare. One was the Principal of a school, the other was lecturing teacher trainees in a school based teacher training programme. We travelled to the Bay of Plenty, four hundred kilometres away, to ask them to become a part of the study. They both agreed. Having recently renewed my contact with them both through Whare made the request easier. Kanohi ki te kanohi or face to face contact (Irwin 1994) was the only method I felt comfortable in using when asking for their participation.

After these initial approaches and with the first six women saying yes, I was enormously encouraged and followed up the conversations I had with semi-formal letters explaining a little further the general background to my request and how the proposed interviews with them would fit into the research programme. I gave them a timeline so that at the beginning, they would be aware of my deadlines. I knew they may not necessarily meet my deadlines but at least if they knew what they were we had some space to negotiate. And I certainly did not set myself a timeline without some room to move.

I also maintained telephone or personal contact with them so that I could answer questions that arose. Interestingly, only Keri Kaa replied to my letter with a letter, indicating that she had been interviewed many times and did not wish to "sound like a broken record". She did say that she would be "honoured and delighted" to participate. Telephone contact with the others confirmed they too were happy and that I did not need a written response from them to my letter. I did not wish to begin imposing requirements upon my participants so that they would have to start writing to me. I felt the partnership would require that I put greater effort into the organisational and communication matters than my willing participants.

While I had known all the women who had been identified, most I had not seen between 1963 and 1990, that is between the time when I had left Queen Vic as a fourteen year old and when I had taken up a secondment to the Ministry of Education developing my networks and vines in education in Wellington. I had been surprised at the number of women from my era at boarding school who were in positions of seniority in various agencies and institutions throughout the country and wanted to see why that was so.

The "social context" (Chanfrault-Duchet 1991) in which we operated was similar. We had all been teachers and were now employed in education agencies. We had all been recently involved in tertiary education either as students, lecturers, or in government agencies such as the Early Childhood Development Unit or the Ministry of Education.

Our interest and level of involvement with our old school varied, some having maintained contact, others having had no contact. Only Tuihana had sent her daughter back to Queen Vic. Others had either no children or no daughters. One decided not to send her daughters to the school. I did not wish to send my daughter to a boarding school.

Role Conflict

I was aware of the multiplicity of roles I now played and of the contradictory nature of these roles. Judith Bell's warning is clear, "If you are an inside researcher, you will have to live with your mistakes, so take care"(Bell 1987:47).

Positioned as an insider with regard to both the school, as an old girl, and within the study itself were only the beginning. While it seemed clear that being an insider had given me easy access to the women there was also much that I needed to tell them, for example: that I would also be positioned inside the study alongside of them; that I wished to conduct taped interviews with them as experts, as Māori women, successful in tertiary institutions; that I wanted some benefit for them and for our mokopuna, from this research.

My relationship with the two women from Te Whānau-a-Apanui had already changed from being an ex-school friend from a quarter of a century ago to being the partner of their whanaunga. Then I arrived as a researcher from Massey University, an academic lecturer who asked them to become a part of the researched community. Prior to that the details of my work life were barely relevant in our relationships.

The roles were multiple and at times blurred. It was necessary to consciously decide at the beginning of an interaction who I was, before a conversation developed, so that I was clear about my role.

Soon after agreeing to participate Ruhi came to stay with us for the first time. She had already begun to think about our school days and memories flowed back. As she reminisced and recalled some of the events and occasions thirty years old I wanted to grab a tape-recorder and record her memories. Alternatively I wanted to stop her from talking of those things in case she then did not repeat them when the "real" interviews began. My confusion was considerable as I battled within myself to define my own role for the occasion.

On another occasion I met Tuihana in a lounge bar at Waihou Bay Lodge the night before I was to interview her. I was extremely unsure about what I should talk to her about, as if we got started on old school days, I could risk losing valuable information for my study. We talked all evening about other safer things so that I could preserve

all that valuable information for the next morning when I had my tape recorder switched on and running.

For the women in Wellington whom I could physically meet more often because of their location there was still a consciousness of being in different roles on different occasions. If I met one of the women at a wedding or birthday, I often needed to be the friend and invited guest and not the researcher. It was sometimes easier to converse with my friends' partners during the period of undertaking the research as our relationships remained uncomplicated in comparison with my research participants.

The roles were contradictory and confusing and at times I doubted that my relationships would ever regain some sort of equilibrium. I began to envy non-Māori researchers who randomly selected anonymous "subjects" whom they never saw again after the interview. I had not anticipated such confusions would arise.

The power relationships were also evident. Keri Kaa had been a senior prefect and foreign exchange student at school, a person who was very senior to me as a twelve year old and the few occasions on which I had renewed our acquaintance had not changed my feeling that she was my senior. Now I became the researcher, organising an interview, deciding on the questions, being the professional university academic. I wasn't sure where I should interview her, at her place or mine, or on neutral territory.

The only firm ground was at home where I pondered on the reasons for undertaking the research. I realised that being an insider in the way in which I was positioned meant I could not be neutral. I tried to keep my being in balance:- my taha whānau by being amongst my whānau and hapū; my taha wairua by seeking guidance from tūpuna; my taha hinengaro by listening carefully and humbly to the words of the women, spoken and unspoken; and my taha tinana by trying to stay physically well. By so doing, the work could be completed as arranged and promised.

The multiplicity and confusion of roles will remain until those of researcher and researched are subsumed by other relationships and occasions which are free of such artificial distinctions as currently impose themselves upon our relationships.

Nga patai The Interview Questions

In considering the questions and interviews there were a number of constraints of which I was aware. I had initially asked the women for two hours of their time for the interviews. I wanted to stay within this timeframe so that I kept faith with my participants.

I was also aware that transcribing tapes was a long and painstaking task which would take many hours to complete. I had read various accounts which indicated that one hour of tape-recording would take about four hours to transcribe (Patton 1990:349) and another suggestion of ten hours to transcribe. (Bell 1987:75) I wanted to keep the study manageable both in terms of the interviews, transcription and in the analysis phase.

While I knew that qualitative interviews could "vary in the degree to which they are structured"(Bogdan and Biklen 1982:136) I designed a set of open-ended questions which would serve to prompt the memories of the women and even allow them to check some of the information with family if they wished. This particularly applied to questions about who had actually decided that boarding school was the option and the reasons that family had made that choice for them. I asked my mother where the original idea had come from that I should attend Queen Vic and I expected that the others whose mothers were still alive might also want to check some of the questions.

The questionnaire (Appendix 1) followed a chronological sequence around the central theme of factors which have contributed to success for Māori women in education. As an adult educator and trainer I had spent many years teaching communication skills, one of which was the use of open questions. My questionnaire used open questions which were broad enough to allow some interpretation and the freedom to elaborate if that was desired.

I divided the questionnaire into three sections, the first asking about primary schooling and early influences. The second concentrated on Queen Vic and the third on tertiary education, educational achievement and success. I asked them to reflect on why they had been successful and how that had influenced them.

Once the questionnaire was designed I trialed the questions out on my partner who had also been to a Māori Anglican Boarding School and for whom many of the

questions worked well. I considered also trialling on a woman but found Whare genuinely managed to take the questions seriously and enabled me to trial both the questions and equipment.

Piloting the questionnaire (Bell 1987:65) enabled me to check the questions on someone with a similar background to the women in that he had also been to a Native school, came from a rural community, was sent to an Anglican Māori boarding school in the city and has an educational background. From that trial I was able to suggest a possible timeframe for each section of the interview. I pointed out to the women that the questionnaire should not limit us if there was more to add but could act as a guide for us.

The trial interview gave me the opportunity to test the tape recording equipment. I experimented with a voice activated tape recorder which I found after a pause took approximately three or four words to reactivate the tape, enough for some critical words to be lost, at the beginning of each new thought. It also made transcription very difficult and lengthy as constant rewinding was necessary to grasp what was said.

I resolved to use the tape-recorder without the voice activation in order to ensure that all the words were recorded. The machine automatically switched to side two when side one was full which meant we could talk for an hour without having to concern ourselves with the recorder. I did not want the tape-recorder to be a barrier to our conversations but in reality we were aware of it.

Preparing for the Interviews

I felt a great reluctance to begin interviewing, partly because I was anxious about the actual process, about exactly how to begin and about intruding into the lives and histories of these women. I knew little about their personal lives, little about their professional lives and did not wish to inadvertently open wounds or rattle skeletons in cupboards. I had found delving into my own childhood over the previous year or two distinctly uncomfortable at times, even painful. Many of my experiences at Queen Vic had been very painful on reflection and I did not wish to disturb any bees or sleeping dogs.

As a child I had been taught not to pry into other people's concerns and to stay outside when the aunties and nannies were talking. "The unwritten rules of conversation about appropriate questions and topics, especially the one that says 'don't pry' kept me from encouraging women to make explicit the range of emotions"(Anderson,K. 1991:13). Interviews with one's peers were not something one did in the normal course of events. We did not have barriers such as race, gender and educational difference to contend with but I felt reluctant. As children in te ao Māori when we went to my grandmother's home, she and my aunts would tell my mother the news from the whānau over the past four or five months while we had been absent, we were always sent outside to play because "children do not listen to adult conversations". If we heard the word 'hapū' mentioned, we knew that someone was pregnant but we certainly never asked who.

In te ao Pākehā I had to learn as an adult to ask people about their feelings in counselling classes, for it was not natural for me to do so, and was discouraged in our family. Feelings were private. I had also had to learn about body language, active listening, paraphrasing, reflecting feelings and eye contact. I had taught all those things including cross-cultural communication in my adult education classes. Now I was to test myself and to listen to myself (Jack 1991) as I also listened to the narrators.

Although I was anxious there was also an excitement about the prospect of having focussed and uninterrupted conversations with these women. I had negotiated the partnership, consulted with them, sent them the questions, kept in touch and indicated that I would confirm a date and a time to meet them.

Eventually, my partner Whare, the whakaruruhau of the project, the kaiākihaere nudged, pushed, guided and insisted I set the dates for the journey to his home territory in the eastern Bay of Plenty. I would then begin by interviewing my classmate, Tuihana, the Principal of Whangaparāoa School and the first member of the Iwi, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui to have that position as Principal in that school. I also phoned Ruhi to set a time with her for our interview. This was the real thing.

"The interview is a linguistic, as well as a social and psychological event" (Gluck and Patai 1991). I knew it was more than a tape-recording of women's words. The undertaking of recording women's narratives was I realised, an activity which required skills and techniques on the part of the interviewer. It was now a matter of mustering the confidence to begin.

The Interviews

Deciding where each interview should take place varied according to whether we were in the city or the Bay of Plenty, whether it was a weekday or weekend and my relationship with each woman. If I organised a place that suited me I risked taking the control of the partnership. I decided to negotiate with each woman as the time came.

In the Bay of Plenty I was silently relying on Whare to suggest an appropriate place if I was put in the position of making the decision. I was aware that I was manuhiri in the Bay of Plenty and that he and the women were tangata whenua. It was their tūrangawaewae and the obligation under tikanga Māori was with them.

Tuihana had suggested we meet in the School Staffroom for the interview. Armed with the tape recorder, spare batteries, spare tapes already labelled with Tuihana's name and the date, a tape in the recorder with the date recorded, the list of questions and looking as casual as I possibly could, I drove to Whangaparāoa to the school where Tuihana met me. This was her tūrangawaewae, her world, her staffroom. She and I settled at the table, with a cup of tea each and the tape recorder as unobtrusively as possible between us. It was an ideal place.

After settling in I pulled the questionnaire out and we worked our way through the questions. I learned much from Tuihana about government scholarships, Native schools, the life of the boarding schools in the lives of those communities, the inter-generational and lifelong loyalties the families had to the schools, particularly Queen Vic in Tuihana's case.

At times I almost forgot I was supposed to be the interviewer, the gap closing between researcher and researched (Middleton 1988) as we chatted on reminiscing across a time gap of thirty years.

It was with some reluctance that we concluded close to midday as we were both aware that we each had other commitments for the afternoon. It was a wonderful way to catch up with a friend after so long, to be given permission to ask those personal questions and to gently delve without being too personal. We had eventually turned the tape off because we had wandered into other territory. I felt almost euphoric having two precious tapes in my possession.

"Insider research" came to have more meaning for me as I realised that without the knowledge I possessed as an "insider", I could not have interviewed my friend in the way that I had. I made a mental note though to monitor my interruptions. Sometimes I wanted to probe comments she made and for fear of losing them, I interrupted.

I was concerned that I had scheduled my next interview later in the afternoon and I wanted to rest so that I could do justice to it. I also made a note to consider limiting interviews to one per day particularly where travel was involved.

I had arranged to meet Ruhi at her parents' home in Te Kaha at three o'clock. She had said we would find somewhere to have our kōrero and I wanted to leave that arrangement with her. Again as tangata whenua, it was over to her. When I arrived, her mother told us we were to go over to the marae for the interview, to the Whare Tūpuna, Tūkākī.

