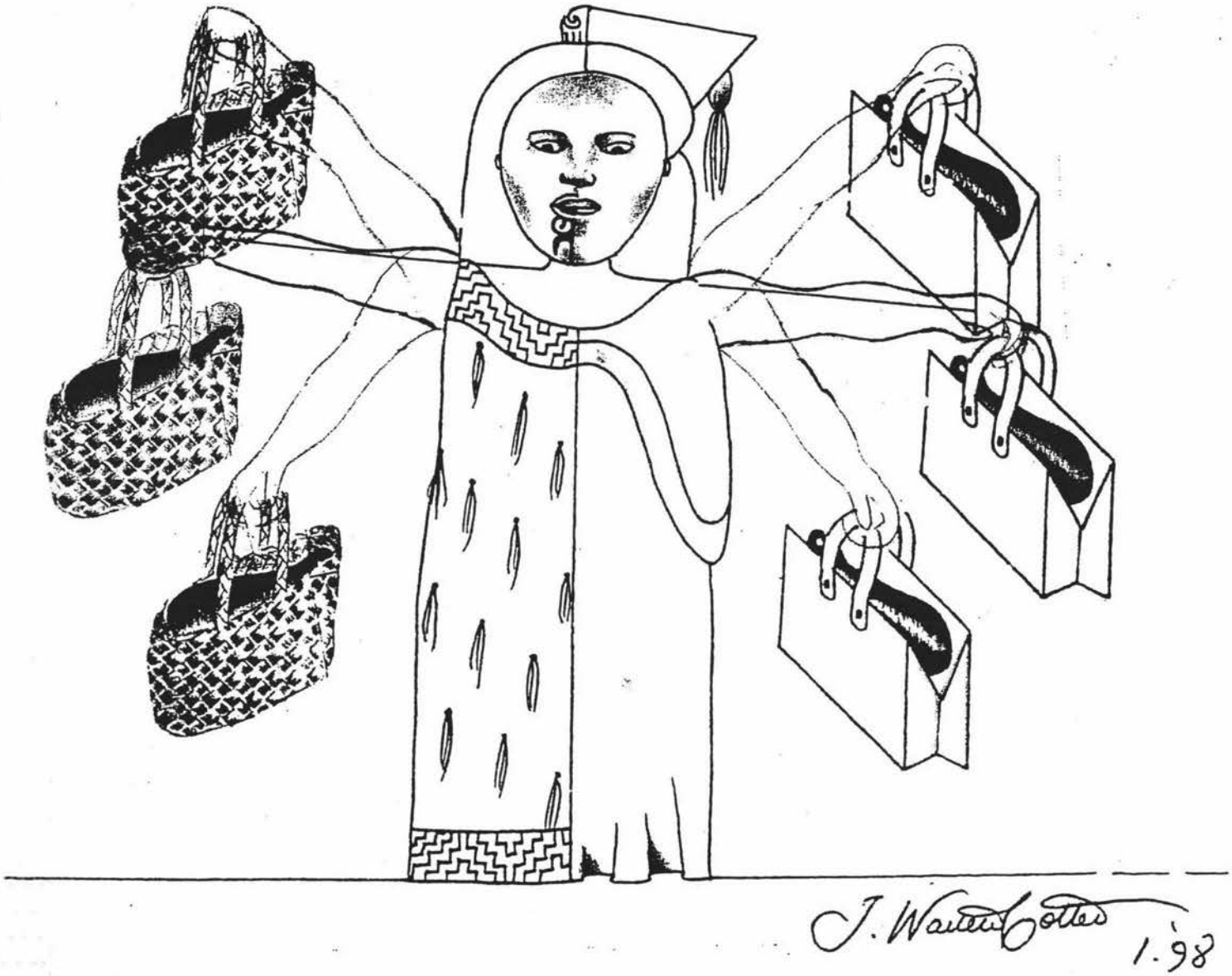
TE KETE, THE BRIEFCASE, TE TUARA: THE BALANCING ACT - MAORI WOMEN IN THE PRIMARY SECTOR



HINE-TU-WHIRIA-O-TE-RANGI JANE WAITERE-ANG

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Brigid Conoglen 4 Buckley Rd, Melrose. Wellington	5/5/2008
Margie Hohepa Te Tari Tokerau Campus Univ. of Auck	18.6.08

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Abstract

This thesis examines the educational experiences of eight Maori women. It draws from their reflections as students and teachers to investigate the ways in which they strategised their negotiation of educational contexts not conducive to their interests or needs. The thesis utilises metaphor across the theoretical and discussion chapters initially to describe, and then draw out the main themes emerging from this research. Patu as a metaphor is used in this thesis to enable a discussion about institutions as networks which through discursive practice link and centre particular thought processes, social structure and ways of behaving which for instrumental purposes need to be emulated by all others. Entering or accessing the social networks reproduced in institutions requires an engagement with ways of knowing, ways of structuring what is known, processes of engagement and validation, delineated by cultural, gendered and class imperatives. Through a network analytic lens successful participation in institutions is not based on individuals per se but on how individuals are placed in resource rich networks providing access to institutional rewards advanced by groups and endorsed by collectives that validate particular individuals and attempt to invalidate others. The kete and the briefcase both depicted as cultural repositories delineated the two cultural borders negotiated. The kete describes the participants' self ascribed identity. The briefcase exemplifies the institutional contexts that attempt to define the kete in its own terms. The tuara metaphorically represents the counter hegemonic strategies used by participants to balance and counter balance institutionalised views of themselves. The research analyses and interprets their experience drawn from individual, paired and group focus interviews to explore the use of making silence and breaking silence as strategies.

He Mihi

Tirotiro kau noa ana atu aku kamo
Ki nga tirohanga onamata
A kui ma, a koro ma
Me nga whakareretanga iho.
Ko taku he ngaki, kia puta ai nga hua
Hei oranga tuku iho ma nga whakatipuranga o te iwi Maori.

Ki te hinganga o nga totara haemata o te wao nui a Tane
Takoto, tiraha, takoto okioki.

E nga reo, e nga mana, e nga karangatanga maha,
tena koutou. E ai ki nga korero tipuna nei,
"Hokia ki nga maunga, kia purea koe e nga hau a Tawhirimatea."

Ko te maunga tapu to whakaruruhau o te iwi
Ko te awa e rere atu ra te wai u o te tangata
Ko te whare tipuna he whakapiripiri
Ko te pataka te kaitiaki, te kaimanaaki,
o te mana wahine, te ropu kua rangahautia
Ko Te Iria Marama Whiu o Ngati Ranginui me Ngaiterangi me Ngati Maniapoto hoki.
Ko Jackie Woodlands o Te Arawa me Ngati Raukawa.
Ko Maria Rahui o Ngati Tuwharetoa me Te Arawa me Kahungunu me Raukawa hoki.
Ko Elizabeth Patara o Ngati Whakahemo me Ngati Whakaue me Te Arawa.
Ko Rereahu Whatarau o Te whanau-a-Haunui o Ngati Raukawa.
Ko Miriama Harmer o Rongomaiwahine.
Ko Tangiwai Clark o Ngati tipa o Tainui.
Ko Tungia Claire Mathieson o Taranaki me Waikato.
Ka nui te aroha kia koutou.

Ka hoki nei au, ki te puku o te whenua, ko Tuwharetoa te iwi.
Ka piki ake au, ki te maunga tapu o Tauhara.
Patata atu ko te hapu Tute Mohuta
Na, kei raro iho reporepo ana te moana nui a Taupo-nui-a-Tia.
Ka huri taku mata ki te Tairawhiti, ko nga rehu ena o te waka Te Arawa.
Mauri ora koutou katoa.

Sitting here, near completion, reflecting on the time it has taken me to write this thesis I am aware that I have learnt much more than theory alone could provide. Captured in the mindscape of memories are a sea of faces - some are baffled, some confused, some with whom I laughed, others with whom I debated and still others with whom I argued (none more so than with myself) - all integral to the process.

As expressed in the mihi I am indebted to eight strong, forthright Maori women who spent their time, shared their visions and their anguish and gave, for a time, their ultimate zest for life.

To my primary supervisor Arohia Durie who understood my direction and encouraged me to pursue that pathway on a number of levels - I am grateful.
To Marian Court my second supervisor whose reflective stance and critical eye was mediated by her integrity that allowed her to somehow know when to push and when to pull - I extend my thanks and appreciation.

To the many special friends - never are there too many to name, but far too precious to inadvertently cause harm by leaving off any list - ka nui te aroha kia koutou.

To Tracey Waitere-Cotter, my niece, also a Maori woman educator who after many discussions about the issues raised in this thesis was inspired to create the borderland image and who in turn inspired me greatly - ka aroha.

Finally to my whanau. To Nick my husband who at times became chief cook and bottle washer, taxi driver and two finger typist extraordinaire, thanks hon'. To my children Joshua Wiremu and Jade Te Paea who put up with so much while also demanding that I not forget an important role I have in life - being a whanau member - their stance throughout the process has kept me well and truly grounded - mum loves you both - thanks. To my wider whanau ever present in my heart and mind - you are my tuara, my strength my pride - Arohanui.

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Introduction

Discerning the Image

The image on the inside cover of this thesis is primarily one of boundaries and borderlands (Anzuldua 1987). The multilayered boundaries and borderlands that Maori women are frequently compelled to negotiate are detectable at the critical points where the heru meets the mortar-board, the moko[1] meets the lipstick, the korowai meets the gown, and the kete meets the briefcase.

The meeting of the heru and the mortar-board is about the negotiation of ideological centres and boundaries of knowledge - what is known, how we come to know it, and how such ways of knowing are validated - delineating the borderland where western male histories teach us that rationality and scientific objectivity resides. The meeting of the moko and the lipstick indicates the contested spaces of sound and voice - in which one speaks of the world, names the word, and lays claim to space. Again it is about from whose centre does the word emerge, who has the right to speak and most significantly, who will be heard. The meeting of the korowai and the gown covers the regions of the heart, used figuratively to represent the realm of emotion and by association subjectivity. Appropriately cloaked, because the presence of subjectivity in institutional borderlands and academic research is often actively obscured. The kete and the briefcase, as two cultural repositories, also delineate cultural borders by the processes that construct them and by the nature of what they contain. In the construction of either, both philosophical and methodological forces underpin the process. In terms of the contents, they are the receptacles in which the outcomes and consequences of research are contained. Boundaries are no more clearly evident than for those not included within them.

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[1] There is no glossary of terms included in this thesis for either Maori (an official language) or English vocabulary. I suggest the use of Williams, H. W., *Dictionary of the Maori Language* for Maori and D., Jary and J., Jary' edition of *Collins Dictionary of Sociology* for English sociological terms.

The patu present in both receptacles provides a theoretical framework through which the borderlands are analysed. Patu is situated within a whakapapa framework that is based on social networks informing the discussion.

Decoding The Title: Te Kete, The Briefcase and Te Tuara; The Balancing Act - Maori Women in the Primary Sector

Te Kete

The particular figurative kete imaged is a kete whiri, the construction of which is used metaphorically to represent the ways in which the participants weave their self ascribed Maori identity. Customarily the weaving of kete whiri commence by anchoring the harakeke into a tightly clustered base plait. From the central plaited core extend the whenu (threads), in preparation for the weaving process. The base plait from which the kete begins and binds, is grounded in whakapapa. The extending whenu acknowledges the power of the women to draw the threads together in a number of multifarious ways, making the tension and patterning of each unique. Thus, in the one hand, the kete, as a cultural repository is held, the threads of which figuratively represent the process by which the participants weave their Maori identity. The completed artefact, since the time of Tane, represents a receptacle in which cultural values, beliefs and principles may be held.

The Briefcase

In the other hand, the image holds a briefcase, also identifiable as a cultural repository. The metaphoric use of the briefcase with its buckles, latches and combination locks represents the institutional borderlands traversed. They are borderlands in the way that historically and contemporarily, the value of the kete is often either locked out of or buckled within the norms of the institution that simultaneously claim such sites are neutral. Centring the women's narratives as they traverse such terrains provides a discourse counter to success based on claims of neutrality or liberal meritocratic principles rather success is narrated as another form of resistance. Entry into the

briefcase from outside its cultural borders is fraught with complexities bound to the ability of cultural interlopers to discern and decode much of which is implicit.

Te Tuara

The tuara is the point at which the two receptacles meet, becoming the axis upon which the kete and the briefcase balance, used in this thesis in relation to the backbone of the individual. This is different from, but related to, that of the tahuhu which amongst other things, implies a pivotal point between collective understandings of balancing, phenomenological forces in wharenui. The notion of balance is therefore common to both. In Te Ao Maori balance is about power and recognition of the life force that exists in all things.

Balance in this thesis is about the strategies used to maintain an identity as Maori across the cultural borders travelled. The balancing act required of participants is complex, and dependant on a number of personal and contextual factors. The personal factors are derived from the way the women centre themselves, while the contextual factors are about the ways in which their views are challenged in institutional contexts and the strategies they use to counter balance such views. Balance is about power, how power is defined, where power is located, how is it used, and for what purpose are central components. Strategies used by the women are required to negotiate and at times anaesthetise themselves against the institutional discourse that cast the kete as secondary and insignificant. The contextual factors are bound to the socio-political milieu into which they are born.

Unpacking the contents

This thesis explores the peculiarities of cultural boundaries and borderlands as they impact on eight Maori women in education. Anzuldua (1987) states that the existence of cultural boundaries create borderlands that are 'physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other where people of different races occupy the same territory' (1987 cited in Jones 1998 p. 2). Furthermore, negotiating cultural boundaries is often a complex process fraught with contradictions and cues of the read and misread kind, particularly when the boundaries are delineated by broader precepts than physical space alone. For example, by the nature of the participants' birth, their ethnic

identification, and the socio-political history of the country to which they claim tangata whenua status, these eight women must confront and contend with cultural boundaries and subsequent borderlands as a part of their realities. The degree of paradox and contradiction that they must deal with is also represented in the image. Within this thesis, te kete, the briefcase and te tuara are the points at which the cultural boundaries meet and the ways in which eight Maori women negotiated the institutional borderlands as students and continue to negotiate the boundaries that currently confront them as educators.

The thesis is organised around ten chapters. The first three form the literature review which seeks to analyse the body of knowledge that informs the area of research interest centred on Maori women. Little is known about the qualitative experiences of Maori women working in educational administration. Identifying the small number of studies with Maori women educators at the centre is not difficult (Meha 1987; Pihama and Kaai 1991; Smith 1993; Bowkett 1996; Tomlins-Jahnke 1996). Further limiting the search to the primary sector with either 'leadership', 'management', or 'responsibility' is easier still as it provides an unenviable reading list of nil. The paucity of literature in relation to Maori women in general is well documented (The Royal Commission on Social Policy 1988). Statistical data derived from the Ministry of Education (1993) suggests that these women have already succeeded against the odds just entering the profession.

From the group of Maori women who embark on tertiary study, the largest proportion undertake studies in education (Hartley 1992). However an anomaly exists. Although teaching has historically attracted the largest numbers of Maori women, one is forced to extrapolate information from statistical data compiled on either Maori men or women, or on women in general. In relative terms, the paradox of high participation and near invisibility is made clear when compared with the Ministry of Education's comprehensive collection of data regarding the status of Maori girls as students. Typically this data accentuates the experiences of Maori girls as being detrimentally different from their non-Maori peers in relation to access, retention and outcome. However, when looking at Maori women teachers as the embodiment of successful educational outcomes, there appears to be the assumption that having entered teaching, factors affecting the careers of all

women are homogeneous. This is particularly apparent in statistical compilations such as the *Teacher and Promotion Study; The Position of Women in Education* (1982-1989 Vasbenter et al) where no breakdown by ethnicity exists. This assumption is not supported by the limited number of qualitative studies[2] , published interviews, or, autobiographical vignettes published by Maori women educators. With meritocratic principles rarely cited as the reason for achieving school credentials there is a need to investigate the ways in which Maori women narrate success and the strategies they employ to attain it.

The thesis explores those successes. It examines both student and teaching experiences of eight Maori women educators, drawing on their dialogue through interviews to bridge the gap between quantitative data on Maori girls as students, and qualitative experiences as educators in schools. The thesis commences by engaging with bodies of knowledge that draw from two different cultural archives[3]. This is important, as privileging solely Western chronicles of leadership and feminist critique does not fully elucidate the position in which these Maori women reside. Centring either position is particularly problematic when the bulk of such literature is derived from the same Eurocentric precepts that have historically hindered the inclusion of indigenous paradigms.

Chapter one locates women within a Maori cultural archive, where the role and function of female elements and women is investigated in narratives of cosmology, lore and tribal histories. These narratives, based on collectivism and complementarity, normalise the contribution of women across social, political and economic domains. Female and male elements are recognised as integral components in spiritual, physical and elemental realms. Women in these contexts are highly regarded, not because they emulate masculine traits or are the appendages of outstanding men, but because they are seen as sources and conductors of power in their own right. Customary narratives

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2 The majority of which have been initiated by other Maori women educators and post graduate students (as thesis dissertations) attempting to better understand the type and extent of our experiences within educational contexts. See for example unpublished masterate dissertations encompassing Maori women educators or post graduate students; Selby (1995) and Tomlins-Jahnke (1996) Massey University, Fuli (1994) and Scott (1997) Victoria University and Henry (1994) Auckland University on Maori women in management.

3 The word archive is used throughout this thesis as delineated by Foucault (1972). He maintains that Western philosophies, definitions of human nature, what constitutes knowledge, how it is validated etc has a socio-political history attached to an identifiable cultural base, he refers to this as a cultural archive. This store of public record organises knowledge (often divided by discipline and hierarchically classified) to be fed back to its audience for public consumption.

suggest a partnership forged between mana wahine and mana tane, rather than a subordinate and superordinatedichotomy.

Chapter two engages with Western accounts of leadership. Western historical accounts of leadership have been challenged for their andro and ethnocentric bias. The critique engages with three positions: mainstream feminisms, women of colour and indigenous women. Whereas mainstream feminists argue that differentiated experience in organisations is based on gender and patriarchal hegemony, women of colour maintain racism is the primary factor denying full expression of their potential contribution in work-based contexts. In contrast to both standpoints, mana wahine extends beyond both positions, denoting not only a struggle with colonisation in which the combined forces of racism and patriarchy are understood, but also the pervasive discourse pertaining to individualism. Mana wahine, while embracing Maori women, is equally contingent upon mana tane, mana whanau, mana whenua, mana hapu and mana iwi (Irwin 1990; Te Awekotuku 1991; Mead 1996; Tomlins-Jahnke 1996). Primarily the lack of women's participation in organisational management structures by all these groups is seen to be the result of white, male, middle-class hegemonies which serve to entrench taken for granted assumptions about leadership and leaders. The result has been a number of ideological and structural forces which often combine to act in exclusionary ways for those outside the hegemonic norm.

Chapter three provides a framework in which studies, primarily of Maori youth in education, are undertaken. It is argued that an analysis of work-based strategies used in educational contexts can not be divorced from the wider socio-historic conditions in which they are embedded. The chapter highlights students' experiences as the largest body of literature that combines Maori and education as a focus. Furthermore, this literature suggests that Maori girls' experience of education is detrimentally different in a number of significant ways to their non-Maori peers. In addition educational institutions, and the ways in which they act upon those to be 'educated', provides the terrain that requires successful negotiation in order to enter a career in teaching - as a precursor to promotion within it. This thesis maintains that embedded within these experiences resides the genesis of strategies used to negotiate the work place.

Chapters four and five are concerned with methodological issues. Chapter four examines theoretical issues around the development of Maori research approaches and the critical positioning of the researcher in the research process. The chapter is divided into four sections. Section one locates the problematic of representation of Maori in the disjunctive process of colonisation. Section two acknowledges Western responses to colonising discourses and further considers grounded theory, critical theory and discourse around empowerment. Section three argues that ignoring the multiple accountabilities faced by researchers researching Maori issues, irrespective of the theoretical position, ultimately undermines the potential benefits of research for this group. The final section addresses two Maori positions currently being added to the methodological archive: Kaupapa Maori and Maori-centred research. Chapter five outlines the particular methods and process through which this thesis has progressed. The ways in which the pilot study informed this project are discussed. Particular attention is paid to the enactment of the ethical principles of mana, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga (Durie, A., 1992).

Chapter six offers a theoretical position in its developmental stages based on a contextualised 'network analytic frame' (Stanton-Salzar 1997). The chapter commences with two ways that theory has been perceived by Maori. Historically and contemporarily theory, particularly but not exclusively in the social sciences, has either ignored or denied the political dimensions of research, and thereby stifling Maori cultural growth and development. Through the use of metaphor and patu the position taken here posits, "theories are only important if they are perceived to be useful ... in providing a language and a form of analysis which is enabling rather than alienating" (Smith, L., 1997, p. 29). Smith further maintains that the primary function of a theoretical framework is to make sense of the realities of the people who live within them. Patu as the theory, utilises patu as a metaphor to outline a whakapapa, "a network analytic approach" (Stanton-Salazar 1997) to understanding the educational experiences of the participants in this research. It is patu[4] with its complexities and dichotomous contradictions that provides the conceptual thread that adheres this

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[4] Patu also known as mere are taonga - treasures. Treasures are not purely physical, people are considered taonga; often a kuia will refer to her mokopuna (grandchildren) as taonga, adults will refer to tupuna (ancestors) as taonga equally knowledge is considered a taonga as are resources. Patu, people, resources and processes share commonalities in how they are regarded that joins them together without necessarily privileging one over the other.

chapter to each of the others. Like many narratives patu can be read as a simple story about an artefact; a mere diversion (an inconvenient distraction) from the central focus of this thesis or; it can be read as a story of struggle and endurance; a taonga used by a people in times past, places and historical incident or; as this thesis tells it, as a cultural metaphor; a theory of connection that transcends person and object relationships to significant symbolic links that embrace: time, space and people to principles and processes.

Chapter seven is the first of three discussion chapters. It explores the principles and characteristics that constitute the participants' self ascribed identity. Self ascribed identity and identity markers ascribed by others are integral components of the women's personal and professional experiences. The indicative statement, *I am Maori first and then I am a teacher, I can stop being a teacher but I can't stop being Maori* indicates the centrality of the women's cultural identity. As outlined previously, the metaphoric use of kete whiri as both a process and a culturally identifiable product, informs the way in which the narratives are woven together. Understanding the ways in which these participants constitute their cultural identity is central to understanding the secondary identity as educators.

Chapter eight is informed by the metaphoric use of a briefcase to focus on the educational experiences of the participants as students in educational contexts. The briefcase, also identifiable as a cultural repository, bears associated images related to class and gender. Characterising educational institutions as a cultural archive indicates both processual and structural components. Access to institutional rewards requires the decoding of a myriad of latches, buckles and interlocking mechanisms that potentially serve to exclude. Combination locks allude to the fluidity of factors that configure and reconfigure themselves as they tumble into locking mechanisms that provide the problematic for 'would be, or could be' border-crossers. For example, institutional mobilisation of significant supportive networks remain more accessible to some groups than to others. Institutional networks provide crucial access to institutional discourse, mentors and role models as well as facilitating cultural endorsement through curricula content, school processes and structures. The links between these factors are often obscured by discourse on educational success

being an individualistic pursuit. A closer examination reveals that success is predicated on connection to and with institutional agents that act as advocates, knowledge codes that reinforce particular views of the world, and informational networks that serve to privilege some while excluding others. The contents of the briefcase are a product of those with the power to define what constitutes education, how its contents should be distributed, and who should be provided access to its rewards. The discussion looks at the locks individually and their ability to simultaneously engage and disengage, providing at times unnerving experiences for participants as they attempt to read the subtle shifts as locks reconfigure the key combinations. The more sophisticated combination locks (hidden curriculum giving rise to issues of racism, myths of meritocracy etc) are the most deeply concealed, leaving participants, as students, uncertain as to why the keys they hold don't quite fit the locks.

Chapter nine, *The Tuara*, or backbone, is the axis upon which the two repositories rest. Balancing the pannier are the participants' diverse realities, the strategies they used to survive as students, as well as their attempts to make links and connection across cultural borders. The position encases their hopes, their dreams and their visions for education. The tuara, in the women's present positions of responsibility, hinge on their aspirations which invariably involve notions of reciprocity. Giving back is about struggling to provide the institutional space in which Maori identity is not only recognised but also a space where Maori children may grow and develop positively.

Chapter ten, as the concluding chapter, draws the threads of the study together and indicates areas for further research. This research suggests there is still much to learn about the experiences of school based failure of Maori, and equally, the cost of success in a system based on Western meritocratic principles.

Chapter One
The Narrative Archive

Me aro koe ki te ha o Hine-ahu-one[1]
Pay heed to the dignity of women

The position of Maori women today, like those derived from any body of knowledge, emanates from a long recorded tradition recorded that resides in a multitude of forms[2]. This genre is cloaked in metaphor, innuendo, subtlety and jargon that elucidates what is valued to those schooled and initiated into its cultural milieu (Marsden, 1992). A cursory reading and retelling of such narratives may leave an impression that males are the central characters. Yet a closer inspection reveals that females also play key roles; often they are custodians of knowledge who, amongst other things, advise, direct and protect males (Jenkins, 1988; Smith, 1992; Metge, 1995). Who Maori women are resides in whakapapa which provides a framework that recognises individual uniqueness within the group (Pere, 1988). Notions of partnership, complementarity and interdependence are delineated and reiterated in narratives of the cosmogony, lore and tribal histories.

It is argued that cosmological narratives locate the female principle and women in complementary and interdependent roles alongside the male principle and men (Szaszy, 1987; Walker, 1990; Smith, L., 1990; Smith, C., 1994; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996). Narratives of lore expound female characters who are strong, knowledge bearers and ultimately capable of changing the course of humanity (Jenkins, 1988; Pere, 1988; Te Awekotuku, 1991). Tribal narratives reiterate the diverse roles and functions of women in customary Maori societies (Mahuika, 1975; Kupenga et. al., 1988; Jenkins, 1988).

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1 Originally used as the title for the Maori Women's Welfare League National Conference (1984 cited in, Report of the Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988, Vol II; p. 158).

2 The style and form of traditional accounts transcends the parameters of oral histories most often cited in anthropological writings. They are equally encased within a variety of figurative art forms such as: carvings, moko, tukutuku, kowhaiwhai, waiata and place names. These are a few of the many taonga tuku iho (treasures passed down from ancestors) that are often ignored dimensions limiting the number of locations and type of history recorded in Western accounts.

However prior to advancing notions of female roles within customary Maori societies, the degree of variance across tribal groups must first be recognised to dispel any perception of Maori as a homogeneous group in either customary or contemporary contexts.

As argued by King (1983), there appears to have been enough commonality between tribes from the Aupouri in the north to the Ngati Mamoe in the south for early writers to falsely claim that similarities pervaded all facets of Maori existence. King noted basic language, spiritual concepts, competitiveness, conventions of warfare and ways of giving and receiving hospitality as the basis for this premise (ibid: 43). However, as argued by Tomlins-Jahnke (1996), the composition and rich variation of internal functioning within iwi and hapu seemed to have been narrowly perceived by pakeha writers such as Best (1924) and Firth (1963).

Nevertheless, in spite of recognised diversity, what has drawn Maori women together, in more recent times, is the homogenising effects of colonisation; this has adhered an opaque veneer to the window through which Maori women are viewed by the world[3]. Through this veneer have emerged discourse mutations that have powerfully normalised the abnormal, dramatised the mundane and turned halves into whole. It is a discourse that sees male as owner and provider, casts female authority as secondary and insignificant, and simultaneously fractionates genderised roles customarily based on complementarity and collective good. The ideological dichotomisation of male and female, hierarchical division within society based on ethnicity, and individualism has meant that Maori women have been (re)defined, (re)fashioned, (re)named and (re)organised[4] into a colonial social order that atrophies who and what Maori women represent. The result is that at times Maori women must (re)mind Maori men, as much

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3 See for example The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988, Vol. II; pp. 51-79) that provides a synopsis of mana wahine drawn from submissions to the commission, Waitangi Tribunal claims and submissions made to Women's Affairs advocating the establishment of Te Ohu Whakatipu.

4 According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary the prefix 're' is used in the sense of 'altering the previous state'. Equally it can be used to 'return to previous state after lapse or cessation or occurrence of opposite state'. The latter is the position of (re)location advanced.

as non-Maori men and women, about who they are and from whom they descend. Many Maori women - writers, film makers, academics and artists - are located within the position of 'talking back', 'filming back', 'writing back' and 'painting back'[5] (Irwin, 1992; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Jenkins, 1992; Pihama, 1996; Mita, 1993; Mead, 1996), in order to (re)assert their authority through (re)uniting the status of Maori women as complementary and equal to that of Maori men. This becomes particularly important when non-Maori have vested in themselves the power to (re)define the position and function of Maori women in both Pakeha and Maori contexts[6], and when many Maori men accept such (re)interpretations uncritically. This is particularly evident when, some Maori women,

> ... have also been led to believe that this *loss of dignity* and the right to be involved with decision making stems from Maori tradition (Pere, 1982, p.95) [My emphasis].

Hegemonic discourse that envelops and then subverts the customary positions of Maori women is a tool of colonisation that has simultaneously subjugated women while trivialising its own catalytic subordinating role. This is achieved in part by relocating such subversion within reinterpreted Maori cultural precepts. A measure of hegemonic power is the extent to which European renditions of who we are, are accepted uncritically. The combination of scientific discovery of indigenous groups and further ideological impositions attached to industrialisation and the rise of capitalism (Fanon, 1961; Churchill, 1992) provides a mindset in which Maori women become the recyclable waste products of a colonial process. This process has more often than not seen those being colonised as either expendable commodities or raw material privy to the deft hand of the colonial manufacturer. Who Maori women are and how they see themselves are rarely given expression in such schema.

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5 See Robin Kahukiwa's series of paintings entitled "White out".

6 See for example Heuer, 1972; Klein, 1981; Fry, 1985 and Carson, 1991. What becomes most problematic in such accounts is the perpetuation of Eurocentric views of genderised roles within traditional Maori society continue to be accepted based on academic acumen while those advancing positions within the cultural milieu that forms the focus of debate are reminded that we "(these women) are very much twentieth-century New Zealanders, but perhaps it is the closest we can come to the pre-European years." (Openshaw, Lee and Lee, 1993; p. 27).

What follows is not an attempt to undermine the male characters in these narratives; rather it attempts to provide an analysis in which women are (re)located in positions equal and complimentary to their male counterparts. In each of the narratives explored, women actively engage in the creation, evolution and maintenance of Te Ao Maori in partnership with their male associates. Genderised characteristics prescribed by Maori custom differ markedly to those advanced by colonialism. Evidence of this is derived from the principles, attributes and processes that underpin three forms of narratives: cosmological narratives, narratives of lore and tribal history narratives. In these are the following **principles**.

- Continuous creation, in which the universe is portrayed as dynamic encompassing physical and intellectual growth and progress in which male and female elements are interlocated.
- Interactive participation where physical, spiritual and elemental phenomena are seen as active participants in a dynamic creative process based on interdependency and complementarity in partnerships that involve male and female elements.

Women display within these narratives the following **attributes**:

- they are power(ful) in their own right and provide channels through which economic, political and social status is distributed
- women characters often enable those associated with them with knowledge, technology and wise counsel while further exhibiting characteristics of -
- courage and self determination.

Appropriate **processes** are also reinforced that suggest

- hui as a forum for considered debate, negotiation, and for conciliation when positions are divided.

The reiteration of these principles, attributes and processes across Maori narratives provide, as argued by Tickner, "the mode by which culture is expressed. Many see folklore as, in effect, archaeology of the mind" (1992, p. 1).

Cosmological Narratives[7].

Maori cosmogony or the phenomenological world was separated into three states of existence, "Te Kore (the void), Te Po (the dark), and Te Ao Marama (the world of light)" (Walker, 1990, p. 11). First was Te Kore; the void of time, space and light in which resided the potential (Simmons, 1985). From this aeonic time frame emerged the potential for life, for becoming, for being, all things. The notions of potentiality and interactive participation opposed to the dichotomised positions of active and passive are integral components of this period. Marsden (1992) in reflecting on these three states quotes Ngapuhi wananga,

> Te korekore i takea mai, ki te po te kitea, te po tangotango, Po whawha, Po namunamu ki te wheiao, ki Te Ao Marama.
>
> From the realm of Te Korekore the root cause, through the night of unseeing, the night of hesitant exploration, night of bold groping, night inclined towards the day and emergence into the broad light of day (p. 135).

Many writers engage in interpretation of this first phenomenological phase; Te Kore. Once again Marsden maintains it is

> ... the realm between non-being and being ... the realm of primal, elemental energy or latent being. It is here that the seed-stuff of the universe and all created things gestate. It is the womb from which all things proceed. (1992, p. 135)

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7 The use of the word narrative is a conscious attempt to divorce the content of the following sections, particularly cosmological narratives and narratives of lore, from relegation to myths and legends, when such discourse relegates said histories into the realm of imagination and 'sets of ideas that form part of the beliefs of a group but is not founded on fact' (The Oxford Dictionary 1994, New Edition). When biblical references are prefixed with the word myth I would see the use of terms 'myth and legend' less problematically. The conceptual leaps of faith required within many biblical stories remain scientifically unsubstantiated yet are elevated above the scientific evidence of the crucial interdependence of sky, earth and elemental forces for all living things embodied within Maori cosmology. The differential treatment of one from the other is problematic when credence is attributed to one while the other is trivialised.

Within the first two periods, two main allegorical figures arise across the majority of writers: one of plant growth, the seed representing the male element and gestation providing the female balance (Simmons, 1985; Best, 1923; Buck, 1949; Salmond, 1985). Taylor (1855 citing Te Kohuora) and Andersen (1907 citing Tama-Kere) add a third dimension, 'the epoch of thought':

> From the germ of life sprang thought, and God's [Io] own medium came; then bud and bloom; and life in space produced the worlds of night ... (p. 127).

Two things are indicated in these dissertations, first that the potential for conceptual, abstract thought was highly valued. Secondly, there is no indication that such a virtue resided solely or primarily with either the male or female principle. What is evident is the existence of male and female elements interlocating consciousness (Taylor, 1855; p. 14) with abstract thought and intellectual capacity in the evolving cosmogony. Sproul (1979) maintains that a participative, internally active view of change is evident, where creation is revealed

> ... in abstract physical stages, evolving through the three periods of thought, night and finally light. It is dramatic and moving .... because its point of view is internal and participatory, not objective and reportorial. There is no one deity, no fixing of a sacred process into one persona; nature itself is only a dependent part of the whole. Being itself evolves from the conception through thought, spirit and matter to the greater climax, the blaze of day from the sky (p. 338).

These participative processes are not seen to act in exclusionary ways, where any one is independent of the others. The principle of interdependence is further reiterated in the creation of humankind, contrary to the typicality of Heuer's (1972) Eurocentric claim that,

> Culturally the role of women was made clear in the account of their creation. The first woman was formed out of a mound of earth and impregnated by her male creator with a life spirit. From this woman was regarded as being a passive receptacle for the dominant male spirit. Later mythology developed also an emphasis upon women as non-sacred and destructive, and many of women's activities, both prescribed and proscribed, emerged from this belief (p. 55).

The pacification and supplication of women is incongruous with the principles of interdependence and complementarity. Tane was one participant in a collaborative

process (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996) who participated in the creation not of the first woman but of the first human. Heuer's possible paralleling of this narrative to the Judaeo-Christian parable of Adam and Eve implies Tane like Adam is human, that Hine-ahu-one is the first reference to woman in the cosmogony and that her creation is the culmination of individual, male activity. Taking each assumption in turn, Tane is not mortal, he and his siblings are derived from Ranginui-e-tu-iho-nei (sky father) and Papa-tua-nuku (earth mother).

This primeval pair are the culmination of the potential advanced in Te Kore, which marks the transition from the first state Te Kore to the second Te Po. The intensity of this shared embrace precludes light, leaving their off-spring to reside in perpetual darkness. The progeny[8] of this union while personified in the male form (Walker, 1990; Marsden, 1992) were attributed the full range of personality traits that within Western theorising are dichotomised into male and female characteristics. In the search for light and space it is Tane, the first born, who although is credited with separating Rangi and Papa neither conceives nor accomplishes the task alone. Separation is the culmination of hui (deliberations) between siblings. This is not to imply, however, that consensus was achieved on the course of action taken. To the contrary, it is the lack of consensus that in part locates the siblings in their respective realms and subjects some to the wrath of others. Each sibling further provides the distinct branches of whakapapa[9], the basis on which the physical and elemental worlds are ordered (Marsden, 1992).

After the separation of Rangi and Papa, Tane sustains ahi ka (residence) with his mother, establishing her as a source through which economic, social and political status is distributed. Heuer's analysis commencing in the third state of existence ignores the

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8 The number of progeny varies across writers, seven are most commonly cited. Others such as Andersen (1907, p. 146) and Best (1924, p. 75) note 70.