We sat at a table in the whare with Sir Apirana Ngata's photograph hanging in front of us, Tamahae the tekoteko above, surrounded by the tūpuna in the house, the kōwhaiwhai and the tukutuku panels. My mother had always warned me about never putting a foot out of place and to be especially careful when travelling outside of Ngāti Raukawa. I knew that Sir Apirana Ngata had been responsible for the building of our Whare Tūpuna, Raukawa, in Otaki when he was a Member of Parliament in the 1930s and for Tūkākī, the house in which I was sitting. An even closer link was that I was in the house of my tuakana on my Ngāti Porou side. The interview began, both of us belonging.

Ruhi had prepared for our interview and the questions were very familiar to us both. We worked our way through quite methodically. The early winter sun lowered in the late afternoon and I was aware of its warmth on my back through the window behind me. As it disappeared a coolness took over and we finished recording Ruhi's story. I felt extremely privileged to be in this position, within a Tūpuna Whare listening to the life story of a girl I had known so many years before, who was now a mother and grandmother, who had returned to the whānau for comfort and renewal at a time in her life when she was vulnerable, following the sudden death of her husband. I felt that within the partnership I was being given so much, by her participation.

I returned south to Otaki with my taonga in my bag and carefully checked that all was well with the tapes. I was anxious to have them transcribed and to return the edited work to the women. Two months later I arranged to interview the four other women in Wellington. They had all lived there for a number of years and had offices and homes in the city.

Kiri arranged for us to meet in the home of a mutual friend in Island Bay one winter's morning. Because she and I had become good friends we shared a wonderful morning together. I was certainly much more relaxed and confident having completed two interviews. I was also more confident with my questionnaire and the process. Kiri too, had considered the questions and her vivacious personality and honest forthrightness made our time together very relaxing. We completed the interview in just over an hour, a considerably shorter time than the first two interviews had taken me.

Roimata had been on sick leave for several weeks but I had kept in touch and arranged to visit her at home in the afternoon following the interview with Kiri. By now I understood some of the special features of Native Schools, the government scholarship programme and some of the idiosyncrasies of travelling from rural areas to the city of Auckland to school. My knowledge of the subject had increased through the three previous interviews and so I found I asked fewer clarifying questions. This resulted in the interview again only taking an hour and a quarter. Again it was an opportunity to learn more about a woman who had been my Dorm Prefect thirty years before and become an international traveller, mother, educationalist and Manager of a State agency.

Two weeks later when Keri returned from Australia, I contacted her and she and I agreed to meet her in the Wellington City Library on a Friday afternoon where a group of her students were involved with performing for a special programme. I did as she asked, having first arranged with Whare to use an office in his building ten minutes walk away, should that be necessary.

I arrived on time with my equipment out of the way in my bag but ready to have the 'on' button pressed. Keri wanted to find a bank before we began and I was anxious that we not run out of time, as I knew Keri was in demand from various spheres and I considered myself fortunate to have found a place on her list of priorities.

I still felt like a third former traipsing along Willis Street and over to Courtenay Place beside her, the Head Prefect. I pointed out Whare's office in Courtenay Place and managed to skilfully divert her across the road and into the lift, slightly guilty that a partnership was supposed to mean meeting her needs (in this case to get to the bank) before mine. However, once I had her story I would be happy to meet my obligation to get her to a bank before they closed for the weekend.

Whare, again the whakaruruhau, was prepared with an office available for us. As we swept in, he directed us to the office and the tape recorder was out of my bag and on the table before he had time to offer coffee. It was three o'clock and I knew the banks would close by four thirty. I knew I had an hour, or seventy minutes at the most.

Keri had done this so many times before and I felt she knew exactly where we were going, what I needed to know. At the end of the first tape when we were almost finished, she asked me the time and I assured her we would get to the bank across the road in Courtenay Place. Five minutes later I walked Keri along to the bank, still the third former, accompanying the Head Prefect, after a request to Whare that he collect us in twenty minutes to take Keri home. My taonga in the form of tapes, were safely with Whare, my banker.

The next day as I completed the final interview with my last interviewee, who later decided to withdraw, I felt an enormous relief that I had managed to successfully complete my schedule on time, overwhelmed with the narratives, the precious stories, the personal gifts that had been shared with me by those six women about themselves their whānau and hapū. After each interview, I had made notes, so that I had a record of our interactions.

I knew that I was now responsible for taking care of the material and for protecting it. I wanted to return the original tapes to the women as quickly as possible, undertaking to hold copies only as long as I needed to in order to complete this thesis. The next task was to have the transcriptions completed and returned to the them.

Transcription of the kōrero

During the planning stages I had decided that I must have a Māori woman transcribe the tapes. This was a study conducted under tikanga Māori and for me that included ensuring that whoever handled the material had to respect it as taonga.

I realised I needed a Māori woman with good word processing skills, with access to a computer, preferably IBM, so that I could easily move the computer discs from her computer to mine and back to hers. She would need to be bi-cultural and preferably have a level of bi-lingualism which would enable her to understand the reo which was used on the tapes. Preferably she needed experience with transcription work.

She would have to maintain the confidentiality of the material. I wanted someone in whom I could put my faith and trust. I did not want to have a written agreement about confidentiality as it seemed such a document may begin the relationship on a footing of mistrust.

Initially I had organised a young Māori woman in Wellington to transcribe the tapes but after she had held the them for two months and been unable to begin the work, I became anxious. She was under pressure to work overtime and while I respected that, I wanted the work done with urgency. I tapped my networks, the kumara vine and quickly located a young Māori woman in Levin, closer to home, who was keen to do the transcription work. We formed a mutually beneficial partnership and within days the transcriptions were flowing back to me. Serena typed everything that was on the tapes and left me to edit. The typing was double spaced and printed on to single sided sheets for ease of reading and editing.

When researchers intend to interview a second and third time Middleton (1988) indicates that there is merit in either returning the transcribed interviews coded in various ways to the women for comment and feedback or to formulate further questions for them to consider. I was relying on the material I had received as being sufficient and did not anticipate having to return for more. Further, I was also relying on the tape recordings being of sufficient quality to be satisfactory. (Patton 1990:350) They were.

Patton also suggests erasing irrelevant discussion, prior to transcription. I did not wish to do so as I felt the tapes should be left entirely intact. Any erasures should

only be done by the women themselves. I realised afterwards it would have been helpful to Serena if I had made a list of names, places and unfamiliar terminology.

When the tapes and transcripts were returned to me, I then went through them listening to the tapes to ensure accuracy, to make corrections and to punctuate so that the reading of the spoken words was made easier for the women. I also erased the pauses, hesitations and repetitions in order to make the reading easier.

As I completed the first two transcripts, I returned them to the women for comment, correction or deletion of any material. It took many, many hours to work my way through the tapes, approximately eight to ten per person.

The women read their material, edited and altered. The basis of the research was completed and the stories ready to be gleaned from the hundreds of pages of kōrero. One participant asked for her story to remain confidential, and this has been respected.

Chapter 4 Ngā kōrero

Introduction

Keri, Kiri, Roimata, Ruhi and Tuihana are the five women introduced in the first chapter of this thesis. Their stories, now in a condensed narrative form are presented in this chapter. They record their primary schools days in Native schools, and in Kiri's case in a State primary school in rural Aotearoa in the 1950s. They describe the role of their whānau and their teachers in their early lives, their journeys to Queen Vic and the influence of teachers and other girls on their schooldays. They recall the advantages and disadvantages of living in the city of Auckland in the sixties, the opportunities the city offered to young rural girls and the blossoming of dreams and hopes for their futures. They recall their tertiary educational pathways and discuss the question of success for Māori women in tertiary education. The narratives are in the 'first person', the voice of each women telling her own story in her own words.

Keri Kaa

I went to school at the Rangitukia Native School which was right next door to where we lived. I started before I was five as I used to wander along with the other big kids. There were about two hundred children at the school. My sister was the Probationary Assistant. This was prior to the urban migration so there was a concentrated population and the thing I remember about the school was the uniforms and the very militaristic way of running the institution but it was the kind of discipline that suited us. It was a very authoritarian kind of place. Everybody could kōrero Māori and did and got a hiding for it. As we left the house gate to go to school my grandmother would say to us, "kaua e wareware, ka tae koutou ki ngā keeti o te kura me kōrero Pākehā". Then we'd come home through the house gate and she would say, "kaua e wareware, ka tae mai koutou ki te kainga, me kōrero Māori", because she couldn't speak English. So I always associate language learning with gates. Our father didn't let us do the "grasshopper stuff" - reo māhitihi - jump from one language to the other. You answered in the language in which you were addressed.

So Rangitukia School was a very tough and scary place and the Māori teachers were incredibly strict, trained in that mould and worse than the Pākehā teachers we had. Most of the Pākehā teachers were incredibly cruel. Children had their heads put

under the desks and the lids banged on top of their heads. That's rather an ugly side of school. And there was the lack of recognition given to things Māori. We learnt Pākehā things - to write in English, recite poetry, choral speaking, correct breathing, stuff totally unrelated to where we were from culturally. It was irrelevant in one sense and in another it opened the door on another world.

The only teacher at primary school who had a huge influence on me was a man called Hugh Jennings, a Pākehā who spoke fluent Māori and was married to a local Māori woman called Jean Yates. He was a gentle man, never hit us, spoke Māori to us, taught us it was okay to sing in Māori, that haka was important and he taught us how to read and write in Māori. He and Jim Ritchie were my only pleasant experiences of good teachers in primary teaching, forget the rest.

If I had gone on from Rangitukia to Hukarere in 1955 there would have been six of us, all first cousins in the third form and my father thought that was too many Kaa's to inflict on a school in one year so I chose to go to Queen Vic. My sister was a house mistress there and going to university so she could keep an eye on me. The family expectation had always been that we would go to boarding school. Ten of us went to boarding school (Te Aute, Hukarere, St. Stephens) and I went to Queen Vic. Our mother put her land money together for educational purposes and we had Mangapoike Wairenga a Hika Scholarships. The values then were clear cut, we were all told to pass the exams. Everybody got on the bus at Tikitiki and all the old people would line up on the verandah of the Waiapu Farmers to wave us off. It was made very clear that you would come home with these certificates and if you didn't get the certificate you didn't come home. Lots of people did not come home. You knew damn well that these old people were flogging their guts out in the heat, in the East Coast sun, growing and selling kumara on the Gisborne market to educate their kids. Ngāti Porou invested heavily in education, beginning with Sir Apirana Ngata and have paid the price by having a huge brain drain from the East Coast. Now they're saying to us, "Awhea koutou ka hoki mai? When will you come home?" Their forward thinking programs were to blame for the disappearance of two generations of Ngāti Porou.

I had no choice but to go to school and I didn't like Queen Vic very much when I first got there. I gravitated towards people who spoke Māori and we used to be told to be quiet! "You Ngāti Parew girls please stop speaking Māori!"

John Waititi came to teach Māori and was starting to write Te Rangatahi 1. I still have the original transcripts. He made our books out of account ledger books. I liked the classical music, the opportunity to see good theatre, the orchestra, ballet, the Mikado - those are wonderful memories, windows on the wider world.

When we had a dentist's appointment in the city, we would be escorted by a prefect, like Hannah Tatana, who became a famous opera singer, took me to catch the bus in Canterbury Place and into this concrete world. I was from Rangitukia and Hannah had to show the greenhorn from the country where Queen Street was, how to get to the dentist, what to say, to speak up, "and remember to speak English". She was very serious about her music and her practices. There were prefects like Noeleen Te Kopa, a wonderful sportswoman, Elana Ngātai who was tremendous at sports, Molly Te Moana, one of the first Māori girls to become a physiotherapist who used to trot off to Epsom Girls Grammar to the 6A class. They were examples to the young ones - it had a huge spin off.

There was no such word as couldn't, everybody played badminton, table tennis, netball. We all went to the Windmill Road netball courts on Saturdays to play, catching the tram from Parnell. Mr Waititi would turn up at the courts to watch us and on occasions could be persuaded to buy us all an ice-cream or iceblock. He was a sportsman and also took us to see international tennis because "Sir" was a national umpire. After five years we had a very special relationship with him. He used to ring and tell me to get everybody ready by half past three. We'd be standing on the verandah all polished and spruced up and we'd go with "Sir". If we drove past a road gang working he'd cast a quick eye over them - the Māori "Rhodes" scholars. "See that you girls. We must always aim to be the supervisor not just the worker." That's one of the things I've never forgotten about, the kind of commitment he had to things Māori. Aim high. He would take us to concerts and we would have to get up and perform, sometimes with some of the boys from St. Stephen's. He would talk to various people about Māori education and we would entertain.

Queen Vic had the first Māori American Field Scholar, Tuhi Barclay and after her a cousin of mine Ngaio Te Rito, then Tungia Baker. Someone suggested I apply, so I went to consult John Waititi. He told me it was a good goal to have and gave me the most amazing reference. I went to school in Oregon and had a very big family which had seven daughters. I was the eighth one. I spent a lot of time making speeches around the State of Oregon. I hadn't realised how much I'd changed until I got back. My parents were living in Te Kaha, so I went from Te Kaha and returned there.

Hoani Waititi came to the marae and welcomed me back and said how proud they were that I had gone from Apanui. He was talking about Māori achievement. Later I was invited to speak at Cape Runaway and I remember John Waititi getting up and saying, "This is a very different girl to the one I sent away, not **you** sent away." And I owed a lot of credit to him because he used to make us feel confident. In his Māori way he gave us a huge boost and Pareti (Miss Berridge) in her own restrained rather English manner gave us another view.

After my return John Waititi asked me when I was coming back to Auckland to finish my last term. I said I'm not. I'd got all stropky and independent because I'd just celebrated my birthday in Chicago and smoked my first cigarette. Eventually I turned up at school ten days late and John was sitting outside the Principal's office. I got a big welcome and then a big lecture and off I went and finished off the seventh form year. Then he said, "Off to university."

I decided I wanted to be a teacher and off I went to Ardmore because they paid you to go and I didn't really want to ask my parents for any more money for university. I didn't tell John Waititi where I was going and he was waiting for me to arrive at Auckland University to enrol but I never turned up. Eventually he was actually rather pleased I had gone teaching. He looked after a lot of us. I had him and I had my parents, so no matter where I went I had all these folks all going, Me piki ki te taumata.

I went home to teach. By then the Native School had become a Māori School. Then at twenty two I came to Wellington to teach at Marsden School. I've taught in Porirua, Hawkes Bay, been a proof reader at INL newspapers, taught at Hutt Valley and Wellington High School. From there I came to Wellington College of Education, fifteen years ago. When I first came there were only five Māori students on campus. I used to go to a lot of community hui and have my say. We knew we'd arrived one year when we counted 113 Māori on campus - about nine years later.

You've got to have role models. Being Māori is a political statement. Get on committees, get to be the driver of the bus, or best of all own the bus company. We have to get out there and get on with the work.

Queen Vic made a lot of opportunities available. Things I appreciate now was the discipline, the accountability, the orderliness, the basic domestic skills for survival. I made some life long friends and what's really fascinating is that a staggering number

of the past pupils are in very prominent positions in education - across the board - in positions where they could be of influence.

Roimata Kirikiri

When my father came back after the war, he went to Medical School and we were brought up by my grandmother in Nuhaka. She raised the first three in our family of six.

She had spent some years in Wellington where she helped to look after Lady Jane Carroll and so she knew about the finer things in life. She grew up with a history of education and so our path was set by her. My oldest cousin was a secretary at Parliament and she also came back to live with my grandmother and helped look after us.

My grandmother spoke only Māori. We spoke to her in English because at school everything was in English, totally nothing in Māori and the idea that Māori was not to be spoken at school was well and truly entrenched.

I went to Nuhaka Māori School, in the nineteen fifties, one of those original Native schools that became a Māori school, with all Māori children. The Pākehā children went to a separate school. There were Māori teachers, both men and women, including an Aunt of mine. We had to work hard and in Form Two we could sit for a scholarship and on that basis if you got it, you could go away to a boarding school.

At home we grew up in a situation where we had to do all our homework, play the piano and we worked on the farm, milking cows, planting, weeding and bagging the kumara, our lives were really full. One minute we would be out weeding the kumara, the next we would have washed our hands and be sitting down at the piano. We had piano lessons every week from this old English lady and we sat exams.

During the holidays we went to stay with Mum and Dad in Tologa Bay. There was always an assumption that I would go to boarding school and then after boarding school to something else. At the end of primary school my family decided I would go to Queen Vic.

I had a clear view of what was expected of me, high expectations but also that one shouldn't have to give up being Māori to get there. I actually found Queen Vic really strange - like having to make the bed a certain way and the discipline. I grew up in a very disciplined home but we still had a lot of freedom. We didn't have to make our beds all the same style and to tuck every corner in the same way.

In my first week there, Johnny Waititi walked into our class and we had to learn how to write Māori, something I had never done. I had to start thinking about how to actually put it on paper.

The way things were taught was strange, like we learnt Latin just out of the blue. Somebody came along and threw all these words at us and we had to learn all the declensions and I couldn't see the relevance. We did geometry and algebra in Form Three but I could never understand why a number could equal a letter. And nobody ever explained it to me. The schooling in lots of ways at Queen Vic wasn't good but we were in a captured environment. I think now, how dare they consider we were not capable of passing English! We actually fulfilled that, most of us got about thirty for English and that was considered okay.

Queen Vic didn't actually contribute to my going on beyond school, because my family always talked about us going on. My parents' expectation was there.

There were good things. I went to ballroom dancing at St. Stephens, toured the East Coast with the St. Stephens and Queen Vic concert party and had responsibilities as Form Captain. I loved the Cathedral choir probably because it meant getting out of Queen Vic to go to the old St Mary's Cathedral to practices.

I remember Marilyn Webb a famous artist coming to take us for art. That was lovely and ex- Queen Vic girls used to come and take homework in the evenings; always cool looking women attractive and modern.

I looked forward with pleasure, to those walks around Mission Bay on a Sunday afternoon, walking from Parnell and back again; going to the Botanical Gardens at the Auckland Domain down to the Parnell Baths and the Rose Gardens. We would never have had those opportunities unless we were at Queen Vic.

The quality of what we should have been doing in terms of learning could have been ten times better. When I got to the sixth form I missed University Entrance I'd

gotten into the doing what the others were doing, I knew what the teacher expectations were. I knew how hard my peers worked and the tall poppy syndrome was well and truly alive.

I wanted to leave and be a hairdresser but I knew that would have gone down like a lump of lead. Miss Berridge wanted me to go back and be the Head Prefect. I didn't want to go back to the sixth form because I was a year older anyway than most of the others. I couldn't face going back into that environment again.

So I went to Auckland Girls' Grammar. People were more civil, freer, the teachers didn't think you were all thick, dumb and stupid and that the only way you could learn something was to learn it off by heart like we had at Queen Vic.

We had all these highly intelligent girls around who were much younger than I was. They were streaks ahead. I did feel thick and dumb and stupid when I actually went there, to a certain degree, but I thought well there's no sense in feeling like that so I got on with it. I got into the school choir, one of their top basketball teams, which was great. I was a Prefect in my final year. I even played the piano for the assemblies in the morning.

At Girls Grammar I sat a national English essay competition and won third prize. I was so angry that at Queen Vic they put us in a situation of believing that we were just barely capable of passing School Certificate English with a mark of 30. The teachers congratulated me and gave me my certificate in assembly and that just freaked me out, that in English of all subjects I could achieve that.

I was already mixing with Varsity students, flatting with my cousin. I was involved with Napi Waaka's haka group and I met lots of young Māori people. I went to school during the day in my school uniform and I had another life during the evening.

University was like an automatic progression from Auckland Girls Grammar. Basically all the seventh form went to university. Most were sitting bursary or scholarship so I plodded on through to Auckland University. I took Māori, Linguistics and Anthropology. I just cruised along and had a good time.

I was in the Māori Department with almost all Māori lecturers. We all knew everybody: Bill Parker, Sid Meads, Bruce Biggs, Hugh Kāwharu, Rangi Walker, Ken

Fold. We used to meet down at the Māori department and do all our assignments together.

The Māori Women's Welfare League used to buy the books up and distribute them to the students for half price. There were support systems in place. We went through Auckland University at a time when our lives were charmed - the late sixties, when everything was there to support us.

I was a member of Nga Tamatoa promoting the language, fighting for it, protesting. I wanted to be a Māori teacher so when I finished my degree, I applied for Teachers' College. Rauru and I had got married and he carried on with his Masters degree.

At Teachers College there was no programme for me as the language section only offered French and German. I spent the year there wasting my time and ended up at Hilary College the next year getting the Māori Department up and running.

There were key people around me that I used to really look up to: Mira Szaszy, Māori women like Pare Hopa whom I saw a lot in Auckland because she was doing Masters when I was there and heading off overseas. She was a role model, so beautiful, exotic and so attractive and lived across the road from our flat.

Ruhi Richards

I was raised by my grandmother across the road and my Aunts who lived there too, because my mother was teaching. My Auntie Parehau used to teach at Omaio School and when I was about three, she took me with her to school, so I had a bit of pre-schooling before I was five. She also read to me a lot and taught me all the little jingles and rhymes, in English. She had quite an influence on my pre-school time.

My primary schooling was at Te Kaha Māori District High School in the rohe of Te Whānau-a-Apanui. We really enjoyed our primary schooling, we were really well supervised, the community at that time fully supported the school, we learnt tables and poems, everything was structured and we did learn. We got a fair amount of corporal punishment, that was the rule of the day and I think this community wanted discipline for their children.

My mother had been to Hukarere but her teacher, Miss Berridge, had become Principal of Queen Vic, so I was sent to Queen Vic. It was also the idea "Whaia to mātauranga a te Pākehā". I think our parents thought we'd get that Pākehā schooling, there'd be better opportunities in the city. My parents had really high expectations of me, they had already mapped out my pathway, teaching and university - the grandparents too and my aunts had all been to boarding schools like Turakina and Hukarere. Hoani Waititi also had an influence and would talk to the parents about sending the children to boarding schools.

At Queen Vic we were really disciplined and Miss Berridge set standards, standards of dress, in all the house chores, doing homework, in everything. I liked that and meeting other girls, living and learning how to live with other people. I often wish there had been other subjects offered because it has a big effect on what you do later in life. We were limited to Bachelor of Arts really.

I got my School Certificate first pop and University Entrance and we had to go to Auckland Girls Grammar for the upper sixth form. That gave us the opportunity to mix with Pākehā girls.

I left home at thirteen to go to boarding school, then training college, university, marriage, a family. It's a long time to be away and we missed out on the community but we come home and home is still the same.

I had a year at Victoria University then came back to Auckland to enrol in the secondary teachers' course and to do university work at the same time, majoring in Māori Studies. Our group of students became one big whānau. I had been to Queen Vic. We had all been to Auckland Grammar then Training College, so we ended up flatting together.

I got married and had my children and relieved at Papakura High School, then started off their Māori Studies Department. I also enrolled in extra-mural papers at Massey University. When the children had all gone to school I got into Nga Tapuwae College teaching remedial subjects and Māori. I really enjoyed that. I learnt so much. I was exposed to so many different experiences; guidance, Dean. Ann Gluckman was the Principal and very understanding of the women on the staff and our children and families. She had a lot to do with influencing me. She was a role model for me. She actually encouraged me, gave me the push to go back and finish

my BA. With her blessing, I then went back to university for a full year to finish my BA.

I was proud of Mrs Gluckman and the way she did things as a woman. There are a lot of women in our backgrounds, my own aunts, my mum, the tipuna, the grandparents, there were strong women, a host of teachers. I went back to Nga Tapuwae for a year, then applied for a position at the Auckland College of Education. I got the job in the Māori Studies Department - primary teacher education. I also enrolled for a Masters in Education at Auckland University where I came into contact with Graham and Linda Smith. They encouraged me, gave me the fullest support and I completed that in three years. I knew what my goals were then. I'm still setting goals for myself.

When we decided to come closer to home Hirini Mead phoned me and offered me a position at Awanuiarangi at the wānanga. I was ready for that as I'd had the experience with distance education with the Auckland College of Education course run at Te Kaha for teacher trainees and I'd finished that Masters degree in Māori Education.

I'd had a good grounding in my formative years, the experiences at Queen Vic and all those role models were important. They helped me set my goals. I think a sense of knowing your tūrangawaewae was a key factor and I've always felt that you can achieve in the Pākehā world. As long as you know who you are, nobody is going to knock you down. Qualifications and experiences are important but this side is the strength - knowing who I am.

I have plans and goals. I'm starting to focus on women's issues and form networks. I want to see our women empowered, see them as principals and in managerial roles.

Tuihana Pook

Whangaparāoa was my world when I was small. All my family went to Whangaparāoa School and then on to Boarding School. The teacher that had the biggest influence on me was Mr Nukī Williams, a Māori, because he really set high standards academically and in behavioural terms and in our own presentation of ourselves. If he saw that you had a chance of doing better he would tell you and he would push you along. He also chose the ones who would sit the scholarships in Form Two. He was very concerned about us doing well with our scholarship results.

All the Māori schools were entitled to have pupils sit for those scholarships and they were a kind of measurement for the school.

There were A and B scholarships which meant you would get an amount of money to pay the school fees if you were successful. This is what helped a lot of us to go to secondary school. The year that I sat, there were two of us that got it. The year before my sister Senio, had got a scholarship and had gone to Henderson for a year. She then came to Queen Vic in the fourth form.

When I went to Queen Vic I had an older sister who had just left and gone to Training College. I knew other girls from here and some of the boys going to the boys' boarding schools. We all travelled together, caught the same buses and changed in Opotiki, so it was quite a family affair getting to school. My mother had also been to Queen Vic and later I sent my daughter there.

There were old girls from here who were role models like June Mariu who was teaching at Queen Vic. Johnny Waititi had a big influence too. He would encourage our families to send us up there and he would look after us in Auckland. He was teaching Māori at Queen Vic and writing Te Rangatahi at that time.

I really appreciate the things that Vic and Miss Berridge taught me - like high standards of discipline and that still influences me in my teaching today. Discipline in the way you presented yourself, the way you walked - your head held up - your shoes and clothes clean and pressed - that sort of discipline.