9 Whakapapa or notions of tuakana/teina also effect this ordering, for example, unborn Ruaimoko, god of volcanoes and earthquakes, remains within the body of Papa. Even though unborn he continues to be seen as active and displays his own mana and the potential to effect change.

presence of female elements prior to and during the search for the ira tangata (the human principle). Tane is an active agent in a process that involves hui (collaborative deliberation) and the ultimate need to acquire the counsel of Papa-tua-nuku in order to locate the uha (female principle) in order to create human life. Papa-tua-nuku provides Tane with knowledge regarding where to look, and parting with her own physical substance resulting in successful accomplishment of the task (Metge, 1995; p. 95), the creation of Hine ahu one, the first human being. Furthermore, Papa-tua-nuku displays attributes of wisdom, tolerance and forbearance in her willingness to protect, nurture and sustain many of her offspring in spite of the disservice done to her and Rangi in their separation. Heuer's use of an individualising framework as the basis for analysis privileges the role of the individual to the detriment of other key participants even in group contexts[10].

Further Eurocentric references to later narratives that emphasise the non-sacred and destructive nature of women is equally unfounded. From the union of Tane and Hine-ahu-one, Hinetitama, Muri-ranga-whenua and Mahuika are born[11] (Sproul, 1979; Tanenuiarangi, 1988). The contribution of these four women continue to reinforce the critical role of women in the development of culture as established by Papa-tua-nuku. Tane takes Hinetitama (his daughter) as his wife. Upon discovering the incestuous relationship she has unwittingly entered into, Hinetitama displays both the power and the self determination not only to leave the relationship but also to transform the course of humankind. From a prior state of immortality, Hinetitama, later known as Hine-nui-te-po, instigates mortality as a costly reminder of her violation by Tane (Jenkins, 1992). The initial desecration of personhood is of Tane's making, the power and

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10 Triandis (1995, p. 2) provides a preliminary definition of collectivism as 'a social pattern consisting of closely linked individuals who see themselves as part of one or more collectives; are primarily motivated by the norms of, and duties imposed by, those collectives, are willing to give priority to the goals of these collectives over their own personal goals and emphasise their connectedness to members of these collectives'. He goes on to define individualism as a social pattern that 'consists of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of collectives; are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, rights and the contracts they have established with others; give priority to their personal goals over the goals of others; and emphasise rational analyses of the advantages and disadvantages to associating with others.'

11 Muri-ranga-whenua and Mahuika are signalled here to form a whakapapa link that is important for understanding Maui's connections arising in the narratives of lore and the theoretical chapter.

recognised authority to remove and transform oneself rather than remaining a victim is Hinetitama's contribution.

The further contributions of Hinetitama's sisters, Muri-ranga-whenua and Mahuika are given expression in narratives of lore and the critical roles they play in the exploits of Maui.

Narratives of Lore

Perhaps the most widely known and most often cited character from which lore is drawn is that of Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga (Andersen, 1907; Walker, 1975, 1990, Schwimmer, 1966). Many customary practices are blueprinted in such narratives and the significance of women made transparent through the reiteration of principles, attributes and processes. Maui narratives provide the primary focus in this section as an analysis of the 'oppression we are meeting dressed up mistakenly in the cloaks of our own culture' (Irwin, 1993; p. 303). The oppression is particularly borne by Maori women, as typically, the reinterpretation of customary narratives are reformatted into European patriarchal precepts. The pivotal role of women ignored in Colonial myths of Maori narratives enjoy wide exposure. They are consumed by Maori and Non-Maori children alike in schools, gifted to overseas visitors as tokens of indigenous fare, and used against Maori women in later analyses by current writers as a means of justifying the contemporary secondary status of Maori women. Female characters in these reinterpretations are often reduced to old crones or conversely to sex nymphs, setting the scene for virile dominant male characters who romp through paradise. Women are thus (re)imaged in a web of attraction and repulsion, derived from the sexual musings of cultural interlopers (Young, 1995). The portrayal of women as expendable not only diminishes the status of women but equally limits their counterparts, Maori men, to 'once were warrior' caricatures. Fanon (1965) shows that when colonials made history, the men and women objectified in such chronicles are condemned to immobility and

silence. Churchill (1992) goes beyond Fanon's position, he argues, that 'objects of study' experience literature as a weapon of genocide. Literature in this sense becomes a textual strategy used to atrophy indigenous groups through fictional, non-fictional and cinematic representation.

Maori men and women writers, (Mahuika, 1975; Walker, 1990; Marsden, 1991; Jenkins, 1988; Smith, L., 1992; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996) provide contrary analyses to Eurocentric accounts, focusing instead on the contribution of both genders and rarely attributing significant events to individuals. In these analyses writers recognise female characters as displaying a diverse number of skills and fulfilling a variety of roles across a number of domains. In a like manner, Maui narratives are contingent upon his connection to women through whakapapa and their enabling attributes.

Maui narratives note that his life commences as an aborted foetus. He is caste into the ocean by his mother in the top-knot of her hair, which is commemorated in his name, Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga (Walker, 1992; p. 172). He is the child of a women in control of her own destiny, a trait Maui himself is later to emulate. Having survived his humble beginnings Maui achieves his birthright through the initial acceptance of him, by whanau and hapu, based on the acknowledgment of him by Taranga. By the simple act of acknowledgment, Taranga provides the channel through which Maui is accepted and becomes a part of a whakapapa matrix. In addition to locating Maui within a social group, the further connection to land provides political, economic and spiritual attachments. In short, Taranga enables Maui access to all the rights and obligations afforded whanau and hapu members.

Furthermore the foundation of many of the feats attributed to Maui are based on the knowledge and technology acquired from his kuia. It is Muri-ranga-whenua that

supplies him with her enchanted jawbone and knowledge of its potential use[12]. Mahuika, another of his kuia, supplies him with the source of fire, the discovery of which is revered within many cultures. It is the forbearance and tolerance of these kuia toward their mokopuna, in spite of their power to dismiss him, that enables Maui to accomplish many of the feats for which he is renowned (Kupenga, V., Rata, R., Nepe, T., 1988, p. 31; Jenkins 1992). Walker (1992, p. 174) cites these narratives, based on the actions of these women, as the origin of elders in general being the repositories of wisdom, knowledge and tribal lore.

The narratives of Tawhaki, are equally dependant on the diverse roles and skills of the women with whom he is associated. His mother provides him with strategic knowledge enabling him to avenge the death of his father. His wife recovers and revives him after internment in a shallow grave, created by his brother in-laws. His grandmother informs him of correct route and the appropriate procedures to follow when pursuing his wife within a celestial realm. It is Tangotango, a celestial maiden, who initiates the nightly visitations to his bed. She, like Hine-nui-te-po takes her leave after being personally insulted, returning to the celestial realm from whence she came. Tangotango's home in the celestial realm proves to be a place where pursuit by Tawhaki is impossible, (without the knowledge of his kuia Whaitiri). She possesses the required knowledge of both the path that should be followed, and the cautionary advice necessary to complete the arduous journey.

Thus women traverse both the upper and lower realms of Maori cosmogony. Women possessed knowledge and skills important for the livelihood and development of Maori culture. They are most frequently portrayed as characters who, through their tolerance and forbearance, enabled others while maintaining their own self determination. These principles and attributes are reiterated in the telling of tribal histories.

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12 It is with this technology and knowledge, that Maui is able to beat the sun into submission. It is later fashioned into a fish hook and used to catch Te Ika A Maui (North Island). Subsequently bone was to be valued as a source from which a variety of prized implements were fashioned and used by both men and women (Walker 1992).

Narratives of Tribal Histories

Within the narratives of tribal histories, women's contribution to Maori societies are multifaceted in that they fulfil integral roles in the social, economic, political and spiritual development and perpetuation of communal life. Pakeha feminist critique has narrowly focused on the contribution of Maori women during initial engagement with manuhiri, as a means of arguing that the same patriarchal precepts exist within Maori culture as they do in European contexts (Te Awekotuku; 1991). Mana wahine critique of Western feminisms (Awatere, 1984; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Irwin, 1992; Smith, L., 1992; Evans, 1993; Pihama and Mara, 1994; Mead, A., 1994) argue that there are fundamental differences in the ideological assumptions underpinning Western theoretical positions that are in conflict with Mana Wahine theory derived from the diametrically opposed positions of individualism and collectivism (see footnote 10).

Contrary to Western analyses Kahu Stirling[13](1997) of Te Whanau a Apanui and Ngati Porou, and Peti Nohotima (1997)[14] of Tuhoe, speak about the place of women on the Marae atea. They maintain that because of the high regard for women as store houses of knowledge and as the whare tangata (the house of humanity), they did not often speak in this forum. While noting that it is the women's voice that is heard first, in the form of karanga, and last in waiata, the whaikorero was a forum in which challenge and blood shed could occur. This position is reflected within the Whakatauki,

> Whakaakotia te tane kotahi tonu
> Whakaakotia he wahine he mano he mano he mano.
>
> One man (falls) and it remains one man
> A woman falls and the potential of hundreds are lost.
> (Maori Proverb)

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13 HOD Maori Studies at Palmerston North College Of Education in personal communication.

14 Head of Kura Kaupapa Programme at Palmerston North College Of Education in personal communication.

Women were recognised and valued as the first teachers; they were prolific composers of various forms of waiata[15] which incorporate elements of tribal history, people and protocol (Stirling, 1997; Nohotima, 1997). The point being made here is that Maori women played a significant role within Maori society. They were not insignificant in creating, shaping, developing and sustaining Maori culture. Maori women's role models encompassed the range of human potential which has been historically 'written out' of literary accounts and anthropological studies. Nohotima (1997 citing her mother), referring to Best's writing on Tuhoe, suggests that his androcentric view of their tribe can be attributed to two things. Firstly, the use of only men as his informants, and secondly, his audience. Best's credentialling agents lay in his 'homeland' England; thus he was perhaps more concerned with meeting external parameters of validity than with those that would have been acceptable within the tribe that provided the focus of study[16].

Seeing Maori women as a repressed group is incompatible with the level to which Maori women are integrated into tribal histories that incorporate women fulfilling diverse roles and displaying a variety of often ignored attributes. Some of these attributesinclude:

Bravery

- Wairaka whose descendants in the Ngati Awa, Tuhoe and Whakatohea tribes, celebrate her bravery and strength in saving the waka Mataatua.

Compassion

- Ngatoroirangi of Tuwharetoa when claiming the land in the Taupo district from the lofty heights of Ngauruhoe beseeches his sisters, Kuiwai and Haungaroa to use their powers to save him from the harsh elements (Grace, 1959; p. 63).

Intellect

- Rongomaiwahine known for her beauty, her status of birth and her quick intellect, was seen by Kahungunu as a desirable partner. Her own personal

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15 The value of waiata as a means for recording historical incidents, making political statements and teaching purposes was widely used and applied to off spring very early through the use of oriori; a form of chant primarily directed toward the young.

16 Biggs (1960) raises further shortcomings in the works of Best for further consideration.

mana is evident with two previous marriages. She was considered highly desirable for a myriad of reasons. Both she and Kahungunu[17] are immortalised in meeting houses throughout the area[18].

Selfdetermination

- Te Awekotuku (1991) gives an account of Hinemoa, an ancestor of Te Arawa. The first version[19] is developed and perpetuated for the tourist trade encompasses notions of love and succumbing to desire. She also speaks of a second version, although possibly less palatable to an external audience, incorporating attributes of tenacity, strength, courage, and determination.

Leadership

- Within Ngati Porou, Apirana Mahuika (1975) cites many instances in which the position of women is paramount. There are those remembered for their leadership; holding the rank of ariki (temporal head of the tribe) status (Hine-Matioro) and the status of chiefs (Hinerupe and Hinetapora). The latter, in spite of having an older brother, is cited as being the most important leader of her time. Neither of these women were tuakana (of the senior line) yet both rose (like Maui) to the position of leadership based on recognisedability.

Receptacles of knowledge

- Mahuika also indicates women also became the receptacles of knowledge, bestowed with the role of keeping oral histories and genealogies (Ngaropi Rangi). Still others were regarded as tohunga (the religious head of the tribe) whose main responsibility was to mediate between iwi and God (Rangihurihuia).

Status of birth

- There were those remembered for their status of birth; Matamua (first born status, if born first). The matamua is regarded symbolically as descending from the gods, and therefore with the birthright mantle resting on her, she had the mana to perform the special duties (eg. sacred rituals and removal of tapu) adhering to the role of first born (Tamatea Upoko, Hineauta, Uepohatu).

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17 Women had the ability to name their world. In debating the worth of the union between Kahungunu, and Rongomaiwahine, Rongomaiwahine likened the virtues of Kahungunu to the stars in the heavens. Consequently he is often figuratively represented with nga whetu at his side.

18 Personal conversation with Mana Cracknell of Rongomaiwahine. Kahungunu is remembered for the traits recognised and defined by Rongomaiwahine. Beside carved representations of Kahungunu often reside tukutuku panels of nga puraurawhetu which signify Rongomaiwahine's characterisation of Kuhungunu, situating her as the namer of names while representations of Rongomaiwahine carry no such qualifiers.

19 Te Awekotuku suggests that there was no one story that it varied according to the audience being addressed but incorporated similar elements 'Unrequited passion ... the romantic melody of his flute across the water... . (1991, p. 19)

Providing historical reference points

- Other points of note cited by Mahuika displaying the status of Ngati Porou women include the number of Meeting houses bearing female ancestral names (Kapohanga, Hinetapora, Materoa); and the number of chief hapu named after women, (Te Whanau a Hine-rupe, Te Whanau o Tapuhi, Te Aitanga-a-Mate).

Avenues through which social, economic and political connection is claimed

- the rights of Mana Whenua - rights to land inherited through the women (Iritekura - Waipiro block); and the privilege of children being known through their mother (Nga kuri paka a Uetuhiao - the renowned warrior sons of Uetuhiao).

The examples cited do not constitute a definitive list but provide examples of the diverse contribution made by Maori women to their respective societies. It provides a counter view to the freeze frame approaches taken by those external to the cultural milieu who claim Maori women and public leadership roles are incompatible with Maori cultural precepts. It equally highlights that Maori men customarily recognised, embraced and actively sought the counsel of women, not because they were considered secondary and insignificant but because they too were active participants in the creating and shaping a culture based on complementarity and interdependence.

Metge (1995, p. 92) notes the variation of female and male roles across iwi, "some iwi insisting they are different but equal", other iwi according men a dominant position, particularly with regard to access to public leadership. Salmond (1991 cited in Metge, 1995) suggests that the discourse on male dominance emerged out of 'competitive striving in war' as a possible rationale for the separation of status between men and women yet the women cited above rose to prominent positions within such times. A clearer disjunctive is attributable to colonisation with the assignment of women into the domestic domain and exclusion from political decision making and property holdings. In contrast however, Mita (1983 cited in Paraha, 1992) maintains in her whanau there

is 'a history of women who didn't stay at home. They took their places by the men and were shot at and shot back' (p. 112).

A Eurocentric and androcentric propensity to categorise and commodify those colonised has resulted in the privileging of selected facets of cultural practice that endorsed existing Western codes. Anthropological orthodoxy regarding contradiction appeared to vacillate between relegating many of the dynamic facets of observed cultures to obscurity, or casting behaviour contrary to their own, as pathological. This is contrary to the diversity evident in Maori narratives of cosmology, lore and tribal histories that locate women complementarily with their male counterparts. The women immortalised in cosmological, tribal and narratives of lore fulfil critical roles in the growth and development of a dynamic culture.

The metaphoric use of male and female physiology and intellectual capacity, engaged in participative interaction, formulate the transition from Te Kore to Te Po, culminating in the primeval pair Rangi and Papa. In Te Po the proliferation of off-spring displayed the range of human characteristics currently dichotomised into male and female. Papa-tua-nuku is positioned as nurturer, provider, protector and adviser. Te Ao Marama positions women as active agents with the power to change destiny. It is a power that the infamous Maui is unable to circumvent. Attempting to (re)enact the original violation of Hine-nui-te-po in order to regain immortality, costs him his life. However prior to Maui's death, he engages in many acts from which lore is narrated and the diverse positioning of women is made evident. Equally tribal narratives provide diverse representations of women where contribution to society across private and public domains is normalised.

This chapter centralises the diversity of roles played by Maori women in customary Maori societies. In effect it normalises their contribution across social, political and

economic domains. The next chapter shifts the focus onto the ways in which leadership has been conceptualised in the literate archive.

Chapter Two

The Leadership Archive

> Of all the hazy and confounding areas in social psychology, leadership theory undoubtedly contends for top nomination. And, ironically, probably more has been written and less known about leadership than about any other topic in the behavioural sciences... we have invented an endless proliferation of terms to deal with it ... and still the concept is not sufficiently defined. As we survey the path leadership theory has taken we spot the wreckage of "trait theory', the 'great man theory' ... The dialectic and reversals of emphasis in this area very nearly rival the tortuous twists and turns of child rearing practices ... (Bennis 1959; cited in Smyth 1994; p. 4).

In spite of prolonged and concerted efforts to advance universalisms regarding the nature of leadership, researchers struggle to uniformly clarify the phenomena's complexities. The fascination with 'leadership' has consumed the time of researchers, commands attention in texts across a variety of disciplines and provides the focus of heated debate. Bennis and Nanus (1985; cited in Owens, 1991) report that no less than 350 definitions of leadership exist in the literature. Within the last four decades (since Bennis' statement), the growing number of sites in which leadership has been investigated, the diversity of methodological approaches and outcomes continue to suggest that much is yet to be discovered. Uncertainties remain even for white, middle class men who have historically constituted the focus of inquiry. It is argued here that while leadership as a social phenomena has created considerable research interest, results, as suggested by Bennis, are negligible. Nevertheless, these approaches exert a powerful influence through the amount of space devoted to them in the research archive, in courses on administration, management and leadership and in institutional selection practices.

The initial purpose of this section is to provide a critical overview of the major empirical studies of leadership that have struggled to come to terms with providing an understanding of a socially derived construct which is 'complex, fluid and often ambiguous' (Foster, 1986; p.182). The latter part of this chapter provides a review of studies centralising the experiences of women in general, of women of colour and finally of Maori women in particular, holding positions of responsibility in organisations.

Debate regarding leadership, for the greater part of this century, has progressed from theories based on the personal characteristics of men in identifiable positions of power or authority (trait theories), to behaviours displayed by those perceived to be leaders (situational theories) to more recently developed contingency theories that regard both traits and situation to be important. Such theories have more often than not ignored ethnic minorities, class groups (outside their own) and women, thereby excluding them from 'normalised' conceptions of leaders. Latterly, investigation into the political, ethical and moral dimensions of leadership, combined with gender and cultural analyses, are challenging earlier assumptions.

Leadership; A Critique of (His)story.

Initial scientific interest in leadership commenced outside of educational contexts and revolved around the assumption that leaders were born, not made. The primary emphasis was on distinguishing certain 'leadership traits' in the individual's personality or physical make-up (Watkins, 1994). The collection of empirical data commenced at the beginning of this century and continued to dominate research until the 1950's. Studies required the division of groups into two distinct categories: leaders and followers. According to Watkins (ibid) the search for correlations between physical characteristics[1], personality traits and personal behaviour constituted the focal point of inquiry. Leadership observed in military, political and economic spheres provided the sites of study, taking for granted that qualities of leadership resided solely in men.

However by the 1950's, Stogdill (1948 and 1970; cited in Watkins, 1994; Hoy and Miskel, 1991) and Mann (1949; cited in Hoy and Miskel, 1991), among others, had begun to highlight many of the inconsistencies and contradictions apparent across a large number of studies. Stogdill (having reviewed 120 studies) concluded that, "the trait approach by itself

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[1] Although not suggested by Watson, eugenics was popular as a means of differentiating between men and women and one ethnic group from another; principles of eugenics are also evident in attempts to differentiate leaders from followers.

had yielded negligible and confusing results" (cited in Hoy and Miskel, p. 254). Owens (1991) provides a synopsis of criticisms, suggesting that they encompass three main points. First, no systematic relationship between personal traits and leadership has been established that has not been refuted by subsequent studies. Second, at least part of the inability to establish a clear body of evidence lies in problems of research methodology[2], and finally that the situation in which leadership is attempted is probably at least as influential as the personal traits of the leader.

Nevertheless, although the lack of consistency in the data gathered had failed to provide the universal answers sought, Yukl (1981; cited in Hoy and Miskel, 1989) noted, some 35 years after Stogdill (1948) and Mann (1949), the continued interest in the development of trait theories by industrial psychologists as a tool for managerial selection. For ethnic groups (hooks 1984) and women (Shakeshaft, 1989; Ouston, 1993) a lack of representation in the narrow cohort from which traits are drawn, is problematic. It is particularly problematic when those cohorts serve as a gatekeeping mechanism. They are often based on tenuous research findings that become entrenched in selection practices. Nevertheless in spite of diminished research interest the continued use of trait theory in the identification of potential organisational leaders remains a popular practice.

The change of research focus from innate qualities to external behaviour apparent in leadership style provided the catalyst for the development of alternative theories. Situational theorists began to view leadership in terms of the functions performed rather than the particular leadership traits displayed. A number of studies emerged from the Personnel Research Board at Ohio State University, the University of Michigan and Harvard University producing rating scales employed in contrived and work based situations. The scale having most impact for educational contexts was the Leadership Behaviour Description Questionnaire (LBDQ), developed by Ohio State University.

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2 Supported by positivistic theories of knowledge. See Blackmore (1994).

Two dimensions became important in defining leadership behaviour: the way leaders perceived their subordinates and the way they perceived their own role, termed, 'consideration' and 'initiating structure'. Leadership was seen to be enhanced or diminished in situations dependent on the mix of interpersonal consideration displayed toward subordinates and the structure in place for goal completion. A significant correlation between effective school administrators' ability to balance consideration of people with initiating structure, leading to accomplishment of school goals was noted (Kunz and Hoy, 1976; Miskel, 1974; cited in Hoy and Miskel, 1991).

Other studies confirmed these dimensions giving researchers an optimistic view that finally some of the complexities of leadership and its effects were scientifically unfolding. Four variables were cited as being situational determinants of leadership: structural properties of the organisation; organisational climate; role characteristics and subordinate characteristics. Leadership was moving into a phase where the ability to manage was also seen to be a component[3]. Although this view of leadership was seen as a major step forward Chemers (1984) states that:

> During both the trait and behaviour eras, researchers were seeking to identify the 'best' style of leadership. They had not yet recognised that no single style of leadership is universally best across all situations and environments (p. 95).

Primarily problematic, during this phase of inquiry, was the rigidity with which hierarchical male leadership was taken for granted; in which notions of power were seen as static and uni-directional (Smyth, 1994). Seen as a 'given' Eurocentric and androcentric assumptions remained unchallenged as the only way of conceptualising the phenomena. Watkins maintains,

> ... while the situationalist approach to leaderships was seen to be virtually worthless in its own terms, of controlling and extracting more work from subordinates, it has also been criticised for working by stealth in seeking to

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3 Educational texts on administration (Bolman and Deal 1991; Owens 1991; Sergiovanni 1984) in particular make clear distinctions between leadership and management. Nanus (1985 cited in Owens 1991) puts it simply as, "managers do things right, and leaders do the right thing". What is suggested is that while managers may implement procedural matters to do with the day to day running of organisations such as timetabling, resource acquisition.... leadership it implies thinking about underlying assumptions, long term goals and visions, part of which will be management of the every day affairs of the institution.

> manipulate the employees of organisations. By ignoring inequalities of organisational power, it implied an acceptance of the power status quo (p. 15).

He further suggests that the main thrust of the research was more concerned with extracting greater productivity while legitimating the power status quo and perpetuating divided class relations within organisations which have more to do with power than leadership.

Research interest then moved to combining trait and situational hypotheses into contingency theories. Hoy and Miskel (1991) also cite Fiedler's contingency theory, House's Path-Goal theory, and the Cognitive Resource theory as the three most widely tested theories advocating this model. For Fiedler, effectiveness was related to the extent to which the group was able to accomplish set tasks, whereas House measured leadership effectiveness in relation to the psychological states of the subordinates. Different again is the cognitive resource theory which aims to identify and explain the processes that produce leadership effectiveness.

Nevertheless, critics (Bates, 1989; Codd, 1989; Haller and Strike, 1986; Foster, 1986; Blackmore, 1994; Smyth, 1994; Watkins, 1994) challenge the static representation of 'followers' in which subordinate groups are seen to be acted upon; they are led. There is 'no hint of contestation or resistance which would bring about an ongoing dialectic of change' (Watkins, 1994; p. 16) evident in contingency approaches.

While many critics have recognised the advances made in theorising leadership few remain uncritical. Challenges to positivistic studies on leadership within educational administration could be summarised in three sections. First the findings arrived at via empirical studies have not only failed to illuminate the educational administrative field regarding the complexities of leadership concepts. They have also marginalised many by their continued avoidance of broader interest groups in much of their analyses such as; gender (Court, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989; Hall, 1993; Ouston, 1993; Blackmore, 1994; Klenke, 1996), and ethnicity (McKeller, 1989; Bravette, 1994; Foster, 1994; Henry, 1994; Davidson, 1996). Equally the theorising of

leadership isolated from external as well as internal influences that place leadership within a historical time frame and socio-political context, leaves the impression that concepts of leadership advanced are culturally neutral. This has had the effect of entrenching findings from studies by white men, with men, for men as the only way of defining, operationalising and assessing 'valid' leadership roles.

For example, Clifford (1988; cited in Scheurich and Young, 1997) demonstrated how mainstream definitions of leadership served as a disadvantage to a Native American tribe known as the Mashpee. In a U.S. trial held to determine the validity of the Mashpee's status as a tribe, the mainstream cultures definition of leadership was used to weaken the testimony of the Mashpee chief, especially in terms of proving whether the chief was a 'true' or 'real' leader. This 'proof' of leadership deficiency was then used to undermine the legitimacy of the Mashpee's claim to be a tribe. The idea that a Mashpee definition of leadership might be considered equal (or superior) to research definitions is typically not seen as reasonable or warranted in formal or informal social practices even in instances where so little, regarding leadership in the Western archive, is certain.

Although the results of studies have proved ineffective in advancing a body of knowledge considered universally enlightening, (even for those inside the group), they have been applied in detrimental ways to those outside of it (Neville, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1989; Court, 1989). A proportion of the critique has centred on the methodological focus of research. Research derived from positivist assumptions, maintaining a rigid separation between facts and values has in effect supported gendered divisions in western contexts (identified in feminist analyses) and created new androcentric divisions for cultural groups with less stringent divisions of labour. This has been particularly identified by critical theorists who suggest research on leadership in education needs to decrease its interest in technocratic understandings of *what is* and address the *oughts* of education. In other words, what education *should be* about and therefore, what the functions of leadership *might need to be* in order to achieve liberal egalitarian goals (Sergiovanni, 1984; Foster, 1986).

Furthermore, the conceptualisation of problems in terms of dichotomies such as, facts and values, observation and interpretation, practice and theory (Codd, 1989), ignores the moral, ethical, and socio-political facets of leadership. Schon (1983) and Burlingame (1979; cited in Smyth, 1984) maintain that the way social problems are framed closely affects the way they are analysed. An example derived from educational contexts is the school-as-a-factory metaphor which has at times reduced theorising about leadership to sets of technocratic ploys advanced to achieve organisational goals. The metaphor places standardisation and efficiency at centre stage and the broader views incorporating values, political and critical dimensions of educational leadership in the wings. Ashour (1973) suggests that considerations such as the class basis of organisations and the ideological legitimation of organisational hierarchies are conveniently avoided, serving to entrench hegemonic norms. Ashour's class based criticism is equally applicable to gender divisions evident in the number of principalships held by women in the primary sector, where disproportionate numbers of teachers are female, yet relatively few hold senior positions. Perhaps, even more telling (were the statistics available) would be the position of Maori women within the service.

The basis of the earlier studies has been an attempt to explain (and therefore inadvertently entrench) what 'is', advancing universalisms that are gender blind, culture and class bound and uncritical, in the advancement of the status quo. The entrenchment of tenuous findings as the basis for which leaders are identified, trained, employed and assessed acts as a gatekeeping mechanism when such research findings are generalised. This is contrary to the level of uncertainty and consensus reflected in research on the subject. For schools, leadership occurs in an educational milieu, constituted at a point in which historical, socio-political, demographic and economic factors meet. Each of these factors combine to shape the experiences of leaders, learners and teachers who spend their day there.

Codd (1989) maintains that interpretive theorists assume that leadership is a social construct and as such is open to maintenance, development, reconstitution or change, dependent on the

shared meanings of the group. Foster (1994) advocates four minimum criteria for both the definition and practice of leadership. First leadership must be critical; based on the contention that all social science knowledge is derived from subjective meanings formulated over time yet accepted as common sense. Therefore, the need to be analytical is central to education. This critical component is pivotal to the remaining three criteria. Secondly, leadership must be transformative; critique may be the fuel for praxis but the orientation toward social change is the wheel upon which it advances. If leadership is to have a sense of 'doing with' rather than 'doing to', an educative dimension is required to support not only change of bureaucratic structures but also the way people think before changing social conditions. The fourth criteria is one of ethical and moral practice as a means of mediating personal benefits against the consequences of actions taken. Leadership is being reconceptualised as a consensual task that requires the sharing of ideas and responsibilities. It includes an accountability to higher authorities rather than that of empirically based scientific rigour; that is, accountability to the community in which leadership occurs. This suggests more than a replication of previous studies; rather it proffers both a methodological and ideological shift in focus.

Women in Leadership

In the past studies that have investigated either experiences of Maori in education,[4] or women within educational management have been singular in focus in that they have tended to highlight the deficit nature of the 'researched'. These studies have focused primarily on the cohort studied rather than the systems in which they operate and have emphasised the group's need to change in order to access existing opportunities. In recent literature, a change in focus is evidenced in the growing number of analyses of institutional arrangements incorporating discrimination and prejudice as actively shaping the experiences of both groups. While one highlights the differentiated experiences meted out to some based on

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[4] The vast majority of studies on Maori within education provide a focus on those being educated (student experiences) rather than on those who have become the educators. Few studies with educators as the focus identify gender as a further demarcation point.

cultural difference, the second highlights differentiated experience based on gender. However, the first ignores the further struggles and sites of contestation faced by Maori girls and Maori women with genderised colonial impositions, while the second marginalises ethnicity as a significant variable. The small number of studies (Neville, 1986; Court, 1989; Strachan, 1997; Henry, 1994; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996; Bowkett, 1996) within Aotearoa/New Zealand grappling with the complexities involved with combining culture, gender and management as a central focus remains an issue.

Albans-Metcalf and West (1991) write on the matter,

> Most of the literature on management ... is based on male perspectives of theories developed predominantly by men, typically on research studies in which females are in the minority, if at all present ... .There will need to be dramatic changes in the attitudes, values and practices that pervade organisational life simply to kick start the process (of addressing women in management and leadership roles). But how can we expect such a commitment when in the most influential positions are men and little evidence exists in a change of attitude at the top? (p. 154).

The lack of commitment to change perceptions of leadership is supported, in fact rationalised, by initial studies of leadership that advanced deficit views of women in general and ignored the status of indigenous women and women of colour altogether. Such studies fell back on commonly accepted myths and stereotypes emanating from Western views of gender differences (Henry, 1994) based on male hegemony (Neville, 1986; Court, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989). The lack of women's participation at management levels in the paid workforce has been explained in terms of not being tough enough to handle the job (Hunsacker, 1991), women's own choices or past socialisation (Statham, 1987; Fagenson, 1993) and the argument that the most competent people get promoted - women don't get promoted and therefore are not competent (Estler, 1975).

Shakeshaft (1989) writing specifically about women in educational administration condenses the number of studies into a typology suggesting that women's placement in this field has been explained by the following models: the Women's Place model, which assumes women's

non participation in administrative careers as based solely on social norms; the Discrimination model, which draws on "the assumption that institutional patterns are the result of the efforts of one group to exclude participation of another" (p. 81) and the Meritocracy Model, which assumes those best suited to the jobs are the ones who are appointed. Conversely Atkinson (1981) analyses women's career barriers from sex role stereotyping, sex-role socialisation, career socialisation, organisational characteristics, and devaluation of women perspectives. Shakeshaft (1989) argues that male-defined and male-run models offer the broadest explanation for the lack of female representation in school administrative roles. She maintains,

> Not only are all other models subsumed under this male-dominance explanation, but the cause of all barriers to women in school administration that have been identified in the social science literature can be traced to male hegemony (p. 83).

Within intracultural contexts this maybe the case. However, ignoring indigenous and migrant women's struggle against colonial hegemony assumes all women's experience of organisational cultures is homogenous. It is argued here that the position of indigenous and migrant women cannot be completely understood solely within a critique of male hegemony particularly when feminist analyses have at times added to the repression of such groups.

Shakeshaft (1989) and Court (1989), provide comprehensive analyses of women in general in educational administration, the first of which is from an international perspective, while the latter is a localised study. They document the multifaceted nature of issues impacting on the practices of women in educational administration by alerting the field to the androcentric bias in both theory and practice. Nevertheless they do not address the further repressive factor of ethnocentricity beyond acknowledging its existence.

The Colourless Discourse on Women of Colour

The title for this section refers to the canvas that has been painted within a westernised theoretical position. It is argued that the canvas upon which this picture evolves is white and

male (Schein, 1994; Schein and Davidson, 1993; p. 16), and the sheer volume would suggest that it is painted in indelible ink.

Morouney (1991; cited in Henry, 1994) however in considering the further dimension of race in her analysis maintains that ethnic difference is related to experiential difference of leadership. She teases out the nature of the social construction of leadership which highlights 'the dynamics of exclusion through the cultural control of access to power and position' (p. 16). The analysis includes race as it is attached to men and women of colour, prompted by,

> ... the increasing number of women, and men of colour, entering the workforce; the neglect of gender and race by mainstream theories of leadership; the virtual exclusion of women and minority men from the upper most reaches of the managerial ranks; the need to address cross-cultural aspects of managerial leadership in the global economy (Morouney, 1991; cited in Henry, 1994, p. 16).

Feminist critique on the plight of women in leadership roles suggests that historically the term leadership has been treated as though it were synonymous with 'man' (Neville, 1986; Hall, 1993; Court, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989, 1993; Klenke, 1996). Similarly much of the current literature on women is equally equated to 'white'. Tracking the development of management and leadership theory within the literature provides an overview of a paradigm consistent with the value systems within Western industrialised societies (Smith and Peterson, 1988).

Equally much feminist critique collapses culture and gender into one. Klenke (1996) advances the notion of leadership as being 'contextual, shaped by situational, historical, temporal and spatial factors' (p. 188). Collins, in writing the forward to Klenke's book *Women and Leadership a contextual perspective* states that,

> Dr. Karin Klenke has combed the existing literature, providing a *comprehensive* view of women in leadership... highlighting their contributions to politics, religion, business and medicine. This book provides a detailed historical overview, presenting a multi disciplinary perspective on culture and context. (Klenke, 1996; p. ix)

However, the 'cross-cultural' studies alluded to are not in reference to those studied but the position of the researcher in relation to the researched. The women in leadership roles identified are located within intracultural[5] contexts. The primary focus of analysis remains on gender there is only one case study based on a woman working in intercultural contexts, the one identifiable exception being Harriet Tubman (pp. 46-49). Tubman, an Afro-American who having escaped bondage through slavery becomes a leader within a social movement. There is no engagement in an analysis of the historical or socio-political context in which this occurs nor any attempt to draw out the complexities of leadership issues encompassing power and ethnicity in relation to racism, classism, cultural domination, and arguably the least significant (in this instance) - gender. Although sport, political and religious movements in America are explored no distinction is made regarding ethnicity, subsuming all in the taken for granted assumption that the experiences of women of colour in organisations will be the same. This occurs in a country where ethnicity is believed to be a contributing factor to the type and quality of experience afforded groups in almost every area of social interaction.

Nevertheless, the recurrent themes apparent in the juxtaposing of these intracultural contexts does afford a view of women's leadership participation patterns within democracies which indicates that women have been more successful in attaining leadership roles in political arenas rather than private sector economic spheres. It is stated that these women often inherited their public positions from fathers or husbands, examples cited being Indira Ghandi, Benazir Bhutto, Isabel Peron. This may have further negative implications for women of colour working in intercultural contexts as we move toward new right marketisation. Genovese (1993; cited in Klenke, 1996) maintains, none of these women leaders fundamentally changed the patriarchal structure of her society - "an action that would have amounted to political suicide" (p. 239). For many indigenous women and women of colour simply attaining positions of responsibility in intercultural contexts inherited or otherwise is a marker of change. How women in intercultural contexts attain leadership roles, (not inherited), and what they do once they get there needs to be further explored.

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5 Women negotiating leadership roles within their own cultural boundaries. For example, Indira Ghandi in India.

Studies focusing on women of colour in intercultural contexts have found significant differences between females from the dominant group and females from ethnic minorities. Davidson's (1996) study on 'The Plight of White and Ethnic Minority Women Managers in the U.K.' found low participation rates by women of colour in management, even in sectors with high female participation. Her analysis of 30 in depth interviews revealed that the stresses linked to the role conflicts related to the complexities involved in living in a bicultural world. hooks and Greenhaus et al's (1990; cited in Davidson, ibid p. 9) research in America confirms that black and ethnic minority managers (particularly women) are doubly disadvantaged in terms of upward mobility and high levels of pressure at work and home.

Bell (1990, p. 12) found, that the 71 career oriented Afro American women she interviewed perceived themselves as living in two specific cultural contexts, one black and the other white. As a coping mechanism these women tended to compartmentalise components of their lives. Some role stress highlighted by British black ethnic minority women (ibid) was evident in the 'persistent push and pull' between varying cultural contexts. For example the expectations, values and norms of predominantly white (male dominated) organisations in which they worked were very dissimilar to other black experiences/culture. Bravette (1994) also emphasised the conflict involved in the pressure to deny one cultural heritage, and the particular vulnerability of British-born black female managers.

> Some [black women managers] recognised that they were walking a tight rope and that only as they adopted a mono-cultural (white) approach to their organisational existence, in other words deny significant proportions of their black cultural heritage, could successful career progression within an organisation be even seriously aspired to. Black women managers born outside the UK (but invariably educated here) felt that especially vulnerable were the British born blacks, socialisation into a myth of meritocracy and educated into a system which comes racism at three different levels: individual, cultural and institutional. Despite these women's attempts at chameleon-like assimilation the white mainstream still rejects black people in positions of authority (p. 13).

This was also often the case for Asian, Caribbean and Indian women, many feeling the pressure of tokenistic views. While tokenism played a part in all women being viewed as

'symbols of their group' rather than individuals (Kanter, 1977), Davidson (1996) found for women of colour the negative effects of tokenism intensified. The factors associated with tokenism encompassed high visibility, performance pressure, being a test case, lack of role models and isolation (including exclusion from male groups), as well as distortion of women's behaviour by others in order to fit them into pre existing stereotypes.

While some factors were noted by white women managers the major problems of being a black female manager intensified factors by presenting a double bind where both racism and sexism provided barriers that required negotiation. Essed (1991) and Williams (1989) noted the pressure of having to work harder than others just to be considered equal.

Davidson (1996) expands on nine recurring issues for women of colour. Most noted performance pressure where they were required to constantly justify their professional status, cope with high expectations, prove themselves more than white women, face constant credibility testing, people just seeing black, not looking at contribution, having to sell themselves constantly, others (whites) being suspicious of them and expecting them to fail. These themes derived from studies carried out in the United Kingdom, were consistent with American based studies. Williams (1989) in a study of black female college administrators and Essed (1991) suggest that these women have to be bright and more talented than either their white male and female or black male counterparts.

These experiences were shaped by racial stereotyping. Davidson (1996) describes the struggle ethnic minority women had in order to keep their own identity. This struggle was often against a tide of colleagues expecting either aggressive or subservient behaviour, dependant on the ethnicity of the respondent. For example, even with growing rhetoric about individuals the expectation that unconventional images (of the respondents) such as being a 'timid Asian flower' or a 'black mama' proved obstructive for women attempting to be 'ones' self'.

Isolation related to colour and lack of role models (Bell, 1990; Essed, 1991) were also major structural problems encountered by black women in higher education in both securing and keeping jobs. Gilkes (1990) found that many left due to isolation. For example, Williams (1989) found that black female college administrators felt at times somewhat excluded from the information and support network. Characteristics noted related to dress, communication, interests, verbal and non-verbal behaviour. For Asian women religion (Muslim) became a further complicating factor. Business meetings involving meals and the consumption of alcohol being considered the 'norm' served to further exclude this group.

Token women remaining highly visible were subject to three 'peripheral tendencies'; those associated with unsuitability, contrast and assimilation (Kanter, 1977). Being female, in management and black exposes the black female executive to extremes of high visibility (Illes and Auluck, 1991). For some this entailed loss of privacy, mistakes being highlighted and getting attention for their 'discrepant' sex and ethnic characteristics, rather than for the skills for which they were employed. This often meant extra effort to be taken seriously above and beyond other groups. Nevertheless not all studies viewed this as a negative factor, Epstein (1973) found that,

> Being black and female gave these attorneys a unique status combination making them extremely visible and ensuring that news of good performances travelled speedily (p. 927).

This allowed other black women space to enter the profession, however conversely, poor performance of black female lawyers also unfairly disadvantages others black women aspiring to similar positions.

Further factors related to colour were tokenism and ghettoisation of career options which were also considered prevalent amongst the groups. Illes and Auluck (1991) maintain, that in Britain, the black professionals interviewed were often directed away from main career tracks. This involved being 'sidelined' into routine 'token', 'showcase' or 'black jobs' in areas to do with personnel, welfare, dealing with black staff, customers or clients or in equal

opportunity units. None of these pathways were believed to lead to the Chief Executive Officer's chair.

Davidson (1996) found that 63 percent of the sample experienced the pressure of being a test case for future black women. They were the first of their gender or race (sometimes both) in their particular job. The pressures of being the test case for the employment of future women of colour in their positions within the company was immense. For example, one respondent stated,

> I am a test case if black women are going to proceed into senior management. I'm definitely being watched. Unfortunately no-one has told me the rules but I have to keep on playing anyway! (Caribbean female manager, Private Sector, Davidson, 1996; p. 21).

Another respondent believed that,

> My major problem is being a test case and having to constantly justify my professional status. In addition, I have to continue doing this within the full glare of the organisation. You are breaking new ground and have no point of reference (Indian Female Personnel Officer, Public Sector, Davidson, 1996; p. 22).

Not being taken seriously, being under valued, a general lack of recognition due to colour and the lack of support from 'others-whites' were common threads across the group.

These studies highlight the multifarious ways in which ethnicity shapes the experience of women in colour in positions of responsibility. Migrant women, particularly for those that are visibly 'ethnic' experience management and leadership roles differently to white men and women, coloured men and possibly immigrants less distinguishable by physical appearance[6]. The majority of feminist positions maintain that female experience of organisations is shaped by male hegemony. However, migrant or women of colour identify Eurocentric hegemony as the primary factor that mediates work based experience from which male hegemony is derived. The struggles faced by women of colour in intercultural contexts having to contend

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[6] Banks (1994) although not writing in relation to leadership and management specifically, notes, the variance across immigrant groups assimilating into American society based on the ability of others to distinguish difference based on physical characteristics such as skin colour.

with Eurocentric and androcentric hegemony requires the subjugation of cultural identity and a chameleon like existence. These studies deal with women contending with existing structures rather than addressing attempts to challenge those systems or effect change. As suggested by Genovese (cited in Klenke, 1996) perhaps this would involve action amounting not to political but to occupational suicide.

Little appears to be written about indigenous or first nation women who struggle with imposed discourse associated with colonisation in the countries in which this discourse has emanated or whether that similarly affects their participation in organisational structures.

Maori Women

Manchester and O'Rourke (1993), and May and Mitchell (1989), acknowledge the contribution of Maori women educators and identify their important roles within a variety of educational organisations. No exploration of their experiences as administrators in the primary service is developed in these studies. However, Meha's (1988) study of Maori women teachers and pupils in a variety of rural and urban schools provides some insight into issues that arise within this study. She found that the educators remained positive about work despite the constraints imposed by racist attitudes of colleagues and pupils, unsympathetic principals and the lack of any real commitment on the part of most schools toward their Maori pupils. What remains unanswered is how Maori women educators, in positions of responsibility, contend with these issues. Puketapu's (1993) thesis on Maori leadership in education while providing insight into the location of Maori women does not address their concerns specifically. Mead (A., 1994) documents the positive contribution of Maori women in traditional Maori society and challenges both Maori and Non-Maori organisations to relocate Maori women into positions that are central to governance and Tino Rangatiratanga.

Jackson (1996) speaking about the precarious position of both Maori organisations and herself as a Maori woman working within one states,

> ... there is a fallacy that because you are a Maori organisation you do not have the same business practices that others hold. In fact the general view held by other businesses on Maori organisations are that Maori operate with no business sense, you are an easy touch, and your business practice and ethics are substandard to theirs (p. 29).

Jackson says of herself,

> I was the only woman in the country heading an organisation of this nature. I had no support, I had no examples or role models and I had no-one to talk to. I hid my fears and inner feelings of doubt and anxiousness. You could say that the skills I gained as a gambler and having a poker face when calling a bluff served me well in those early days, even though I had stopped playing cards the year before (p. 29).

That Jackson placed more stead on her 'poker face' and lived experience of institutional racism above theoretical knowledge regarding business management and leadership mirrors the scepticism alluded to in Puketapu's (1993) thesis on leadership in education. In his study participants displayed a lack of regard for international knowledge and skills, that ideologically excluded them. This is reiterated in Henry's (1994) study on Maori women managers.

The motivation for Henry's (1994) thesis, *"Rangatira Wahine; Maori Women Managers and Leadership"* was primarily one of self understanding. As a Maori woman manager herself the desire to understand 'who and what I am as a Maori woman' provided the impetus for the study (p. 2). Across the 33 participants, she found that despite the impact of colonisation and effects of Pakeha hegemony on the perceptions of Maori women and their behaviour,

> ... this sample indicates that traditional Maori women's leadership roles are still relevant and meaningful, to a significant proportion of women involved in the study (p. 206).

The common thread woven through studies of Maori women is that they perceive their experiences in work based contexts to be inherently different from their non-Maori colleagues in ways that are attributable to differences in ethnicity.

Tomlins-Jahnke (1996) in her study of Maori women administrators working across a variety of educational sites adds the inheritance of a colonial discourse as a salient factor in these women's careers. This discourse casts Maori women as homogeneous in the face of tribal diversity. In identifying the unique position of these participants a historical socio-political context is bought to the fore. These women precariously operate in an educational system where biculturalism is notionally advanced but what that means in each of the participants situations is unresolved. Thus they work in a nexus of resistant attitudes, supportive attitudes and changing perceptions in regard to who the participants are, what they represent and the contributive roles they fulfil in educational organisations. While highlighting the values of two cultural groups notionally with ideological discourse unmodified makes the realities for this group entering into organisation less than certain.

This study in many ways is similarly focused. It identifies Maori women educational administrators as opposed to educational administrators who happen to be Maori, which consciously brings cultural identity into the workplace. These women present a different mix of issues from studies on women of colour. They see themselves as tangata whenua which situates them in context that is tied to a socio-political history in Aotearoa that has struggled with issues of biculturalism since the formalising of socio-political arrangements in 1840. The study involves the identification of strategies eight Maori women educators have employed, as students, negotiating the path to be credentialled in order to enter the teaching profession. It explores the extent to which these early strategies form the foundation of strategies utilised in their current positions of responsibility in order to fulfil their career aspirations.

Chapter Three
The Archive Of Maori And Education

In this chapter a review of literature relating to Maori girls and Maori women primarily as students is undertaken. School based experiences of Maori girls are highlighted for three reasons. First, of all statistical data on Maori girls as students makes this group highly visible, while the number of studies with Maori women educators in positions of responsibility are few (Meha, 1987; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996; Bowkett, 1996). Secondly, the contemporary experiences of Maori women in education cannot be divorced from the historical, socio-political contexts in which their current practices are embedded. Thirdly, student-based experience in education draws attention to the hurdles these educators negotiate in order to enter the profession, as a prerequisite to promotion within it. These studies suggest that educational experiences for Maori girls are distinctly different from their Non-Maori peers. In contrast Maori women educators in positions of responsibility are invisible, subsumed within studies on 'Maori', or 'women' in general; as though the ideological forces shaping and differentiating the experiences of both groups no longer exist once they archive professional status.

The studies, articles and papers reviewed in this section are organised in terms of methodological position, focus of inquiry and outcome. Figure 3.1 is a framework[1] in which an overview of the literature that combines Maori and education as the primary focus is considered. Further limiting the literature search to Maori, Education and Girls or Women produces a scant reading list indeed. As noted in the Report of the Royal Commission On Social Policy,

> There is little published research on any aspect of Maori women's lives. Published material of any kind by Maori women is even more rare (1988, Vol. II, p. 157).

The framework organises studies according to the types of questions asked, the approaches taken and the outcomes. Although the stages identified have emerged in a

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[1] This framework was adapted from the stages of research identified by Shakeshaft (1989), in her study of women in educational administration.

semi-ordinal manner, later stages have not meant the decline or cessation of earlier approaches. Shifts in research focus have added to, modified, or in some instances refuted, earlier positions, with some later studies merging boundaries between stages.

Figure 3.1 Stages of Research on Maori in Education

Stage	Questions	Approach	Outcome
1. Absence of Maori as a distinct group documented.	What are the educational outcomes for Maori?	Empirical data, statistical compilations, Surveys that count.	Documentation of retention, repetition and suspension rates...
2. Maori as disadvantaged and subordinate.	Why do so many Maori underachieve in education?	Analyses of cultural factors, lifestyles, attitudes, values and beliefs. Application of eugenics and social Darwinism.	Cultural deficit views of Maori leading to remedial programmes.
3. Search for successful Maori students.	Where are Maori students achieving? What subjects are pursued? Where do they go?	Statistical compilations, interviews and case studies.	Demographic and attitudinal descriptions of Maori.
4. Maori studied on their own terms.	How do Maori describe their experiences in education?	Survey, interview, case study, researcher participant, Kaupapa Maori and Maori-centred Research.	A view of education from a Maori perspective.. Institutional racism highlighted. Ethnic additive programmes.
5. Maori as a challenge to theory.	How must theory change to incorporate Maori views?	Analyses of theory. Kaupapa Maori Methodology.	Reality that existing theory doesn't work for Maori.
6. Transformation of theory.	What are Maori theoretical perspectives of education?	Historical; written/oral, hui, whakapapa; Kaupapa Maori methodology.	Reconceptualisation of theory. Alternative schools.

While stages one, two and four consume the largest space on library shelves, stages three, five and six are small but growing in number. The latter stages indicate a move toward Maori controlled and Maori centred research. The lineal presentation reflects the order in which stages have emerged in the written canon[2]. However, single factor explanations are giving way to dynamic theories. This reflects a growing understanding of the multifaceted influences working simultaneously to shape the educational experiences of Maori as a

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2 It is not my intention to presume that stages 4, 5 and 6 have not previously existed in other genre. I refer here to long standing debates regarding education that have occurred at hui on Marae that do not have the same publication track record that academic conference proceedings attract.

group and for sub-groups within it. Latter stages reflect the reconceptualisation of theory creating alternative educational options.

Stage 1: Absence of Maori as a Distinct Group

The antecedents to statistical data currently collected are to be found in missionary records outlining funding and attendance in the annual reports of native schools. Outside of these records there is a noted absence of data on Maori performance in education identified by the Hunn Report[3] (1960). The collection of data since then has continued to monitor the position of Maori in both the compulsory and non compulsory sectors, supplying an increasingly broad range of statistical information.

This data is utilised in order to seek answers to questions such as: participation through level of access, choice of programmes and levels of failure; retention through suspension, expulsion, truancy and age of departure from the system; along with educational outcomes that note the highest credentials attained. The approaches taken are in the form of surveys and other empirical data[4] collated by the Ministry of Education.

For example in 1891 Maori girls were under-represented in the female school population. They made up almost 5 percent of the population aged between 5-15 years, while accounting for only 2 percent of all girls attending school (Statistics New Zealand, Dec. 1993). Not surprisingly (100 years later), with compulsory attendance requirements, in 1991 participation for this cohort mirrored that of their representation within the population at large.

Of the total number of students attending school in 1993, 51 percent were male, 49

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3 This report identified for the first time educational provision for Maori as in a state of crisis. Disparities in educational outcomes were alluded to and a move from assimilationist policies to integration suggested. Both assimilation and integration are defined.

4 In earlier times Principals were required to ascribe Maori ethnic identity to pupils. More recently ethnic ascription resides with the parent or guardian. This may have affected the validity of some of the earlier data collected.

percent were female. Of this group 20 percent identified themselves as Maori, with 67 percent of this group at primary school. Thus while forming 14 percent of the total population, Maori constitute 17 percent of secondary students and 22 percent of primary pupils. Demographic indices suggest that the age structure of the Maori population means Maori will form an increasing proportion of the school aged population over the next decade, and therefore an increasing proportion of those competing for school-based credentials and placement within the workforce thereafter (Durie, A., 1997).

Retention rates[5], within secondary schools in 1992 suggest that of those entering secondary school in the mid to late 1980's, 91.0 percent of third to fifth form Maori females, 62.8 per cent third to sixth formers and 24.1 percent of third to seventh formers are retained. At the third to fifth form level this represents 92 percent of the participation rate of Non-Maori females. At the third to sixth form level a 69.0 percent participation rate as compared to Non-Maori and a 47.0 percent rate at the seventh form level. The raising of the school leaving age in 1992 (effective 1993) will have a significant effect on this cohort as the participation rate of 16 year old Maori girls was 88 percent. Non-Maori girls will be relatively unaffected as they have a 98 percent participation rate within this age band (Davis and Nicholl, 1993).

Performance in 1990 indicates that 45 percent of Maori girls were awarded School Certificate grades A1-B2 compared with approximately 75 percent Non-Maori. Sixth form Certificate in the same year showed 24 percent of Maori females achieved grades of 4 or above compared with 46 percent of Non-Maori. Young Maori women are more likely than their Maori male counterparts to leave compulsory education with a qualification. However, they are still much less likely than Non-Maori women to do so.

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5 Apparent retention rates provide an estimate of the proportion of students remaining in school to a specified form level. These rates are only apparent as they do not take account of net changes to the secondary school population as result of migration, the entrance of adult students into senior school, those who spend more than one year in the same form or those who are involuntarily removed from the system. Particularly the last three factors may skew data on Maori considering the number of adults returning, the proportion who repeat fifth and/or sixth form years and their over-representation in expulsion rates. The Adult Education Act 1975 made it possible for adults to return either full or part-time to secondary schools. In 1991 Women [no ethnic breakdown] made up the majority of mature students at High Schools, Polytechnics, Universities and Teachers Colleges (Statistics NZ 1993).

Within the compulsory sector, the pattern of early departure from the system continues to exist. This reflects in part, the tendency for some Maori children, particularly boys, to be held back in the junior classes. As a result these students reach school leaving age prior to being confronted with external examination (McDonald, 1988).

Of the Maori Female school leavers seeking direct entry in tertiary in 1991, 9.2 percent applied to Universities, 9.9 percent applied to Polytechnics and 2.7 to Teachers Colleges. This represented 21.8 of the total pool of Maori females eligible to enter post compulsory education, who left High School at the end of the 1990 school year. Overall, Maori school leavers were about half as likely as students in general to enter tertiary institutions directly from school in 1991. With 21.8 percent of those eligible entering the tertiary sector, 78.2 percent of the pool are left to compete in the workforce with credentials that have decreasing value in a credentially inflated market.

Although Maori Women are still under-represented at university, they have made rapid gains in recent years. In 1991, there were 3,210 Maori women at university, nearly three times as many as there were in 1986 (1,163). Over this period, the representation of Maori women among female university students has increased from 3.8 percent in 1986 to 7.2 percent in 1991. Nevertheless increased participation rates amongst other cohorts during this same period has meant little change in pre-existing disparities between Maori and Non-Maori, although some shift between Maori males and Maori females is evident in favour of females.

Teacher training is one area of tertiary education where women in general have long formed a clear majority of students. In 1991, women made up 78 percent of all teacher trainees in New Zealand. The proportion of teacher trainees is highest in the Early Childhood area and declines as the age of pupils rises. For example, in 1991, women accounted for 99 percent of Kindergarten teachers, 77 percent of primary school teachers,

and 51 percent of teachers in Secondary schools.[6] A similar situation applies with respect to Senior teaching positions. In general, the higher the teaching rank, the lower the percentage of women in these positions. The 1990 Education Services Census showed that women made up 27 percent of Primary School principals and 18 percent of secondary school principals (Dunn, et al., 1993). No such break down of gender by ethnicity exists for Maori women.

In 1991, 26 percent of Maori women attending university were enrolled in education programmes at the bachelor level, compared with 10 percent of all other female students (Statistics New Zealand, 1993). Nevertheless, their participation remains distinctly different from their non-Maori peers. In spite of the increased participation of Maori women at university in 1991 this cohort was more than twice as likely, as female students in general, to be working toward undergraduate Certificates or Diplomas. Twenty one percent participated at this level compared with 9 percent of the total female university population. Attainment data shows the same pattern, with 30 percent of female Maori students completing their studies with an undergraduate Certificate or Diploma, as against 7 percent of all female students. With credential inflation devaluing the worth of many of these undergraduate credentials, correlation between tertiary participation and representation in the professions may not necessarily form a causal link.

Of those Maori women who do enrol in Bachelor programmes, Hartley (1992) notes that the largest proportion were majoring in arts and education.

> One third of Maori women in universities are enrolled in bachelor programs in education, a percentage which is three times higher than the corresponding figure for all university women enrolled in such programs (p. 2).

It would then follow that within educational contexts Maori women would, more than in any other profession, by virtue of numbers have more chance attaining positions of

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6 Comparable figures for gender breakdown of Kohanga reo staff does not exist, in part because they have not necessarily participated within post compulsory education in which the statistics are compiled and drawn. Equally there is little ethnic breakdown of gendered statistics of employees within the various education sectors.

responsibility. However, the positioning of Maori women educators in school contexts is a far more complex phenomena than a numbers game based on statistical probability would suggest.

In spite of the increases noted, the Ministry of Education Statistics Division (1989) indicates that the gap between Maori and Non-Maori educational attainment and retention rates are increasing not diminishing at the higher levels. This trend is continuing unabated (O'Neill 1990; Ministry of Education Annual Report 1993/94). The wealth of statistical information on Maori girls, as the students, provides the antithesis to the paucity of data regarding the experiences of Maori women as educators. For all the gains made in education, in general, substantial gender and ethnic differences remain which need to be addressed if Maori women in particular, are to achieve their potential.

According to Ministry of Education Maori Education Statistics (1993) Maori women engaged in tertiary education have patterns of participation which are lower than their non-Maori peers. Statistics, however, illustrate objective deprivation, but fail to reveal the Maori learners experience of subjective deprivation. Subjective deprivation is defined by Penetito (1988) as the 'feelings a minority member has about their status, feelings which include a sense of powerlessness' (p. 94) caused by the denial of recognition and frustration. Wylie (1988) argues, "Maori do not intend to fail but the system acts to ensure that they do" (p. 93). Penetito (1988) states it frankly as,

> ... [feeling] like losing even if you'd won. If you are a Maori student in a school the more you achieve the more you are separated from your Maori peers. If you don't achieve, you get to keep your mates, but then you can't get a job. You get deprived which ever way you turn (p. 93).

A critical barrier to the movement of Maori women into universities, teacher education and to a lesser extent polytechnics can be attributed to the inadequate levels of retention in secondary schools. As a result therefore many young Maori women do not have the appropriate entry qualifications to embark on a career within education. Equally disturbing is the relatively low uptake rate of those who do hold the entry criteria but opt out of post

compulsory education. As stated previously, of those who do participate within university programmes a significant number are concentrated within undergraduate certificates and diplomas.

There is no empirical research at this level on Maori women educators beyond the number graduating annually from colleges of education. We have little idea of retention rates within the profession, numbers seeking promotion, those successful in securing promotion, the quality of their experience, what they contribute to the profession, at what cost, through which strategies... or the breadth of programme types in which these women operate. While this research clearly situates Maori within the education system as students it provides no rationale as to *why* this is the case. Where Maori students have remained highly visible within statistical compilations that highlight their experiences of school as distinctly different from their Non-Maori peers, statistical data of workforce participation continues to highlight objective deprivation that extends beyond the school grounds. The lack of data on Maori women educators, as suggested by one Maori woman professional, may provide part of the explanation,

> You're a Maori until you succeed. Then you're a New Zealander (Hiha, 1994; p.89).

Stage 2: Maori as Disadvantaged and Subordinate

The second stage of research advances a rationale for disparities in educational outcomes between Maori and non-Maori. In seeking answers to why Maori underachieve, the focus of inquiry centres Maori students, families and communities as the primary hindrance to educational advancement. It is a theoretical position that posits cultural deficit views of Maori. Cultural deficit discourse in Aotearoa/New Zealand emerged in the 1950's and 60's marking a period of 'victim blaming' where the reason for failure vacillates between biological essentialism under the guise of eugenics[7] and Social Darwinism[8]. It is an

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[7] Within Eugenic explanations ethnic groups are hierarchically ordered according to race (based on physical characteristics such as size and shape of cranium). Ranking according to physiological traits has been found to have

ideological position that maintains physiological and cultural qualities in Maori children as obstructive to educational advancement. During the 1950s and 1960s, a period of 'supposed enlightenment' (Jenkins and Ka'ai, 1994) Maori failure was couched in terms of 'cultural deprivation'. For example Ramsey et al (1984) attributed Maori failure to such factors as,

> ... youthful population, large families, overcrowding in homes, sibling upbringing, group-centred ways of living, language problems, poor motivation, limited aspiration, low income, low social status (p. 48).

The essentialist argument theorised that Maori by nature were less intelligent than their Non-Maori counterparts and therefore lacking the aptitude to excel in school based contexts (other than on the sports field, in the art room and choir). In conjunction with this, cultural factors such as: low value placed on education, lack of parental support, illiterate nature of the culture (coming from oral traditions), lack of resources within the home[9], beliefs, cultural values and behaviours displayed by Maori children were seen to be inhibitive in educational settings (Irwin, 1988; Smith, G., 1990; Johnston and Pihama, 1995). In Johnston and Pihama's (1995) view,

> The problem therefore becomes 'a problem' for minorities. They are blamed for their own 'inadequacies' (ie. victim-blaming) and their own downfall... Maori were blamed for their own educational failure, and this blame was inextricably linked to their 'Maoriness'. Cultural difference, in particular, became a term synonymous with 'cultural deprivation', so not only were Maori culturally different, but this difference came to mean they were also culturally deprived (p. 81).

The outcome of such studies were 'enrichment' or 'remediation' in order to address the

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little scientific validity (Outhwaite and Bottomore 1994). As only three distinct racial groups are evident Caucasoid, Negroid and Mongoloid such hierarchies are non sensical even in their own terms (UNESCO working party 1950 cited in Montague 1972). Furthermore, pseudo-scientific pursuits often confused physical, social (colonially ascribed) and cultural attributes (see James and Saville-Smith 1989 and Spoonley 1992) by collapsing them into one.

8 Social Darwinism advanced notions of 'survival of the fittest', attrition rates of whole ethnic groups due to socio-political factors within such a theory are reduced to 'natural' causes. Hence high Maori mortality rates, in such accounts, with newly introduced diseases, could be attributed to low level biological/physiological evolutionary factors to ward of such afflictions. Holding to such theories was a way of abdicating any social, moral or ethical responsibility on the part of the Coloniser by believing that eradication of whole populations was pre-ordained within the evolutionary process.

9 Many of these studies saw Maori culture and poverty as synonymous. It has never been a Maori cultural imperative that one must remain poor, in bad health and come from a dysfunctional family in order to sustain their Maori identity. Yet many studies collapsed these two characteristics into one. The fact that dealing with poverty has become a lived reality for many Maori it can be argued [although not developed fully in this thesis] is better attributed to the cultural imperatives situated within colonialism.

facets of identified 'deprivation'. Not only did this abdicate institutional responsibility for initially determining Maori educational achievement but it also saw solutions in intensified provision of programmes that had already failed to address Maori needs. Deficit views of Maori entrenched negative stereotypes, while at the same time advancing egalitarian rhetoric, meritocratic myths and the neutrality of education as a credentialling agent. In spite of losing favour as a line of investigation within the research community this approach stubbornly lingers in educational practice to this day (Simon, 1986; Hirsh, 1990; Meha, 1987). In contrast, studies of successful Maori students begin to unravel a different scenario.

Stage 3: Search for Successful Maori Students

The third stage seeks to understand the characteristics and placement of those students who have achieved against the statistical odds. Studies in this area are beginning to emerge with the recording of successful Maori students in the compulsory sector (Mitchell and Mitchell, 1988); narratives of professional women working in the field of education and accounts of those who have achieved professional status within education but decided not to stay (Mitchell and Mitchell, 1993; Scott, 1997). Although few in number, qualitative studies are beginning to emerge based on Maori women at the post graduate level of study (Fuli, 1994), Maori women working in the field of education (Meha, 1987; Pihama and Ka'ai, 1991; Bowkett, 1996; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996; Selby, 1995) and a growing number of successful Maori women (Marks, 1984; Te Awekotuku, 1988; Henry, 1994; Smith, L., 1997) documenting personal educational experiences[10].

Mitchell and Mitchell (1988) in their study; *Profile of Maori pupils with high marks in School Certificate English and Mathematics* found Maori were capable of high

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10 See for example Binney, J., and Chaplain, G., (1990) *Nga Morehu - The Survivors: The Life Histories Of Eight Maori Women.* Brown, A., (1994) *Mana Wahine; Women who Show the Way.* Pihama, L., and Ka'ai (1991) *Te Mahi Hurapa: Kei Hea Nga Kotiro Maori Hoki E Tu Ana I Te Ao Matauranga; Maori Girls And Women In The Education System.* Smith, L., (1992) (Ed) *Te Pua* as compilations of Maori women speaking of their experiences, many of whom speak of their pathways through education.

performance but not without cost. Mitchell and Mitchell using a cohort of 40 Maori students (20 male and 20 female) who attained the highest marks (in English and Mathematics combined) during School Certificate examinations in 1987 investigated the educational experiences of this group. A combination of interviews with students, their families and teachers working with this cohort was undertaken. Five concluding points are made. The first point being, "... many Maori children are not achieving according to their ability in our school system" (p. 39) of those who did, four common factors were evident. Each student experienced strong family support in which achievement and success was reinforced. The students displayed an ability to withstand peer pressure not to succeed (from Maori as well as non-Maori peers) but often at the cost of isolation from Maori peers. And finally the few who did balance academic achievement with sustained Maori contact apparently did so because of outstanding personal qualities.

Although across the sites of investigation meritocratic principles were espoused with regard to school based opportunities, attempts to reconcile these principles with the number of incidents of racism cited, remained unaddressed by the researchers. For example, some of the experiences of racism included a parent intending to resign from a Board of Governors due to what was felt to be 'racist and condescending attitudes of other Board members' (p. 84). For the students, initial placement in low streams, based on ethnicity, was experienced when they changed schools. One particular student after being reassigned to a higher stream, recalls the Principal's comment as, "How nice it was to have a brown face in the top stream" (pp. 53-54, and 67) Some experienced racist remarks from other pupils (p. 67) and staff, especially when due to their fairness of skin, racist comments by staff were openly shared with students (pp. 68, and 70). One student felt particularly harassed at school 'because of his relationship to a well know Maori spokesperson" (p. 70). Yet another student spoke of offering support to a Non-Maori student having difficulty in mathematics only to have the relieving teacher assume it was her (the Maori student) experiencing difficulty. Finally many of the respondents cite low expectations of staff, Maori and Non-Maori peers of Maori in relation to academic

performance (p. 56).

Hirsh's (1990) investigation of the issues affecting achievement of Maori educators suggests that professional burnout is 'acute and needs urgent attention' (p. 62). Although there is no gender division it was made abundantly clear by a number of respondents that, as Maori staff potential burnout is derived from,

> ... not only (having) their regular job to do, as do all Pakeha professionals, but they have regular hui to attend, usually over weekends, they must often travel to their home Marae to consult with their people and equally importantly they have an educative role to fulfil with their own whanau and iwi. As if this wasn't enough they are frequently expected, or at least called upon, by their Pakeha colleagues to assist with coming to grips with bicultural issues (p. 63).

Many other accounts come from conference papers, women interviewed for magazines, and tertiary students' publishing work, reiterate the same point, that, educational experiences appear to be qualitatively different to those of non-Maori peers. Many of these self analytical dissertations also equally fit within stage four, with these women sharing experiences unfiltered by other people's organisational frameworks. Marks' (1984) provides an example of such writing. In addressing the difficulties and frustrations encountered by a Maori teacher and Maori pupils she concludes,

> The frustrations of being a Maori language teacher are essentially summed up in the feeling that the education system has invited you to be a mourner at the tangihanga of your culture, your language - and yourself (p. 3).

Te Awekotuku (1991), equally reveals many of the confusing and contradictory experiences education offered her during impressionable years growing up, as does Mead (L., 1997) who supplies critical accounts of her experiences as both a student and an educator within general stream education.

What is most evident across all of these groups is that success within general stream educational institutions is not without substantial cost above and beyond the cost expected by their Pakeha counterparts. They are experiences interspersed with threads of racism,

sexism and classism that require negotiation and strategic manoeuvring if success is to be attained. This is further evidenced, in the next section, in studies carried out with Maori teachers who leave the profession.

The findings of Mitchell and Mitchell (1993) seem to suggest that the issues for Maori teachers and those of Maori children in schools are both interrelated and complex, with racism as the most pervasive predeterminer. Meha (1987) maintains,

> ... this complexity has developed from a curious mix of historical, cultural, organisational, and philosophical factors (p. 120).

The themes found in Miha's study, are also reflected in Mitchell and Mitchell's (1993) research and Scott's thesis (1997). Miha raised the issue of stress in relation to those still within the system, while the latter two indicated that stress became the catalyst for many Maori to leave the profession. Stress was related to schools delegating responsibility to Maori staff all issues involving Maori pupils and whanau that is, discipline, counselling and liaison with Maori in and out of school. The general lack of fiscal and staffing support for Maori initiatives was also commonly identified. In addition, collegial ignorance of issues and lack of preparedness to support innovative initiatives combined with the expectation that being Maori made you an instant expert on all things pertaining to Te Ao Maori, often resulted in high levels of frustration and low levels of job satisfaction.

Stage 4: Maori Studied on Their Own Terms

In contrast to stage two, stage four provides analytical critique of the institutions in which Maori are educated. The most common element of this theoretical position is the notion of institutional racism. Eckermann in defining institutional racism states,

> Institutional racism is covert and relatively subtle; it originates in the operation of essential and respected forces in the society and is consequently accepted. It manifests itself in the laws, norms and regulations which maintain dominance of one group over another. Because it originates out of society's legal, political and economic system, it is sanctioned by the power group in that society and at least tacitly accepted by the powerless, it receives very little condemnation (p.33).

Spoonley (1984) concurs with Eckermann, however, both fail to consider gender dynamics evident within these groups and the power relationships which are created as a consequence. Studies, articles and theoretical positions investigating institutional arrangements in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Simon, 1984; Codd et al, 1985; Penetito, 1988; Meha, 1987; Hirsh, 1990; Smith, G., 1992; Hollings, 1991; Harker, 1990; Pihama and Ka'ai, 1988) and international writers (Bourdieu, 1974; Gramsci, 1971; Apple, 1982; Connell, 1988; Banks, 1994; Freire, 1994, 1996), cite inequities in the application of ideological positions that underpin what constitutes education and its provision. It is argued that both structures and processes fail to recognise cultural capital other than that of the dominant group.

The reasons for the inequalities experienced by subordinate groups within publicly funded education have been theorised by writers centralising the role and function of education as a reproductive agent in society (Bourdieu, 1974; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Nash, 1986; Harker, 1990; Corson, 1992). At a theoretical level an understanding of cultural capital, habitus, symbolic violence and the affects of imposed ideological constructs (such as assimilation) has been developed. Such positions maintain that schools based on class (in monocultural contexts) or assimilation (in ethnically diverse contexts) reproduce existing social and cultural systems via a process of exclusion. Hegemonic practices act in ways to ensure that inequity is accepted by both those who are empowered and disempowered through the apparatus of state. Thus social stratification and the maintenance of the status quo is rationalised and accepted as the norm. Walker (1984) reiterates this notion with regard to Maori in his assertion that,

> ... education is geared to single frame of reference, purveying and perpetuating a cultural tradition of West European society that is ethnocentric and middle class oriented (p. 26).

He argues that educational under achievement of Maori can be attributed to an education system that advances European cultural knowledge as objective and neutral while casting

all others as subjective and biased. Although these claims become difficult to counter[11] and they are certainly not refuted within this thesis, this position taken in isolation provides limited theoretical scope to consider the ways in which resistance, agency or change is initiated in the production of counter-hegemonic practice.