The other thing I really appreciated was the girls. They were like your own whānau. We already had a good representation from this area before I went. We shared our uniforms with others coming on - handed them down. We had to make sure we looked after our gear as our parents sacrificed a lot for us to go. We knew that when we came home for the holidays our job was to give them a rest. We milked the cows and if there was any kooti (thistles) or any ragwort to cut, that was our job. We got off the bus and went to milk. It was the farm that was paying for us to go to school.

Our parents expected good results because they had already been told by Mr Williams that I should do well. At primary school we had never done any Māori language, either written or spoken. Te Reo Māori actually came from home, not the school. At Queen Vic we had to take it as a subject but I was quite bored with that

approach. Queen Vic's role was to get all these Māori girls together to colonise them so they could then take the message to the rest.

The other important thing was that the school is an Anglican School and this is a very Anglican area.

However, while away from here I missed out on a lot of things that were happening around here. I was away from the time I went to school in 1961 until about ten years ago, that's a big gap. I had to catch up when I came back here and make sure the kids now don't miss out on that. That's why I have my doubts about actually sending kids to places like Queen Vic in this day and age.

I got School Certificate then failed my University Entrance the first time, so after a term, as a second year sixth and as Deputy Head Girl, I refused to go back to school. My father called on Johnny for help and he found me a position working as a Junior Assistant at Wharepaina School just outside Reporoa. At the end of the year I was supposed to sit my University Entrance but I didn't go. Johnny made sure I went for my Teachers' College interview though in Hamilton, by taking me and I got into Ardmore Teachers' College. In my second year there, he died and that really nudged me along to complete my teacher training. He had got me there and I was determined to finish the course.

Ardmore was something like Queen Vic again. We were all together from around here, about eight of us from the Coast and there was not only a Māori contingent there but also Pacific Island students. We campaigned for Rebecca, who was from here, to be Women's President and Rob Herewini to be Men's President, so we had control of the place. We supported one another as you could pick the ones who had been to Boarding Schools, they were reserved. We're still close, a lot are still teaching.

I've taken extra-mural courses in Māori at Massey because Rose Pere, who was an Inspector, encouraged me to enrol in and complete papers, as she was doing my grading. I taught in Wellington, Reporoa where I was a Careers Adviser to Māori students and at Potaka School. When I returned here to Whangaparāoa, I became the first ex-pupil to come back as Principal, so it's been full circle.

After a few years I felt it was time to take a break so I applied for the one year post-graduate course for Māori language teachers at Waikato University. There was

pressure from parents here to set up a facility which could continue the work of the kōhanga reo and I wanted to be upskilled to do that. The Board of Trustees were supportive and my family too so off I went and I would come back and do my practical work here.

I enjoyed being there and I again enjoyed being among that group of students who were all teachers. We could share our experiences. I could look at Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and think about where our reo is going to be in the future as we have a whole generation of parents now who are not fluent. I want to look at where we're going as a whole. I have a commitment here to fulfil and a job to help retain our reo.

We need to look at how best our resources can be used to meet the needs of our people. Attitudes have changed, needs have changed. If we could get things right, our kids may be able to stay here and not need places like boarding school. I push them to do well and to feel good about themselves.

The Kōhanga parents come to the school here to learn to use the new technology and they become upskilled - use the computer, the fax, photocopier. I encourage these women to stand for committees, to speak up for themselves.

Kiri Scott

When I was three and the twins were eighteen months old and my baby brother Martin was very small, my dad was killed. We were living in Matamata then. My mother had eight children with her and the ninth one, my eldest sister, was at home in Otaki living with my grandmother. So we all moved back to Otaki.

I was in the middle of six boys. I had three older than me and three younger than me but we were really close in age, like eighteen months at the most between each one.

I started school at five at Otaki Primary with my older sister. She was drowned in the Otaki river in that year. I don't remember much happening for my first year at school. I guess that was an event that was so huge and so traumatic for the family that it drowned out everything else.

I mostly had female teachers in primary school and they were strict and I remember especially the discipline things, because I didn't have hard discipline at home like my

Mum was very supportive and wasn't into smacking if we were naughty but I remember being whacked on my hands with a ruler by the teacher.

I know Mum wanted us to do well, be educated and that was passed on from her Dad. We talked about my going to Queen Vic and I wanted to go, as it meant a good education and being able to learn Māori. Te reo and tikanga were important to her and also it was an Anglican school, a place where we would learn the niceties of society, because I was brought up in the middle of six boys. I was a tomboy.

For School Certificate I wanted to take professional subjects, not Clothing, so I took History, Geography, English, Māori.

One of the really good enjoyable things about me going to boarding school, was the opportunity to be involved in the Arts like drama, opera, musicals, dancing. Queen Vic offered me an opportunity to foster that interest. We went to opera, the Gilbert and Sullivan plays, ballet. I would never have known anything about those if I hadn't gone to Queen Vic.

The other thing was the girls that I got to know and have stuck by right till now as friends, really close. Keri Kaa was the Head Prefect when I started at school and has been influential in my life, always building my confidence. I still sort of check in with her like a kind of mentor. I've always seen her as knowledgeable. She had tikanga and te reo on that side and yet she coped well on that side.

The only losses from having gone to boarding school are the degree of te reo and tikanga lost from home, and I missed my mum terribly cause we were really really close and I regarded her as being exceptional. She tried to prepare us to be independent of her, total independence she taught us really, in terms of problem solving and things like that.

I had an Otaki and Porirua Trust Board Scholarship. The term of the scholarship was four years and so after four years I left. I had been learning te reo with John Waititi and that was a base for later on. I knew I wanted to train as a kindergarten teacher and I had applied for the course in Wellington. I left college thinking that I was going to be a teacher. I was accepted but I bummed out after thirteen months and I went home to Otaki. Mum was really sick and I wanted to be by my Mum to make sure she was okay.

When she was well again, I worked as a library assistant for a while. I quite enjoyed it because of the books, then I worked at Professional Uniforms sewing. I did a typing course at night at Otaki College for a while because I thought that would give me some skills to boost me a long a little bit.

I met Martin and got married, had my three girls and was still looking around for an education. Then we decided to move to Wellington. I applied to the Wellington Teachers' College for kindergarten training. I wanted to go back to Teachers' College and retrain. At that stage it was flexible enough that we could approach minding the kids together and cooking the meals and everything else.

I was accepted and all the things in the Early Childhood course that I learned, except for the area of special needs, which I did as a special subject, were things that my mother had taught me. I was the first Māori student they had had for four years. At thirty seven I started and I loved every minute of it. A month before I finished, Martin was killed in a car accident. The lecturers told me that I would graduate because they said I was an exceptional student and my two year bond was waived on compassionate grounds. I had been paid to train which was amazing because I would never have gone if I had had to pay for it.

Keri was there and the College of Education rang to offer me a job, so I did a bit there for a while, in Māori Studies and General Studies.

From the time I left school, there was that span of twenty years where I'd done little bits and pieces, had my family of three girls and one boy and done all those things. Then from that stage, 1979 till now, that's another span.

When I was in Teachers College, I made up my mind that I wasn't going to be a kindergarten teacher. It was an unfinished job and I thought it would make it easier for me if I got in and got a qualification. What I wanted was the certificate. I wanted the qualification. I didn't want to be a teacher who went to kindergarten at nine o'clock and finished at three. I saw what was happening in the early childhood area in general and I was looking at Māori kids at that nought to five age group.

I wanted to be somewhere where I have an opportunity to make decisions about what was happening for our kids. I couldn't do that if I was a kindergarten teacher, going to a kindergarten which is mostly white. There was no kōhanga reo when I graduated.

Another influential person was this brother in law of mine, Whatarangi. He was saying we had to get ourselves into positions where we could start making decisions and I wanted to influence the decision making in early childhood. I worked at the kōhanga reo at Pendennis, then a vacancy appeared in the paper for an Early Childhood Education Officer in the old Department of Education. I decided that was the job and I got it. Faye Clarke was in this team and she supported me, initiated me and guided me in all the things that I didn't know about working with Early Childhood. I worked with the whole of the Porirua basin, Upper Hutt and Lower Hutt and Wellington Central. I wanted to get a good overview of what was happening to Māori kids.

In 1989 I applied for a Manager's job in the Early Childhood Development Unit and stayed there until July 1994. I've set goals and gone for them. Now I'm studying at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, not through having a pre-requisite degree or anything like that. It's through prior knowledge and prior learning that the door has opened there. Also the experience as National Manager in the Early Childhood Development Unit dealing with policies. My iwi are supportive, the wānanga set up is supportive. They want us to do well.

I've seen what the benefits are from what I've been doing in my job for Māori and I haven't been contributing to my iwi all the things that I've learned, so I want to use the skills I've learned for my extended whānau, my hapū, my iwi. I want to be able to give something that will benefit those kids, those mokopuna.

So, it's my second year of the Masters degree at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. My thesis will be Early Childhood focussed. It's matauranga Māori and all the things that we're having in our lectures like transcripts and things about whakapapa, things about fishing, things about boat rowing, things about books, are all the base. I need to know all those things but my actual focus is going to end up looking at parenting mainly. It will be another year and a half probably, two years maybe. I've done the framework for mine but it's te reo I still need more of, cause 98% is te reo and 2% is English.

Another influential person has been Rose Pere. She's been an inspiration and an enormous support for me. The other one is Tu Williams who is a close friend and who used to be a flatmate of my husband's years ago. So those are the two people outside of my iwi that have been really strong support.

If I look at the total rewards for me, I just think that I'm a better person for it. I relate to people better. I can be more supportive of my own kids because I want for them the same values that my mother instilled in us.

The next step is to actually work at home, or work from home down the track a bit. That independence streak is there, knowing that I can stand on my own two feet and I can stick my neck out. If I feel like going on a wild goose chase, that's fine!

Chapter 5 Ngā kaupapa

Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyses seven key themes which emerge primarily from the stories of six women who have been successful in tertiary education. Through these themes emerge the factors which have contributed to their success.

The interviews with the five resulted in over nine hours of recording in 1994 and over 60,000 words being recorded. They chronicle a selected part of the lives of these five women and their whānau and hapū. Such "data collection", is always incomplete (Anderson, G. 1990), as the stories represent a part of a life-time. They are snapshots of lives in the fifties and sixties, about attitudes, about schools, about whānau and hapū, about what was important to those families, who and what influenced these young girls and women, what helped them to be successful in primary school, in secondary school and eventually in the tertiary education institutions from the 1960s to the 1990s.

Their stories are told behind a half open door. We catch only glimpses at times and feel the urge to open the door a little wider to see a little further inside, to hear a little more of the asides. It is a little like trying to eavesdrop on the conversations of our aunties and mothers, that we were not supposed to hear.

The themes which emerge tell us why they were successful in tertiary education and enable us to link their success to those of Māori women whose stories were reviewed in Chapter Two. The reasons they give for their successes are remarkably similar. Their pathways to tertiary education and success differ, either entering tertiary education as a teenager straight from school, or as a mother and wife in adulthood, or as a professional educator updating knowledge and acquiring new knowledge for the workplace or for personal satisfaction, or as a key to a new door and a new challenge. An analysis of these stories provides the opportunity to strategise and plan a new vision for the future of young Māori women, our tamariki and mokopuna.

Te kura tuatahi: Whānau expectation

With no formal pre-schools in Māori communities in the fifties the children's introduction to the formal world of the Pākehā, the *other* world, was the primary school. Success in these schools was imperative if one wanted to move easily to

secondary school. In many cases as local secondary schooling was not available, the Church boarding schools were the only option and the pathway to them was dependant upon a scholarship attained at the conclusion of Form Two, usually the seventh year of schooling, or alternatively independent scholarship funding, if it was available. Few Māori parents were able to pay the fees for the boarding schools themselves and support their children with uniforms, travel costs over such long distances and incidental expenses. It was therefore imperative that plans were formulated for those who were to be sent away to school and sacrifices made by the families at home. Farming families knew their children's education depended on a good crop, a successful season, the dairy herd and the children cutting the thistles, as Tuihana described, when they were home in the holidays. Success in primary school was the first step as well as the knowledge that the whānau and hapū intended to support you through the years. Reciprocity became an accepted concept and a clear direction from parents and grandparents that success at primary school was expected and, indeed, demanded so that a scholarship was in the offing for the hardworking student. Working on the farm was not excused. The children had to do both. Success in primary school was not an automatic ticket to secondary school. Many children were unable to proceed, as opportunities were not always available. At times community support was required to send the few children away to school who were successful in receiving government scholarships. Mira Szaszy and Merimeri Penfold were two such children.

Roimata and Keri attended Māori schools on the East Coast of New Zealand. The children at these schools were all Māori, the teachers usually Pākehā. Some Māori teachers were returning from the city as Assistant Teachers and Junior Assistants in Māori schools. Many were regarded as harsh. Keri found some of these teachers "trained in *that* mould, worse than the Pākehā teachers". They did not make it easy for the children.