Harker (1990) provides some insight into the factors that explain some of the complexities, utilising reproduction theories, that shape the experiences of Maori girls and women in education as students and as staff. He applies Bourdieu's theory in an analysis of educational outcomes between dominant and non-dominant groups. In providing a typology, he maintains there are five levels in which inequalities are evident. First, low achievement rates are attributed to institutional racism. At the second level, those who are successful are often misdirected in the further educational and career options that they pursue. At level three, assimilative expectations by those in positions of power increase whereby, only practices that mirror those of the dominant group in positions of authority are recognised and rewarded. Level four, 'the denigration of the academic', whereby examiners look for style opposed to content (which Bourdieu argues, is a product of the cultivated class, and can never be fully mastered by those without the appropriate background) further excludes those outside the privileged class. The fifth and final level of educational subjugation noted as credential inflation suggests students having attained higher qualifications face the prospect of employers turning to other criteria for selection purposes such as, style and language. While the analysis identifies the form and function of hegemonic practice that impact on Maori entering the workforce, no insight into the strategies employed by groups to negotiate, struggle and resist such practices is alluded to, which assumes passive acceptance of such hegemonies.

Similarly, teacher expectation and school resource theories tend to advance 'done to scenarios'. Although neither (processual or structural features alone) encompass the

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11 Particularly when historical research provides evidence of explicit attempts to subordinate Maori values, beliefs and practices and contemporary statistical data regarding participation and attainment of Maori (Davies and Nicholl 1993), reveal that educational practices continue to offer little change in the way of educational outcomes for Maori students.

multitude of factors working simultaneously to shape the school based experiences of this group, it does however mark a change in focus that no longer takes for granted the neutrality of education. A number of studies (Simon, 1986; Pihama and Ka'ai, 1988; Hirsh, 1990; Mitchell and Mitchell, 1993; Simon, 1986 and 1990; O'Neill, 1996) identify conscious and unconscious preconceptions held by teaching staff of Maori children derived from deficit models, underpinning their professional practice. Even in instances where staff appeared genuine in their attempt to make positive differences, these professionals continued to draw from deficit indices to explain deferential educational attainment between their Maori and non-Maori charges. Hence stock solutions drawn upon to support Maori students inevitably served to maintain Pakeha interests and assumed superiority of European knowledge (Simon, 1986). Ennis (1987) as school inspector for some 18 years was pointed in his claim:

> While you read these lines thousands of Maori children attending New Zealand schools are being subjected to a 10 year process of schooling that effectively and efficiently atrophies their potential growth as people (p. 21).

He goes on to state that few teachers saw schools contributing to the problem of differential attainment of Maori students to their Non-Maori peers. He attributes this to the fact that the majority of teachers are monocultural and middle class, knowing relatively little about things Maori, leading to many teachers having,

> ... low expectations of Maori children and hold further deficit models about Maori children's competence with English, their intelligence, their home environments, their health and much more (p. 22).

In 1987 an historical study of archival records regarding the education of Maori women from the early 1900's to the time of writing was carried out by Pihama and Ka'ai (1988). They found little material specific to Maori women but a plethora of information related to the education of Maori as a homogeneous group. However from the dearth of information some recurrent themes were drawn from the data as they related to Maori women's experiences of schooling. These were: the differentiated curriculum that emphasised domestic skills for Maori girls; psychological effects of subordinating Maori language and culture; the imposition of Pakeha values and the experiences of institutional racism. The

study concluded that the existing inequalities within the educational system doubly oppressed Maori women. In the first instance oppression was based on culture, while in the second instance by gender.

Meha (1987) and Te Moana (1993) reiterate these themes. Meha, locating herself as a participant researcher provides a qualitative study with a small sample that spans urban and rural areas, drawing on the experiences of both Maori women staff members and Maori girls as pupils. Both studies concluded that, despite the participants being hindered by constraints derived from the racist attitudes of colleagues (often including unsympathetic male principals), and considering that they worked in schools that lacked the commitment to effect positive change, participants were generally remained positive about what they did.

However, not all Maori teaching professionals have been able to remain positive about the profession in the face of multifaceted adversity. Mitchell and Mitchell[12] (1993) with a sample of 74 Maori teachers (43 men and 31 women) and Scott (1997), with a smaller qualitative study involving 5 Maori women, investigated why Maori leave the teaching profession. Both studies identify structures, processes and ideological factors as contributing to high levels of stress. In many instances burnout, or lack of recognition and support led to either retraction of service or movement into other areas of education. For example many respondants, in order to place themselves in positions where they were better able to effect change, moved into the Ministry of Education or Colleges of Education. Arguably this group is better understood within the parameters of production theories (Gramsci, 1971; Weiler, 1988; Giroux, 1992; Freire, 1996) emphasising that individuals are not simply acted upon by abstract structures but actively grapple with forms of resistance and accommodation to create meaning of their own.

Hence while the identification of obstructive processes and practices hindering the

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12 Although 74 past teachers were used a further 110 were identified but not included in the sample due to 'research constraints'. Coding of data within the project allows for clear distinction between male and female responses.

advancement of non-dominant groups is important to this study, it is as a means of understanding the multifaceted and multilevelled struggle required to contest such influences, not as a means of suggesting that the women in this study (or Maori in general) are inactive agents as either students or staff. The focus of this study is centred on the strategies these women employ to negotiate pervasive ideologies and practices in order to attain their aspirations in the field of education and sustain their Maori identity.

No quantitative studies exist documenting the career paths, lengths of service in the classroom or administrative positions held by Maori women. Such studies would give an indication of factors contributing to attrition and retention at a time where recruitment of Maori into teaching is presently seen as a priority. Nevertheless recruitment drives mean little if, after costly training is completed, competent Maori professionals burn out and get out because little is done in the way of retention.

Answering such questions is currently based on assumption and conjecture with little in the way of empirical or qualitative data focused on the strategies this group employs. In spite of the Ministry of Education's support of studies addressing the position of women in general in Education through their "Teacher Career and Promotion Study" (TECAPS 1987 through to 1993) we are no closer to understanding where Maori women fit within such institutions. The absorption of Maori women within women in general renders them invisible[13]. From the dearth of statistical information on Maori women educators in the primary sector one could draw the false conclusion that those who are retained within the compulsory sector long enough to meet the entry criteria into tertiary education and to exit with a qualification, have been successfully assimilated to the extent of becoming 'one' with their Non-Maori peers. Neither qualitative studies (Mitchell and Mitchell, 1993; Scott, 1997), nor anecdotal records of Maori women educators support such an

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13 Statistical compilations within the Ministry of Education, the New Zealand Educational Institute (NZEI), the Principals Association and the Ministry of Women's Affairs have yet to verify the position of Maori women within the primary sector of education. Information regarding positions and number of applications lodged for senior teacher to G5 positions based on ethnicity within the primary service is non-existent according to personal communication with these agencies.

assumption. The sustained interest in data collection regarding Maori girls as students, making them highly visible, provides the antithesis of what is known about Maori women as educators.

In summary, the stages thus far question why the disparities between Maori and Non-Maori exist in education. In stages two and four, the foci of study are polarised. Stage two has tended to seek answers located in the 'failing' individual, their families and culture. The outcome has been the development of remedial programmes including disproportionately high numbers of Maori children being held back to repeat classes. However, providing the child with intensified programmes that failed to meet their needs in the first instance has meant structural and processual factors within institutions remained unchallenged and unmodified, thus, resulting in unchanged disparities. The opposing position (stage four) identifies educational arrangements as obstructive. The outcome of this stage is to seek remediation not for the culturally deprived child but for the culturally deprived (Ryan, 1976) monocultural institutions that Maori children are legally compelled to attend. Nevertheless these outcomes have not changed the locus of control; who makes decisions about curriculum, pedagogy and assessment has remained fundamentally the same. This has meant the development of ethnic additive programmes that become appendages to the 'real' curriculum (Banks, 1994). Both stages identify barriers to educational advancement for Maori children, but while the first advances culture as obstructive the second argues that structural arrangements, curriculum, pedagogical practices and assessment in educational institutions act exclusively.

Stage 5: Maori as a Challenge to Theory

Studies identified as fitting into stage five ask questions about the validity of existing theory and its ability to provide the explanatory power to encapsulate Maori experience in contemporary society. Such studies challenge claims of educational neutrality and value free scientific inquiry. They question historical, socio-political and pseudo-scientific

explanations of who Maori are, what Maori look like and how Maori behave. They are transitional in nature providing a shift in emphasis from research done on Maori to research being done by Maori and with Maori. This is not to suggest that Maori or Non-Maori have not positively contributed to or participated in the previously identified stages. However, while the focus of investigation is often consistent with those cited in earlier stages, these studies question established methodologies, seeking methodological positions considered valid and reliable according to Maori definition.

The majority of studies are qualitative (providing the scope for narratives), and critical in design. Thus, they not only provide descriptive accounts of Maori experience within educational contexts but seek answers to questions such as whose interests are being served by existing theory, structures and educational processes. Such writers are locating themselves under the broad umbrella of Kaupapa Maori or Maori centred research. This position will be discussed further in the methodological chapter.

Of particular relevance to this study is Puketapu's thesis (1993, *He Mata Ngaro: Maori Leadership in Educational Administration*"). What the participants in Puketapu's dissertation identify as significant are intertwined with the past, present and future locations of Maori and their current roles in education. His combined focus on Maori and educational leadership incorporates professional and community views. He distils twelve conclusions drawn together under three broad themes: historical antecedents, current aspirations and expectations and, professional development.

There is general agreement across the groups in Puketapu's study pertaining to the significance of commitment to improve the position of Maori in education and the need for achieved leadership. Equally, agreement on the insignificance of 'results oriented approaches'; 'international knowledge' and 'skills and group acceptance variables', was maintained. Puketapu (1993) says of this,

> ... the position for international knowledge and skills in this quadrant (trivia

> quadrant) is thought provoking to say the least. In particular because all groups agree with this position. Speculatively, it could be argued that respondents focused on variables which respond to their perception of a Maori leadership identity, more closely associated with cultural imperatives. Further consideration suggests that international knowledge and skills are not perceived to be in crises or in need of maintenance by Maori educational administrators (p.164).

With the location of achievement orientation and international knowledge falling within the trivia quadrant Maori professionals are likely to remain on a collision course with current educational policies and objectives. Although Puketapu identifies two alternative interpretations of these results, a third reading is possible, that is that responses are not only a backlash resulting from historical policies and practices (derived from an international body of knowledge advancing tenuous truth claims that have poorly serviced Maori educational aspirations) but also the active production of alternative localised theories.

As with this study, the strongest unifying variable in their professional role, was the commitment to improve the position of Maori. Puketapu found women respondents sceptical about the state of Maori knowledge and skill and Maori integrity, indicating these variables were in need of maintenance. Closely aligned was a scepticism of the moral and ethical dimensions of educational leadership. Though why this is so was not fully explored, the dubious ethic that underpins the rewriting of the place of Maori women in customary society and the general acceptance of such a dislocation by Non-Maori (men and women) and Maori men is a concern. Furthermore the ethics of supplanting one cultural stock of knowledge for another, while having little understanding of what was being replaced, raises questions. Would these issues arise for Maori women working in bilingual and kura kaupapa Maori programmes?

Stage five challenges methodological issues regarding the purpose of research, the way research projects have been initiated, how they are negotiated, what is considered ethical,

who participates in research projects and issues of reciprocity[14] (Durie, A., 1992). It further highlights cultural bias in methodological positions that have previously proved to be detrimental to those being researched including, by default, findings seen as equally applicable, and therefore detrimental, to all Maori. While some researchers work within iwi defined contexts, others work in organisations. This stage deconstructs the homogeneity myth by engaging with the diverse Maori realities. The studies often challenge the explanatory power of current theories to adequately explain the multilevelled, multifaceted social, political and economic realities and aspirations of Maori.

Stage 6: Transformation of Theory

Stage six focuses on emerging forms of research both within and outside the written archive. The number of writers writing specifically in relation to Maori and education are not as yet, great in number. Nevertheless, Linda and Graham Smith, Walker, Hohepa, Johnston and Pihama, Jenkins, Durie, Jahnke, Soutar, Te Awekotuku, Irwin, Penetito, McArthey, Ka'ai, Bishop, Pere, Puketapu and Royal are Maori academics who are grappling with the challenges that this stage presents. The transformation of theory through practice is most evident in the establishment and growth of Kohanga Reo programmes based on Maori philosophical and pedagogical action and theory. Mead (1996) writes,

> Te Kohanga Reo marks a major shift in the perceptions Maori held about development, about education and about our own cultural survival. Its beginnings brought back to the centre of Maori life the role of Kaumatua or elders, the relationship between kaumatua and mokopuna and the importance of Te reo Maori as one of the foundations of our different world views and value systems (pp. 74-75).

Kohanga Reo, established in 1982, has been a successful community initiative that has had far reaching ramifications beyond the centre of the nest. As a statement of concern

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[14] The level of accountability is intensified for Maori researchers if for no other reason than that at the completion of projects, they are unable to divorce themselves from the group with whom they are involved. An example of the treatment of reciprocity is Kuni Jenkins, who, after researching the history of Hukarere Maori Girls College took leave from her university position to be Principal of the school for a year.

about the past intent, practices and outcomes of research projects focusing on Maori it has also contributed to the discourse on research through 'deliberate policies of exclusion which kept out officials and researchers' (1996, p. 78). This grass roots initiative has given rise to a voice that reverberates through educational policy, practice research discourse and beyond, particularly for those considering Maori. Mead suggests that the Kohanga Reo movement and its broader ramifications can be viewed in frames. She writes of its catalytic qualities as frames that have provided a language of possibility, a language of hope, political growth in the realisation of rangatiratanga, educational discourse and social relations. Kohanga provided the base upon which each frame was to have an impact on Maori actively involved in Kohanga and for many outside it. The ripple on effects have extended to the core of educational provision at all levels. It has been the forerunner to an educational discourse that encompasses hope, possibility, potentiality to a level unprecedented since missionary and state intervention in the educational practices of Maori.

Hohepa (1990) and Pihama (1993) indicate that theoretical conceptualisation of Kohanga was predicated on three basic principles: the revitalisation of te reo Maori; the revitalisation of whanau and the revitalisation of mana motuhake. Achieving the first principle was incumbent on the second. Revitalising the reo meant extended whanau links with a generation of Kaumatua that still had the language, and a generation of parents of children who were the initial target group. The realisation of Mana motuhake, Maori self determination, became apparent as whanau not only rose to the challenge but were also capable of achieving what a well resourced government, had failed to do - (re)enchant Maori with education. At a later point many Kohanga stipulated specific entry criteria, for example, requiring parents to be actively involved in learning the language in order to support the language needs of their children in the home. Furthermore it demanded that many whanau members, mainly women, acquire a raft of administration skills in order to secure funding, buildings and resources. Henry (1994) writes, with regard to the impact of Kohanga reo in the business sector,

> ... Kohanga reo, have since done more to retain the Maori language and culture, and up skill Maori women in management, than any other initiative over the last one hundred years (p. 101).

Such an effective alternative education system, conceptualised on a Maori philosophical base, has not escaped backlash by those critical of separate systems. Yet ironically, separate systems for Maori have been state policy for longer than integration. What is new and threatening is the locus of control residing with Maori. Often ignored within criticisms of separatism are the number of alternative educational options such as Rudolf Steiner, Montessouri and schools developed around religious philosophies, that continue to flourish in this country based on principles ignored in general stream education.

The large scale theory in practice juxtaposed with the small number of research projects in the sixth stage is primarily due to Maori scepticism of research. Past experience with researchers (in and outside education), their (methodologies employed) and the often detrimental effects of ethnocentric analyses and publication of findings (with little in the way of reciprocity for the communities studied) has created a reluctance from Maori to engage in formalised research activity. Equally, many of the most qualified to carry out research (meeting both academic and cultural criteria) are encased within the time consuming and critical areas of teaching, resource creation and professional development of staff and community liaison. Nevertheless the level of debate at whanau and national hui suggests that critical self-reflection, aimed at continued improvement of educational provision, remains a central component of education for Maori by Maori.

These stages of research provide an overview of the ways in which Maori have been represented in educational research. Within the framework, a move toward Maori-centred research is evidenced. The level of research interest generated by government departments on Maori students serves to highlight the differentiated experiences of Maori and Non-Maori during both compulsory and non-compulsory education. This suggests the need to explore the issues impacting on Maori educators (and on Maori women in particular for

this thesis) and the strategies they employ to sustain an interest in their career and maintain a Maori identity.

Drawing the Archives Together

This literature review has traversed two cultural archives in order to provide an overview of Maori women in positions of responsibility. Chapter one argued that the narrative archive, positions Maori women complimentarily with men. These narratives normalise the contribution of women in the socio-political and economic affairs of customary Maori society. They are seen as figures of authority and power in their own right, not because they reflect or emulate the characteristics of men.

The second chapter reviewed the position of women in the evolution of leadership studies in the Western archive. Early studies were shown to have privileged the position of men. Men being powerful and authoritative was seen as 'natural' and 'normal'. This view assumed that women holding positions of leadership did so because they stood outside the norm of femininity. Therefore women who lead were seen to do so because they replicated the traits and characteristics of men. Recent research was drawn on to challenge the narrow conceptualisations of leadership on the basis of its Eurocentric and androcentric bias. This research suggests that there is still much to be understood about leadership and in particular about the people and contexts in which this socially constructed phenomena occurs.

The third chapter in this literature review has drawn the previous two archives together. It has shown Maori subsumed within the Western archive and the Western archive as a tool for expression of Maori focused research. A framework was prepared for an overview of studies that reflect a movement toward kaupapa Maori or Maori-centred research in an attempt to understand the position of Maori in education as students and educators. The position of Maori students progressing through education, and educators' experience of it

as a workplace, was discussed and it was shown that in some studies Maori students are clearly recognised as having distinctly different objective and subjective experiences of education. A few studies on Maori educators have identified workplace expectations as being detrimentally different to those of their Non-Maori colleagues, but little is known about the experience of Maori women educators holding positions of responsibility, working in the primary sector. Yet this sector has historically attracted the largest proportion of Maori women seeking a professional career.

Chapter Four

Methodology: Theoretical Issues Around The Development Of Maori Research Approaches

> As far as I know, we gave the PhD to three American Scholars. I don't know how many papers have been written about us because we don't usually get copies... Day by day we talked to these new anthropologists in friendship, we didn't know this information would go into books and disclose our privacy. To please you, to get things and money out of you, we learnt to tell any story you want. I fear your writings would hurt the people if they could read.... We want friendship, you want information: we want life long relations, you want information; we want to think of you as part of our families, you want information (An Indian research participant - American Anthropological Association, 1992; p. 3).

The unchecked desire to know, to discover, to claim 'other' has been a central tenet of Western research in the social sciences. This chapter argues that the location of the researcher is central to any study undertaken. Invariably what is seen to be important or unimportant in research is linked to choices that have historically been made by the researcher. Various Maori responses also link research preference to those who participate in the research process. Selecting a methodology for research requires choice on the part of the researcher, at two levels. First, although not always explicitly articulated, it requires the alignment of the researcher with a philosophical position that views scientific inquiry in a particular way. This underpins the second level of choice involving the selection of certain methods, tools or instruments to be utilised in the collection, interpretation and analysis of data. Neither facet is unproblematic within Colonial epistemic and ontological traditions, particularly for those who have historically and currently been more often positioned as the object of study than the objectifying agent. To ignore these underlying methodological issues would falsely suggest that what has been investigated, and why, and how research interests have been developed, have been unproblematic for Maori. However, research processes have been more concerned with exclusion and containment rather than participation, alienating many of the constituent groups subsumed within the label Maori from any potentiality of enabling research.

The issue, for me, is not so much about the application of particular methodological instruments in research projects. Rather it is the 'taken for granted' ideological assumptions that impinge on the what, why and how of research processes. This chapter therefore focuses on an exploration of concerns around the links between constructions of knowledge, power and discourse. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section locates the problematic of representation of Maori in the disjunctive process of colonisation. Section two acknowledges Western responses to colonising discourses and further considers grounded theory, critical theory and empowerment as specific examples. Section three argues that ignoring the multiple accountabilities faced by researchers researching Maori issues, irrespective of the theoretical position held, will ultimately undermine potential benefits. As will become clear later in this chapter the issues of multiple accountabilities and empowerment emerged out of interaction with participants and thinking about our constituent roles in the research process. The final section addresses two Maori positions on research, while the next chapter outlines the methodological process engaged in this study.

Colonising Narratives: The Constructing of Colonising Dichotomies and 'Othering' Discourse.

For Maori, the problem of research revolves around the inheritance of a scientific discourse that is located within a socio-cultural history which traditionally, under the rubric of positivism, advanced notions of scientific neutrality. That 'neutrality' maintains that such inquiry is unbiased and therefore equally applicable to all. Over time this Eurocentric 'scientific' discourse was to gain acceptance through hegemonic processes of knowledge creation, validation and dissemination. Foucault (1982) asserts that knowledge did not,

> ... slowly detach itself from its empirical roots, the initial needs from which it arose, to become pure speculation subject only to the demands of reason ... Where religions once demanded the sacrifice of bodies, knowledge now calls for experimentation on ourselves, calls us to the sacrifice of the subject of knowledge (p. 208).

Historically, epistemological, ontological and axiological positions that emerged from positivist assumptions provided the distinction between scientific and non-scientific inquiry. Said (1989), while concurring with Foucault, extends the problematic beyond one scientific paradigm. Said maintains Imperialism and its consequent dichotomisation of the rational observer/ irrational actor, civilised/ savage, Christian/ heathen, is the catalyst neutralising and inhibiting any 'attempt at representing reality mimetically' (p. 3) of racialised groups. Within the social sciences, objectivity and the value driven nature of research, universalising discourse and bias in general have been extensively argued (for example, Chalmers, 1982; Doyal and Harris, 1986; Smith, J., 1989; Longino, 1989; Scheurich and Young, 1997). However, the effects of discourse resulting from early pseudo-objective observations and consequent universalising accounts of colonised groups continue to be borne, by Maori. Through more than one 'scientific' discipline (Byrnes, 1990) Maori have been the sacrificial lamb upon this metaphorical altar of knowledge.

The positivist approach provides a colonial account of Maori that forms the very foundations of the institutions in which dissertations such as this are collected. It is not a position that can be easily ignored, especially when it is the tradition in which we are schooled. Maori, historically caste as 'native', have been slotted, defined, classified and objectified within predefined Western parameters of validity. Validity was not to be sought within the communities under scrutiny, but to meet the externally derived validity checks divorced from the objects of study by time, space and culture. Historically tenuous positions casting Maori as 'other' have been fed back to us as fact[1].

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[1] Facts in this light are seen to be end points of a process based on positivist assumptions. Debates about subjectivity and objectivity are not new to the Sciences. Positivism in its broadest philosophical sense refers to the theory of knowledge proposed by Francis Bacon, John Locke and Isaac Newton which asserts the primacy of observation and the pursuit of causal explanation by way of inductive generalisation. In the social sciences, it has become associated with three related principles: "the ontological tenet of *phenomenalism"* according to which knowledge can be founded on experience alone (verging on the fetishization of 'facts' as immediately available to sense - perception); the methodological tenet of the *"unity of the scientific method"* which proclaims that the procedures of natural science are directly applicable to the social world with the goal of establishing invariable laws or law like generalisations about social phenomena; and the "axiological tenet of *neutrality "* which refuses to grant normative statements the status of knowledge and maintains a rigid separation between facts and values." (Wacquant 1994, pp. 495-498). These positions are challenged both from within and from outside the natural sciences.

The objectified 'us' referred to by Foucault, historically positions the 'other' as the subject of knowledge within an intracultural context. For indigenous people and many groups of colour, 'otherness' (hooks, 1984, 1992; Said, 1978, 1989; Johnston and Pihama, 1995; Mead, L., 1996) is defined by those looking from outside the cultural milieu. Furthermore, until recently this has been the only viewpoint deposited in the Western archive.

While for Maori 'otherness' is categorised by ethnicity, the archive has equally categorised and hierarchically classified people by geographic boundary, climatic influence and physiology, connecting such states as temperament, intellect, immunity to disease and cultural attributes to such factors (Howe, 1997). The assumptions enmeshed in 'othering' processes need to be deconstructed, not as a means of how Maori see themselves in particular for this thesis, but as a means of understanding the discourse about us, that is reflected back to us, through an archive that has had a vested interest in our objectification. The 'rules of practice' (Foucault, 1980) for the objectification of subjects, according to Said (1978 and 1989), are based on the constitutive role of the observer, the history of geographical disposition in ethnography and intellectual dissemination of discoveries. These rules come to represent a set of textual strategies that are seen to have more to do with sustaining positions of power and authority over others than with the advancement of knowledge (ibid).

Objectifying Particular Subjects

The objectification of human beings as research subjects has commanded the critical attention of many writers (for example, Foucault, 1982; Said, 1989; hooks and West, 1991; Fine, 1994; Pihama and Johnson, 1995; Mead, 1996; Smith, 1997). However the evolution of 'dis-stance' (Fine, 1994, p. 17) and objectivity identified as arising from a specific socio-historical context has advanced normative epistemological foundations for science. Foucault's aim to 'create a history of the different modes by which, *in our culture* human beings are made subjects' (1982, p. 208, my emphasis) provides a typology of three modes of objectification.

The first mode of objectification lies within *dividingpractices.* For Foucault this occurred early on in the separation or isolation of easily distinguishable sub-groups in intracultural contexts. This commenced in the Middle Ages with the physical separation of lepers, based on physical disposition, progressing to the confinement of the poor, the insane, criminals and vagabonds, all seen as social deviants according to measures of law or life style. He highlights the different philosophical positions, diversity of procedures and the variable effectiveness of shaping a discourse in which 'the subject is objectified by a process of division either within themselves or from others' (1982, p. 209). The outcome of this process is the categorisation and designation of social and personal identity. Rabinow (1984) provides a synopsis,

> Essentially 'dividing practices' are modes of manipulation that combine the mediation of a science (or pseudo-science) and the practice of exclusion - usually in a spatial sense, but always in a social one (p. 8).

Although the dividing practices Foucault analysed occurred within intracultural contexts, Said (1989), using similar methods, deconstructs the study of racialised others. In Said's 'adversarial critique' of Orientalism, Imperial anthropological practice is linked to a socio-cultural milieu in which political and economic interest is adhered to a context in which discourse about other is made both possible and sustainable. Imperial strategies centred on modes of classification that encompass physical, intellectual and spiritual parameters have, in effect, been used to control and contain those othered by race. Such strategies simultaneously canonise the power and knowledge of the invasive European.

Maori women have experienced the application of such 'dividing practices' by a coloniser eager to differentiate itself from the colonised, while rationalising the way colonisation would proceed under the guise of science. Knowledge locating women centrally in customary Maori society has been ignored or rewritten to become more conducive to colonial belief. Such beliefs have reconstructed Maori women as a multilayered other. Smith (L.,1992) illustrates the contemporary impact of this dividing practice on Maori women:

> Maori women belong to the group of women in the world who have been historically constructed as 'other' by white patriarchies and white feminisms. As women we have been defined in our difference to men. As Maori, we have been defined in terms of our difference to our colonisers. As both we have been

> defined by our difference to Maori men, Pakeha men and Pakeha women. The socioeconomic class in which most Maori women are located makes the category of 'other' even more problematic (p. 33).

Foucault's first mode of classification thus divides people as a whole unit from the majority.

Foucault's second mode of objectification, *scientific classification* requires the division of the composite parts of individuals from each other, that is to say, their physical self from their social, spiritual and psychological selves. Colonised groups were divided from their colonisers through both modes of objectification. While we were caste as savage, uncivilised and barbaric as a group, as individuals the canon separated us by gender and divided our bodies and minds into compartments such as our intellect, our physiology, our language, our customs and our beliefs. Using each as separate phenomena classification separately constituted complete entities. Those doing the ordering and classifying were initially besotted with genitalia (gender divisions), affluence (class) and physiological and psychological states (in European communities). Significantly for Maori, later stages, developed during expeditions of discovery and migration, extended hierarchical modes of classification to include 'race'.

Historical pseudo-scientific recordings of early explorers, missionaries, whalers and settlers within Oceania are testimony to the Euro/androcentric bias of those who were (re)naming and claiming that which they observed (Howe, 1997). Bias favouring the observer over the observed allowed 'scientific scholars' to privilege some aspects of objectified cultures while obscuring others. As part of this process the status of female roles and functions, and of women in Maori societies, was concealed while that of male roles and functions, and men were promoted. Hence fundamental principles of balance and complementarity governing the role and functions of both men and women were being eroded to fit the intellectual mind scapes of the observer. While disjunctives within disciplines have promoted changes in the foci of inquiry, philosophies underpinning scientific investigation have remained fundamentally unmodified. Foucault (1977, cited in Wuthnow, Hunter, Bergesen and Kurzweil, 1984) maintains,

> ... the intellectual discovered that the masses no longer needed him [sic] to gain knowledge: they *know* perfectly well, without illusion; they know far better than he [sic] and they are certainly capable of expressing themselves. But there exists a system of power which blocks, prohibits and invalidates this discourse and this knowledge, a power not only found in the manifest authority of censorship, but one that profoundly and subtly penetrates an entire social network. Intellectuals are themselves agents of this system of power - the idea of their responsibility for 'consciousness' and discourse forms part of the system (p. 152).

Contrary to these practices, this study which focuses on Maori women educational administrators, does not intend to segregate these women from the broader cultural contexts in which Maori live. As such it recognises the diverse realities in which Maori currently reside. While the study identifies a locus of interest as Maori women who have chosen to be educational administrators in the primary sector - it does not group them as educational administrators who happen to be Maori, which assumes they will necessarily draw from the same bodies of knowledge to inform their practice.

Foucault's (1982) third mode of objectification, usually seen as the antithesis of modes one and two, is subjectification. This concerns the

> ... way a human being turns him- or herself into a subject ...[via a series of] operations on [people's] own bodies, on their own souls, on their own thoughts, on their own conduct (p. 210).

Although Rabinow (1984, p. 11) suggests that such processes of self-understanding are mediated by external authority figures (in the form of confessors or psychoanalysts), the increasing use of subjectification by groups historically 'othered' in an attempt to understand effects on self of experienced domination, adds a new mode to the archive. Arguably in such instances the biggest mediating influence of ethnically diverse researchers is acceptance of the archive's ability to endorse who we are through the act of writing in which cultural analyses are invested. It is an archive that has historically defined the terms of the partnership between science and scientist.

Scientific discourse has been the vehicle through which a myriad of dominant groups have vested in themselves the power and authority to definitively define what Maori look like, how Maori behave, what Maori believe and how Maori need to change. This has in turn been translated into support for political agendas that have a greater interest in the supplication of indigenous cultures and the pacification of colonised groups rather than in enabling partnerships. Hall articulates the use of 'cultural power' and 'normalisation' as a means of centring the dominant cultural group while simultaneously decentring other,

> ... Black people, black experiences were positioned and subjected in the dominant regimes of representation [these] were the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalisation. Not only ... were we constructed as different and other within the categories of knowledge ... by those regimes. They had the power to make us see and experience ourselves as 'Other' (cited in hooks, 1992; p. 3).

Maori similarly grow up being the pseudo-other, confronted with curriculum, pedagogical and assessment practices that centre the cultural precepts of the dominant group. The result is greater proficiency for example in the dominant language and with credentials in the dominant culture that have been gained often at the cost of our own. This necessitates the posing of questions about the levels of our own complicity with our objectification and about

> ... the relationship between activism and research, between power and method, (which) immediately brings to the fore a whole set of issues about the social role of research, about the conceptual and epistemological grounding of knowledge claims, about what such knowledge is *for*, and about *who* ultimately benefits from its generation (Apple 1994, p. x).

These questions challenge historical foundations and current practices that continue to exclude those outside the 'regimes of cultural power'.

Foucault does not provide a complete historical analysis adequate for Maori, but rather, identifies a recent demarcation point at which a major set of disjunctives occurred. The disjunctives highlighted by Foucault and based in the histories of Europe only intersect with our history at the point of European contact. A Foucauldian analysis does not therefore form the basis of how we necessarily see ourselves, though power through pseudo knowledge has manifested itself in multifarious ways in an attempt to normalise abnormal representations of

us. Scientific inquiry has more often than not imposed methodologies that have often convoluted the very essence of shared knowledge. This has occurred through the use of mediating filters derived from one cultural archive sitting in judgement of another. These are the dilemmas, then, that underpin this study of some Maori women educational administrators. While delineating the dilemmas provides the problematic, sharing a voice that is being centred, as opposed to rendered peripheral, is the stance that is advanced. The next section explores further how Western responses to the problems that have been discussed need to be revised to make sense of the reality of Maori women's lives and to explain the nature of the contribution they make to educational organisations.

Addressing the Limitations

Western responses to the limitations of the forms of scientific inquiry outlined, though varied, have tended to be driven by a critique of (i) the position of the researcher as expert and all powerful; (ii) the tendency for research to be done by white middle class men, studying and creating a literate account for a myriad of less powerful 'others', that is, research being driven by the interests and values of the already powerful; and (iii) the assumption that objectivity is achievable or even desirable in some instances. Critical analyses of these issues in the social sciences are largely derived from writers situated within feminist positions, postmodernism, phenomenology, critical and grounded theory approaches. This discussion will focus on grounded theory and critical theory as potential methodological approaches for this study.

Grounded theory approaches are used as inductive strategies advocating theory generation through discovery (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) while critical theory is utilised as a means to critique the taken for grantedness, at both the macro and micro levels (Apple, 1994). The concept of empowerment emerges as significant in this discussion. The development of empowering research methods have been developed as a means of addressing power differentials manifest in research processes (Court and Court 1998).

Grounded theory approaches involve the 'grounding' of informing constructs in the particular set of data collected, rather than subjecting data to analytical constructs as a means to prove theory (Hutchinson, 1988). Consequently, grounded theory criticises the positivist's conventional deductive approach to research, opposing the focus on verification for theory development and the priori definition of concepts and hypotheses (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). The approach is called 'grounded theory' because the research starts by collecting data and then searches for theoretical constructs, themes and patterns that are 'grounded' in the data. For groups 'othered' by previous research, it potentially provides a slate cleansed of ideological and theoretical constructs that have traditionally framed understandings of self as other. It thus, theoretically, then allows an understanding of self to emerge. This approach provided for me a way to move from needing to locate a study within a theoretical framework while finding little in the literature at the time supporting a Maori theoretical position. It was seen as a positional space creator in which Maori theoretical positions could develop.

Critical theory[2] has also gained popularity as a tool for critique of socially constructed human endeavour. It provides a foundation upon which 'what is' can be better understood and therefore 'what might be' is able to be conceptualised and worked toward. However, unlike grounded theory, critical theory provides a school of thought which aims to distinguish and clarify differing intentions and interests attached to a process of critique which provides the foundation for action (Carr and Kemmis 1986; Giroux 1992; McLaren 1994; Apple 1994). As a critical social science it focuses on the forms of social life which subjugate people and the ways of thinking which support subjugation by making oppression seem unproblematic, inevitable, or simply justified (Durie, A., 1994). The application of critical theory requires an inter-disciplinary approach, advancing the need for

> ... the coordination of findings from historical, socio-cultural, political, economic, socio-psychological, and bio-psychological analyses in the study of specific problems of human experience and action (Sherif, 1982 cited in Reinharz, 1992; p. 250).

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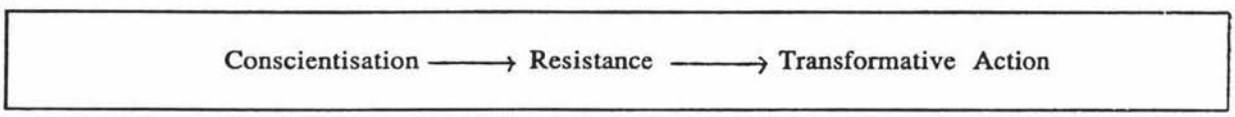
2 Early formulations of critical theory were developed in the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany during the 1920s. The school produced such theorists as Horkenheimer and Adorno, and later Habermas.

However, in its implied lineal application, critical theory struggles to embrace the multiple positions of Maori. Typically, emancipatory approaches centre on the integral component of transformative praxis. Involved in the process of transformative praxis is conscientisation, resistance and transformative action (Freire, 1996; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991). In applying transformative praxis to Maori contexts, Smith (G.; 1997b) questions the applicability of lineal models to provide the explanatory tools for understanding Maori initiatives. In response to the work of Aronowitz and Giroux, Smith argues that praxis models represented lineally (as seen in Figure 2.1) inaccurately privilege conscientisation as the point of commencement from which resistance emerges, in turn providing the basis for transformative action.

Figure 4.1

Model A (Linear representation of praxis)



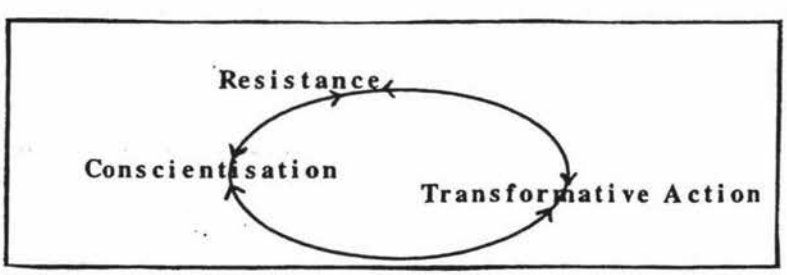
(Smith, G., 1997)

Smith suggests it is not a position that reflects praxis oriented initiatives for Maori.

In order to provide the explanatory power of transformative praxis that encompasses the 'multiple realities of Maori' (Durie, M., 1994), Smith provides a circular representation, privileging neither theory nor practice, in the assumption that such processes have no definitive commencement or terminal point, represented thus.

Figure 4.2

Model B (Circular representation of praxis)



(Smith, G. 1997)

The latter representation of praxis better incorporates the diverse Maori realities, inclusive of organic, traditional and 'academic' Maori. It also embraces transformative action both individually and collectively. Maori participation in the Kohanga reo movement, for example, has meant action first for some, who have taken children to Kohanga because their nanny, aunty or friend was either running it or suggested they do it, or perhaps because it simply represented another place for Maori to maintain connections with other Maori and acceptance of themselves and their children was anticipated. In instances such as this action became the forerunner to conscientisation which itself often commenced in whanau hui and management structures established to run the Kohanga. For others conscious decisions about creating alternative educational options came from grassroots conscientisation, exposure to customary knowledge, hui and/or an understanding of the precarious status of the Maori language and culture in contemporary society. For yet another group, post compulsory courses offered in wananga, universities and pre-employment courses run by runanga and other Maori providers offered the first opportunity to raise levels of awareness of issues. Only for the latter two groups does the lineal model of transformative praxis provide an accurate level of understanding regarding the nature of Maori praxis in which the place of the academic is privileged.

Lineal models equally ignore the position of a number of Maori students for whom transformative action without conscientisation is evident. For example some Maori youth truanting, suspended or expelled from schools, may be understood as resisting hegemonic processes and practices of which they have little understanding. Not being cognisant of the breadth or depth of forces leading to the desire to resist does not necessarily negate them bearing the brunt of experiences that supply messages about their less than equal status.

The preceding discussion does not provide a definitive list of the ways Maori praxis is reflected within Aotearoa; rather it points to a way of acknowledging the many lived realities and the multidirectional flow of power incorporated in circular models of praxis. Critique of

critical theory is thus seen to focus on two points; first the tendency to apply the theory lineally and second; the elitist view of 'empowerment' and 'empowering' research approaches.

Questions Around Empowerment: A wolf in Sheep's Clothing; Who's Empowering Whom?

Attempting to make transparent positional power in research is a primary principle underpinning empowering research models. As a student researching articulate women already conversant with school, local and national politics, I became concerned about questions around who was empowering whom?

Empowerment as a research principle is seen as a genuine response to dealing with power relationships in research designs that have historically been disempowering and disabling to othered groups. If however, empowerment becomes a presumptuous position it can paradoxically perpetuate the problems. This section raises questions about the applicability of the concept of empowerment as a response to previous research for Maori juxtaposed with the cultural precept mana.

Western definitions of power in twentieth-century debates are commonly the result of simply posed questions:

- How is power conceived?
- How is power to be identified or measured?
- What distinguishes power relationships?
- Who or what possesses power, and
- Which outcomes count as the effects of power?

The simplicity of the questions more often than not belies the complex array of responses evoked. Any consideration of power requires an understanding of interdependent situational and contextual determinants that will factor in responses to the question raised. Empowerment as a concept has emerged out of these debates. It is a concept increasingly used in research

methodologies associated with power redistribution. It has become a central theme in the way critical social science research projects are perceived and initiated and an increasingly central tenet in theorising, development of research, policy, delivery of educational initiatives and hoped for outcomes.

Research with empowerment as a guiding principle is often used in one of two ways: either to indicate a process that will be in some way uplifting and inclusive in design and process; or, to indicate that the legacy of the research will be a clearer understanding by the participants of whatever constitutes the focus of inquiry. Moreover it is used in the attempt to invert or reduce power differentials between the researcher and the researched, particularly in projects where the researcher defines themselves as an 'insider'. However the act of implementing research methodologies that involve greater cognisance of personal position, does not necessarily provide a causal link between participant understandings and reduced actual or perceived power differentials either internal or external to the project.

Research projects based on the intent to empower do not necessarily lead to desired outcomes. The mismatch of intent and outcome, the struggle to name and claim is not new to research. It has always been a site in which textual strategies have been created and recreated to claim analytic authority over self and other (Said 1989). Lankshear (1994) argues that the struggle for symbolic power through words, their meaning and ideological capture, often results in the loss of the conceptual vitality of much that is embodied within language. While the mismatch between two distinct languages, such as Maori and English, often cause interpretational complexities, Lankshear, and Fernandez (1994) raise the issue in relation to class-based genre within the same language.

> [T]he dominating class, through its hegemony in [the] existing structure, recuperates the liberating concepts of education and immediately transforms them into empty terminology, void of useful meanings and strength as ideas...[They]...become only words...always [lacking] the expected content. They await recreation of their content through the political practice of liberating education (p. 73).

Empowerment as it is often currently used in research design provides an example of Lankshear's argument.

Delgado-Gaitan (1990) resisted the use of empowerment as an analytic and explanatory construct in her study of education in a Southern Californian migrant community based on her observation that,

> ... [empowerment has] been used to mean the act of showing people how to work within a system from the perspective of the people in power (p. 74).

In Delgado-Gaitan's experience, empowering research design has come to mean identification of strategies and programme development aligned to hastening the assimilation process for 'others' while not fundamentally challenging the assumptions, processes or structures of those wielding power in that context.

Lankshear (1994) extends this criticism, suggesting that educational theorists and practitioners pursuing libertory ideals, including himself, have contributed to devaluing the currency of empowerment through either misunderstanding or misinterpretation. Lankshear argues that this has been done in one of two ways, the first of which is that it has been unintentionally diminished through its use "to name the space where theoretical work is needed rather then to fill that space" (p, 166). Secondly, 'empowerment has been reduced to hollow, nominal, and empty terminology' by its overuse as some 'kind of educational magic bullet', as though adhering the term to educational discourse will somehow produce a strategy for solving personal and collective educational problems, overcome existing barriers to 'emancipation' and 'equity'. In an attempt to rejuvenate the value of the term, Lankshear (1994) articulates the need for at least four variables that require consideration in any schema of empowerment.

> **A** (the subject) is empowered in the respect of **B** (some aspect of the discursive structuring of power) by/through **C** (a process or quality) such that **D** (a valued end or outcome) ensues (p. 166).

Nevertheless strict adherence to these principles will not in itself ensure empowerment ensues if it continues to suggest a unidirectional flow from the all powerful researcher to the subject,

or that the research process can pre-empt outcomes for participants. Adhering emancipatory language to research processes that do little to change factors that constrain is contradictory. The contradiction is made further apparent when the researcher extends their own academic kudos by retaining ultimate interpretive, analytic and disseminative power. This is especially so when the primary responsibility or ownership of the final product remains with either the researcher or the funding agency.

What is needed is a shift to considering power within a Maori cultural context that requires an understanding of mana[3] . Te Awekotuku (1996), maintains that mana,

> ... (has) layers and levels of meaning; primarily, it is about power and empowerment, about authority and the right to authorise.. (p. 27).

The layers and levels of mana attributed to individuals and collectives are given expression through mana atua, mana tupuna, mana whenua and mana tangata, providing a framework in which power and authority becomes the basis for ritual encounter. At the risk of grossly understating each facet, mana atua recognises the power/authority of the celestial realm delegated to earthly agents. In this sense people 'remain always the agent or channel, never the source of mana' (Barlow, 1994; p. 119). Mana tupuna is a channel through which people maintained their status and connection to whanau, hapu and iwi through human descent lines (Te Awekotuku, 1996; Mahuika, 1992; Marsden, 1992; Barlow, 1994; Pere, 1982). Mana tangata provides the means through which the mana of individuals and collectives is established, recognised and potentially multiplied. Mana whenua is derived from the connection to land and the authority to provide, produce and maintain guardianship of resources. In applying the questions regarding power posed at the beginning of this section to the concept of mana. Mana, is recognised as an integral component of encounter between people and in the relationships that link cosmological, spiritual, human and physical elements. The origin of mana emerges from the earliest of cosmological narratives and extends beyond

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[3] The use of the word mana has itself been a contentious issue, dating back to the translating of the Treaty of Waitangi. Critics suggest that an alternative word for mana was consciously sought in the knowledge that Maori chiefs would not subordinate their mana to any other authority. Te Heuheu, of Tuwharetoa, in debating the treaty, recognised the implication and refused to subsume his personal mana or the mana of the tribe to the Queen of England (Grace 1959: 369, & Cox 1993: 29)

simply human interaction. Increased mana is a collective exercise in which individuals and/or collectives increase their mana by collective recognition of significant acts or enabling processes rather than by self ascription. Therefore mana embodied in self and other requires consideration in processes of encounter which emphasises researcher's ability to potentially diminish the mana of others if it is ignored or disregarded.

Consequently 'empowerment' which situates only those directly involved as the sole 'players' within the project, makes no sense in a research context which demands recognition of the wider groups to which both parties are connected. For the researcher this involves recognition of accountabilities, broader than the disciplinary precepts, given the communities in which research activity occurs. Likewise, the participants themselves need to consider whanau, hapu or iwi interests in the sharing of cultural intellectual property which is often inevitable in engagement with research. Further, advancing notions of empowerment in a Maori context thus cuts across understandings of tuakana/teina status and the channels through which power is perceived and distributed. In other words, even where cultural and gender differences are absent, imbalances of power can still exist between the researcher and the participant. This is so because power has a variety of cultural determinants (Foster 1994), which still operate even in the presence of a shared cultural and gendered identity[4]. Within this understanding of power, as an individual, I do not have the personal authority to assume that I as the researcher can whakamana others. Further to this, Ruruhira Robin (1991), a kuia of Ngati Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata and Ngati Porou, describes the interrelated nature of mana Maori and women.

> Well, it's a very serious thing 'mana wahine' and I don't think it can be separated from "mana whanau', 'mana hapu', 'mana iwi', 'mana tangata'. You see mana wahine is very special but it doesn't live by itself (p. 3).

Recognition of the location of mana that resides with each participant implies a process that requires the consideration of individual and collective mana derived from sources outside the research process. Thus although I have the potential to diminish mana through lack of

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[4] Notions of insider research often oversimplify groups by collapsing rich diversity to one factor commonalities (ie gender, ethnicity, poverty, sexual preferences ...). This appears contrary to Maori who will openly argue homogeneity and diversity juxtaposed with whakapapa and specificity simultaneously.

recognition, any increased mana afforded participants will be derived from the collectives to whom they are connected outside of this process.

Hence, in spite of my initial attraction to the notion of empowerment, it wasn't until I attempted to work with the concept in a Maori context that the complex problems associated with its utilisation became clear. Not to recognise the locus of control and distribution of mana in a Maori context assumes that mana resides in researchers, and in a research archive in which the mana of Maori has never been recognised. This is not to say that methodologies can't be developed to provide scope for mana to be recognised. Processes are employed that do respect its existence. However, the potential for belittlement of mana at the hands of researchers unprepared to question their own position in relation to Maori participants, usually results in the failure to recognise participants as the embodiment of mana. This can result in the opposite of the methodological intent of empowerment.

As a consequence of considering the response I would get if I suggested to kaumatua or tuakana that I was there to 'empower' them, my initial attraction to the notion gave way to a growing concern that the discourse of empowerment was a new way of talking about old, thinly disguised, hierarchies. If I could not be honest in sharing the terminology I intended to use in shaping the research and the rubric under which I would talk about the project in disseminating the findings, it felt deceitful to use it at all. It was ultimately my inability to resolve such co tradic.'ons that saw the removal of the term from the aims of the project and avoidance of its use as an analytical and explanatory construct.

Some further points can be made. Power, like praxis, is multifaceted and does not flow in a unidirectional fashion. It is far more complex than most of the research projects using empowerment imply. While having talked about the potentially inappropriate use of empowerment for insider research in Maori contexts, I am not suggesting the abandonment of the underpinning intent of 'empowering' research. What is suggested is the need to use terminology that better reflects what it is we do and offers a more realistic reflection of what

individual research outcomes achieve. When this project is finished, rather than being 'liberated', the women in this study will continue to use their personal power to struggle with the multifarious internal and external sites of power that confront them on a daily basis.

To summarise then, when applying the notion of empowerment to research involving Maori a paradox is created, that is we purport something new while unwittingly advancing an old Western tradition. As a researcher, a Maori, a woman, and an educator working with other Maori women educators centralising Maori cultural imperatives, empowerment as a motivation is not a mantle that sits comfortably on my shoulders. Research involving Maori requires the acknowledgment of where mana resides. Westernised notions of power take for granted that the researcher has the culturally defined power to delegate/disseminate authority in the first place.

Multiple Accountabilities

What the previous section suggests is that mana is an integral component of Maori human encounter that requires the consideration of accountabilities extending beyond that of a particular disciplinary based scientific rigour. It further suggests that being Maori and working with Maori does not automatically elevate researchers to a plane upon which issues of power or accountability to the community in which research occurs, becomes irrelevant. Walker (1992) maintains,

> It is not acceptable for a person to claim that by virtue of their being a Maori researcher their research will be 'more valid' than that of a Pakeha when the tools both are using are viewed by Maori as coming from the same deficit tool box (p. 1).

A further issue of accountabilities arising from all of this however is that Maori are not devoid of checks against which validity can be measured. As researchers we are answerable to two culturally derived forms of validity that are more often than not polarised. The first is based within the communities to which we are connected, while the second is derived from the disciplines within the universities in which we are located. This places the researcher in a

precarious situation that raises significant questions of accountability; to whom is the researcher accountable and to what end is the project intended?

The nature of some of the problems can be illustrated by the following episode which occurred during the process of outlining the research proposal to potential participants. A participant asked for further clarification of the aims and purposes of the project. In discussing the aim of grounded theory to allow the themes and framework to emerge from the data, she challenged the assumption that I could come to the project without any hypothesis about what I thought I would find. This exchange led to further questions about why I chose to focus on Maori women. For this participant particularly, my position was important[5]. It was not acceptable to be superficially seen to be Maori, a teacher or a co-trainee. While for those outside the group this superficial homogeneity may seem acceptable, it was not enough to gain unqualified acceptance in this instance. Her reservations were based on an awareness of and concern about two issues. Firstly there was her understanding of the diverse realities of Maori, that did not automatically make us necessarily either culturally (iwi defined), socially or politically homogenous. The second concern involved the nature, purpose and outcomes of many past research projects and the potential for misinterpretation. She believed that much of what she did in her professional role involved countering the effects of previous research which perpetuated negative stereotypes of Maori in general and Maori children in particular in education. Her questions further included the identification of my supervisors, their research interests and to what extent they could infl ıence .ıe project.

The former point about homogeneity is clearly articulated by Irwin (1991),

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5 We had met on this day with the express intention of carrying out the first interview. However, I was unsure that this participant felt free of any obligation to participate freely or withdraw from the research. This was possibly complicated by the fact we had trained together and that I was another Maori woman, her desire to support the project was constrained by worries about the cost to self. Bearing this in mind I suggested that we not interview at that time but talk further about the project: the aims, purposes, as well as the rights and obligations of those involved. The interview did proceed after our discussion. Nevertheless, during the course of the discussion a previous experience of the participant's was shared. This participant had during the completion of a door to door survey asked for the return of her questionnaire and expressed her desire to withdraw from the project. The researcher refused, concerned about the amount of time he had spent working through the questionnaire. In short she locked him in the house and suggested he ring his supervisor and ask for advice - the questionnaire was returned before he left the house.

> A number of factors influence Maori women's development - Tribal affiliation, sexual preference, knowledge of traditional Maori tikanga, knowledge of the Maori language, rural or urban location, identification on the political spectrum from radical to traditional, place in the family, the level of formal schooling and educational attainment's to name but a few (p. 2).

The women in this group are situated across a wide array of reference points, indicated by at least six of these variables. Though none of the remaining participants openly questioned me about methodological issues prior to the commencement of interviews, I was nevertheless made aware that willingness to participate was given based on the unspoken assumption that I would sustain their integrity as an 'inside' researcher. For these participants, whanau and other collectives also become vulnerable to the research process yet often they have little control over the ways in which the data is interpreted. Finch (undated cited in Lee 1993) records, for example, her concern that the data collected from women on the basis of trust could, given a particular interpretation, be used against their interests. The dilemma here is not simply, as Finch argues, an ethical one, but ultimately involves a political choice of the 'whose interests will be served?' kind. The juggling act required to work at the crossroads of so many interest groups is felt in more than just the discipline of education.

> Maori film makers have to address several issues not of their own choosing when they decide on a project.... They have to satisfy the demands of the cinema [institution], the demands of their own people [the participants], the criteria of a white male-dominated value and funding structure [credentialling agents], and somehow be accountable to all..... Worst still is the knowledge that the Maori film maker [academic] carries the burden of having to correct the past and will therefore be concerned with demystifying and decolonising the screen [archive] (Mita, 1992; cited in Paraha, 1992; p. 40) (my bracketed inserts).

From the discussion with one of the participants came the impetus to articulate not only where I saw myself (within the group), but also to share the philosophical issues underpinning the project during feed back during the group focus interview. In response to many of the foreshadowed concerns the call for Maori, by Maori, with Maori (Penetito 1996) is in recognition that such projects are 'more likely', but not automatically, conducted in ways that display,

> ... an in depth understanding of Maori values, attitudes and mores necessary for a successful outcome, as is the probability of an understanding and willingness to abide by a Maori system of ethics and accountability (Durie, A .,1992; p. 4).

Maori Positions on Research Methodology

What colonial disjunctives have necessitated is the development of a Maori paradigm[6] cognisant of Maori. The two responses in the following discussion simultaneously recognise the threat of science *and* its potential promise predicated on principles that centralise and thereby normalise being Maori. The promise of science lies in its potential to assist Maori social and economic development, while the threat lies in science continuing to serve only the needs identified by its current patrons, principally central and local government (Walker, M., 1997). Two emerging paradigms are Maori Centred Approaches (Durie, M., 1997) and Kaupapa Maori (Mead, L., 1996; Smith, G., 1997). These positions posit a 'taken for granted' in which the cultural locations of the researcher and the participants are made transparent.

Durie, (M, 1997) advancing a Maori centred approach maintains,

> ... education and research have the capacity to both empower and to devalue. All too often New Zealand's past policies have erred on the side of devaluing Maori realities and in the process undermining Maori confidence and the impetus for positive development. It is time now to do the opposite: to employ research methodologies and approaches to teaching which place Maori at the centre; to facilitate a more secure identity for Maori by increasing opportunities for accessing Maori resources; to avoid misappropriation of Maori intellectual knowledge while encouraging ongoing retention, transmission and development of that knowledge; to enable greater Maori participation across the range of sciences, humanities and professions without compromising a Maori identity (p. 14).

He identifies three principles that underpin a Maori centred approach, (i) whakapikitanga - enablement, (ii) whakatuia - integration, and (iii) Mana Maori - Maori control drawing on the

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6 In Kuhn's second edition of *The structure of Scientific revolutions* (1970) he distinguishes two main meanings of paradigm (i) 'the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques and so on shared by the members of a given community' forming a disciplinary matrix, and (ii) 'one sort of element in that constellation, the concrete puzzle solutions which, employed as models or examples, can replace explicit rules as the basis for the solution of the remaining puzzles of normal science', as an exemplar. Both meanings are applicable to a Maori paradigm, (i) in that the constellation of beliefs is predicated on customary and contemporary diverse Maori realities, and (ii) while many elements are common in the emerging Maori positions in research there are also variances that provide exemplars across a variety of contexts.

concept of tino rangatiratanga; Maori self determination. The first principle posits that research activity 'should aim to enhance people so that either their position improves as a result of the research or they are better equipped to take control of their own futures' (p. 10). The second recognises holistic Maori views linking wellbeing, culture, economics, social standing into a matrix that takes account of the individual, the collective and the complex interactions between past and present. The third principle locates the locus of control of research involving Maori, or aspects of Maori society, culture or knowledge with Maori. Associated with this principle are issues of intellectual property rights, guardianship and management of research design and processes (p. 10).

As articulated by Durie (A., 1992; 1993) the principles of mana, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga are also significant when advancing a Maori approach to research. To be actively conscious throughout the research process of mana, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga' suggests that the mana of all the participants (myself included) is recognised as pre-existing and that processes are established to ensure it remains intact. These principles will assist the integration of the individual and collective well-being of those directly involved in the research project and those who, by connection to the participants, also have a vested interest. The ability to enact these principles rests on the understanding and active protection of individual and collective mana. Closely aligned to mana is recognition of tribal mauri invested in intellectual property. Acceptance of these principles requires respectful negotiation with appropriate Maori authorities. Mahitahi, working together as one monitoring the process provides the means through which mana and mauri are sustained, and maramatanga, understanding of the project at hand is achieved (Durie, A; 1993). Hence no universal 'regime of truth' (Lather 1994; p. 37) is advanced, rather a mode of common understanding between the researcher and participants. Central here, to a participative mode of consciousness, is kinship between self and other, providing the ground from which participatory knowing emerges (Heshusius, 1994). In the past 'knowing' in this way has been trivialised as insignificant and stigmatised as bias of assumed 'interest group' membership by those who have rendered them peripheral.

A Kaupapa Maori approach equally provides a matrix of praxis and the advancement of Maori interests. Kaupapa Maori is thus political in nature as it consciously brings into the research process historical influence, cultural identity and aspirations. Smith (G., 1997) asserts,

> Kaupapa Maori theory is more than simply legitimating the 'Maori way' of doing things. Its impetus is to create the moral and ethical conditions and outcomes which allow Maori to assert greater cultural, political, social, emotional and spiritual control over their own lives (Smith, G 1997; p. 456).

Mead defines kaupapa as a philosophy in which cognition plus action are intertwined. It involves a plan: a programme or a set of principles 'which incorporate Maori preferred ways of operating and embracing Maori values' (Mead, L., 1996; p. 201). It is a theory related to being Maori that does not posit objective distanced forms of scientific inquiry. It predicates the validity and legitimacy of Maori as the taken for granted and the survival of Maori language and culture is assured. As Smith[7] (L, 1997) states, 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being, and over our own lives is seen as vital to Maori survival' (p. 27). Mead has articulated four key assumptions that underpin her work: that being Maori in Aotearoa is about being normal; Maori ways of knowing have validity and legitimacy; people can make strategic changes that have emancipatory potential and theorising our understandings and experiences is an important activity for Maori (Mead, L., 1996; pp. 27-29). This current thesis draws on these assumptions for its research design and methodology, which are explained in the next chapter.

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7 Note: L., Smith and L., Mead are names used by the same author.

Chapter Five

The Study And The Process: Shovels And Picks, Sifts And Strainers.

As argued in the first four chapters Eurocentrism and androcentrism in societal structures in general and in educational administration theory and practice in particular, requires strategic negotiation for those decentred by them. This is particularly so for women resisting 'being defined as deviant, deficient or invisible' (Court, 1989; p. 41) in administration theory. The extent to which such definitions operate to exclude groups based on gender are further complicated by the ways in which notions of ethnicity, sexual orientation and/or class combine. In providing a Maori centred approach to the research design the central focus becomes normality, competency and visibility so as to hear eight Maori women share their experiences of education as students, as teachers and as educational administrators. Although criticisms could be directed at this thesis that it perpetuates similar bias as studies found to be andro and Eurocentric, this study makes no claims of 'scientific neutrality' or generalisability, as explained in the previous chapter.

The research on Maori women in educational contexts, identified in chapter three, indicate institutional experiences are problematic. This research focuses on eight successful Maori women. Success is defined in terms of the participants' ability to attain necessary school credentials that would serve as entry criteria into pre-service teacher training courses and positions of responsibility in their current roles. The study investigates the strategies used by eight Maori women to negotiate the sites in which they were educated and in which they work. The specific aims of this project are threefold.

1. to record both student and workbased experiences of eight Maori women who currently hold positions of responsibility as educators in general stream, bilingual and total immersion programmes in the primary sector;

2. to identify the strategies used by the participants who identify as Maori to negotiate institutional terrains and sustain their self ascribed identity;
3. to investigate any correlation between student strategies used by the women to attain school based credentials and the strategies they employed as teachers to negotiate workbased contexts.

The research was designed to use a series of individual, paired and group focus interviews to gather data, in keeping with the principle kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face interaction) as the culturally preferred means of communication.

Pilot Study

Three months prior to the commencement of interviews, those who had indicated an interest in the research, but were outside the geographical area from which the majority of the sample were drawn, helped to refine and to clarify my thinking about the interview process. This group of four women including myself constituted an informal network as a pilot study. We met on three occasions where the women responded to questionnaires and interview questions that had been predetermined by myself. At the third meeting we debated the type of information that both the questionnaire and interview schedule solicited.

During this process a planned questionnaire was abandoned and the majority of questions I had formulated for interviews were rejected. The group felt that structured questionnaires and interviews would constrain the number of issues that might seem relevant to different participants. This group used 'different' as a concept to acknowledge that homogeneity could not be automatically assumed even though the group might superficially appear to be so by ethnicity, gender and profession. As a result there was a move away from a formal, rigid

exchange of questions and answers in preference for an interactive process of telling, listening, clarifying and understanding (Chase, 1995).

During this phase the value of hui was discussed as a means through which issues could be shared and debated, mirroring the processes enacted in the pilot study. As a consequence the decision to engage in unstructured interviews that included individual, paired and group focus (hui) meetings emerged from this process.

Types of Interviews

Thus individual interviews were chosen as a way of providing the context in which 'life histories' could be shared. Middleton (1988) maintains that

> Through focusing both individuals and their socio-historical context, the life history method enables researchers to study people as creative strategists who devise means of resisting and resolving the contradictions they experience (p. 128).

Middleton further asserts that life history research "is a collaboration between the researcher and the researched (providing the) means of generating theory collectively" (1988, p. 132). What is recognised is the ability of people to actively engage in resisting or accommodating their socio-historical context as they seek to make sense of their world. While the term life history implies that all facets of participants lives are explored, realistically this thesis provides only a glimpse of what are recognised as fuller, dynamic, continually developing life trajectories. Although this study thus has a narrower focus, the intent is consistent with what Middleton (1988) argues is central to a life history design,

> ... to elicit respondents' own analyses of their lives, (and) also designed to test (the researchers) developing and changing analyses of both the lives of the individual women and the events and structures of the wider socio-historical context in which they planned and lived them (p. 133).

The individual interviews also came to serve a further purpose during analysis. Seen as the primary data, unaffected by group dynamics, this data provided the means to analyse the extent to which tuakana/teina principles operated group processes. Tuakana/teina principles are to do with status, recognising the dynamic power differentials that could operate in hui contexts. For example, within a paired or group situation some participants might defer to older women; to those seen to be competent in te reo or more versed in tikanga, those seen to have taught for longer periods; or who hold principalships opposed to middle management positions. These dynamics could potentially modify the contribution of some participants while simultaneously amplifying the voice of others. Recognising the potential interplay of this cultural dynamic of consideration and positioning of self within a Maori group framework, individual interviews preceded any grouping of participants together.

The participants were drawn from four different programme types, and once individual interviews were complete, paired interviews provided the forum in which these participants could be brought together so that issues related to particular programmes could be explored.

The group focus interview or hui drew all the participants together with an initial two-pronged focus. First to allow a further forum in which the women could engage in discussion and debate regarding generalised issues pertinent to Maori women educators in the primary sector. Secondly, it provided the context in which the validity of initial themes drawn from the individual and paired interviews could be discussed and debated. The hui also provided the appropriate forum to discuss another issue which arose during individual and paired interviews, to do with anonymity, as indicated in the section on *The Interview Process.*

Open ended questions were used in each interview to identify and investigate the women's perceptions of the issues that they saw as significant in shaping their experiences of school as students, as teachers and as educational administrators.

Benefits derived from interpretive, unstructured interviewing are complimentary to the principle kanohi kitea, face to face interaction. This study used this approach along with the further principles of mana, 'eliciting respondents analyses of their lives' (Middleton, 1988, p. 133); mauri, acknowledging the contribution of individuals to collective understanding; mahitahi working together in a reciprocal manner where meaning is mediated by both the researcher and the participant in order to achieve maramatanga a better understanding of the issues constituting the focus of inquiry. Staircasing the interviews further emphasised the participants' ability to come together, explore and analyse their professional experience with each other and recognise the commonalities and divergences within the group. This approach also served to de-emphasise my role as the researcher as participants freely responded to each other, sought clarification and at times provided alternative analyses of issues raised by each other.

Ethical Considerations: Enacting the Principles, Mana and Mauri.

Due to the nature of the research being undertaken and the legacy of the historical location of Maori in research, it was seen to be important that the project not only meet the ethical standards outlined in Massey University's "Code of Ethical Conduct (1994)", but that it equally satisfy ethical imperatives being advanced by Maori for Maori research. Some of the principles involved in the latter have been articulated elsewhere (Te Awekotuku, 1991; Bishop and Glynn, 1992; Curtis, 1992; Durie, A., 1992 and 1998; Stokes, 1992; Teariki, Spoonley and Temoana, 1992; and Walker, 1992; Mead, L., 1996; Smith, G., 1997). A number of these principles are reflected in general research while others are specific to Maori contexts. It may be argued that many of the institutions from which this group is drawn are not Maori defined. Nevertheless, the participants as Maori individuals, must be afforded the considerations that such identification dictates.

Ethical Considerations: Informed Consent: Mana and Mauri

As indicated in the following section initial contact was made by an intermediary. Once potential participants indicated an initial interest they were contacted again to reiterate the purpose of the research project and to outline the rights and obligations of both the researcher and participant. The prerogative to freely withdraw at any stage remaining with them was accentuated (see appendix one, Information Sheet; and appendix two, Consent Form). Maori protocol dictates that tribal representatives be consulted if the participants are all from the one tribal area. As diverse hapu and iwi affiliation was evident within the final sample the opportunity to include whanau during interviews was encouraged to sustain the integrity of the research and add a further monitoring check to the processes. This option was usually not taken up, although some interviews were carried out in participants' homes during which times family members freely moved in and out of the room in which the interview took place. A further monitoring process, of interest to participants was the identification of my supervisors, their ethnicity and research interests.

The Participants

In methodological terms the participants in this study represent a non-probability, purposive group (Gall, Borg and Gall, 1996) that was drawn from four different types of educational programmes currently operating in the primary sector:

- Resource teachers of Maori
- Kura Kaupapa Maori
- General stream
- Bilingual units operating in general stream schools.

They were sought via a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Purposive sampling is non-random, allowing the researcher to identify participants in terms of typicality

and relevance to the research project (Dixon, Bouma and Atkinson, 1987). The goal of purposeful sampling is thus to select cases that are likely to be 'information rich' (Gall, Borg and Gall, 1996; p. 218) with respect to the area of research interest. This was used in combination with snowballing which activates the professional networks of the participant to extend the net from which the sample is drawn (Gall, Borg and Gall, 1996). Snowball samples have been criticised for being skewed due to participants potentially identifying like minded professionals. This problem was noted and mediated by choosing a sample from the range of programme types listed. These participants can also be considered a 'rare population' (Lee, 1993), in which case snowballing techniques are considered appropriate.

The criteria used to select research participants involved consideration of:

- their self identification as Maori;
- whether they were currently holding a position of responsibility;
- their willingness to be interviewed individually, in pairs and as a group and
- their proximity to each other.

The last consideration arose for practical reasons such as encroachment on participants' time and financial constraints on the part of the researcher. Therefore, an attempt to locate the sample in one area was seen to be important.

Initially it was intended that the sample would be drawn from those attending *The World Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education,* in Alberquerque in 1996. However, few Maori women from the primary sector in management positions were in attendance. For this reason formal hui that were planned and prepared for were not carried out, although in speaking informally to two women who were in attendance, both agreed to participate in the project. During the process of establishing the remainder of the sample group, a friend (another Maori woman educator) became the intermediary contact in the area where the majority of participants resided. Initiating contact through a third party was important for two reasons; in the first instance, it maintained the principle of kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face contact) while at the

same time providing the space in which participants could consider the project without feeling undue duress to participate. Secondly, using a third party sponsor was also a positive means by which potential participants could be contacted when the sample sought was geographically distanced from the researcher. It did however mean that, although she did not personally participate in the project, her own credibility was entangled in the project by representing my position and the worthiness of the project to some of the women who knew her but did not initially know me. Once ascertaining the participants' willingness to discuss the project further, one to one explanations of the aims and purpose of the project were initiated followed by the mailing of consent forms and information sheets.

It was during the sample selection that Resource Teachers of Maori (RTMs) were added to the group in response to a suggestion made by a participant. This participant pointed out that RTMs worked across a number of programmes simultaneously. A conscious effort was made to draw participants from a range of programme types in the primary sector in the attempt to negate the potential homogenising effects of using snowball selection techniques.

The eight women were evenly divided amongst the identified programme types:

- two were principals at Kura Kaupapa schools,
- two principals from general stream schools,
- one Deputy Principal teaching in a bi-lingual unit,
- one Senior Teacher teaching in a bilingual class and
- two Resource teachers of Maori who worked across a variety of sites.

At the time of commencing the interviews (at the end of 1996) teaching experience ranged from 5 years to over thirty years - approximately 130 years teaching experience combined. Six of the women worked within a 100 kilometre radius of each other and had some association through a variety of professional, social and political networks while the other two, outside this radius knew some of the participants through similar national networks, but not all. Of the eight

women I had trained with two, knew two others socially and came to know and respect the other four during the course of interviews.

In spite of heavy workloads the eight women gave of their time not on one, but on three occasions, to participate in individual, paired and group focus interviews. In addition they provided written feedback on the discussion chapters and/or oral feedback during telephone conversations.

The Interview Process: Enacting the Principle Mahitahi

Each participant was interviewed individually in order to give voice to their own background; in a paired situation discussing issues pertinent to the programme types in which they operated; and in a group focus hui to discuss issues pertaining to Maori women educators in general.

The first series of interviews took place at the end of 1996 as the school year came to an end. The paired interviews occurred mid 1997, followed by the group focus interview two months later. The individual interviews occurred in a variety of locations: at the participants' workplaces, in their homes, and in one instance in the home of the woman who had sponsored the project. Interviews varied in length from one to two and a half hours of taped interview excluding mihimihi and the reiteration of rights and responsibilities of both parties. As a result of the pilot study, semi-structured interviews, allowing for an interactive engagement between researcher and participant was enabled.

Although the women's current status located them in one programme type, the individual interviews clearly identified that there were a multitude of common experiences across the identified programmes, and still others not included in the research design. For example, some participants had shared experiences from when they had established and taught in Rumaki

(Maori immersion) units in General stream schools; others had worked in Bilingual Schools as opposed to Bilingual units. Some had unique experiences, such as one had facilitated the transition of a General stream School to Kura Kaupapa, while another had experience in a Kura Kaupapa Home School initiative that later attracted state funding. Consequently few of the participants limited their reflections solely to the programmes in which they were working at the time of interview.

The four paired interviews occurred in a variety of locations, my home included on one occasion. These varied in length from one and a half hours to three hours of taped discussion. During these interviews discussions were often directed by participants seeking clarification of each other's situation, while comparing and contrasting the contexts in which they worked.

The group focus interview (hui) took place over a five hour period including karakia, mihimihi and kai. Karakia duly acknowledged realms beyond our own and the wider groups to whom each of us are connected as a means of preparing for the hui at hand. Mihimihi as the means of introduction and the opportunity to make explicit connections within the group and out to whanau, hapu and iwi. Kai shared in hui also has a variety of meanings, rarely just sustenance for the body in this instance it was to manaaki (be hospitable toward) participants and mark the transition between the completion of the hui and returning to our own homes.

The participants had previously been sent a panui (see appendix three) outlining the purpose of the hui, which had a three pronged focus:

1. to discuss issues that they believed important to Maori women educators
2. to discuss methodological issues such as anonymity and the use of pseudonyms and
3. to provide feedback on general themes that were beginning to emerge from previous interviews.

Analysis of Data

Analysis of data occurred concurrently with the interview process. Notes made during and at the end of interviews were journalled with themes and sub themes being tentatively identified. Emerging categories were then fed back, checked and clarified with participants at subsequent interviews. Identifying the themes was based on issues that were seen as significant through the number of coded data points emerging from the individual, paired and group focus interviews, added to which were issues less commonly identified but jointly agreed during feedback to be significant.

All themes were colour coded and drawn together based on commonality with the origin of dialogue and page references noted in relation to the original transcriptions. Theme files were created, and where dialogue fitted into multiple themes, sections were reproduced to sit within the most appropriate file. Their relevance to other themes were also cross referenced. Files were then re-checked and reintegrated into three broad areas addressed within the discussion chapters: Te Kete, The Briefcase, and Te Tuara.