Roimata is clear that they were separated from the school across the river for Pākehā children. She recalls that they "had to work hard" and that in Form Two she would "sit for a scholarship and on that basis ... go away to boarding school." They had to do their homework as well as work on the farm. She was clear that there "was always an assumption" that she would go to boarding school and on "to something else." She talks about "high expectations" from her whānau that she would succeed, while at primary school. Her path was set.

In the Eastern Bay of Plenty, in Te Whānau-a-Apanui territory, Tuihana attended a Māori primary school and Ruhi attended the Te Kaha Māori District High School, one of the first Māori schools to have in 1948, a secondary department attached. Ruhi's aunt, a Junior Assistant, took her to school with her before she was five, so that she had "a bit of pre-schooling". Her mother also taught at the local school, had been to Hukarere and had every intention of sending her daughter to an Anglican Boarding School. Unquestionably she would "whaia to mātauranga a te Pākehā". In the first instance this would be at the local primary school. Ruhi believes that her parents saw the Pākehā schooling as a path to "better opportunities in the city". They expected her to succeed and to move on to secondary school and beyond.

These four girls, Keri, Roimata, Ruhi and Tuihana, were educated in New Zealand's Māori schools, situated in rural Māori communities where tikanga Māori was dominant. Their schools in contrast to their homes, families, marae and communities were dominated by Pākehā. The Headmaster and his wife were Pākehā, tikanga was Pākehā, the language was English, the customs and traditions imposed were Pākehā. The nursery rhymes, songs, poetry and choral speaking were all in English. Netball, hockey, swimming and athletics were conducted in English and competition, rather than co-operation was encouraged. The History and Geography was usually British, or at least a British version of history in which Māori rangatira and freedom fighters were described as rebels or traitors. The Land Wars were described in the textbooks as "Māori Wars", books about famous New Zealanders included only white British settlers.

In many schools the teacher had the power to change one's name if he could not pronounce it, so that Tamoe became Tammy and Ahinata became John. Many young Māori children were given names such as Brown, Black, Boy, Girlie, Lovey, Missy, Sonny and Junior, or had their names murderously abbreviated by Pākehā teachers unaware of the significance and importance of one's name. It is in this era that Māori families began to give their children "Pākehā" names to use at school to assist the teacher whose influence and power in the community was comparable to that of the local policeman. Keri Kaa reminds us, "The only Pākehā we saw in our village were the policeman, the district nurse, the postmaster and the headmaster" (In Manchester & O'Rourke 1993:79). Many of the children educated in these schools under assimilation policies learned well from the Pākehā teachers and at the same time learned from their kaumātua and kuia that their own world was the "centre of the universe and apex of the civilised world"(Smith 1992:63). The Māori world and the other world had both to be contemplated and managed if success in the

primary school was to be attained, a task successfully achieved by Keri, Roimata, Ruhi and Tuihana.

These four young Māori girls gained scholarships to attend Queen Vic, which was perceived to be a prestigious Anglican boarding school in the city of Auckland. It was a school which their families and communities held in high regard, a school Tuihana's mother had attended and which her elder sisters attended. Miss Berridge who had become Principal in the early 1940s had been Ruhi's mother's teacher when she was at Hukarere and so Ruhi's mother wanted her daughter to benefit from Miss Berridge's leadership. The whānau expected key people like Miss Berridge to nurture their children.

Further south Kiri and I attended larger small town, post-war, larger state schools in Taihape and Otaki. Our schools were dominated by Pākehā teachers, Pākehā ways of doing things, Pākehā children and our towns were the domain of Pākehā businesses and shopkeepers. Taihape had a District High School where the children of the townspeople attended, while the rural Pākehā landowners traditionally sent their children to boarding schools in Wanganui, Palmerston North, Marton and other towns and cities in the lower North Island.

Otaki children who wanted to attend a secondary school travelled by bus to Levin, a distance of fifteen miles. When my mother had finished primary school in Otaki in 1933 she had two choices, to leave school as her older sister had done, or to travel by train each day to Palmerston North or Wellington, both fifty miles away. By 1959 when Kiri finished at Otaki Primary School, secondary schooling was available, closer to Otaki but her mother discussed with her the Anglican Boarding school option so that she could realise some of the dreams of her whānau.

Surviving in these primary schools and achieving success in them opened the first door to the schools beyond, to post-primary education, to a world that the Otaki and Porirua Trust Board members had decided children needed. Kiri and I were both successful in our applications for scholarships from the Otaki and Porirua Trust Board. These not only provided our parents with the funds to ensure we received a secondary education but also enabled us to taste success as Form Two children and to enjoy the pleasure whānau and hapū experienced in relating our success to others. The obligation to succeed was imposed at that time, the seed sown that we were somehow special in being selected for a scholarship. Success was as much our own responsibility as the school's.

Both Roimata and Tuihana were also successful in being awarded government scholarships in Form Two. The government's policy of awarding scholarships to attend the secondary Church Schools brought prestige to the teachers in the primary schools who considered themselves successful when their pupils were successful and it brought prestige to the children and their whānau and hapū.

Our parents were educated during a period when secondary education was not available in Native schools, nor considered necessary for Māori. It was only in 1941 that the first three secondary departments were added to Native schools at Te Araroa, Ruatoria and Tikitiki all on the east coast of New Zealand. In 1939 the Government had indicated its intention to raise the school leaving age to fifteen. (Barrington and Beaglehole 1974:227) This would have created problems as there were no secondary schools available for children to attend in many rural areas. Our parents and grandparents wanted more for and from us than had been expected of them. They had high hopes for many of their mokopuna. Many of the Māori women who contributed to this thesis tell stories of being special to their grandmothers, women whose opportunities for tertiary education were non-existent. Roimata was brought up and nurtured by her grandmother during her primary school years; Keri records that the old people came to wave them goodbye as they set off for school; Kiri lived with her grandmother after her father was killed and while she attended primary school; Ruhi was nurtured and raised by her grandmother and aunts during her primary school years.

Many others record the influence of grandmothers on their learning and lives. Linda Smith says, "Nan and I shared a place in the centre of the universe"(1992a:64). Kath Irwin is influenced by her grandmother [who] went to Turakina Māori Girls' College in 1915 and became the first Māori woman teacher in the Presbyterian Mission Service. Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku talks of her kuia as "the one constant person in my life, with whom I experienced unconditional and absolute and unquestioning love"(In Brown 1994:24). The nurturing and encouragement during those formative years and the years spent at home prior to secondary school were particularly important for those destined for boarding school as essentially when we left primary school, it was in many cases the end of living at home within the whānau except for holidays. Becoming special children at primary school, to the teacher, to the kaumātua and kuia frequently made these children feel they had an obligation to succeed. They enjoyed the warmth and support which emanated from special kuia, they felt the security of their embrace and their attention when they achieved well at school. It

reinforced that being successful at school made them special children who warranted special treatment. For children like Mira Szaszy and Merimeri Penfold, the community rallied to support their enrolment at boarding school by providing clothing and items needed for school with their primary teachers arranging foster parents in Auckland for them to go to during term holidays. They would repay their communities throughout life with their work amongst their own people. Factors which emerge include having opportunities to succeed, being expected to succeed by key people who are, at the same time, strongly supportive in a number of ways.

Queen Victoria School

What effect, if any, did Queen Vic have on the success of these girls in tertiary education? The answers to this question may have as much to do with the non-scholastic factors as the standard of education or the range of subjects offered. The motivation for these girls to attend Queen Vic came from whānau. Tuihana's mother was an old girl and her older sisters attended the school. Family tradition dictated that she should attend and hapū and iwi were strong supporters of the school. The fact that it was an Anglican school was important. Ruhi's mother and aunts had travelled to Church boarding schools and there was simply no question but that Ruhi would do the same. Miss Berridge's reputation as Headmistress also influenced Ruhi's whānau to choose Queen Vic ahead of Hukarere.

Keri's whānau had a tradition of sending their children to Anglican boarding schools. Her older sisters and brothers had gone before her and she would not be the exception. Initially she did not like it there but she was able to be with other Ngāti Porou girls and that was a source of comfort. Roimata's whānau made the decision for her to attend. She also found it a strange place particularly the style of discipline and the methods of teaching. For Kiri, the only girl in a household of boys, it was an opportunity to have "a good education and be able to learn Māori". Being at an Anglican school was important too.

For my whānau being Anglican was important, as it was to the Otaki and Porirua Trust Board which only granted scholarships to Anglican schools. Being in an Anglican school was supposed to be a source of comfort and strength to us. We were to take comfort from the Christian support given in the school and the strong place of church and prayer in our lives. The long term response from these women has varied. Some have remained strong and active supporters of the Anglican church, for example, Keri has been a vestry member and records that she comes

from a family strongly supportive of the Anglican Church. (In Manchester & O'Rourke 1993:78) For others it became much less important than it was at school, - possibly as a reaction to what was felt to be overkill given the number of hours we spent at chapel or church.

As impressionable schoolgirls, Queen Vic offered us opportunities which were beyond our imagination. Living in the largest and most exciting city in New Zealand, we were exposed to live theatre, drama and ballet that never made it to the Town Hall in Taihape or Otaki, to concerts at the Auckland Town Hall in which international stars like Kiri Te Kanawa and Hannah Tatana sang. We dined in the Parnell and Remuera homes of the Cathedral parishioners, "like royal visitors" as Keri recalls and attended garden parties hosted by Pākehā "friends of the school" in Orākei where we practiced our afternoon tea drinking and made polite conversation. We attended an annual candle light dinner at King's College where each girl was escorted to dinner by a King's College boy, though I'm not sure we were seen as suitable "marriage partners" for King's College boys! Kiri recalls that it was at Queen Vic she was expected to "learn the niceties of society".

Several of the girls remark on the confidence we developed in finding our way around Auckland by bus and of how positive this made us feel when relatives came to Auckland to take us out for the day. Our knowledge of Auckland was considerable as we walked for hours on Sunday afternoons to prearranged destinations where we were given sixpence to buy an ice-cream and walked home again on a designated route. Roimata says she "looked forward with pleasure to those walks around Mission Bay on a Sunday afternoon." Keri remembers attending high powered international tennis matches at Stanley Street with John Waititi who was a national umpire. We felt exceptional as our netball team was always at the top of the Secondary Schools competition, even though we were a very small school. Whipping Auckland Girls' Grammar or Epsom Girls' Grammar at netball always gave us enormous pride in our team and we would sing loudly and heartily in the bus from Windmill Road back to Parnell in celebration.

Many of the girls recall the Concert Party which performed all over Auckland to groups large and small. They toured to the East Coast or North Auckland and a burst of pride was felt when an audience was appreciative and complimentary. There were many moments of pride in being young Māori women, impeccably dressed, performing with precision, confident, knowing we were protected by the school and those around us.

None of the girls express considerable satisfaction at the standard of teaching or the range of subjects offered. Roimata is critical of the low standards expected of us in the classroom and notes the comparatively positive attitude to the students by the teachers when she went to Auckland Girls' Grammar. Ruhi wishes there were more subjects offered, as "we were limited to a Bachelor of Arts" when we got to university. Science was out, as the school was not able to offer Mathematics and Science to Form Six level at that time. Mira Szaszy is critical of the academic standards of Queen Vic during the thirties (Myers 1986) although by the seventies Suzanne Sarich is positive about the standards of teaching which adequately prepared her for her polytechnic journalism course. (Brown 1994)

The girls who went on to Auckland Grammar are positive about the opportunities that school offered and to be in an atmosphere where as Roimata recalls all the Seventh Form were destined for university. Hera Johns, in her story, recalls the support of the Principal of Auckland Girls' Grammar, Rua Gardiner. "Being brought up by her Māori grandmother, she understood the trauma we experienced," and "I believe the Māori pupils attending Auckland Girls' Grammar were fortunate that the Principal was Rua Gardiner"(In Manchester and O'Rourke 1993:73). Ruhi found the seventh form year at Auckland Girls' Grammar "gave us as opportunity to mix with Pākehā girls". For the young girls who had come from Native Schools in Māori communities to Queen Vic where the girls were all Māori, the first opportunity to mix closely with Pākehā people came at Auckland Grammar, an opportunity which some took while they stayed as boarders in the relative security of Queen Vic.

Queen Vic gave the women interviewed in Chapter Four the opportunity to be leaders as Prefects. Keri was a Head Prefect and one of the early Māori AFS students. Roimata was identified as a leader as a young girl and recalls being a Form Captain and later a Prefect. She was asked to be Head Prefect but refused and left the school to attend Auckland Grammar independent of Queen Vic, where her leadership potential was recognized and rewarded. Tuihana began her Sixth Form year as Deputy Head Girl, again an acknowledgement of her leadership skills but she rebelled during the year and left school. Ruhi was also a Senior Prefect.

Many of these women were accepted as leaders by both students and staff in a school where the Prefects filled the role staff might in another school. They supervised homework in the evenings for juniors, oversaw the household duties of students within their team, supervised bedtime and bathtime, the laundry and the

ironing room. They checked students back in with all their clothing at the beginning of each term and out again at the end of the term. They supervised mealtimes on occasions in the weekends, led chapel if requested by Miss Berridge and escorted students into the city to the dentist or for other appointments with ease and confidence. Keri Kaa describes such an occasion when as a third former, Hannah Tatana was on escort duty to show Keri how to catch a bus to the city for an appointment. They were charged with responsibilities for younger girls and undertook those duties with a high degree of reliability. Queen Vic offered opportunities for leadership to the women interviewed for this study.