The analysis phase further involved the participants checking transcripts with the right to delete, modify or add to individual interviews. During the write up phase, the women were also provided with full chapters, (in draft), of the discussion sections of the thesis. This process allowed the women an opportunity to see what dialogue of theirs was used, as well as the way in which it was interpreted. During this phase many provided feedback. Comments included the detection of grammatical errors, questioning of some vocabulary, surprise at the commonality of experience and words of encouragement. Two participants stated that they had shared their copies with whanau members before supplying feedback in order to check the accuracy of their childhood recollections. Three comments addressed the issue of the 'expert voice'. One participant encapsulated many responses (having read the first and second discussion chapters),

> There were times when this reader became quite emotional as the narratives jogged many memories of a time when transition and change were to eventually shape our roles today. You have used the narratives most effectively to explain succinctly and in academic speak the shaping of Maori education. I am particularly pleased that you have not chosen to validate our narratives through the use of a whole lot of theorists who mean little to us or who know nothing about us - Kia kaha. (Written communication from a research participant)."

During this final phase, previous understandings regarding the handling of data at the completion of the project, previous decisions made regarding the issue of pseudonyms, and future recognition of participants and further publication were reconfirmed (see Appendix Four). A copy of the thesis will be provided to each participant upon completion.

Ethical considerations of truthfulness and minimising harm: Mana, Mauri and Mahitahi

Adopting a collaborative open approach in which intent, process and outcomes of the research project were made transparent, was crucial to the achievement of the methodological aims. It required; the sharing of information regarding security of data; negotiating who would provide support with transcription of interview tapes; the use of pseudonyms; the way the data would be used within the confines of the thesis; handling of data at the completion of the project; and permission to use the data for further publication.

Interview tapes were secured in a lockable cabinet. The transcription of tapes were completed by myself and one other. When it became evident that support was needed in this area, the participants whose tapes were involved were informed. A non-Maori transcriber was the preferred option as a further means of sustaining anonymity (the issue of pseudonyms had not yet at this point arisen), as they were aware that the unknown whakapapa of any Maori transcriber could possibly link such a person to any one of them and therefore create unanticipated confidentiality problems. The transcriber was required to sign a confidentiality statement and all transcripts were then checked by me against the tapes and forwarded to

participants for further comment. Over 600 pages of dialogue were generated across the thirteen interviews, divided into colour coded files.

Ethical Considerations of Confidentiality and Anonymity: Mana and Mauri

Confidentiality and anonymity, although initially offered, became a point of ongoing negotiation throughout the process. Initially the women's participation was contingent on their preparedness to sustain the right of confidentiality of other participants with whom they would be paired and grouped. However by the end of the group focus interview this criterion was changed, initiated by the participants actively asserting their position in the project. During the group focus hui the issue of pseudonyms was raised. I sought direction from the group with regard to the use of suitable pseudonyms, prompted by the number of comments in the individual and paired interviews that centred on the significance of names, and the power invested in the 'namer of names'. I shared with them options I perceived regarding the way to proceed and possible short comings of each.

- First, I considered each participant providing their own pseudonym - but was aware that in the minds of Maori readers in particular this left open the potential elevation of 'voices' over others based on the significance or insignificance of names chosen.
- Then, as I perceived these women to be navigating paths through an education system ever conscious that the path was not solely their own, the possible utilisation of nga whetu (constellations of navigational stars) was suggested.

While both suggestions led to animated discussion the first option was disregarded in agreement with the shortcomings identified. The second was also put aside as some participants felt that the use of nga whetu might be perceived as whakahihi, an arrogant attempt to whakamana themselves. An alternative was then suggested by a member of the group. This she labelled "ownership of korero"; wanting to be identified as owning the discussion that had occurred.

After some debate and an expression of my concern that things were changing dramatically from what we had first negotiated and I had initially guaranteed, two things were decided:

- first, that should any one of the participants individually express concern about this development (either in the group forum or individually to me) it would be abandoned,
- secondly, it was decided that, if no objections to use names were expressed I would identify each participant in the mihi (forward) of this document but not identify individual voices within the discussion or analytical sections.

As negotiated with the participants, no individual identifying markers are used from this point on. This was a consensus decision, made by participants, to support each other. This support was not contingent on a unified articulation of issues as the women recognise both commonalities and divergences in each of their positions. However the intent of the decision was to allow the reader to focus on the issue raised, opposed to the identity of the person making any particular statement. Although each participant felt strongly that they were prepared 'to own my own korero' it was felt that individual identity may have undesired effects. In the first instance, there was concern about the potential consequence of readers either elevating or trivialising what was said based on the speakers identity rather than the point being made and the second concern, that if information was misappropriated (by those who might on use the data in unintended ways) the detrimental effects of such would be reduced by rightfully allowing the participant to either claim or deny ownership of individual responses.

Benefit to Participants: Mana, Mauri, Mahitahi and Maramatanga

Maori research should go beyond the "minimising of harm" required by Massey's Code of Ethics. Maori writers (Te Awekotuku, 1991; Durie, A., 1992; Teariki et al., 1992; Timutimu-Thorpe, 1992; Walker, 1992) maintain that Maori research should, in fact, be of value to and benefit, not only the researcher, but also those being researched. This view is closely aligned to the notion of reciprocity. Issues of reciprocity raised throughout the research process extend beyond any lineal interpretation of 'giving to' and 'giving back' when claiming insider status. The participants themselves talk of reciprocity as 'giving back' not solely to those who have nurtured

them, but also, in terms of what they strive to give back by giving out. In this sense reciprocity is more than, 'I'll scratch your back if you scratch mine', it involves the added dimension of recognising that one has been nurtured within a group bringing with it the attendant obligation is to nurture others. In this context the ripples of giving back extend outward toward wider circles, encouraging growth and development. Furthermore, reciprocity involves addressing issues of honesty, responsibility and accountability. While some intrinsic satisfaction was expressed by participants at the chance to document the struggles faced by themselves and whanau, they identified other potential benefits that would be derived from further dissemination of issues raised.

A potential benefit commonly identified by participants, involved the wider dissemination of findings in the hope that an increased awareness of Maori issues in education would contribute to changing negative stereotypical views of themselves and most importantly of Maori children. This may mean future conference papers or journal articles written collaboratively - these are ongoing issues that will continue to shape and strengthen the links made. I am also aware that, having forged this link with these participants, disconnection is not automatic at the completion of the project. Benefits in this regard are not always instantly obvious, nor always directly related to the project undertaken - it is a network activated, the completion of the project does not extinguish links made. I am conscious of the fact that I may be required at some future date 'to pay the piper' and I accept this as part of initiating a Maori defined research project.

Conclusion

To recap, methodological issues cohere the area of research interest to the research product (Dippo, 1994). Freire (1996) extends this recognition by arguing for the specificity of links between the research interest, the research method and the research product. These three aspects of research combine to create a complex relationship in which the philosophical position shapes and mediates the consequent decisions about method and outcome. Methodological issues are

driven by ideological positions that are locatable in a cultural, historical, social and political milieu. Treating this milieu as static assumes life, culture and knowledge itself were fixed and immutable. Fundamentally, as Maori, we are not born into, nor do we live in a vacuum isolated from the need to be cognisant of shifting internal and external influences. Such a position requires the posing and reposing of questions directed not only at the site of study but also at the real (ontology: the nature of reality), the true (epistemology: the ways of knowing that reality) and the good (axiology: disputational contours of right and wrong) advanced in scientific endeavour (Scheurich and Young, 1997). Such questions in the development of a methodological position require consideration of who stands to benefit from the research? Whose interests are being served in its instigation, in its development and in its dissemination? As Maori researchers we cannot set ourselves apart from such questions being directed at either ourselves or the disciplines in which we are schooled. It became increasingly evident that the vehicle called science that was leading me toward new knowledge was governed by imperatives, as earlier suggested, that were not instantly visible. While the institutional context may see this as the primary objective of a masterate thesis grappling with a process, writing in an area where there is little that is published, these issues combined, add to the dilemma of double accountability. Primarily there is the accountability to whanau/hapu/iwi through the participants and their aspirations, juxtaposed with the institutional promotion of academic debate, much of which removes itself from the field from which the data is collected. The principles of mana, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga were enacted in an attempt to breach this disjunction.

Chapter Six

Theory as the Patu or Patu as a Theory

Patu as the Prompt

The melding and dismantling of images, classification, categorisation; ways of connecting and disconnecting; people, concepts, time and objects are central to theory creation. One particular connection that remains upper most in my mind as I write this is an image of my grandmother, Hana Te Paea, whose name my daughter carries. It is a photograph that has long since commanded my attention. She is one tipuna nestled amongst many tupuna residing in our home. While many of them (males) were renowned exponents of taiaha and patu it is to her image that I am drawn. It is this representation that led me to question the extent of my understanding of Western frameworks in which classification and categorisation (imposed schema of individuality and collectivity) occurs and its impact on Maori women. I have come to see that it is framework that divests Maori women of connections to much that is considered significant within our own culture.

Photos of my great, great grandfather holding a patu pounamu (greenstone patu), a patu onewa (stone patu) and in still others a wooden patuki seemed complicit with popular Westernised representations of men as warriors and patu as lethal weaponry. Nevertheless holding to such imaging implies a contradiction in the photographing of my grandmother. Why did she clutch such an object with such determination? Why was it pulled to her breast in a protective pose - who was the protector and who was the protected? How could she be allowed to hold a taonga of such a tapu nature if she was simply noa? So many seeming contradictions, so many seeming incongruities even for one who has been fortunate enough to see women as strong, as capable and nothing less than equal. Were the stories wrong or the recording of detail were linear castings, ignoring the rich mosaic of life to which patu and women contribute?

Whose interests were being served in feeding back to us such images?

The near invisibility of Maori women in the early ethnographic recordings that have been heralded as extensive, provide little more than caricatures. These recordings highlight misshapen, exaggerated or totally ignored characteristics at the cost of the rich portraits that exist in Maori accounts. Patu and the contemporary conceptualisation of Maori women have thus provided the catalyst for this chapter's discussion and the following chapters' explorations of the women who participated in this thesis.

Explaining the Title

The diametrically opposed positions encased within the title of this chapter indicate the two ways theory production has been perceived by many Maori. The first, alluded to in the opening quote, is about particular Western theoretical frameworks seen to be detrimental to cultural growth and

development, which I refer to as 'theory as the patu[1]'. These are theoretical positions that subsume taonga[2] within a western classification schema, describing and rationalising Maori behaviour in terms of difference and distance from imposed colonial norms. In education such norms defined Maori as intellectually deficient and culturally deviant explaining the educational outcomes of Maori youth within the confines of deficit theories advanced by educational institutions desensitised to them as individuals and insensitive to their collective aspirations as Maori, discussed in chapter three. The second opposing position of 'patu as the theory', considers two frames; narrative and metaphor (both only recently recognised in the research archive) through which the taonga patu[3] provide the potential to theorise the experiences of eight Maori women. My use of patu as the theory is to describe the women's educational experiences by eliciting the support[4] of patu korero as a metaphor to draw out and make clear the terms of reference used in engaging with the participants' narratives. This theory as description of phenomena posits that the participant's success in educational institutions is derived from their tenacity as Maori youth to resist pervasive discursive practice that would otherwise position them as deficit.

Engagement with theory from a Maori position[5], like all theory is derived from the norms/standpoint of the theorist. Smith (L., 1997) argues that, 'theories are only important if they are perceived to be useful ... in providing a language and a form of analysis which is enabling rather than alienating" (p. 29). Smith further maintains that the primary function of a theoretical framework is to make sense of the realities of the people who live within them. Th[illegible]ities of this group of women is that by self ascription they are Maori, by colonial influence they ar[illegible]onfronted with contradiction and paradox, by attained educational outcomes they are successful (in terms of credential provision in the compulsory sector of education) and by profession they are educators in the primary sector. Smith (L., 1992) contends that

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1 The literal translation of patu is to: hit, beat, subdue.

2 Taonga is used inclusively to include people.

3 The reference here is to patu as a cultural metaphor, see for example Gannon (1994) and Panoho (1996). Tarsitani (1996) indicates the central role of metaphors in the development of theory in physics maintaining that they fulfil one of three roles: substitutive, interactive or constitutive.

4 This is not an in depth analysis of patu per se but rather a drawing out/on principles, processes and practices associated with patu.

5 I wish to point out that the use of 'a Maori position' is a conscious one, and is quite distinct from the use of 'the Maori position' recognising diversity within collectives. See for example Mead (1996) and Jackson (1997).

> As women, we have been defined in terms of our differences to men. As Maori, we have been defined in terms of our differences to our colonisers. As both, we have been defined by our differences to Maori men, Pakeha men and Pakeha women. The socioeconomic class in which most Maori women are located makes the category of 'Other' an even more complex problematic (p. 33).

The theory offered here unfolds the women's 'deficiencies' as strength, their 'deviance' from the norm as the fortitude to negate internalising externally derived labels of 'deficit' and difference in institutional contexts as a detrimental legacy of a colonial construct that hierarchically ordered and differentiated the 'west from the rest' (Said 1989). The theory thus provides an explanation of the participants' experience as success, becomes successful resistance to pervasive hegemonic norms.

The focus of resistance comes from what Mead (H., 1997) argues is,

> ..the *power* society imposes(ing) such as mesh of controls upon the indigenous society that it virtually manipulates how the subject people are to think about themselves and most aspects of their culture. In fact, members of that society set out the rules, determine whether to give funds or not, and speak and write on behalf of the indigenous group (p. 181).

The representation of indigenous groups as anti-intellectual, based on the recognition of subjectivity[6] as a central tenet of epistemy has been a fundamental constraining norm that continues even at a time when subjectivity is seen to be centrally located in scientific endeavour (Walker, M., 1998; Mutu 1998).

As indicated in the personal reflection that commences this chapter, understanding patu as taonga tuku iho rather than patu as an excavated western artefact is considered essential to this thesis. Hence the weaving of colonial interpretations around taonga in general and patu in particular, are unravelled in the following discussion.

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[6] For Harding (1983), the accepted tenets of impartiality, value neutrality, and objectivity are tools of social control that serve men in their project to make science a male preserve. She further argues that genuine objectivity arises not from embracing the 'patriarchal' idea of the 'unity of the scientific method' but out of a commitment to the 'participatory values' of antiracism, anticlassism and antisexism. Harding furthermore posits that not science but moral and political discussion provides a paradigm for rational inquiry. For discussion based on indigenous position see for example Smith (L., 1997), Kawagley (1995; 1996) Churchill (1992).

Patu as a Western Excavated Artefact: Indigenous Groups as the Object of Discovery

Patu subsumed in a schema to fit colonial classification criteria are categorised simplistically as weaponry (Simmons 1982, Doig 1989), or critiqued with regard to their individual artistic merit (McEwan 1966, Skinner 1924). When these facets of patu are privileged to the exclusion of more extensive readings, patu become divorced from the social matrix to which they contribute (Ngata 1958, Barrow 1969, 1984). This occurs through a complex hegemonic process in which colonised groups are divested of defining and naming authority (Jackson 1998). The layering of colonial discourse upon symbolic art form provides a veneer that obscures the metaphoric significance attached to taonga (Te Awekotuku 1996) and constrains thought and action in relation to them (Mead, S., 1997). That the wealth of images and symbolic significance attached to taonga was not decipherable to an external group has aided the loss of much prior knowledge. Hakiwai (1996) argues, in relation to the arts generally, that Maori have inherited a legacy of people who see 'the outward signs but are ignorant of the inward messages and of the symbols and meanings of the culture they represent' (p. 51).

The resultant legacy is more pervasive than art form alone. The selective emphasis on characteristics of patu can be seen to be replicated in the disabling forms of objectification experienced by Maori women through analyses that have focused on the superficially obser[illegible]ith little desire to explore or examine underlying intent. Furthermore, of equal relevance is t[illegible]u become a metaphoric exemplar of containment and control, subsumed within an archive outside the codes of knowledge in which they were shaped. This requires their pacification when supplicated to the classifying criteria of 'other'.

Figure 6.1 indicates some of the ways in which Maori and western classification schema diverge.

Figure 6.1 Western and Maori Classification Juxtaposed.

Western concept of classification applied to 'artefacts'.	Maori concept of classification applied to taonga.
Categorised according to: * function - primarily weaponry (Simmons 1982, Doig 1989) * morphology - Form (Skinner 1933; McEwan 1966) * communal or individual activity (Burrows 1969)	Categorised according to: * whakapapa based on genealogical links to the substances from which they were shaped (Te Awekotuku 1996; Mead, H., 1996; Hakiwai 1996) * attributes of original substance ie pounamu, onewa, bone, wood (Te Awekotuku 1996; Mead, H., 1996; Hakiwai 1996) * dedication to Atua, individually named as symbolic reference to person(s) or incident (mana) (Makareti 1986) * socio-political connective qualities ie. cementing treaties (Durie, M., 1990) * inclusion of whakapapa of whanau, hapu and/or iwi (Makareti 1986; Hakiwai 1996; Mead, H., 1997) * antiquity; no. of generations through which taonga passed and historical incidents to which they were attached (Grace 1959; Makareti 1986; Mead, H., 1996)
Based on: * mono-functional end product utility * form morphological qualities including artistic stylisation validated through connection to other international art forms.	Based on: * placement in cosmological narratives * substance from which it is constructed * process of manufacture * purpose for which it was intended * status of person for whom it was intended * status of manufacturer

Where both codes presuppose specialised knowledge in the classification process, a Maori framework integrates patu into a unified web that links domains within Te Ao Marama, privileging the connective qualities of both people and taonga (Dansey 1992). This is predicated on understanding that all things have mauri (a life force) and are active; therefore eliciting their metaphoric support is considered an interactive process. In contrast, western classification separates, disconnects and fragments by promoting individual characteristics such as, morphology, artistic merit or mono-functional precepts, classifying each as though they constitute complete separate entities. In effect this reduces taonga to a *'formal pattern or type'* divorced from the socio-historical milieu converging in their creation (Said 1989).

The interpretations of patu inherent in Western classification juxtaposed with a Maori schema also mirrors the antithetic binaries of individualism and collectivism (Triandis 1995). The interplay between dominance and power however, is central to understanding how either an individualist or collectivist approach is centred or marginalised from processes and practices that structure multiethnic societies (Banks 1993). The immediate issue with these ideological binaries is that in Western schema, Maori art and life ways are *'tainted with primitivism.* This belittles underlying principles and *'distorts the world view of indigenous culture'* even for those who are connected to it (Mead, S., 1997).

Patu within a Maori schema however, provides a rich tapestry of meanings. As such it provides for this thesis the foundation for a descriptive theory based on whakapapa. Whakapapa as an organisational schema in Te Ao Marama, commencing with Ranginui (sky) and Papatuanuku (earth), reveals a structure that situates humanity in a phenomenological matrix that encompasses how phenomena in general are conceptualised. Commencing with the progeny of Rangi and Papa, each begat a multitude of offspring; some human, others animal, plant, elemental and mineral, which filled each of the realms (Sinclair 1992, Barlow 1994). Interlocating atua simultaneously as parental phenomena and siblings derived from the union of Rangi and Papa suggests the origin of people, plants, animals, minerals and elements are constituent parts of a whole in which the privileging of solely human space[7] diminishes (Simmons 1994; Te Awekotuku 1996: Barlow 1994). Situated within this frame a researcher is

> ... drawn 'out' to a wider picture rather than drawn 'in' to a smaller focus. Whakapapa is an organic analytic method. It is concerned with growth rather than deconstruction (Royal 1998:, p. 5).

Smith (L., 1992) argues that, "when Maori women control their own definitions, the fundamental unit of identity which can make sense of different realities is whakapapa. Whakapapa is both individual and group oriented" (p. 39). Pere (1989) locates the understanding of Maori women

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7 Within this space there are divisions. I am not suggesting all were seen to be equal. For example although humanity was seen to be descended from the atua with ira atua (the life force of the gods) the addition of ira tangata (the life force of humanity) confines humanity in its physical form to te ao marama (the world of light) (Te Awekotuku 1996). Similarly each of the realms were seen to have qualities that distinguished them, recognising and working with these distinctions was away of achieving balance (Rangihau 1975).

within such matrices while also drawing on metaphysical and spiritual dimensions. Thus, a whakapapa framework provides the foundation for analysis that seeks 'connections and relationships to other phenomena[8]' (Royal 1998, p.4). Patu grounded in whakapapa serve in this sense an allegoric function, though the theoretical explanation for the women's experiences is more extensive than allegory alone. Whakapapa characterises 'growth and development' (Durie, M., 1990), predicated on developing a relational understanding of one phenomena to another (Royal 1998). It further provides the terms of reference upon which existing links are recognised and new connections are meaningfully engaged (Durie, M., 1990). That is, it also implies what is valued, what is considered worth holding on to and what is worth resisting.

As a result of power differentials (discussed in chapter four), classification within a Maori cultural schema is often construed as invalid while anthropological convenience is validated. For example, Skinner (1933), in analysing hei-matau (pendants, amulets) suggests convenience as an appropriate classificationtool.

> In the absence of Maori information on the point [*explanation of such taonga*] it is doubtful whether all these are to be considered as amulets, but they certainly belong to one morphological group and are therefore *conveniently* treated together (p. 318) (my emphasis).

While early explorers sketched diligently and earnestly traded for items of curiosity (King undated, cited in Burrow 1969) as a physical record of sights, people, places and artefacts for later embellishment, few recognised that they were translating one permanent record for another. Robley (1913) provides a case in point. Having arrived from Africa with other colonial troops, to 'quell' the 'Maori uprisings' in the 1860's, Robley returned to England, having resided in Aotearoa/New Zealand for three years. He sustained an interest in Maori art form, particularly moko (tattooing practices) and pounamu (Jade, greenstone) from which many highly prized patu were shaped. He is blatant in his claimed authoritative knowledge of Maori cultural practices and perceived Maori lack thereof;

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8 Royal (1998) uses the 'terms phenomena and phenomenon to refer to anything cognisable by human beings' (p. 4 footnote 7).

> The Maori who now pose as authorities are untrustworthy. They are at best theorists and less likely to theorise correctly than Europeans, because of their limited knowledge. For while the knowledge of the white man ranges over the whole race, that of the native New Zealander is confined to customs and practices of the particular family or tribe to which he belongs (p. 54).

The position from which authority is claimed over all Maori people is one based on the presumptuous notion that creating normative accounts of the 'native New Zealander' was superior to the accounts from people who did not presume to know all things for all iwi (tribal groups), but were resolute in their knowledge of themselves and their own. Rangihau (1975) expressing his concern about collectivising iwi maintains that the notion of Maoritanga[9] is problematic.

> ... because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their own tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity (p. 233).

Anthropological analyses of three dimensional idiomatic histories more often than not became a running record of miscues, advanced by a group used to decoding two dimensional symbols in order to provide 'grand theories' (Thomas 1997). These records ignored three dimensional chronicles that presented a different orthography[10]. That Maori encoded records were worn, carried, lived in and walked upon provided a group of budding anthropologists an opportunity for self reification; disinterested in organisational frameworks existing within the culture from which the 'curios' were obtained (Dewes 1975).

Durie (M., 1990) accentuating the unifying characteristics of patu, identifies the diametrically opposed accounts of customary contexts,

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9 Maoritanga was not a term used to group iwi post-European contact. It has become a way of identifying indigenous people in Aotearoa irrespective of tribal affiliation commonly used by Maori and non-Maori alike. In Rangihau's assertion for sustained tribal identity descent is reiterated as the primary means of identification, it does not negate notions of kinship where Maori were and are currently drawn together in socio-political and economic contexts but he doesn't see these contexts as the source from which identity is derived.

10 Orthography - the way in which words are conventionally written (The Oxford English Dictionary (sec ed) Volume X Clarendon Press: Oxford. 1989) (by extension) the way thoughts and views are recorded. Taylor (Rev.[undated] cited in Robley 1915) identifies how moko became known to Europeans "The Maori used a kind of hieroglyphic or symbolic way of communication. Thus a chief inviting another to join in war party sent a tattooed potato and ..." Taylor (1988) also recognises, carvings in particular serving as mnemonic devices.

> European accounts of these times tend to emphasise war, defeat, victory, victors and the vanquished. They are often simplistic, Maori accounts place much greater emphasis on the redistribution of power, the acceptance of new neighbours and the creation of new pathways for joint future development (1990, pp. 3-4).

The essential difference being reiterated is that the first position advances a static view of warring primitives, while the latter indicates a dynamic culture actively engaged in their right to growth and development. Early anthropological studies of indigenous groups tended to place the cultural imperatives of a scientific discipline, derived from one groups socio-political history, at the centre and viewed others in terms of distance from those norms. The extent to which groups deviated from colonial norms became the primary tool for measurement of pathological behaviour.

Narrative and metaphor are commonly accepted mechanisms for the development of theory in both archives.

Patu as a Narrative

Walker (1992), in discussing the significance of narratives writes,

> ... an analysis of Maori myths[11] will show that even today Maori will respond to the myth-messages and cultural imperatives embedded in their mythology. It is possible to follow a recurrence of themes in a continuum across mythological, traditional and historic times..... Myths reflect the philosophy, ideals and norms of the people who adhere them to legitimating charters. Sometimes a myth is the outward projection of an ideal against which human performance can be measured and perfected. Alternatively a myth might provide a reflection of current social practice, in which case it has an instructional and validating function (pp. 170-171).

It is through narrative that theorising[12] has always been evident. It is, as Walker (1992) suggests, generalisable, within Maori contexts, because of the interrelatedness of Maori epistemic knowledge to know not purely for knowledge's sake, but to know in relation to and connected to oneself, whanau, hapu, iwi and the wider environment[13]. A notable exception however is the use of (mis or

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[11] As argued in the methodology chapter *Theoretical Issues Around the Development of Maori Research Approaches*, the use of the word myth is problematic not the meaning intended in Walker's discussion.

[12] The intention is to highlight the existence of theory across iwi groups not to suggest all theories were identical. Tribal variances evident in narrative attest to the level of control/autonomy in contextualising theory while simultaneously providing the foundation upon which general principles were understood.

[13] I wish to make it clear that I am not arguing a post modernist or post structuralist position. That argument requires

re)interpreted narratives, fed back particularly to Maori women, in order to rationalise their subordinate status as though it were decreed by Maori cultural imperative (Irwin 1991).

It is generally accepted that narratives in oral tradition contain principles of lore, but often they are detached from their ontological (assumptions about the nature of reality), epistemological (ways of knowing) and axiological (views of morality and truth)[14] roots. When used in a decontextualised manner they become relegated to the position of myth; fossilised in time, disconnected from their explanatory power in relation to the present - divorced from the foundation upon which theory can be developed. Discourse about taonga in general is thus limited to historical interest rather than informing analytic frameworks within which contemporary issues can be understood. So when the narrative and symbolic multiple meanings attached to patu are ignored in favour of literal translation, their metaphorical significance and relevance to current contexts is stifled as an anachronism.

In contrast, it is only in the last two decades in human and social sciences that narrative has attained the status as a site in which cultural precepts are seen to come together (Said 1989). Jameson, Ricoeur and Tororov suggest that the formal characteristic of narrative in social and philosophical frameworks, reveals *at once the scale and the significance of narrative for social life'* (undated cited in Said 1989, p. 221). Viewed in this way narrative is transformed from a *formal pattern or type* to an activity in which *politics, tradition, history and interpretation converged* (Said 1989, p. 221). Rosenwald (1996) further acknowledges the *spread* of each action within narrative that simultaneously point forward and backward, engendering a *sense of its "pastness" and "futurity" '* (Rosenwald 1996, p. 271). That is, it reaches out toward and draws into itself *related life-historical, cultural and socio-structural factors* relevant to understanding a contextualist approach (Rosenwald 1996, p. 271). Mita (1988 cited in Paraha 1992), a Maori woman film maker, describes it thus.

> When you tell a story and your base is an oral one then you're talking about layers... That's what oral traditions are all about. As you pull back each layer and as you go further, you get an

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a forum beyond the parameters of this thesis, nor do I perceive the position herein to be strictly essentialist. I wish to allude to the paradox of early criticisms directed at indigenous epistemy as subjective as a means of marginalising such positions and contemporary discourse that advance subjectivity without recognising any central fixed core.

[14]Ontological, epistemological and axiological positions are debated within philosophy of science dealing with 'the real, the true and the good' for a broader discussion on how such positions are mediated by culture see Scheurich and Young (1997).

> incredible amount of depth that you don't get with a purely technical or lineal construction (p. 19).

Looking at narratives attached to patu and how they are classified in a whakapapa frame is consistent with an epistemological position based on connection and interrelationships. Symbolically, the ways in which Patu (particularly those made of pounamu) were gifted provides an example of pragmatic practice and profound philosophy. All pounamu was considered a source of wealth and as such could be given in utu, as reparation for insult (principle of conciliation) gifted to establish or cement relations (principle of reciprocity), as a dowry, or as kopaki, to honour the dead as a tribute (Makareti 1986). When this happened outside of descent lines it was often the result of the conscious act to establish socio-political links in a way that recognised the mana of both parties. Being able to gift liberally to build up social obligations was mana enhancing, just as being considered a worthy recipient of such taonga also enhanced the mana of those who received (Durie, M., 1990).

Patu because they were worn, or hand held, were known to absorb mana from those who shaped and/or were guardians of them. Patu pounamu were seen as enduring[15]; they provided pathways to new arrangements between people through the establishment of tatau pounamu[16], a symbolic greenstone door through which it was anticipated that valued treaties would be strong and enduring (Durie, M.,1990) like pounamu itself. Patu were used by the holder to parry, ward of affronts, and thrust, assert their counter position.

Mead (H., 1985), like previous writers, situates the place of taonga within a Maori framework thus,

> We treat our artworks as people because many of them represent our ancestors who for us are real persons. Though they died generations ago they live in our memories and we live with them for they are an essential part of our identity as Maori individuals. They are anchor points in our genealogies and in our history. Without them we have no

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15 Andersen (1945) provides a synopsis of 20 patu of significance. The majority of patu cited are named with l ief histories, attached to whanau, iwi and incident included. The value of these patu are noted in an array of areas indicati ? their significance in war, peace, whakapapa, utu, mana, manaakitanga, purposefully utilised to forge new links to other groups, including the Queen and many Crown representatives. The relationships established were based on taken for gr. ited assumptions about reciprocity and obligation that the acceptance of such gifts implied in iwi contexts.

16 Durie (1990) cites patu pounamu serving this purpose. The green stone door was a figurative expression for the commencement of and forging of peace, which was often cemented in the exchange of valuable greenstone heirlooms. An example cited in Brougham and Reed (1987: 75) is the use of the term in a speech by the Ngati Kahungunu chief Nga Rangi-mata-ea, "Me tatau pounamu, kia kore ai e pakaru, ake, ake. - Let us conclude a permanent treaty of peace, that may never be broken for ever, for ever." Another whakatauaki within the same reference links tatau pounamu and women "He whakahou rongo wahine, he tatau pounamu - peace bought about by women is an enduring one."

> position in society and we have no social reality. We form with them the social universe of Maoridom. We are the past and the present and together we face the future. (p. 13)

The number of narratives and whakatauaki discernible within many iwi attest to the status attributed greenstone and patu pounamu. Narratives connect the discovery of Aotearoa to pounamu[17]. Many personify the varieties of Pounamu as women[18]. The best known substances strong enough to shape pounamu were also female deities[19]. In whatever manufactured state - toki pou tangata, hei tiki - pounamu was highly valued[20] (Makareti 1991; Evison 1993; Barrow 1978, 1996; Archey 1977; Te Awekotuku 1996). The first cited patu is derived from Muri-ranga-whenua, who imparts of her jawbone to her mokopuna, Maui[21]. As noted in chapter one by Jenkins (1988) and Walker (1990), Muri-ranga-whenua enables Maui with the means to accomplish many historic feats. Patu is also situated as the nexus through which mana flows. Furthermore patu is the metaphysical coupler in which the origin of substance, kaitiaki (present bearer) preceding and proceeding generations converge through their ability to endure (Barrow 1984; Riley 1987; Makareti 1986; Hakiwai 1996; Te Awekotuku 1996).

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17 Within Taranaki and Ngai Tahu accounts pounamu's brother was known as Poutini, "the whole godly family being known as the iwi pounamu, the greenstone people"(Riley 1987:8). Riley (citing Chapman 1891 along with Hongi 1896 from Taranaki and Martin 1901 writing about Ngai Tahu) connect the discovery of Aotearoa to pounamu. The narrative begins in Hawaiki with a feud between two whanau; the whanau of Poutini and the whanau of Hine-tua-hoanga (the family of sand grinders, descended from Tane and Hine-taupari-maunga) causing Ngahue to flee with Poutini to Aotearoa. Ngahue is known to be a companion of Kupe (Hanna & Menefy 1995:3), an important relationship connecting pounamu with the construction of waka for later journeys to Aotearoa. Ngahue then returns to Hawaiki taking with him two pieces of Pounamu. From this Pounamu two adzes were made; Tutauru and Hauhau-te-rangi along with a Hei tiki (pendant) and an ear ornament (Chapman 1892 cited in Riley 1987). The two adzes were used in the construction of waka that were to later make the return journey to Aotearoa.

18 This narrative also of Taranaki origin (Hongi 1896) involves Poutini, Tama-ahua and his wives. Poutini abducts Tama-ahua's wives. Attempts to find them lead Tama-ahua to the Arahura river. Discovering them turned to greenstone the tears Tama-ahua sheds at his loss fall on one wife known thereafter as Hine (Ngai Tahu uses Hina) Tangiwai. Another is struck by the ashes of his fire is thereafter known as Hine Kawakawa, Hina Ahuka (noted by Martin 1901 in the Ngai Tahu version) was also known as Hine Kahurangi by Northern tribes, is one of the most highly prized forms of pounamu, for its clarity, often with tinges of blue providing a translucent sheen. Hine-aotea identifies a different type of pounamu again. Rarely is the prefix Hina or Hine now used in reference to the identification of pounamu.

19 Hine tua hoanga, (Sand stone maid), Hine-one (Sand maid), Hine-tua-kirikiri (gravel maid) each represent different gradients of sandstone from course to fine, these were the known substances strong enough to shape pounamu, each was used at different stages of the manufacturing process. In the final polishing process three methods are also noted; but more often than not, it was women who rubbed, stroked and massaged these items with their own body oils from their thigh region. Donne (1927 cited in Riley 1987) records that, "...ladies of high degree, removed their waist mats and set to work vigorously rubbing the tikis on that portion of their bodies which obviously presented a convenient and suitable medium for polishing them" (p. 32). Another writer commented, "Some of the older women also sat in the sun, interminably rubbing upon their bare thighs a greenstone club or ornament which was ready for a final polish" (Wilson 1932, cited in Riley 1987, p. 33).

20 To tie a knot in the suspension cord of an ornament was an intimation that it was never to be worn again but kept aside as an heirloom in memory of the last wearer. The lament for Te Heuheu of Ngati Tuwharetoa who died in a landslide in 1846 contains these lines: "the string of the prized eardrop (by which it once hung) is now firmly knotted; that ancient prized heirloom of greenstone; left behind among us, to become a sacred momento for ever of thee" (Colenso 1880 cited in Riley 1994, p. 36). The Patu 'Pahikaure' was also reclaimed from the same incident found in the hand of Nohopapa (Te Heuheu Tukino II's wife), clutched to her breast (Grace 1992, p. 246).

21 Te Rangikaheke a chief of Te Arawa talking about Maui in approximately 1849, (edited with translation and commentary by Agethe Thornton 1992, p. 22) states, "... te kauae o tona tipuna, o Muri-ranga-whenua, koiraka tana patu." Translated, "... the jaw of his ancestor Muri-ranga-whenua, hence he had the patu".

The principles and dimensions of patu informing this schema are not new, nor is their application to contemporary contexts unfamiliar in the work of Maori writers[22].

Patu as a Metaphor

Metaphor, historically a derivative of narrative, serves increasingly a variety of scientific functions[23]. Miles and Huberman (1984) maintain that 'qualitative data should not only *write* metaphorically, but also *think* metaphorically', arguing that metaphor opens up 'new theoretical possibilities' (p. 221). Metaphor as suggested by these writers, act as data reducing devices, pattern making devices, decentring devices and devices that connect findings to theory. Hakiwai (1996) draws out the metaphoric utility of taonga, not according to their end product utility, but rather, to cultural principles that coalesce at these sites.

> Messages and *korero* or stories associated with taonga provide the meaning and significance that are central to Maori art. ... Maori art is a manifestation of a larger whole. The tribal traditions , the stories of ancestors, genealogical relationships, symbols and metaphors, the *taha wairua* or spiritual element that unifies our world are among the central elements of Maori art.

Gannon (1994) argues that *'cultural metaphors'* can be utilised to explain the *'cultural mindset of a nation that can be compared to those of other nations.(p, 12).'* He further defines the construction of a cultural metaphor as a framework that identifies,

> ... some phenomenon or activity of a nation's culture that all or most of its members consider to be very important and with which they identify closely. The characteristics of the metaphor then become the basis for describing and understanding the essential features of the society (p. 12).

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22 See for example the work of Mason Durie (1990), an academic writer, who identifies three patu, particularly significant to Rangitane, to emphasise a number of attributes, principles and processes associated with the taonga as a means for indicating a path forward during the 1990 commemorations. Merata Mita, a film maker, in documenting the 1985 Springbok tour titled, "Patu" offers the audience an opportunity to analytically critique a politically charged issues. And included in Witi Ihimaera's (1977) collection of short stories is a narrative of patu that reiterates their connective qualities in contemporary settings and as symbols for future development. Preceding each of these are a number of references to patu in waiata and whakatauaki that indicate wider significance that weaponry.

23 See for example the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Miles and Huberman (1984) particularly p. 221 "Making Metaphors" and Tarsitani (1996).

Gannon qualifies this position by emphasising that no one culture will exist within a nation, suggesting that metaphors should be used as a guide rather than as a cultural stereotype. A further qualification not explored however, is the difficulty of utilising cultural metaphors in cross-cultural situations.

The metaphoric utility of Patu is severely limited however, if the only analogy drawn upon is one of war and weaponry. Though the potential narrative derived from this metaphoric use of patu provides a defensible argument in its resemblance to schools as sites of ideological warfare, domination, those who are victors and of course the vanquished, it has the potential to explain much more than this.

While metaphors drawn from dominant groups tend to be understood by minority group members, few from dominant groups are able to engage with the metaphors of indigenous peoples. Hence the pragmatic, academic high ground remains a hegemonic tool of the majority, in that one recognises the easier route, drawing on and privileging the cultural capital of dominant groups. In utilising this highway, however, one defeats the purpose of the journey. This problematic raises two issues:

> i) the utility of any metaphor being dependant, in the main, on the cultural knowledge that the dominant audience brings to the text; and
>
> ii) identifying the target audience particularly when the participants (in this research) see one benefit of the study as an opportunity for non-Maori colleagues to better understand their problematic.

A further significant outcome of power differentials in the colonisation process is the framing of indigenous discourse as static and inflexible. Implied in this position is that the disjunctive of colonisation not only presented the first opportunity for any 'real' change, but also, is equally advanced as holding the only 'real' answers to current quest[illegible]

To Sum Up: Patu as the Theory

Eliciting patu within a Maori cosmology as the basis for theorising the women's accounts of their experiences has particular appeal.

1. First and foremost, patu exemplify, as do all taonga, an integrative way of knowing derived from the broad applicability of whakapapa as a fundamental organising structure in te ao Maori (Grace 1959; Rangihau 1975; Pere 1982; Karetu 1990; Papakura 1991; Mead, L., 1996; Royal 1998): whakapapa not only applying to the past but also informing the present and indicating pathways forward into the future (Mead, S.,1985; Durie, M., 1990; Smith, L., 1997; Smith, G., 1997; Durie, A., 1998; Royal 1998).

2. Contrary to popular belief outside their archive of origin, patu are significantly connected to women as already indicated in this chapter.

3. Holding patu was a way of combining forces and characteristics of patu and the bearer (build out characteristics). Patu are mauri, patu are mana, individual and collective. Patu are past, they are present and they are future as such their informative value exists for those who draw on its inherent frameworks.

4. Patu provide an apt metaphor (catalyst for theory development) because their narrow classification (outside the archive of their cultural origin) in western frameworks that treat them as excavated artefacts , reorienting them into the frameworks of other, typifies the issue of marginalisation central to the experiences of the participants.

Patu thus have the potential to be talked about in many layers, providing a variety of levels of relevance. They are culturally relevant bringing with them associated values, beliefs, practices, processes and behaviours. They are about social action and interaction. Patu have life derived from a spiritual life force and attached to them is the power of thought, word, principles/attributes and action. They possess a number of attributes from which practices and behaviours can be understood. The notions of parry and thrust as two actions associated with patu are also relevant. The ability of the bearer of patu to parry notions of deviance and deficiency in educational contexts, and thrust or assert own forms of social analyses. They can be used as an analytic device to advance Maori centred position.

For this thesis patu are considered relevant as a metaphor informing a theoretical explanation of the women's narratives they provide a cultural frame in which the women's narratives can be drawn together, condensed and made sense of. The ihi of patu or power/authority as an essential essence of the individual indicates each patu was unique as is each woman in this study. The wanawana or fearsome/awe-inspiring attributes of patu indicate their potential to resist as exhibited by each woman in this study. Finally in song and whakatauaki patu are also associated with mana motuhake - having the power and control that embodies a customary link with autonomy and equally implies a measure of or the potential for defiance (Durie, M., 1998). The attributes displayed by the women in this study are able to be read through the lenses of patu.

Where theories relate failure as the only way to resist the women clearly show success is successful resistance. Successful resistance from acceptance of labels that position them as different where difference is seen to be synonymous with deficit, deviant and deficient.

Chapter Seven

Te Kete Whiri

> ... Whereas one hundred years ago the main problem facing Maori was one of biological survival, the challenge today is to survive as Maori, to retain a Maori identity, while still being able to participate fully in society, and in the communities of the world. Although the 1996 census has confirmed that any probability of genocide is remote - at 579, 714 the Maori population has never been more numerous - there is some justified concern that mere survival will achieve little if it is not linked to a secure identity, and a Maori centred approach to development, and a wider access than currently exists to the range of disciplines necessary for advancement in today's world (Durie, M., 1997, p. 1).

The kete, distinguishable as a cultural repository, is used metaphorically in this chapter to explore the notion of identity. The particular kete imaged is a kete whiri. Kete whiri are constructed from the base of the basket where the muka is plaited into a central spinal cord from which the woven whenu (threads) extend. The central plait grounds each kete in whakapapa, while the whenu characterise the multitude of socio-political factors that represent the diverse realities in which Maori live (Durie, M., 1995), and in which the participants develop and sustain their identity. Kete identifiable as a Maori icon of both customary and contemporary significance is used here to metaphorically represent the matrices of intersecting factors and relationships woven by participants, that when combined, make the tensions and patterning of each kete unique.

The metaphoric use of patu, identified in chapter six situates identity in whakapapa, further anchored within 'a context of the personal, the collective and the total environment' (Durie, A., 1997). Whakapapa provides an expansive framework that is inward looking, recognising the origin of phenomena while simultaneously requiring an outward focus based on growth and development (Smith, L., 1992; Durie, M., 1997; Royal, 1998). The framework does not therefore forfeit the origin of phenomena to the extended social networks to which they contribute; rather such a framework seeks a relational understanding of one to the other. Whakapapa as an analytic tool thus encapsulates a form of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1974) based on connective principles that include, amongst others, notions of complementarity, reciprocity and guardianship.

Smith (L., 1992) argues that the centrality of Maori women's identity and the attendant specivities of historical and cultural realities are denied full expression when subsumed within existing analyses that situate Maori as other, or, subsume Maori within their norms. The significance of phenomena (whether people or taonga) are thus revealed by locating them within cultural context that shape, moulds and continues to revere them.

Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Durie, M., et al. 1996) in their longitudinal study of Maori profiles have developed from initial data, four cultural identity[1] profiles: a secure identity, a positive identity, a notional identity, and a compromised identity. Durie (M.,1995) links a secure Maori identity to access to cultural resources that encompass people, land, language and knowledge. Seven characteristics have been identified as significant markers of personal identity. These characteristics include: self identification, knowledge of whakapapa, marae participation, involvement with whanau, access to whenua tipu, contact with Maori people and ability in Maori language. These characteristics centrally locate both primordial and circumstantial factors as intersecting threads in the construction of a Maori identity in contemporary contexts.

Glazer and Moynihan (1975) conceptualise identity in primordialist terms, arguing that identity resides

> ... deep in history and experience, and they must in some way be taken into account by those who govern societies (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975, p. 19).

They further argue that the hope of doing without ethnicity (as its subgroups assimilate to the majority group), maybe as utopian and as questionable an enterprise as the hope of doing without social class in society. The terms in which one understands ethnicity and the world, is, according to Geertz (1973), 'less a matter of social circumstance or construction than being derived from primordial origins' (p. 258).

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[1] Identity derived from the Latin root idem connotes sameness and continuity. Where its philosophical tradition has centred on permanence amid change and unity amid diversity, in the latter half of this century, it has become more closely aligned to individualism (Plummer 1994). Identity thus was initially seen as a connective phenomena that situated individuals relationally to others in terms of 'sameness' requiring the understanding of 'the process whereby individuals are effectively linked to their fellows (sic) in groups' (Foote 1951 cited in Walker 1989).

This chapter focuses on the ways in which the participants see 'self', as Maori and women. In chapter one of this thesis the multifaceted contribution of Maori women in customary Maori societies was outlined. In the previous chapter the symbolic and metaphoric significance of patu as a taonga understood within a whakapapa framework was delineated. This chapter explores the ways these two chapters inform participants' sense of self by investigating:

i) what a Maori identity means to this group of women; and
ii) the significant factors that characterise the women's self ascribed Maori identity.

Contexts for Korero: The Participants' Stories.

Six of the eight women grew up in the post war era of the 1950's and 1960's and two in the seventies. During this period an enormous demographic shift of seventy percent of the Maori population moved to the urban areas (Walker, 1990). Many of the whanau of the women involved in this study, were faced with the dilemma of holding on to a culture while eking out an existence that would physically sustain their children. It was a period during which race relations continued to be touted internationally as being exemplary. Walker (1990) situates the ideological notion of 'harmony' in,

> (t)he crushing of the pacifist prophets Te Whaiti and Rua Kenana (which) ended any immediate pursuit of sovereignty in the new nation, that claimed for itself a reputation of having the finest race relations in the world (p.186).

More immediate to the era in which six of the women grew up was the drawing together of both groups to fight a common foe off shore. In many respects the Second World War served to mask growing inequities within the nation. By highlighting a commonality of purpose, the need to jointly fight the external threat to Western culture, attention on the cultural erosion occurring on shore was minimised. The paradox however, as noted by Mead (L., 1996), was identified in "that Maori soldiers who fought in World War II were regarded as w[illegible] 'citizenship' (of our own nation)" (p. 27). The international view of racial har[illegible]dic' not [illegible]atch the lived realities of the women's narratives. Walker (1990) maintains that the struggle against Pakeha hegemony in the post war era was led by women and the establishment of the first national Maori organisation, the Maori Women's Welfare League in 1951.

The tension faced by whanau as they raised children while attempting to balance what they valued with economic (physical) viability suggest that the notion of 'one nation one people' bore little cost for the dominant group while actively attempting to culturally bankrupt the other. The dilemma faced by participants was not the result of mixed marriages between Maori and Non-Maori as each of the women identified both parents as Maori. It was the marriage arrangements between two peoples that was seen to be problematic. As articulated by one participant

> I'm the product, ... of two Maori people who went through a depression and a father who went to the Second World War and who thought Michael Joseph Savage was a wonderful politician, and thought,...Sir Apirana Ngata was the bees knees, so really, they thought that, even though they didn't articulate it in these words, really they thought that assimilation was the best way to go, that is, do everything you can for your kids to succeed, basically which would have been monocultural, and in order to facilitate that happening, their behaviour demonstrated it rather than their words. We reserve everything that we consider Maori, the culture and the language and the ceremonies for ourselves, our peers, our generation and our whanau. Okay, so they started really, ... in their actions, deliberately, whether they thought about it or not, trying to distance us from it, as far as possible. A good example basically of that would be like, you know, when your cousins went to tangihanga you went to school or if there was a hui at the Marae and it was a school day, you went to school ... (participant,individualinterview).

The hegemonic precepts advanced through the multifarious apparatus of state (Gramsci, 1971) served to entrench taken for granted assumptions about colonial superiority. Capturing the cultural high ground was very much dependant on a particular conceptualisation of difference that placed the coloniser at the centre and Maori as indigenous on the deviant periphery. In the words of the participant cited above hegemonic norms required a form of psychological *institutionalisation* advanced through *violation by legislation.* For whanau, the impact, as previously noted by Walker (1990) and Durie (1997), reached into the very core of cultural values, beliefs and practices.

Marginal status further perpetuated by the insidious influence of selective media representation (Durie, A., 1997), in promoted social practices (Walker, 1990), and encased in 'sympathetic' discourse that blamed the victim, (Smith, L., 1981; Walker 1990; Simon, 1994; Jenkins, 1995; Johnston and Pihama, 1995) provides a backdrop upon which both subordinate and superordinate groups come to accept as 'common sense' their differentiated status. Furthermore for those

unconvinced of the 'natural order of things' the implicit coercive force of the State's control of judiciary processes, police and military forces (Gramsci, 1971) served to further entrench dominant views of the world (Mita, 1993). The lived consequences of these unchecked views of the world were felt by participants as whanau coped with frustrations and the internalisation of external disapproval of Maori.

> ... that's the trouble with you bloody Maori kids, this is my mum talking as a Maori herself, so you give up. But I know the impetus to succeed from my mum was just as great and I don't think she considered how she was going about it, how she pushed me to succeed in a negative way ... like she could have probably said well,...Oh, you know, you're going to have get in there, it's going to be tough, be determined and that's what's going to get you through but what she chose to do was focus on the negative and .. it worked... I thought I can bloody do this, you know, I'll show you ... so the grit and the determination sets in (same participant as cited above, individual interview).

The insidious structural, social and ideological attendants of colonisation created convoluted pathways for Maori children in a world where a Maori stock of knowledge was not only seen as valueless, but also detrimental to health, spirituality, education, family and societal advancement (Durie, M., 1997). Conflict in homes where adult Maori, their thought processes, codes of conduct, values, beliefs and cultural practices were critically seen to be the root cause of problems faced by children in school contexts, (Ramsay, 1972, 1984) highlight the *grit and the determination* required to develop and sustain a personal and social Maori identity for each generation.

As children, the participants were not consciously aware that the fabric of Maori society was being challenged but nevertheless experienced some of contradictions and dilemmas faced by whanau as they came to terms with physical well being and cultural erosion.

Whakapapa and Whanau

The participants most frequently talked about themselves in relation to others. The weaving of their identity represented an intricate pattern of relationships in which they were genealogically placed. In this sense, as suggested in the patu metaphor, knowing these women is not strictly about a

description of the individual as much as it is about understanding the multilayered network that they remained connected to.

Whanau as an organising concept was used by the participants in one of two ways, genealogically and socio-politically. First and foremost it was used in the context of those with whom they had whakapapa links; their own genealogical matrix to which they contributed.

> ... each challenge in my life, the whanau was there and that's why even today I believe that whenever you meet challenges or you're faced with problems hoki atu ki te kainga ka reira tonu te oranga o te whanau [return home as that's where the wellbeing/strength of the family resides] and I think that's one of the beauties of having a strong whanau base. When you need advice understanding any difficulty there's only one place to get everything, that's back home ... (participant, individual interview - my translation bracketed).

All the participants came from large families. For the majority the concept of whanau extended beyond two or three generational units. Six of the eight women considered their background working class, half of whom moved for seasonal employment and indicated financial hardship that at times made physical contact with extended whanau difficult. When extended whanau were geographically distanced narratives provided an important coupling to number of role models, some of whom had passed away generations before.

> .. they built within me. That's what my upbringing gave me within the whanau, ... if you look at Maori who have got a strong whanau base, extended whanau, all in there even when hiki mau etahi wa ka taka ka heke ki reira ra te whanau te whanau ki te haka tu ano ki te awhi ratou (when you stumble the whanau are there to pick you up, help you be strong and carry on). I always had that there for me ...so that's what got me through, that pride.. As well as my mother, my aunties and uncles were excellent role models for me and always there, if you achieved they were there to support and give you further encouragement to carry on (participant, individual interview - my figurativetranslationbracketed).

The multilevelled nature of whakapapa and whanau provided the frame of reference through which participants identified themselves, marked out time, referred to geographical space and remember significant events. Some participants used intergenerational factors to mark out time and space; *I started school in (an urban area) then we returned home so mum could look after our koroua after our kuia died ... ; Of course dad's Kuia had died before we moved.* Others used intragenerational

differences to explain events; *my aunty is the matamua (eldest) my father is the potiki (youngest) so she... ; I was the oldest so I had to stay behind ...*

For each participant reference to whanau and whakapapa frameworks took for granted an audiences' understanding of concepts not widely understood. Each woman was using whakapapa as a framework to integrate self into matrices that were expansive and able to be used to understand others. References to whanau included the specifying of particular places; *my koro was born there; .. that's home for our whanau";* integrated geographical features; *(name of river) that's where (my husband's) whanau is from;* noted regional histories; *given (the iwi) history, the location of the kura in the heart of ..;* included regional whakapapa when in other areas to explain local acceptance of their roles; *their tipuna was a female.* Thus understanding the individual was dependant on understanding their relationships within complex networks.

All the participants, in terms of whakapapa, identified both parents as Maori although the ways in which whanau operated could not be claimed to be unitary. For one participant being a whangai was seen to provide both benefits and tensions. For another *it was definitely a mans world,* while for three women, mum was *the dominant one.* For the remaining three participants authority held by one or the other parent was less apparent as they grew up.

In the second instance whanau was used notionally to talk about relationships that connected multitribal groups, primarily in urban areas, with the common goal of fostering and perpetuating a Maori identity, values and culture whether it be centred around religious, educational, social or political initiatives.

> ... (in order) to stand up, in a sense so you develop another whanau, a second whanau system which was Maori within the training college and university system ... what I'm talking about is the Maori club, if you became a member of that you developed strong bonds, so you were actually building another support system for you that you could relate to.
>
> ...different groups emerged, all those things began to happen in the sixties. We all became very active in terms of standing up for our own rights so we developed another type of whanau. We had to ... no one else in those places was giving us support at that time ... (participant, individual interview).

According to Triandis (1995) social perception among collectivists consists of a set of relationships organised around an individual. Among individualists the focus is on an individual who has relationships. Lebra (1984 cited in Triandis 1995, p. 69) identified the distinction between collectivism and individualism when juxtaposing interviews with Japanese and American women. In interviewing Japanese women Lebra found that much was learnt about their relationships and almost nothing about themselves, whereas, the opposite was found when interviewing American women, she learnt little about their relationships but a great deal about them. As with the Japanese women, the participants in this study attributed their strength, authority and positive characteristics either, to the enabling qualities of significant people around them, *we were nurtured into our roles by mum, dad and our old people,* or conversely, in response to those who undermined them *I'll show you.*

One particular reflection typifies both facets and is drawn from a reflection of leaving home for Teachers Training College.

> I owe a lot particularly to my mother who basically dragged me by the horns, ah by the ears. Both of them got me up there into the hostel and I found the first few months quite difficult on my own, didn't know anyone, um except one or two, but I think why I owe so much to my mother, she was a very strong person and stood up to authority and was able to overcome the barriers that Maori were facing and I think it's due to her training that I was able to persevere and stand up, I mean at that particular time racism was well and truly alive. ... I can give you examples of that one, you couldn't get flats, you didn't get served at the shops, that sought of thing ... I went through that period ... it taught me something about equity, equality and standing up for your rights (participant, individual interview).

Many of the participants focused on the attributes of role models within the whanau as a means of identifying individual characteristics. Personal characteristics commonly shared with significant whanau members were valued; *my son is just like the tipuna he's named after; I'm more like mum's side from (iwi) ...* rather than being divorced from the wider group with whom they identified.

> It was that determination to achieve, that development period I'd gone through, the constant push, the support and the role model of my mother and extended whanau, the support from them. It is what gave me the background, the strength and built within me the determination to achieve and rise above the mire because Maori generally were down here (indicates floor with hand).

The *mire* resisted was clearly seen to exist outside the whanau context. The tensions and contradictions caused by colonisation are apparent in the ways whanau grappled with imposed divisions between life styles and life chances[2]. The narratives from two participants shared highlight some of the tensions caused by assimilationist policies, and the ways these factors impacted on these two women's sense of what it meant .

He Kitenga Kanohi, he Hokinga Whakaaro[3];

Two Women's Memories.

Both narratives in this section expose tensions and contradictions faced by whanau with the formation of foreign discursive practice[4], previously indicated by Walker (1990) and Durie (M., 1997), that positioned being Maori and acting Maori as marginal and inferior. The contradiction is evident in the juxtaposition of Maori discursive practice that centre Maori (people) as Maori (normal).

One participant's early life was characterised by a number of moves between the tribal boundaries of both parents, with dad seeking work in the forestry industry. The era in which these events occurred was also characterised, as previously mentioned, by a marked demographic shift in the Maori population seeking employment and increased life chances offered in urban centres. Though this participant's whanau remained rural they were not immune to the 'promise' of increased life chances by moving to urban centres. Balancing what was known within Maori lifestyles and what

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[2] Life styles is used here to indicate what happens in the private domain (within the realm of home) while life chances refers to the mannerisms and behaviours one was to adopt in order to be competitive in the public domain (within the employment market). Such divisions prior to colonisation did not require a chameleon like existence.

[3] Whakatauaki, to see the face is to stir the memory. Brougham, A., and Reed, W., (1992, p. 63).

[4] Hall and Gieben (1992) maintain that a discourse is a group of statements which provide a language for talking about- ie a way of representing- a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. it also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed. Hall and Gieben further make the point that discourse is not based on conventional distinctions between thought and action and, language and practice. 'Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language. But it is itself produced by practice'. 'Discursive practice'- the practice of producing meaning, since all social practices entail *meaning* , all practices have a discursive aspect. Said (1989) and Churchill (1992) have argued that discourse, 'from the West about the Rest' (Said 1989 p. 369) is deeply implicated in practice.

was promised if colonial principles were adopted meant two different and at times conflicting codes being advanced within this woman's home,

> ... because my mothers first language is English and she was the dominant one in the relationship. My father's first language was Maori but of course at that stage my mother had convinced him that speaking English to us all the time would help us in our future development - you know - the way of the world was Pakeha - and so that's why we never heard Maori being spoken in our home other than when my father was with his family, still continues to this day, when he's with his sisters they only speak Maori when he was with his mother they only spoke Maori ... but we were spoken to (and still are) by our aunties and our kuia in English - that was the kind of pressure my mother put on my kuia.

The hierarchical ordering of ethnic groups bought with it attendant assumptions about the functional and ideological superiority of English over Maori. The conflict and consequent dilemmas arising from devaluation of Maori language across educational, economic and political domains provided the catalyst for opposition to language retention in whanau. Language shift (Baker 1996) was hastened by entrenching English as the high status language of government, law, commerce, media and school. As submitted in evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal Te Reo Report (1986) "English was taught as the bread and butter language", speaking Maori at school was a physically punishable offence. Where Maori had once served as the means of communication in all the social, spiritual and political realms in Maori society, legislated language shift in schools, aided the discursive formation (Foucault, 1980) of English as superior resulting in diglossia[5]. English became the norm, limiting the number of contexts in which competency in te reo Maori was either valued or required. Te reo Maori was thus relegated to the private domain, limiting its utility outside homes to formal encounter on the marae and a diminishing number of Maori social occasions.

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[5] Diglossia makes reference to bilingual communities and how language usage often becomes separated by situation and function (see for example Baker 1996). Early bilingual theories associated with cognitive functioning and educational attainment posited bilinguals as inferior to monolinguals (Fishman 1976; Skutnabb-Kangas 1981; Baker 1996). Naive theories based on finite cognitive capacity to acquire language gave rise to theoretical positions suggesting increased competency in a second language could only be achieved at the expense of the first. Hence in a situation where English competency became the avenue through which the social goods of society and economic life chances; power and privilege were accessed, whanau faced the dilemma of bilingualism (ideologically seen to be a detrimental option) or English monolingualism. Nevertheless, although intergenerational heritage language transmission diminished few equalising effects resulted.

The paradox identified by Johnston and Pihama (1995) was encased in the advancement of 'sameness' in which 'same' constantly changed. In relation to the acquisition of English "when we did speak the 'real' language, we weren't perceived as the same at all; we were labelled as deficient, not speaking what was defined as 'standard' English" (p. 3). Whanau actively encouraged English competency for the participant not as a choice but a fundamental necessity for survival. Insuring English was to be the first language also impacted on other cultural practices.

> ... my mother definitely held the reigns (dad's whanau) didn't particularly care for my mother very much .. (they thought) she had very Pakeha ways. ... Because my sister is one of the older ones of course my Kuia desperately wanted to keep her but my mother wouldn't allow her to. There was also a concession made ... they would speak English when we were around and that's what happened.

While access to Maori language was consciously limited cultural competency and access to cultural resources became a point upon which tensions were negotiated .

> ... dad always liked to work in his tribal areas and his Kuia was from (there). He wanted us to be brought up in a Maori community as opposed to my mother who wanted to go urban ...

Through the course of the interview it was made clear that English was promoted in order to provide the children with their 'bread and butter'. It was not however, considered a form of cultural replacement. Mum, strongly in favour of English was equally adamant about the children knowing who they were - made particularly clear in relation to contesting school experiences: if there was anything that smacked of racism mum would be straight up there. Dad's position was that,

> ... in that community our father always felt that we should have you know been quite nurtured in our Maoriness so we were very fortunate in that, ... my father ... was quite different to a lot of Maori men around that particular area, and as a result of that, he became the driver. We didn't own a car but he became the driver particularly for the old people because of his nature. He was brought up by our old people and so he naturally had this affinity with kuia and koroua. I can't remember us actually having real friends when we were little because we were always going off to these kuia and koroua with our father.
> ... and so that that's how he sought of nurtured our sense of Maoriness in that it was something to treasure, my sister still recounts lots of these times, I mean, if you ask her, she was always nurtured much closer than I was in things Maori being the eldest child, being the one that both sides of the families particularly enjoyed because she was quiet and she could sit still longer than what I could ... when I think on it we were nurtured into our roles,

The pressure to seek employment began to divide whanau into two generation family units as the 'universal culture of capitalism' (Walker, 1990) became the totalising organisational structure of society. Mobilising whanau as a cheap expendable workforce as seasonal work flowed through its peaks and troughs commodified whanau into transportable economic units easily located and relocated to meet labour demands. Although this whanau remained within tribal boundaries, frequent access to cultural resources and hapu boundaries became constrained by lack of money, long working hours, time and distance. Paid employment not only separated 'dad' from those who nurtured his sense of self, but also, altered the pattern in which the woman's identity was being woven.

> ... our Kuia died by the time we went to ... things changed a lot then because dad was away from a lot of our old people. Because of the lack of money we couldn't readily go back to our families. Even though to other people it may have been a three quarters of an hour drive but when you haven't got much money it's a long way. ... I know (dad) was particularly lonely at that stage but because money was always tight in milling communities he used to work in the forestry as well, so I suppose he was occupied because he'd work twelve hour days...

Both parents are highly regarded by the participant, each valued for the different strengths and attributes they were seen to instil.

> ... I think another thing too that of course my parents ... (were role models) my mother because she knows where it's at. She's always got a goal and will always work towards it, towards it in her way, a very determined way, but also my father. I'm drawing more and more on his experiences than what I used to. I was always closest to my mother but, I can actually see where his depth is and he's got a totally different aura about him - he and his family have developed that side of us that is to a depth that - I just took that for granted - till I met other people and I realised my god you know what a rich store I had and I just never realised it. He's not a talker he doesn't speak often, neither do his family but I've actually learnt how to listen ...

In this vignette[6], the weaving of the whenu commenced within the context of whanau located within iwi defined boundaries. What is made clear is that for this participant, identity is grounded in whakapapa and developed through a number of significant relationships that facilitate access to cultural resources. Growing up within tribal boundaries combined with sustained contact and extended whanau, facilitated the opportunity for conscious transmission of cultural knowledge

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[6] The vignette gives an incomplete account, particularly in regard to mum's representation, later discussions show in relation to educational contexts her determination to challenge those who undermine the values instilled within the whanau.

pertaining to people, places and events. The nurturing of respective roles amongst siblings provided the substance for her later contention that cultural knowledge was far richer in breadth and depth than could be encapsulated in any one individual. The participant's kete woven with strong connective networks grounded in whakapapa, enabled the participant to later temper external influences that attempted to challenge her *Maoriness* based on narrow stereotypical identity markers.

For all this, the whanau were not immune to external policies and social practices that implicitly and explicitly acted to devalue cultural practices and characteristics seen to be significant to this woman in the development of her Maori identity. The most explicit in this vignette centred on loss of intergenerational language transmission which contributed to the disruption of other cultural practices. Where analyses of cultural disruption for Maori have tended to focus on complicating factors of urbanisation, those remaining in rural areas also faced challenges presented by the universalising nature of colonisation and the culture of capitalism.

He Kitenga Kanohi, he Hokinga Whakaaro

Another participant living in this time frame grew up in her tribal region within a whanau context that functioned in a different way; the context was urban. Discursive practice evident in community structures, social activities, physical and psychological mindscapes were seen to be the predominant cultural boundaries to be negotiated.

The children were nurtured in a *shelteredenvironment* that focused on the immediate family. Life was seen to be *definitely a man's world ... this is what men do and this is what women do.*

> That was actually coming through our whanau too, where the women, you know, where you had to know your place as far as a woman was concerned and the men did all the men's things around the house and the woman would do all the women's things around the house.

The participant was from a whanau that by all accounts could be considered a statistical rarity. Speaking of the decade prior to the Hunn report (1960) (which noted a 'statistical blackout' of

Maori presence in the higher levels of secondary school[7]), at least three siblings in dad's generation had tertiary education. Academic successes achieved by whanau members instilled a sense of awe in the participant and endorsed for her meritocratic principles and neutrality of educational contexts perpetuated by whanau while the cultural cost of success remained unquestioned.

> In those days too, it was really hard to go to university or to get a degree for anybody, not only for Maori people, but for anybody, it was a great thing, it was just awesome. I can remember my uncle being one of the first Maoris to graduate from Lincoln and that was just awesome, he was in the papers and all over the place ... it was very rare and I think whereas now.. more women, Maoris are achieving, it's really good.

Dad was highly respected and provided the initial parameters in which self was understood.

> Dad was an excellent teacher ... he went on to be a really good principal as well.... We all looked up to dad as being the cleverest person on this earth and everything dad said was right ... he set everything, like we always had a big meal at night, and we always sat at the table - there were seven kids, and we all had our own chairs. And we weren't allowed to sit anywhere else - we all had our own places at the table and dad had his at the head and mum had hers down at the other end, but mum served all of us and dad, you know, dad was always the head of the table...We had to be well mannered. You weren't allowed to leave the table without saying excuse me and we said grace every time we ate. And we also helped, we all had our little jobs to do.

The high profile dad had in and outside the whanau, constituted significant threads in the ongoing construction of kete. Values were instilled in an environment where parameters were clearly defined, children were sheltered and educational achievement was the primary focus for the seven children.

> ... I probably led quite a sheltered childhood really. I probably had a quite strict upbringing where education was the thing with my parents. We had to do well in education and because we had a lot of kids in our family that support that they gave us had to be shared amongst the whole lot of us - everyone.

The notion of being *sheltered* could be read in a number of ways. One possible reading is the need to shelter and protect Maori children from the harshest effects of racism and what being Maori meant in the discourse of school, employment and future life chances. Conversely it could also be read as a means of distancing children from other Maori also as a means to shelter children from the same influences by association noted above. The latter is less likely however, as the participant

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[7]The report states only 0.5 percent of Maori secondary students reached the seventh form.

attended a school *that was nearly a native school,* in an urban context where other educational options existed.

> I s'pose there were a lot of Maori kids at school but you kind of didn't even talk about that in those days. You never talked about *that* sort of thing. You just got on. You were a very criticised race of people at that stage too. And you never could sort of, kind of stood up for your rights like you do now.

With little attention in public forums on *that sort of thing* racial discourse, cultural analyses, theories of hegemony, processes of colonisation and its effects were lost in the discourse of neutral systems and processes purporting to be based on principles of meritocracy and egalitarianism.

Discursive practice denied the group two important forms of language: i) their heritage language by structurally divorcing it from public domains, and ii) any form of emancipatory language to articulate their experiences in any other terms than hegemonic norms advanced. The challenge in constructing a Maori identity in such circumstances occurred across cultural boundaries where the power and privilege of the dominant group was manifest in a myriad of explicit and implicit social and structural forms. Concurrent ideological assumptions about Maori deviancy and inferiority and urban pepper potting (Walker, 1990) left little space to develop Maori theoretical positions in public forums. Durie (A., 1997) suggests the intergenerational effect on those subjected to inequalities *can* lead to 'submersion of Maoriness ... as a survival strategy by those who perceive their life chances to be threatened by a definitive identification as Maori' (p. 157). This participant was aware of whanau, hapu and iwi affiliation, but not talking about *that sort of thing* made it very much a private affair. The extent to which it was privatised reduced the level of contact with extended whanau.

The close knit family was not considered extended. Contact with extended whanau was ofte· formalised and infrequent.

> You were saying before distance meant a lot then. Was that a factor in the amount of time spent...

> With cousins? Ah, no I don't think it would have made much difference whether we were physically close or not, I just think we didn't place much importance on it. In my mum and dad's family, especially my dads family, you couldn't just pack up and go to your aunties, you know, you had to sort of ring them up and make an appointment - see if it was good for them, whereas you know I s'pose what I'm doing with my kids today and myself probably is the opposite to what happened when I was a kid.

While some cultural knowledge was held by the participant it was not overtly operationalised as she grew up. During high school the participant spent time living with Maori speaking grandparents. The pressure to see self from the position of other creates tensions between the two generations. Internalising the public criticisms of Maori cultural practices creates conditions in which intergenerational transmission of language and further cultural knowledge becomes problematic. The intergenerational shift in values and attitudes to Maori language and cultural practices at times polarises whanau members. The participant's generation being rewarded for knowing and emulating colonial world views in external contexts, creates disjunctions. Maori as *a criticised race of people* juxtaposed against growing concerns of older generations regarding contamination of cultural knowledge, provides a corrosive thread in kete at a time when many kuia and koroua withheld significant aspects of cultural knowledge for fear of cultural knowledge debasement (Durie, A., 1997).

> ... then my dad got a job as a principal and I stayed with my grandparents. They're both Maori speaking and you know I learnt absolutely nothing from them as far as learning reo was concerned ... which I really think is just, you know, I wished at that stage in my life that I had've.
> Learning the reo it just didn't happen in those days. That was their ... thing and if they wanted to talk about us they always switched to Maori. ... when I talked about the boys and girls thing, this was the adults and the kids thing - you know, we're the adults and you're just the kids so you just keep quiet and that's what we did do. We did do those things in those days, we just kept quiet and did as we were told.

On reflection mum provides an implicit value base for this participant not instantly obvious in comparison to the explicit role played by dad. Nevertheless subliminally mum is seen to provide the foundation for the participant's confidence and the ways she has consciously attempted to facilitate later whanau practices.

> ... we were actually taught to stay close. We were told, like our mother always said to us look after each other. When I die, she'd say, I want to know that I'm going to leave behind all you kids looking after each other. And I think that's what made us stick close together. We were told by mum to do that and it's so important. ... mum would always say don't worry when you grow up and you've got your own family you'll help each other as sisters and that's exactly what happens. ... I just think back to what mum said ... when you grow up, when you are all together, you'll repay each other.
>
> The successes and the confidence, I've probably got from both my parents. Probably, more from my mum than my dad. Even though dad was the big career boy and the big golfer and the big fisherman and the everything, mum looked after us kids and toddled along behind him. She was probably the one who gave me the confidence underneath it all.

Mum provides the blueprint for current whanau structure for this woman and her siblings in which less formalised and extended whanau contact are currently maintained and valued. Where an emphasis on subjugating differences and Maori cultural precepts in favour of the security offered in increased life chances dominated early reflections, "identities continue to be made and remade as life circumstances (social and political environments) change so that even the submerged can recover a Maori identity given sufficient confidence and opportunity" (Durie, A., 1997, p. 157).

> I was probably influenced a lot by my mum ... a lot of things that mum used to tell us. And I do, I would listen to what she would say ... I suppose I just grew up just grew along, I've always had a very supportive family. We're always there for each other and we never fight and my two children have grown up to know their cousins really well and all the cousins are really good friends. If my kids need to go anywhere, to anyone in the family they can just go.
>
> ... sharing with whanau is important, making sure that, mind you my kids make sure that they know their cousins too, you know, they can't get over how I don't know my cousins very well, you know, they say "Gee mum why don't you know your cousins very well, I'd hate not to know my cousins" and things like that.

Providing the opportunity for the participant's children to learn Maori and be schooled in Maori Boarding contexts where Maori networks can be fostered has been a priority. This too has caused challenges as children question mum's the lack of contact with extended family in formative years, leading the participant to contemplate the social forces at work that made things different then.

The point emerging from the dialogue is that positive identity development is complex enough in monocultural contexts, but when situated in opposition to dominant discursive practice,

constructing kete becomes an exercise in determination, courage and fortitude, somewhat reminiscent of the characteristics of Maori women outlined in chapter one. In one way or another identity development becomes a costly exercise caught within power differentials and a political milieu in which identification with groups outside the 'norm' is problematic. Assimilation meant different things for different whanau. There was never a choice between assimilating or not assimilating - between being colonised or not being colonised - it is a matter of degree. The diverse realities of the two participants bear testimony to the variety of whanau dynamics and pathways travelled that impact on the design of each kete. In both vignettes, the ways in which women impact on the design and construction of kete is also significant. In the first narrative the role of women played inside and outside the home is overtly obvious. In the second she is a quiet enabler sustaining the access to principles of whanau structure that would be utilised in the adult life of the participant.