Ngā taumata, Ngā tumanako, Ngā wawatatanga o ngā whānau.

The aspirations, hopes and dreams for these girls came from their whānau and from Miss Berridge once they got to Queen Vic. Their goals were set for them, the steps outlined to be taken one at a time, manageable steps. such as passing a music examination or sitting for a scholarship in Form Two. Miss Berridge also insisted that we be introduced to the world of the Pākehā in part through regular attendance at the Anglican Cathedral where we were paired with parishioners whom we referred to as "our parishioners". We would be put to the test when we went to visit them after church on Sunday, as we sat in their dining and living rooms eating lunch and speaking politely. Keri Kaa recalls, " We would be invited to dinner or afternoon tea by people who would put out their very best china and linen ... we were treated like royal visitors. Here we were in these palatial homes where the foyers were sometimes the size of the living rooms where we'd grown up with twelve kids"(In Manchester & O'Rourke 1993:79). When Miss Berridge thought we were ready, we were put to the test.

Learning to live in the city was also a part of the dreams of the girls and their whānau. When whānau came to visit from small town Aotearoa, we confidently manoeuvred them on and off buses, changed in the city and pointed them in the direction they wanted to go. It was to prepare us for life away from home and school.

Keri's older sister left home before her and was a House-Mistress at Queen Vic when Keri entered the third form. There was an absolute expectation that she would succeed. Her mother put her land money into their education, "the values then were clear cut. We were all told to pass the exams." When they joined whanaunga on the bus at Tikitiki to go to school the "old people" would be there. While she was away,

she was aware of her old people "flogging their guts out in the heat, of the East Coast sun, growing and selling kumara on the Gisborne market to educate their kids." There was pressure to achieve.

The legacy left to the iwi by Sir Apirana Ngata was and is, a factor in her life as it was for Mira Szaszy and many other Māori students then and now. They listened to the words of Sir Apirana, heeded his words and left Ngāti Porou to find the education of the Pākehā. Keri reminds us of the "brain drain from the east coast" and how her iwi has paid the price of their commitment to education by the "disappearance of two generations of Ngāti Porou" from their region to the cities and towns of New Zealand. Many are teachers in communities far from Ngāti Porou. The hopes and dreams and aspirations of her iwi were clear to her. There was an expectation that if you did not achieve the hopes and dreams of your people, "you didn't come home".

Roimata at one stage wanted to "leave and be a hairdresser but I knew that would have gone down like a lump of lead." The hopes and dreams of her whānau did not include her choosing an apprenticeship rather than a university career. The goals set for her by her whānau were influential in her maintaining her pathway to university. She met their expectations, completed a degree and her teacher training.

Ruhi is clear that "my parents had really high expectations of me", that they had "mapped out my pathway, teaching and university - the grandparents too." She left school and proceeded to university fulfilling the expectations of her whānau. She continues to "have plans and goals" for Māori women, in the same way her whānau had goals for her. Her mother was clear that Ruhi would proceed to a university. Ruhi eventually completed her Masters degree, as her daughter has also done at Waikato University. The vision for the future generation is being realised as women look into the past, learn from it and encourage the next generation to plan for the future, grasping hold of the skills and knowledge needed for the next century.

Tuihana also emphasises that her "parents expected good results" when she went away to school. She delivered on their expectations until the Sixth Form, when she hesitated but once she was again accepted for Teachers' College continued to travel the path to tertiary success as a teacher. She has continued her education and training throughout her adult life, working to improve her qualifications, taking leave from her school to gain further qualifications, keeping her school in the forefront of educational changes in the 1990s. As a schoolgirl she met the hopes and expectations of her whānau and now as a school teacher, she sets goals not only for

her own education but for those with whom she works, children and parents in her community. It has been a lifelong journey which continues today, as an educational leader, helping to fulfil the hopes and dreams and goals of the next generation.

When Kiri went to secondary school her mother set clear goals for her to achieve. Her pathway to kindergarten teaching was interrupted by her obligation to care for her mother but she eventually fulfilled her goal of training as a pre-school teacher and was able to climb the steps to achieve success in tertiary education. She then evaluated her goals and set her sights on a post-graduate degree which she is now completing. Setting goals, realising the hopes and dreams of whānau, hapū and iwi has helped to keep us all focussed on the skills we need to go forward with greater confidence into the future, not only for our own benefit but for the benefit of the iwi.

In 1960 my parents' hope was for me to attain School Certificate and to go on to nursing or teaching. Twenty years later completion of my University degree met one of the goals of the iwi programme, Whakatupuranga Rua Mano and for a time, I felt that my academic career had ended. When I embarked on this study, I tentatively discussed the general possibility of such study with a senior academic at Victoria University, Kath Irwin. After one meeting the study was no longer tentative and a possibility for she had stamped approval on it with no uncertainties about our ability to develop it into a thesis topic. Without hesitation she launched me right into the solid and challenging world of research. Kath's absolute confidence that I could manage could have overwhelmed me but there was no time for that. My parents, who had been delighted and surprised each time I passed a university paper, would have been astonished at Kath's assumption that post-graduate research was within my grasp. She, with Whare, became a research whānau supporting me during a year of enrolment in two universities and travel between the two. Their hopes and dreams and expectations for me were without question. They expected me to succeed. I had no option but to get on with it and prove that they were right to put their energy into my development.

As time goes by, each of the women whose story was recorded for this study, continues to aim higher in terms of tertiary education. Keri has recently enrolled in a Masters degree at Victoria University; Kiri is completing a Masters degree at Te Wananga o Raukawa; Roimata indicates it is still a possibility for her. As an adult and mother, Ruhi completed a Masters degree focussing on her hapū; Tuihana recently completed a Diploma at Waikato University. I am completing my Masters degree. We continue to set goals, to improve our tertiary qualifications. All of us

have pursued studies in Māori education. All have taught either in tertiary institutions or worked for the Ministry of Education; or in Roimata's case, both for the Ministry of Education and for Wellington Polytechnic and in my own case for Manawatu Polytechnic and Massey University. Gaining qualifications has enabled us to secure positions in the decision-making areas of Crown agencies, to teach in tertiary institutions where we can assist other young Māori women to realise their potential, to support those few who are on the staff of some of the tertiary institutions. We have been supported throughout our lives by whānau from within our own iwi, or by whānau developed on the job, or set up for the occasion - such as for this research project. Having that support and the resources to proceed are prerequisites. Our children must be assisted to set clear goals. The factors which emerge from these themes are that these successful women had clear goals, challenges and learned to live in both worlds with confidence. They are also lifelong learners.

Tūrangawaewae

Keri Kaa has stated that "We had a very strong Māoritanga background and whakapapa"(In Manchester & O'Rourke 1993:78). Ruhi confirms that "I think a sense of knowing your tūrangawaewae, was a key factor and I've always felt that you can achieve in the Pākehā world, as long as you know who you are, nobody is going to knock you down." All the women in this study know their whakapapa, their waka, iwi, hapū, whānau, their marae, their kaumātua and kuia.

The five women interviewed for this study all lived within sight of their marae during their primary school days, in close proximity with whānau and hapū, in the midst of iwi. I lived away from Ngāti Raukawa and Pareraukawa during my childhood except for a year with my grandmother in Levin when I was six and school holidays when we journeyed to Levin, to reaffirm ourselves within our whānau, to mow the lawns at the marae and to share in being a part of the hapū.

Unlike many of our whanaunga today, we do know and have always known our tūrangawaewae. Each of us has been and remains clear about our sense of belonging to marae, hapū, iwi, waka. The marae was an integral part of life. Roimata felt that she did not have to "give up being Māori" to be successful. Keri was obliged to return home after completing her teacher training - to give something back. A knowledge of tūrangawaewae and the obligations and reciprocities of being a part of a marae and hapū are affirmed by successful Māori writers. (Pere 1979, Rangihau 1975 Reedy 1979) Knowing one's tūrangawaewae gives one confidence.

These women remain closely associated with their whānau, hapū and iwi. They meet whānau obligations to return home to tautoko their marae, to manaaki manuhiri, to attend hui. For some this requires more than a six hour drive home. As children and young women their whānau supported them to achieve the qualifications and skills to continue lifelong learning. That tautoko is acknowledged and returned throughout life. Obligations to whānau and hapū are no less now than they have been in the past. Knowing our tūrangawaewae has been a source of strength and comfort.

In the 1970s when Wellington Polytechnic and university groups brought students to Ngātokowaru Marae as a part of their courses there were often a few Māori students among the groups. In the kitchen the ringawera worked to prepare the meals and often the Māori students among the manuhiri would gravitate to the kitchen. Our kuia would ask them where they were from and they would reply Victoria University or Island Bay or Tawa. When the question was repeated, or rephrased to, "Where's home?", the response would be different. They would respond by saying, "Oh you mean home home. I'm Ngāti Porou, my whānau is from Tokomaru Bay", or "I'm from Turangi. I'm Tuwharetoa." Then we knew who they were, where they were from, their tūrangawaewae.

A generation later, in the 1990s, many of our rangatahi cannot answer in this way. They have become known as urban Māori. They do not know who they are, do not know their tūrangawaewae, just that the world labels them as Māori because of their features, or painfully, denies them their Māoriness because they do not "look" Māori. Many are searching for their roots. To them, the women in this study will represent an era past, days gone by, history. The women whose stories are told here know their tūrangawaewae, their identity.

We were born before the great migration to the cities and towns away from the land, although we have in our adult lives become a part of urban Aotearoa, after having been inducted into city life as teenagers at school. We were born post-war rural children, born into large families which lived off the land. We shelled peas grown in the back garden for Christmas dinner, knew that milk came from a cow and not a supermarket, that socks can be darned when they wear through. We washed our clothes by hand at school, ironed everything from our panama hats to underwear and we can sew and cook with a high degree of competence. Our lives have been transformed by time, urbanisation, an increased population, globalisation and modern conveniences. We learned very early in our lives to: adapt to change; that

learning is life long; that knowing who we are is a source from which to draw strength; that the present is the time to learn; that we need to plan for a different and changing future; and that we need to prepare our whānau, hapū and iwi for change. Our tūrangawaewae, our whakapapa are the foundations for the present and the future.

Many of today's youth may not trace their whakapapa with ease. Iwi are an inclusive society and have assisted thousands of our children to find their roots. We are fortunate that for many the job is not impossible. Our children may however, need encouragement to return to their homes.

Kaiākihaere

A mentor, a supporter, an encourager, a guide, is the role of the kaiākihaere. (Te Moana 1995) The most obvious person who was a kaiākihaere to the women in this study and probably to thousands of others was John Waititi, our teacher at Queen Vic. He was much more than this to these women. He is recalled over and over in each of these stories as well as in the biography of Kiri Te Kanawa. (Fingleton 1982) He devoted his adult life to continuing the dreams of Apirana Ngata and other elders in encouraging the whānau, hapū and iwi to send their children to secondary school and beyond, so that they could become the leaders of the future. He pushed and nudged those who were his whanaunga a little more than those of us who were not but his influence on all our lives is in these stories.

As a kaiākihaere, he encouraged, he pushed from behind if necessary, he pulled from in front, he stood beside and elbowed or nudged. Keri describes his influence on her in learning written Māori, in performing publicly in a concert group, in exposing them to sport at a national level, in encouraging her to apply for AFS, in welcoming her home and in guiding her back to complete a Seventh Form year when she felt she had moved on. He was there to support her on the first day back at school after a years absence in the USA. He encouraged them all to aim higher. A kaiākihaere impels and pushes if necessary. (Te Moana 1995) By insisting that Keri return to finish her Seventh Form, John Waititi was in the role of kaiākihaere, not just as a kaiwhakahaere, an organiser, one who leads from behind but one who pushes when required.

For Roimata, he was the teacher who introduced her to written Māori. Those who encouraged her enormously were the positive teachers at Auckland Grammar whom

she felt expected far more of her than had previously been expected at Queen Vic. They rewarded her with praise and public recognition in the School assembly when she was successful in an essay competition. Her skills as a pianist were recognised when she became the School's pianist in assembly.

John Waititi's influence on Tuihana was also crucial at a time when she decided to leave school part way through her Sixth Form. As a leader and respected educator, while still a young man, Tuihana's family called on him to support them and their daughter. He personally found her "a position working as Junior Assistant" at a school near Reporoa. He ensured that her application for Teachers' College was submitted, took her to Hamilton for her interview and sent her to Ardmore Teachers' College. His early and premature death just over a year later "nudged me along to complete my teacher training. He had got me there and I was determined to finish the course." If John Waititi had been in the role of kaitautoko, he may have flung his arm around her shoulders and assisted from the side, or as a kaiwhakahaere, he may have simply organised her interview for Teachers College but as a kaiākihaere he collected Tuihana for her interview, sat through it, called on her over the summer holidays before Teachers' College began and made sure she went on to tertiary study. A kaiākihaere is firm, stands for no wavering, impels one forward if necessary. (Te Moana 1995)

Ruhi was aware that "Hoani Waititi also had an influence and would talk to the parents about sending the children to boarding schools." He was highly regarded as an educational leader by the iwi and his advice sought and heeded about the local children. Kiri recounts that she learned Māori from him at school, which was a beginning for her to build on. For me, he challenged my learning, rewarded my skills in public speaking by giving me the task of "compere" when the fourth formers performed for various groups in Auckland. He watched us play netball on Saturdays, joined us on the tennis court and developed a rapport which enabled him to influence by using his judgement about the right approach for the right child at the right time. He could be a bulldozer when necessary and he could win a tug o'war if required.

Whatarangi Winiata has had a similar role in the lives of Kiri and myself. For us both he has influenced us to continue with tertiary studies through promotion of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano programme and as a role model. As Kiri relates, "He was saying we had to get ourselves into positions where we could make decisions." At times this seems like a fanciful dream, at others his encouragement spurs us on.

The role of kaiākihaere is vital. We need people throughout our lives, who, when we falter and decide to change direction, nudge and if necessary shove us back on track. Post-graduate research requires the student to have a strong kaiākihaere in order to develop the disciplines required to complete such study. Again Kath Irwin's role as a kaiākihaere for many Māori women is a role which she has also undertaken for me. Not only has she launched me into the world of academia through introducing me to a whole new world of knowledge but has propelled me from behind when she sensed hesitation to move on to the next stage. A firm directive, "I'd like you to complete two interviews this month," meant that I could no longer procrastinate about entering a new field of endeavour. A kaiākihaere is confident and strong, focussed on the immediate as well as the long term goals for their whānau.

The strength of a kaiākihaere may at the time feel uncomfortable, even intrusive and interfering but when done with aroha, it is accepted. For those who accept the roles of kaumātua and kuia on our lives, we must also accept kaiākihaere. They will not simply offer advice, they will insist that you take it.

Ngāhuia Te Awekōtuku describes an interview with the Principal of a school where she was about to be enrolled as a last resort. (In Brown 1994) The attitude of the Principal was that of a kaiākihaere, strong, supportive, no nonsense attitude but with an underlying caring and aroha for her and the potential he saw in her abilities. "It was the break I needed" (Middleton 1988:95). She accepted the challenge to enrol and has become a respected Māori academic. We need to allow people into our lives in this role. Independence and individuality are highly respected and prized qualities in te ao Pākehā. In te ao Māori they may become faults and disadvantageous, particularly if we are unable to allow supporters, kaiākihaere, kaitautoko and kaiwhakahaere into our lives to share in our decision-making.

Kaiwhakapakari

Those who provide strength to others, who support and inspire others, are the kaiwhakapakari. They are special people who have taught the disciplines required to be successful in school, in university, in life. They will build our self esteem, offering positive feedback. (Te Moana 1995)

Often for the women in this study, they were older students. Roimata recalls the other students at Auckland Girls' Grammar who were "highly intelligent girls" and the

assumption that they would all go on to university. At Auckland University she was a part of a group of Māori students who supported one another, who met at the Māori Department to "do all our assignments together". She was a member of "Nga Tamatoa, promoting the language, fighting for it, protesting". She identified Mira Szaszy whom she "used to really look up to" and "Māori women like Pare Hopa whom I saw a lot in Auckland because she was doing Masters when I was there and heading off overseas. She was a role model, so beautiful, exotic and so attractive..." These people were all a source of inspiration. They were kaiwhakapakari.

Tuihana discusses the "old girls" from Te Whānau-a-Apanui "who were role models, like June Māriu". She was encouraged by Rose Pere who, as a School Inspector encouraged her to enrol in university papers extra-murally. Kiri has over a long period also been encouraged, supported inspired and influenced by Rose Pere, and she identifies her mother as exceptional, Whatarangi as "influential" in her life, Tu Williams as a really strong support.

At primary school Keri remembers a teacher who had "a huge influence on me ... Hugh Jennings ... a gentle man ..." She identified other girls whom she admired at school, "like Hannah Tatana... prefects like Noeleen Kopa ... Elana Ngātai ... Molly Te Moana." Ruhi identified her mother, her aunts, Ann Gluckman at Nga Tapuwae College, "a host of teachers."

As for myself, as soon as I had listened to Keri Kaa I wanted to go to the USA like her and the pre-requisite for that was success at school. My thesis supervision whānau of Whare, Kath Irwin and Robyn Munford have been kaiwhakapakari for me: Kath, the encourager who insists that I value myself and provides clear and unequivocal feedback and advice, and like Robyn, the disciplinarian and professional academic, expects perfection; and Whare, who is forever the encourager, the critic, a disciplinarian in te ao Māori. This supervision team uses a multiplicity of roles when required. If my energy and confidence saps they may change to kaiākihaere and firmly shove me forward, or to kaitautoko and support with sympathy or gentle encouragement. They switch roles as their experience and expertise dictate what is the right response for the occasion.

Discipline is a pre-requisite for attainment in te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. At times the disciplines from each world are in conflict. These women navigated their way through both, successfully. Keri recalls primary school as a "very tough and scary place ... incredibly strict." Learning to recognise the disciplines that lead to survival

in each world are a key. For Keri the discipline of leaving te reo Māori at the gate enabled her to steer an easier path through primary school because she knew the rules and observed them.

Keri identified "the discipline, the accountability, the orderliness" as things which she appreciated from Queen Vic. The regime in the school trained us to be disciplined, something which is necessary in order to achieve academic success. Roimata commented that she grew up in a "disciplined home". She too noted the requirement to operate in two languages, everything in English at school and at home she lived with a grandmother who spoke only Māori. Learning self-discipline as children has given these women an extra tool to use in later life.

Ruhi remembers the "community wanted discipline for their children" and at primary school they got it. "At Queen Vic we were really disciplined and Miss Berridge set standards ... in everything." Practices which have helped with success at university may well have been developed in this disciplined environment in childhood. Tuihana has also appreciated the "high standards of discipline" imposed at school, disciplines in many areas which continue to influence her teaching and life.

These girls all emphasise how strict the teachers were in all these schools. Keri, Kiri and Ruhi identify corporal punishment as a regular part of the discipline. They learned to conform to the discipline imposed at school. Discipline was accompanied by support. On its own, or accompanied with sarcasm, racism and sexism, discipline can be debilitating and soul destroying. It can undermine one of the corners of our house and destroy the child. With aroha and tautoko, it builds.

E whā ngā kokonga o tōku whare
Ko te taha hinengaro, ko te taha wairua,
ko te taha tinana, ko te taha whānau.
Ko te kore tetahi, ka hinga tōku whare.

My house has four corners
the mental, the spiritual
the physical and the family
Should one cease to be, then my house will topple

Intergenerational Influences

Intergenerational success is a theme which has emerged from the stories of Keri, Roimata, Ruhi, Tuihana and Kiri. Keri came from a whānau which had already experienced tertiary education and success. Her older sister was a university student when she left primary school, her father had trained as a Minister. There were role models in her whānau and hapū who were successful in education. Roimata's father was a doctor and had been medical student when she was a child. She lived with her grandmother who had lived in Wellington and a cousin who had worked in Parliament. Both were role models from the older generation. Ruhi's mother and aunts had been away to the denominational boarding schools, an aunt to Turakina and her mother to Hukarere, followed by teacher training. Her mother taught at the local District High School when Ruhi was a child. Tuihana's mother had been to Queen Vic and her sisters before her. She talked about the local people who had been to Queen Vic from her community. My uncle was a veterinary surgeon who was always sowing an idea that university would be a good thing to consider. Most of the women in this study have identified successful tertiary educated whānau members who were influential in their own lives either as encouragers of success or as models of success themselves. In such an environment these women were nurtured, encouraged, prodded and helped to succeed in a world where educational success eluded so many of our friends and whānau.

The seven themes: Te kura tuatahi; Queen Victoria School; ngā taumata, ngā tumanako, ngā wawatatanga; tūrangawaewae; kaiākihaere; kaiwhakapakari; Intergenerational influences; recur in the stories of successful Māori women. They are the factors which contributed to our being successful in tertiary education. For our future generations to succeed we will need to find suitable and appropriate alternatives where these are lacking. As Nelson Mandela states, "Education is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor ... it is what we make out of what we have, not what we are given, that separates one person from another"(Mandela 1994:155). We must make our primary schools exciting and successful places for our children, places which do not fail our children, but prepare them well for the next step. The next step is in most cases, a State secondary school. These too should not fail our children, but give them an excellent preparation for tertiary education. Individuals will attend these schools. The institutions must take responsibility for providing appropriate and caring environments in which Māori girls will succeed.

Chapter 6 Ngā huarahi Reflections

Ē tipu ē rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao
 Kō ō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā
 Hei ara mō tō tinana
 Kō tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a o tīpuna
 Hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga
 Kō tō wairua ki te Atua
 Nāna nei ngā mea katoa

This thesis has identified, discussed and clarified the factors which contributed to the success of a group of Māori women, factors which if we replicated would contribute to the success of our teina, tuakana, kōtiro, tamariki, mokopuna in education, particularly tertiary education in the twenty-first century. I have identified themes which emerged from the stories told by Kiri, Tuihana, Ruhi, Roimata, Keri and from my own story. Similar themes also emerged from the stories of other Queen Vic Old Girls, other successful Māori women identified within the literature review, some of whom attended Queen Vic, some of whom attended other denominational schools, some of whom attended Stāte schools. This chapter reflects on those themes and the factors which flow from them.

Whānau expectation of success

The whānau expected us to succeed from an early age, whānau in the broadest sense: those with whom we lived; the communities which supported and prepared us for school; whānau who assisted with transport; with waving us goodbye at the bus-stop before we departed; and were there again as we stepped off the bus to come home; whānau who helped with scholarship applications; with awarding of scholarships; with keeping the pressure on when we wanted to give up and leave. Whānau who travelled to Auckland to visit; to support us at school; wrote to us with letters of encouragement when we were living away from home and sent Easter eggs so we were not forgotten in times of childhood pleasure. Whānau who provided shelter in both the physical and emotional senses while we struggled within the tertiary institutions to succeed within te ao Pākehā. Whānau who continue to support us in our tertiary studies by caring for us, our tamariki and mokopuna and in supporting us within our work places today, many of which remain places entrenched in te ao Pākehā.

Keri, Kiri, Roimata, Ruhi and Tuihana come from te ao Māori, a world which has been severely shaken at the roots during the onslaught from te ao Pākehā and the assimilation and integration policies imposed upon Māori for over a century. Within their homes and communities in childhood they lived in te ao Māori. While the authority figures in childhood, the teacher and the policeman, were pakeha, the homes, the marae and the communities were dominated by Māori. During their childhood, electricity had not arrived in the rural homes of these families and nor had television, computers, automatic appliances and designer clothes. Life was uncomplicated by modern technology, the speed of paved highways and modern communication.

This study suggests that we should take the best that the world of our tūpuna offers and hold fast to it. Tā Apirana Ngata's whakatauki beginning this chapter encourages us to give our hearts to the treasures of our tūpuna, ngā taonga a o tūpuna. This study indicates that we should fasten ourselves with a tenacious grip to the best aspects of te ao Māori and like our kuia who have established kōhanga reo in Aotearoa give our energy and commitment to re-establishing and rejuvenating systems which advantage and support our children. While my whānau of participants, Roimata, Tuihāna, Keri, Kiri and Ruhi, lived within sight of their marae, within the embrace of their hapū and iwi, our urban children who lack these must have whānau support systems created around them, over them and beside them to allow them to feel the warmth and security which we felt as children. Kōhanga reo and its kaupapa began the process for many urban and rural families in the early 1980s. We must give such initiatives the resources and support they need to flourish.

Hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga

The treasures of our tūpuna include the support systems which come from te ao Māori. Within te ao Pākehā, the world of our schools, we are encouraged to be autonomous in thought and action, to work independently within our classrooms, to submit many individual pieces of work, to frequently work in silence alongside our friends and whanaunga who might well benefit from our help if we were allowed to speak to them. Individuality, self reliance and the desire to fend for oneself are seen as qualities to be encouraged in our children - within te ao Pākehā. Independence from the family is thus seen as a goal to be achieved as a prize and a sign of maturity.

Within te ao Māori the world was and is, different. To tautoko and awhi one's friends and colleagues is seen as a strength. To receive those gifts of support is also a strength. As adults we need whānau support systems within the workplace, at home, in our own activities and with our children. We do not need as Māori to be independent and isolated. Asking for help and receiving it encourages reciprocity. Just as the girls in this study received whānau support and encouragement from many quarters so too they felt the obligation to return that support to whānau, hapū and iwi. Mutual obligations are strengthening not diminishing of one's mana. They strengthen whānau support systems.

To invite and allow kaiākihaere, kaiwhakapakari, kaitautoko, kaiāwhina into our lives and the lives of our children is to invite Māori support systems into our homes and places of work. Discipline and self-discipline were imposed and encouraged in us as children at school, both in the Native and State schools and at Queen Vic. With that discipline however, came support systems. Within our schools today we need strong modern urban whānau support groups for our children. We need strongly supportive, anti-racist teachers who enjoy teaching children and who are ongoing learners themselves, and who are keen to be a part of the community as were the school teacher 'and his wife' in the Native Schools. We must also encourage our own children to train as teachers so that every school in which there are Māori children are also Māori teachers as role models, for example kaiākihaere, kaiwhakapakari, kaitautoko. We need to have Māori women as Principals in schools so that our children will see them as leaders and emulate them.

We do not need to return to the uncomplicated pre-electricity and pre-computer days of our youth but to retain the strengths that were a part of that world and which enabled us to succeed.

Kō ō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā

The tools of the Pākehā are forever changing and we must of course include within our repertoire those tools which will assist us and our children to succeed in the modern world. Holding fast to the taonga a o tipuna does not include a rejection of those things which enable us to be successful, such as computer technology and access to the Internet. We must reject those tools of the pakeha which impede our progress and diminish our resources such as those which push us to the world's

danger levels in terms of poor health and keep us at levels of poverty which will never support our success, tools such as alcohol, drugs and tobacco. Māori women who plan to travel the journey through tertiary education can do so with greater effectiveness when their health supports them rather than impedes them.

When the journey through Parliament of the Raupatu Settlement Bill was completed in 1995 and ended a "130 year old grievance over Waikato land confiscated by the Crown in 1865" (The Evening Post 20 October 1995) Tainui announced \$500,000 in education scholarships for undergraduate and post-graduate university students and others in sports, science and tourism. Also outlined by the Principal Negotiator, Robert Māhuta, was a plan for education. "Education has always been to the forefront of Tainui's tribal development" (Kia Hiwa Ra October 1995). The plan for "endowed colleges, one in the Waikato and one in Auckland, will look at bringing staff from overseas so that they can bring the world to us." These initiatives are providing the ideal whānau support systems for the twenty-first century, by planning for and instigating tertiary study centres which will focus on success for Māori students within the rohe of the iwi, under tikanga Māori and kaupapa Māori and within the best of both te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā. Indeed the tools and the knowledge of international scholars are being targetted for the future for Tainui. Other iwi have plans for similar initiatives. Urbanisation has had many disadvantages for Māori women in terms of loss of identity, physical removal from one's tūrangawaewae and dislocation from whānau. We must replace those systems we lost in the move, with systems which will serve us as well, if not better. Tainui's initiatives are inspiring and an example of rangatiratanga, iwi forging ahead with iwi initiatives for the benefit of their people.

Teachers' Colleges like Ardmore, attended by Tuihana and Keri, provided hostel type accommodation within a whānau environment where Māori women could support one another and themselves which the wage which was then available. The endowed colleges planned by Tainui could well provide computer access to the Internet and libraries of the world, instant access to scholars around the globe and in Aotearoa through E-mail, study cells, role models, kaiākihaere, kaiāwhina and kaitautoko for the young women about to enter them. These are appropriate twenty-first century answers to providing the supports our kōtiro, tamariki and mokopuna need. Our schools and mainstream institutions where many of our children are involved, also need imaginative responses to address issues of success for our children.

Several of the whānau of women interviewed for this study indicated that they would not have proceeded to tertiary study if the wage paid to student teachers had not been available. They would not have been able to afford to go to Teachers' College, pay the fees and support themselves and their study. Government's new economic reforms have resulted in hugely increased students fees with fewer supports for students. Many Māori women will find it more difficult to undertake tertiary studies. As Māori women students at university are older than their peers (Davies 1993) and more likely to have whānau commitments, lack of financial resources creates a further barrier and whānau support is even more essential. Policies must address the barriers which lack of financial resources create. It is simply not enough to commission research such as the Hirsch Report (1990) and the Reedy Reports (1992) to identify barriers. Policy must be developed from the reports which address and build on success factors. Ongoing research with adequate financial resourcing must be available to address issues of success as well as failure. Māori girls and women need to be targetted as a priority group within the Ministry of Education's Ten Point Plan and all policies should be audited by a team of Māori women to ensure that they are sensitive to the needs of Māori women.

It is not satisfactory that Māori women should rely solely on iwi resources for opportunities for tertiary education. Government policies forced the urbanisation of Māori and with it came the loss of identity for many who are now unable to whakapapa to iwi in order to become iwi beneficiaries. Government must make financial resources and opportunities available for Māori women. Whānau can instil pride in their girls and provide support for a pre-tertiary education but government resources are required in order to address the imbalance in terms of outcomes for Māori women in tertiary education.

Kaupapa Māori research

Māori women must be resourced to undertake research about and for Māori women. We must "assume control over the interpretation of our struggles"(Smith,L. 1992:34) by challenging inappropriate research and researchers. Suffrage year provided considerable resources for Pākehā women to undertake research. We need greater resourcing. The considerable conflicts which I encountered in the multiple roles involved in undertaking this research should be considered by those entering the field of research on Māori women. Institutions with resources can target funds for Māori women, can make positions available for Maori women as researchers, writers,

visiting scholars. We no longer wish to stand in the shadow of non-Māori women as "other"(Smith,L. 1992:33). We will define our own needs, conduct our own research, write our own stories about our own kuia, and monitor our own work. Much of the research has hidden the success stories of Māori women, concentrating on the negative. Our stories are waiting to be told.

He timatanga hou

In 1993 Mira Szaszy addressed the Māori Graduands Capping Ceremony at Victoria University. "Graduands", she said, "you have passed the first challenge only...the community spirit of our tūpuna must never be replaced by personal growth alone"(Szaszy 1995:132). This too is the challenge of this thesis as it is presented not only to the institution which has supported this research but to the kaitautoko and many whānau which have formed around me to ensure its completion. On many occasions in supervision, Kath Irwin used images of raranga kete, of ensuring that each of the pieces plaited in at the base of the kete, at the base of this research was pulled all the way through and again plaited neatly in at the top, at the conclusion of the work. This is now done.

I am satisfied with the work. Like the kete I make, it needs pulling here and tightening there and I constantly turn it over and look at the corners, the plait at the start, its tightness, its shape, the consistency of the finishing off, the overall shape and the patterns I have tried to weave. Some of the strands belong to Te Whānau-a-Apanui, others to Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāi Tahu, Tainui and Ngāti Raukawa. They all link to ngā iwi o ngā hau e whā. This is the first kete of this type I have woven. I have been a learner, he ākonga, gathering skills and knowledge for the benefit of my whānau, hapū and iwi, for my three children, my nieces, for Māori women whom I can support and help to gather their flax, to prepare and soften, to begin again.

Appendix 1

THE QUESTIONS.....NGA PATAI

May 1994

Central theme:

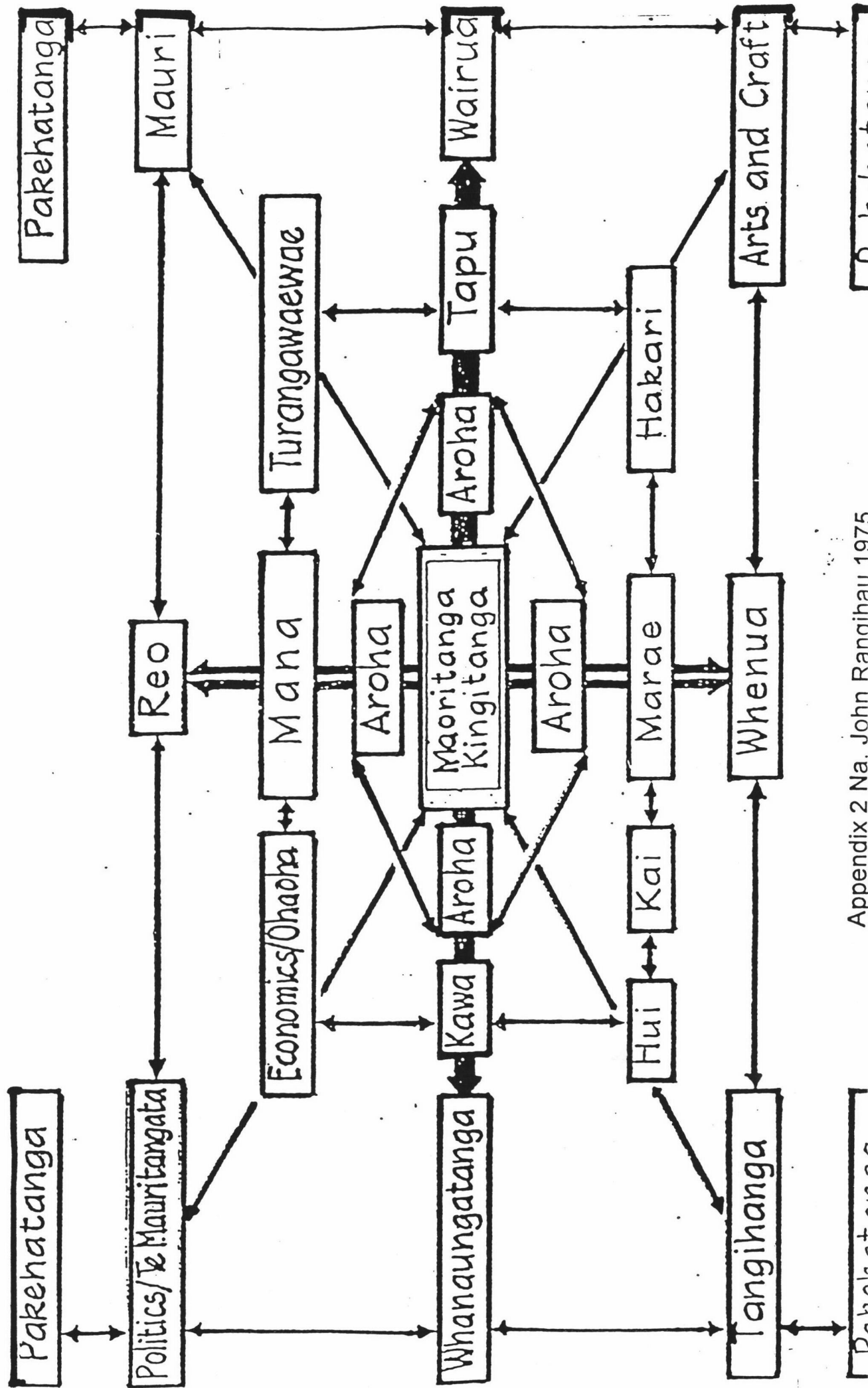
What are the factors which contribute to success in tertiary education for Maori women?

List of questions which will guide us in our interview.

1. Tell me about your primary schooling. Where did it happen?
2. Who are some of the people who influenced you in those early years?
What form did their influence take?
* * * * *
3. Who decided you should attend Queen Victoria School?
Why Queen Victoria?
4. What were your whanau's expectations of you in terms of Secondary schooling?
5. What were the best things about Queen Victoria School for you - the rewards?
6. What were the worst things - the losses?
7. What were the advantages and / or disadvantages of living away from home?
8. Was Queen Vic. a "training ground for success in the Pakeha world"?
* * * * *
9. When did you decide to continue on to tertiary education?
Tell me about your tertiary education path.
10. Have there been any key people and / or events which have influenced you to continue with tertiary education?
11. What have been the sacrifices you have made as a Maori woman in order to achieve your successes in the tertiary world?
12. What have been the rewards for your success?
13. What do you consider are the key factors which have contributed to your achievements in educational terms?
14. How has your success influenced your work with other young Maori women?
* * * * *

These questions will guide us and give some structure to our discussion, but they should not limit us if you want to discuss other matters.

The first section should be regarded as introductory 15 - 20 minutes,
the second section about half an hour, and the final section up to an hour.



Glossary

A limited glossary of Māori words is provided with this thesis. Those who are unfamiliar with te reo Maori may refer to a dictionary of the Māori language for assistance.

Āwhea	when?
hapū	sub-tribe
iwi	tribe
kāinga	home
kaua	don't
kawa	protocol
kōrero	talk
kōtare	kingfisher
kōwhaiwhai	rafter patterns in meeting house
māhitihihi	grasshopper
marae	meeting place of whānau, hapū, iwi
maramataka	calendar
mātauranga	education
mātua	parents
mokopuna	grandchildren
Ngā Tamatoa	political group
Ngāti	descendants
Pāreti	literally porridge, affectionate nickname used for Miss Berridge, by pupils.
piki	climb
pīpīwharaua	shining cuckoo
rangatahi	youth
rangatiratanga	self determination
ringawera	workers in the kitchen
rohe	region
rua mano	two thousand
taumata	peak, goal, ambition
tikanga	custom
tīpuna	ancestors
tukutuku	decorative panels in whare tūpuna

tūpuna	ancestors
tūrangawaewae	place of belonging
wānanga	place of higher learning
wareware	forget
whāia	seek
whakapapa	geneology
whakatupuranga	generation
whānau	family, group of families.
whanaunga	relatives
Whare Tūpuna	ancestral meeting house

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