Women and Whanau

Women in the main were seen as authoritative, fulfilling many roles and reiterating many of the characteristics and attributes noted in the customary narratives outlined in chapter one. Significant female characters within whanau were situated in critical roles encompassing whaea, kuia, matamua/potiki, tuakana/teina and aunties. They ranged in character from being quiet unobtrusive supporters and confidence builders, as seen in the previous vignette, to dominant matriarchal characters in homes where *mum was definitely the boss.* They afforded children access to cultural resources derived from their own whakapapa lines and were described as initiators of fundamental decisions made regarding whanau.

One particular narrative draws many of these elements together. It also draws on the significance of ordinal placement in whakapapa, which provides the foundation for an aunt to claim rights and privileges over the affairs of a younger male sibling long after he had established his own economic independence. In the incident recounted, an aunt claimed the right as matamua (first born)

to actively participate in decisions being made in the whanau of the potiki (last born) when deliberating the educational and career choices of her younger sibling's off spring.

> I returned home for my seventh form year and my dad's big sister yet again, the same one who made us all go to boarding school, stepped in and said oh I don't think she should go back to (name of school). (She) didn't think that the education standards were good enough. So I went into town, into the big smoke ... and lived with (her) and went to a co-ed college ... (participant, individual interview).

The participant indicates that this was not a one off incident recognising that this women was seen to hold a position of both power and authority in her whanau. This aunt like many of the women in the participants' lives became a critical advocate for whanau in educational contexts. Many women were seen to be a power to be reckoned with.

> When I finished seventh form, I did a deal with my dad that I'd sharemilk for him for a year. My aunt came down and beat the [proverbial] crap out of my father (laughs)
>
> Was she older than him?
>
> Yes, she was the oldest in his family and he was the baby. She said, you know, you didn't waste all this money on her becoming a bloody farmer ... get a grip and so they had one great big massive argument at my dad's house. She sort of stamped her foot of authority and he bowed ... and she actually signed my name on the teachers college forms, I didn't apply for teachers college the first thing I knew about teachers college as a whole was when I got a letter saying I had an interview (participant, individual interview).

Six of the eight women indicated that their mothers worked, either on farms alongside their husbands, in seasonal employment, in factories and in one instance where both parents taught. One participant saw her whanau structured around a gendered division of labour particularly apparent with the parents' roles but less distinct amongst the seven children who *all had (their) jobs to do.*

Many of the mentors undeterred by limited formal education themselves, advocated, cajoled, supported, pushed and at times bullied children to succeed. They were women who were seen to both issue and withstand challenges. Being Maori, being woman, being strong, being vocal and having authority were discursively linked to a body of knowledge that extended to metaphysical connections. Bearing the names of ancestors further connected participants to attendant narratives that also centred woman as role models.

A Name to go by ...

Returning to the metaphoric use of patu, the customary practise of naming patu provides an avenue through which individual taonga were linked to specific events (Te Ngaheretoto), geographical regions (Te Rohe O Tu Whakatupua), ancestors (Tane-nui-a-rangi) or revered principles of practice (Te Manawaroa) (Durie, M., 1990). In the similar way group and individual names, both formal and informal, also carry with them a store of past and present history. Personal names - though not always - serve as indicators of basic group identity. Two group names common to Aotearoa/New Zealand used as identity markers are Maori and Pakeha. Although both names are of Maori vernacular their attendant socio-historic meanings are best understood within a colonial discourse (Walker, 1990; M. Durie, 1997; Smith, L., 1992).

Customarily Maori group names were delineated by the hapu or iwi to which individuals belonged. Personal names tended to link individuals to significant historical incidents, ancestors or valued principles of practise. Primary utilisation of names by participants was linked to whakapapa and secondly reflected a growing political awareness of colonisation. Characteristic of oral tradition, the value of individual names, explicitly discussed by half of the participants, was their conscious use of names as metaphysical couplings. Names were used to breach the perceptual distinctions of past and present delineated by Western concepts of time and to reduce the space between where they resided and places of significance.

> I really value my name ... I have always valued my name because it reminds me of who I am and where I come from ... and I want my kids to carry this name ... carrying your name doesn't just mean you write it at the end of your first name (participant, paired interview).

Note here too that the significance of a name is located in its ability to strengthen the whenu derived from the whiri, the initial plait in the kete that constitutes whanau and whakapapa.

The participants' awareness that some tupuna were 'given' names recognised that whanau were at times prone to external socio-political influences that affected name choice.

> ... the whole kaupapa value is important, you know, how my koroua fought to retain his name. Not the surname which they gave him but his name ... I hear my aunty

> crying because of the loss of our name, all those sorts of things keep me going, even though its really hard, because in your name is where you're from, who you are. It helps to retain that sense of who you are without it looking like your covered over in someone else's packaging (participant, paired interview).

European names were in many cases acquired by baptism, by bestowal, or by political expediency. Issacs (1975) suggests that the shedding of colonial names, like reverting to customary names of land features, has been one of the more obvious, and more symbolic ways for 'ex-colonial' subjects to assert their independence and in so doing reassert their own ethnic/cultural identities. Names can also serve as indicators for gauging responses, ranging from; open or closed, being welcomed or repulsed, forming the basis for inclusion or exclusion (Issacs 1975). Hence name changing or bestowal by individuals can either i) serve to help gain some measure of anonymity by sharing, at least in name, the identity of the dominant group or conversely ii) reassert an ex-colonial identity. This included for one participant shedding the colonial custom of forfeiting her own whanau name for that of her husbands at the time of marriage.

> I was colonised when I married (my husband) I took his name - I have always stated I was going to revert back to my old name because that's who I am...(our children) all have their own individual tupuna names because a lot of the names that they hold are no longer around... they carry those names and they are going to know who they are just like our tupuna did. ... I think that's really important and that's something we have consciously looked at. (participant, paired interview)

Naming and educating children about the significance of their names was also a deliberate means of sustaining connection with whakapapa and whenua tipu in which tupuna names were grounded

> ... my own child she loves her name ... because we always tell her about (the kuia) who she was named after. Or ... who she was named by... and that is a reminder about who we are ... I do agree that cultures and people change over time, but it doesn't change so much that you become someone else (participant, paired interview).

Further discussions reflected the application of traditional practices in contemporary contexts, such as, the number of children named after locations associated with whanau in the Maori Battalion, marking significant campaigns in the second world war.

Sustaining cultural resources linked to identity was seen to require conscious effort. Without conscious consideration of the power to name and particularly the language in which naming occurs, the legacy of legislative prohibition and prevailing social practice would secure its

extinction. This necessitated a conscious effort to thread language into the ongoing patterning of many of the women's' identity.

Reo as a Woven Thread

Seven of the eight participants either had some competency in Te Reo Maori prior to entering teaching, commenced Maori language courses during their training or, have since taken courses in an attempt to develop their competency. For one participant Maori is her first language. All had access to native speakers as children. Although many participants remain in frequent contact with this generation these native speakers still find it difficult to change established practices and talk to these women in Maori.

> I just got right into Te Reo actually and then I thought oh geez I was saying it right, don't know where the heck it came from - it's probably - you know - it's the old nurture versus nature sort of thing ... It was a around (when I was growing up) even though I wasn't aware of it being spoken but it was around. I can remember at training college actually going on to ... Marae and I was doing my Karanga. I'd practised to do this Karanga to go on to the Marae and when I started the Karanga that came out was nothing like the Karanga that I'd practised ... I don't know where it came from but it obviously came from my nanny. I can remember what our Maori tutor said to me. She said, where did that come from? And I said, I don't know, but obviously it was one of my nanny's. My tupuna must be looking after me. She goes it's a beautiful Karanga ... it was my very first Karanga and I was so pleased that it came from them and not from one that I had to learn out of the book ... Little things like that happened actually quite a lot in my experience it's not until you sought of sit back and reflect you think geez you know you did have a high input in Maori that you just weren't aware of, weren't aware of at all. (participant, individual interview)

For the women without Maori as their first language, reclaiming reo to varying degrees has been considered at different stages as a means to further extend links to their cultural identity. For one woman living with native speaking grandparents during part high school she wished, *at that stage I'd learnt it then.* The comment appeared wistful underpinned by the assumption that she was perhaps too old to start now - although she had schooled her own children in situations where they could address this issue. For the other six participants strengthening their Maori identity was tied, in part, to reclaiming the language. For one this occurred upon entry into a Maori boarding school and her first experience with a large number of other Maori youth.

> I was Maori but I didn't know how to speak Maori at all, my parents would speak it, it never dawned on them .... we actually had them up about that, we said - "well you guys can Korero how come you never bothered to teach us?" But you know in their time, when they went to school, they were all punished for speaking Maori - and I don't think it even dawned on them that we might be interested, probably because of the community that we lived in as well [with few other Maori], they never bothered to teach us. But, definitely when I got to school, I thought, I'm a Maori and I don't know anything, ... other than basic greetings but [boarding school] was totally different than the school I'd come from, at first I wondered why I got sent there, you know, had I been bad, why had I been sent away? It took me the better part of the first year to understand ... (participant, individual interview).

What the participant sought to understand was the reason she needed to be separated from whanau (although she understood there was little option because of the lack of proximity of local high schools) in order to be educated. She further sought an understanding of some of the confusing experiences primary school had offered her as a child from the only Maori family at school.

Language reclamation intertwined as a thread woven into identity extends beyond the present. Many of the women seek to locate themselves in environments where language is contextually embedded for themselves while all are actively involved in supporting the development of language rich institutional spaces for Maori youth. The significance of language as an identity marker for many of these women is about discursive practice because like all discursive practice embedded within the language are mechanisms that make some concepts more easy to articulate then others. One such concept is the integral relationship of identity being grounded in land.

Marae and Whenua Tipu

Geographical location and symbolically rich structures such as marae were discussed in terms of nourishing and revitalising some participants' sense of self as Maori women. Identity embedded in whanau and whakapapa linked participants to hapu and iwi, encompassing, *growing up next to the marae; by the river; in sight of our mountain; the urupa down the road;* and notions of *ukaipo.* Many of the women who grew up with access to these cultural resources took for granted these dimensions of identity believing in their youth that they were a 'given' for all Maori. Not until later

in life, as circumstances drew them out of iwi boundaries, did they realise that the *rich store I had and I just never realised it.*

Contact with places as a means of spiritual revitalisation emerged as part of the way some participants saw themselves remaining intact. For some women living outside their tribal regions understanding the socio-political idiosyncrasies of the tribal areas in which they worked was seen to be important. Recognising the significance of whenua tipu to Tangata whenua helped sustain their own sense of home place. For others it provided the motivation to apply for positions within their own rohe or within the tribal bounds of their partners. Motivation to apply for specific positions were associated with relocating whanau to whenua tipu, in some instances, it meant reducing whanau income from two to one.

> Well for me to be honest, my husband wanted to move back home and we needed a job because we knew he wouldn't have a job to move home too (participant, paired interview).

For another participant it meant reduced professional status,

> ... this position was a sideways move from where I was. It meant I was coming back to ... where my husband is from ... (participant, paired interview).

In both cases moving home became a way to strengthen links for children to what they believed to be significant in order to sustain a positive identity. For yet another participant recognising the significance of geographical location had implications for her teaching practice

> ... that's where I had to change.. [for] different communities ... I also found that you had to make, I call them minor adjustments within Maori communities, there's no two [Maori] communities that are the same, so you have to make adjustments ... but what I had going for me in that position, which was a kura Maori, I was in a Maori community... their tipuna was a female, ... the other thing was that my husband is from that area... (participant, individual interview).

Metaphysical connection to whenua tipu and by association Marae and people provided the sustenance to face work based stresses when distance made physical contact difficult. When at home there was no fanfare attached to ceremonies implied but a simple replenishment of self and strengthening of the strands that interwove participants into wider matrices. This conversation occurred between two other participants in a paired interview,

> Things like how we need to be close to land. Sometimes I need to go back home and just sit on the beach. Nothing big just sit on the beach. By myself. I mean I do that. At ... and at .... That's where I belong. That's all I need and that's fine. Stand or sit in the paddock ... and just enjoy doing that. Sometimes I need to go to my marae and sit with my kuia and just sit with her, not talk, just sit.
>
> Yeah I know what you mean doing the dishes in the back and listening to jokes and stories.
>
> It's the wairua, it's the aroha and we need every now and then to replenish our supplies. We need to replenish our supplies. Sure we go to the library, we go on courses, we get our batteries charged when we met these wonderful people who run fabulous inservice courses, but we still have a part of us that needs to be replenished ...
>
> That doesn't, that can't be met in that context ... that money can't buy.
>
> No - that money can't buy, that you can't go on courses and learn.

The comfort and security provided by such affiliation transcends present tense connections involving metaphysical linkages to people no longer physically present who nevertheless continue to make their presence felt.

Identity for many of the women thus incorporate the weaving of strands that combine whenua tipu, turangawaewae, marae, ukaipo, urupa, awa and maunga. These features grounded in papatuanuku represented a sense of continuity and stability and reiterate the centrality of place for women.

In sum, whanau, whakapapa, names, marae, whenua tipu and reo either provided the initial characteristics of identity formation or increased in significance at different junctures of the women's lives. Variances in emphasis were also evident. Generally difference and diversity were recognised within the group also based on a number of culturally relevant factors addressed in the following discussion.

Notions of Difference and Diversity Embraced in Maori Terms

As advanced within the discussion of discourse around patu it is counter productive to see this group of women as strictly homogenous. While they recognise and promote commonalities at times

they are equally mindful of their differences. To better understand this group an appreciation of the ways in which diversity is seen and acknowledged counters some of the stereotypical views of what it is to be Maori for this group of women. Participants acknowledged that in both customary and contemporary contexts-Maori identity is based on a culture that not only recognised but remains dependant on diversity to enhance the collective good. Durie (M., 1995) maintains,

> ... far from being homogenous, Maori are as diverse and complex as other sections of the population, even though they may have certain characteristics and features in common.... Maori live in diverse cultural worlds. There is no one reality nor is there any longer a single definition which will encompass the range of Maori lifestyles (p. 1).

Difference included such variables as: hapu and iwi affiliation; level of participation in tribal and hapu affairs; age; ordinal position amongst siblings; reo competency; politicisation of Maori issues and life experiences. The group did not claim they were homogenous nor did they accept that their views would necessarily reflect the views of the Maori population in any generalisable way. This was made clear by the participants in the group focus hui:

> ... whatever the topic is , it is but a snap shot of that individual.... we are not all the same... It's what the reader might take from the research and I guarantee that there will be those out there who will agree with what is said but there will also be many out there that may not agree with our views, or question what the study does not cover... that's fine but I think those points need to be said (participant, group focus hui).

This did not negate their acceptance of being grouped as Maori women but indicated that within such collectivities rich variances exist. The women did not feel they were in possession of 'the Maori voice' (Jackson, 1997) though they were confident in their vocality about self in relation to being Maori and what that meant to them; about being students, educators, daughters, sisters (tuakana/teina; matamua/potiki), mothers, grandmothers, aunties, kohanga reo whanau members, union members, members of professional associations and a myriad of other things simultaneously. None of these factors negated their primary cultural identity. These roles were integrated into a unified sense of identity which for them remained constant. It was not something shed or attached according to context (although at times wrapped and protected, like patu, for safe keeping).

Neither difference nor similarity are foreign concepts within a Maori schema. Difference was accepted as 'given' according to commonly understood culturally delineated parameters. Difference was also recognised as a consequence of colonisation. In the latter position, through colonisation, the negative connotations of difference have by default acted as a catalyst for promoting commonalities (Johnston 1998). Durie (M., 1998) notes for Maori in particular that,

> Before European contact, the word Maori simply meant normal or usual. There was no concept of a Maori identity in the sense of cultural similarities. Instead, the distinguishing features which demarcated groups were mainly attributable to tribal affiliations and the natural environment. ... In that sense, identity reflected historical, social and geographic characteristics (p. 53).

Durie states that the stark contrast between the culture of the newcomers and the culture of iwi provided the rationale for emphasising commonalities across tangata whenua rather than reiterating their commonly understood uniqueness. *"Even then it was an identity more obvious to the newcomers, and in truth largely determined by them, rather than a true reflection of any sense of homogeneity on the part of Maori people"* (1998, p. 53).

Acceptance of Differences Derived from Home

For two participants, understanding differences between self and Maori peers also helped negate stereotypical views of behaviour and classification, as Maori. For one woman difference in Maori terms was understood as based on her identification as a whangai (adopted child). For another participant, her difference was defined in terms of a strong hapu connection. The latter recognised that the source of her identity provided the security to resist outside influences that she felt attempted to define the criteria upon which she should measure her *Maoriness.* She thus accepted observed differences between herself and Maori peers as the norm rather than perceiving them as a challenge to her sense of self.

> ... recognising the tribal differences (and) the hapu differences it was okay to be different, just cos you were both brown at teachers' college you didn't have to be the same... .It's moving centres isn't it ... in some hapu you are on the periphery because of your Whakapapa line, in another one you're in the centre, move to somewhere else or another hui and you sit somewhere else in that forum ... it's like a revolving door ... which places you on inners and outers depending on your location and situation ... we could also see because we had at [home] the Ministry of Works, we had other Maori people who came in from other areas so I could sort of see what was

> happening at training college... you could move that situation back home because we were getting more and more outsiders coming in ... but it was always balanced up in our family - you know - where we stood, as long as we always remembered who we were ... (participant, individual interview).

This participant was aware that she entered teachers' college slightly older than other students. She had worked and therefore had money and a vehicle, took selected studies (science and social studies) that separated her from Maori peers and did not feel competent nor confident participating in kapahaka. While this led other Maori as well as non-Maori to make assumptions about her *Maoriness,* she resisted being placed in any *Maori box* that questioned her authenticity. She was confident, having spent much of her youth in the company of kuia and koroua, in the knowledge that customarily no Maori individual held either all the knowledge or skills of all Maori things. Being Maori was not contingent upon her ability to *sing or the suppleness of (her) wrists to swing a poi.* She did not see herself as either *superwoman* or *super Maori.* Being sure of her hapu identity made her less susceptible to identity markers ascribed by others based on homogenising notions of what it is to be Maori. Such a position is consistent with Rangihau's (1975) assertion that for him identity is not founded on the notion of Maoritanga; rather it was based on Tuhoetanga, the tribe from which he claimed descent.

Identity, Difference and Professional Practice

Recognising difference amongst Maori groups was considered an integral part of professional practice. Half of the participants spoke of diversity among Maori as a means of modifying or anticipating the need to modify their practice. *That's where I had to change, I found that you had to make adjustments within Maori communities, there's no two communities that are the same.*

While Maori communities were not seen to be homogeneous, the ability to relate to and understand these subtle variances were based on an understanding of hapu and tribal autonomy. Such recognition further included understanding that kawa and tikanga varied accordingly. The need to establish meaningful links with such rural communities was once again defined within Maori

cultural precepts; *I was in a Maori community, their tipuna was a female, and the other thing was that my husband is from that area.*

Applying the same cultural criteria was not always effective however. For another participant using the same cultural yardstick had led her to make assumptions about the programme content in her school. She said that knowing *this kura...given its history... and the particular rohe that it's in,* created for her expectations of high consideration of things Maori; but in practice such factors were found to mean little, *as monocultural programmes, practices and thought processes* afforded the same *blatantinstitutionalisation* observed in other schools.

Summary

In sum, given that this group was drawn together based upon their identification as Maori, it is not surprising that each participant sees herself as such. What is of primary interest are the attributes that characterise each individual kete and the centrality of this cultural repository in their lives. As illustrated previously, Kete whiri commence from a base plait that represents whakapapa and whanau.

However, the tension, - how loosely or tightly the threads are woven - is dependant upon how closely or loosely each of the identified characteristics are clustered together. This chapter has argued that the extending whenu and the tension with which they are woven indicates a process of identity construction that is ongoing and unique to the contemporary specivities of each participants reality.

This chapter identified that Kete is both process and product. As a process the potential patterning is indicated by the various ways the whenu are intertwined, capable of recognising the multiple, complex and contradictory circumstances with which Maori women currently contend. Identity as a process is discernible in the ways in which the participants talk about their sense of self as Maori. For example, each of the women, to varying degrees, indicated the influence of significant whanau

members in general and women in particular strengthening the weaving process. Similarly marae, whenua tipu, and reo were notable enhancements to the overall kete construction, as they drew from their experiences, their whakapapa and whenua to consolidate their sense of "I am Maori".

As a product, being Maori recognises the individual's interconnectedness to whakapapa as a critical link in the genealogical matrix to which they contribute. Kete are recognisable as cultural repositories in which many things are stored, among them, values, beliefs and taonga tuku iho. The products that reside within the kete enable future generations access to whakapapa, whenua and henceforth,identity.

At one level, Maori identity for these women is seen as given, immutable and highly valued. *I am Maori* is seen as a simple statement of fact. The simplicity of the statement accepted as 'given', however, neither neglects nor de-emphasises the participants' awareness of intracultural diversity nor the circumstantial specivities that either support or inhibit the development of a Maori identity. What the declaration does, is centrally locate their ethnic identity as the analytic tool that informs the women's analysis of current contexts and contributes to their educational practice and visions. *I'm a Maori first, then a teacher. I can stop being a teacher but I can't stop being Maori:* this supersedes an identity derived from professional status, class location or gender. Understanding the foundation upon which the participant's identity is grounded is therefore salient to their present positions within education, a point reiterated and expanded in the next chapter, "The Briefcase".

Identity for these women has clearly included primordial elements. Primordialist positions, as previously discussed in the genealogical placement of patu, emerged from shared dialogue in the individual, paired and group interviews. The dialogue linked participants to people, land and historic incident. Typically, references to whanau collapsed time, geographical distance and familial relationships into the one frame of reference; *that will always be home, that's where my kuia and Koroua grew up and are buried.*

No participant disputed a primordialist position utilising whakapapa as the plaited ridge from which the kete commences. However locating whanau within the milieu of demographic, historic and socio-political specivities suggested that whanau were not immune to external factors as indicated in the opening quote to this chapter. Glazer and Moynihan (1975) maintain circumstantialists

> ... look to specific and immediate circumstances to explain why groups maintain their identity, why ethnicity becomes a basis for mobilisation, why some situations are peaceful and others filled with conflict (p. 20).

Hence while primordialism informs the origin of identity it does not fully account for the specivities of the socio-political milieu in which identity develops.

> ... I would have to say that my experience, because I'm Maori and female in a monocultural society, those experiences as being Maori and a woman I can't change them it was just the luck of nature I suppose .... (the fact that I'm Maori has had) a major impact and influence everything I do (participant, individual interview).

Participants' life experiences were commonly talked about in terms of adding to or detracting from, supporting or challenging their primary identity. One participant expressed this position explicitly in relation to herself and professional development in her teaching role:

> ... the other experiences are only an addend, to give me another dimension, it isn't the core. Definitely without a doubt it was my Maori upbringing and the support, the whanau ... (participant, individual interview).

Triandis[8] (1995) points out that individual and collective orientations are better understood as 'a matrix rather than being read as rigid inflexible locations' (pp. 43-52) whether the social group is seen to be either homogeneous or heterogenous[9]. This is particularly pertinent where collectivists and individualist co-exist in the one society. Yinger (1994) maintains that in complex societies identity discourse must concurrently consider notions of power and ideologies of difference. Young (1990) in combining identity and difference suggests that the

> ... meaning of difference submits to the logic of identity. One group occupies the position of norm, against which all others are measured. The attempt to reduce all persons to the unity of common measure constructs as deviant those whose attributes differ from the group-specific attributes implicitly presumed in the norm. The drive to unify the particularity and multiplicity of practices, cultural symbols, and ways of relating in clear and distinct categories turns difference into exclusion (p. 168).

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8 For definition of individualism and collectivism offered by Triandis see previous chapter.

9 Triandis cites for example detectable differences between rural and urban dwellers in Japan, New York state etc.

For Maori, since Colonial contact the politics of identity ascription has had a dual focus: retaining hapu and tribal identities, and the development of secondary pan-tribal amalgams. The purpose of which has been to highlight commonalities between iwi for social and cultural support in urban contexts, or, in order to increase alliances and advance Maori centred aspirations (Durie, M., 1997). The primary authenticating factor in either instance being whakapapa.

The problematic with the term Maori however, as a means of classification and categorisation is derived from the context in which it was coined (Smith, L, 1992; Johnston and Pihama 1995). Smith (L., 1992) argues that although the term is of "Maori vernacular it is a Colonial construct that is as political in nature as is the ideological construct race" (p. 35). Smith further maintains that, "behind this label there lies the lived realities of generations of (Maori) women (p. 35)." The majority of participants explicitly resisted being fractionated and sought integrative ways of centralising self and their understanding the world.

> ... as I was saying before .... I think it's this whole philosophy ..[where].. people say that there's a Maori world and there's a Pakeha world is rubbish - I'm Maori and this whole world's Maori and that's all there is to it. ... people say Maori world - Te ao tawhito ... I believe in my Maori world that there's a Te ao tawhito and there is a Te ao hou ... (participant, paired interview).

Participant's characteristically did not limit being Maori to 'identifiably Maori contexts' nor did they designate themselves as marginal or peripheral. Many did however recognise the disjunction created by colonisation as the demarcation point between te ao tawhito (customary cultural contexts) and te ao hou (current cultural contexts) but argued against either context being perceived as inert.

Identity markers were not perceived to be static nor necessarily homogenous. Differences encompassed customary notions of ordinal placement in whakapapa, linked to hapu and iwi affiliation, and being a whangai. Differences also included contemporary complexities attributed to colonisation and the consequent erosion of what was customarily 'given' or 'taken for granted' from a Maori centred base.

Thus, although identifying as Maori, the varying effects of colonisation meant that commonalities could not be automatically assumed. Characteristics of Maori identity for this group continued to develop over time. What was considered important in this chapter was a means to understand the ways in which the participants wove the threads seen as significant to them. Such identity goes beyond compliance with stereotypical homogenising discourse. It is seen to be coherent and unitary to the extent that being Maori is a constant across contexts even in the face of contradiction, dilemma and paradox.

Chapter Eight
The Briefcase

In the previous chapter the kete was used metaphorically to explore the ways in which the participants wove and continue to weave their self ascribed Maori identity. This chapter is centred on the educational experiences of participants, as students, in educational contexts. The discussion is informed by the metaphoric use of the briefcase. The briefcase, like the kete, is also distinguishable as a cultural repository bringing with it attendant images of class and gender. As noted previously typically briefcases have security mechanisms in the form of buckles, latches, and combination locks that work in tandem to produce a formidable decoding challenge for those unfamiliar with their structural foundations. The metaphor is thus used to represent the multifarious ways in which institutional networks engage and disengage to create interlocking structural and ideological forces that serve to potentially 'lock out' children who reside outside the institutional norm.

As argued in chapter six, networks operate at a number of levels. The establishment of networks extends beyond a connection to people to include interpretative commonalities and shared meanings derived from the ways in which discursive practice is linked to 'knowledge codes' (Boykin and Toms 1985; Harker and McConnchie 1985) and supported in institutional structures and processes. Networks are thus interpreted to include shared meanings, preferred processes, and normalised values and beliefs from which appropriate forms of encounter are derived.

The briefcase marks a cultural boundary in which societal norms and values are typically depicted in universalistic terms. However, a number of writers (Boykin and Toms, 1985; Walker, 1990; Banks, 1994; Smith, G., 1997) argue that schools carry heavy ideological overtones, having traditionally served to promote ideas and outcomes consistent with dominant Anglo Saxon cultural standards. Nevertheless, in spite of cultural bias, liberal principles such as meritocracy continue to promote institutions as neutral contexts as though they provide educational opportunities equally accessible to all. Attaining school credentials requires students outside the norm to decode the

multifarious ways in which dominant hegemonic discourse must be accommodated in order to reveal the filed, life chances contained within.

Understanding the participants' school experiences as students, as argued in chapter three, is important for three reasons.

i) The exclusionary social forces that pervade society at large do not commence during workforceparticipation.

ii) They are evident in schools as microcosms of the societies in which they are embedded.

iii) Thus, it could be reasonably argued that the development of strategies used during workforce participation originate from participants learning to manage life in the multiple, complex, and contradictory worlds they negotiate in their youth.

In other words, they must learn to negotiate effectively what Boykin (1986) calls the triple quar ɹa· y in order to attain the credentials that allow them entry into the profession.

The chapter commences with an overview of the women's reflections of primary and high school experiences, which indicate some of the strategies that they employed to decode the systems that confronted them. While strategies will be specifically addressed in the next chapter, the narratives highlight the developmental challenges these women faced, as they learned how to participate in conflicting and contradictory social systems (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Their early reflections reveal that they were not immune to the inhibitive hegemonic forces (Gramsci, 1971) addressed in cultural and social reproduction theories (Bourdieu, 1977).

The discussion of patu in chapter six illustrated the links and connections that need to be decoded. Many of the necessary connections and links to significant institutional agents and resources are obscured within discourse that centralises individualism. Locating individualism as a central tenet of school based success ignores the extensive networks that privileged children take for granted. Children from the dominant group have access to a number of significant institutional mentors and advocates grounded in the multiple sites where for them cultural support and affirmation resides. It

is found in discursive practice disseminated through curricula, pedagogy, informational networks, structures and processes - none of which are either advanced or engaged with individually. For the women in this study however, not having automatic access to institutional networks makes education an individual competition in what is ultimately a team sport.

Primary School Experiences

The participants entry into educational institutions occurred over a forty year period. One woman commencing school in the 1940's, one in the 1950's, four in the 1960's and two in the 1970's. Table 7.1 overviews the various types of primary schools attended showing that the majority of participants attended small rural schools in communities with both high and low Maori populations. Six of the eight women experienced at least one change in school during primary education.

Figure 8.1 Primary School Experiences

Type	P. 1	P. 2	P. 3	P. 4	P. 5	P. 6	P. 7	P. 8
Urban		*	*					
Rural	*	*		*	*	*	*	*
Full Primary				*	*	*	*	*
Native		*		*				
Intermediate			*					
District High	*							
No. of Sch.	2	2	2	1	1	4	3	2

Notes: P.1 Completed Fm. 1-2 at District High School considered here with primary school experiences.
Key: P = Participant

The following discussion draws together those reflecting firstly on Native school experience, and is followed by Board/General stream primary schools experiences.

Native Schools

Of the eight women, five talked about Native schools. Native schools were established in 1860s and serviced the majority of the Maori school aged population until increased urbanisation in the 1940s (Walker 1990). Three participants clearly identified the schools they attended as Native. Only one of these participants attended the same school throughout primary education, the other

two women had experience of both Board and Native schools. A fourth participant qualified her reflections of the school she attended with: *it was almost a Native school,* indicating that it had probably been a Native school that had changed status prior to their final amalgamation in 1969[1]. The fifth woman who made mention of Native schools identified a number of small rural schools located in Maori communities in which both her parents taught, but was unsure of their status. While attendance at Native schools generally drew positive comments based on proximity to cultural resources and sustained contact with extended whanau, the multiplicity of contradictions between home and school remained a central component of some narratives.

For one participant the difference between a large city school and a Native school helped cement memories of a situation where much of her first experience of school was marked by incidents of *running away, running home'* to eventually *moving home* after the death of a kuia.

> What stood out I guess it was that I attended a Native school but prior to that I first went to a mainstream Pa'.e'ia school ... until my grandmother died and then we went back home, home, my mo'.er went back to look after her father. But what was significant I guess fo m' . at five years of age, was this fear of school. I guess you'd call it being cultura'.y .afe. It was a predominantly Pakeha city school, and what I remember from those years was not wanting to be at school and going home. So I'd run away, I'd run back home, I'd go back home, I'd walk off back home. ... that was the first thing I just wasn't comfortable there, I didn't like school (participant, individualinterview).

Home and *home/home* in this dialogue makes the distinction between the physical structure in an urban context in which the participant's nuclear family resided, while *home/home* indicates the deeper connection to extended whanau and the geographical location in which whanau history was embedded.

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[1] Openshaw, Lee and Lee (1993) maintain that differences in curriculum content had historically created tensions between Maori communities and the state. Hence at the time of transition from centralised government to regional board of education control there was evidence of both support and resistance to the changed status by Maori. During the time frame in which the majority of participants attended primary, of the 157 Native Schools in existence in 1956 only 59 (37.6%) had transferred to board control prior to 1969. Demographic changes saw seven schools close altogether due to falling rolls; thirty two consolidated into another school; one changed status from primary to secondary and nineteen changed as a result of mutual agreement (ibid). As Maori communities were required to negotiate with state agencies for the establishment of such schools it seems likely that they would have been familiar with due process had they chosen to transfer prior to legislative measures that required transition, no such desire, in spite of claims by the then Director of Education, A. E. Campbell's statement (1962 cited in Openshaw, Lee and Lee 1994) to the contrary that, "greater interest in transition" was evident, little movement occurred by mutual agreement within the time frame.

> I think I might have been about seven, or there abouts when we went back home and I attended the Native school ..., and the change happened for me there, I s'pose I felt comfortable because I was now back amongst cousins and relations, whanau which was the difference ... the difference in the Native schools, was there was an emphasis on our culture. ... the parents, the whanau - definitely that. And because of the fact that most of the school were Maori comes lots of other things, you immediately have an instant affinity, you're just the same as everybody else in a way, it's normal (participant,individualinterview).

The sense of *culture* in schools indicates a familiarity with school not evident in her earlier experience. The network of whanau and cultural peers provides a context where being Maori is the norm, recognising *you're just the same.* Further qualifying the statement with *in a way* does not homogenise the group; rather it suggests that in other ways the group could be diverse. Diversity was later expressed in terms of varying interests and aspirations.

The second participant also talked about her experiences in a Native school in terms of supporting a positive self esteem and the security offered within a stable, decipherable environment, where *confidence* developed *amongst culturally similar kids.*

> One of the major influences on reflection is that I went to a primary school that was a Native school, a full primary and the majority of children there were Maori, so I went from new entrants, what would then have been called primers, right through the first eight years of education with basically, the same kids. They very rarely changed, it was a momentous occasion if it changed. I also would have been considered a high performer, ... So I actually had a good feeling about myself. I had a big ego, on reflection, and a very good self esteem - a major milestone would be when it came to deciding what high school I went to ... (participant, individual interview).

In contrast the ways in which *our culture* provided the focus for the first two participants was not a view consistently expressed by all Native school attendees.

For one participant in particular, her experience of two Native schools and one board school provided one consistent implicit message; *the ultimate goal in school was to get to that European stage.*

> ... in my early primary school years I went to a Native school it was - I would say ninety eight percent Maori for the majority, their first language was Maori so my sister and I stuck out like a sore thumb because we were first language English speakers and although our teachers were Maori ... I always felt that there was a type

> of barrier to learning ... we were moulded into the Janet and John type books - I can honestly say I never enjoyed those books or the illustrations because we didn't know anyone that was blonde, that even had a white horse - we had horses but they didn't look the same ... So you had teachers who were teaching this idealised curriculum with those hidden messages about what was seen as nice and acceptable - and they weren't us. Even as a young child I can remember I was always aware of this and I was confused really because we had a brown face teaching us about something that was ... (contrary to what we did at home) pictures and illustrations and stories that weren't us. I knew that, I think, mainly because we had our mother who used to always point out those Pakeha pictures, and our father who used to always say to us "you're beautiful with dark skin" ... and all those sort of things. That's what I can remember most about it. ... it was the way in which we were taught that stood out in my mind. The hidden messages that what we were like at home was never good enough (participant, individual interview).

The staffing of Native schools by Maori teachers exacerbated contradictions for this participant who had difficulty of meshing the differences evident between Maori teachers in the classroom and the community of which she was a part. Many Maori teachers according to policy had either themselves been apprenticed - under qualified staff into replicating assimilative practices - or removed from Maori communities themselves to be educated in the ways of 'the European'. Smith (L, 1986) maintains that Maori teachers as successful products of the system were equally subject to 'operating from similarly deficit indexes' (p. 2) as Non-Maori staff. The prevailing view of Maori deviancy was embedded within the frameworks that defined professional competency. Maori and Non-Maori staff were taught the same Eurocentric curricula, expected to emulate the same Eurocentric pedagogical practice and assess according to the same Eurocentric parameters. Keri Kaa, reflecting on her school experience, maintains that Maori teachers were, "... trained in **that** mould, worse than Pakeha teachers" (cited in Selby 1995, p. 1).

The participant's mother, identifying the *Pakeha pictures* was the same woman (in the previous chapter) who had consciously pushed English as a first language. Mum became a critical buffer between home and school. *If anything smacked of racism mum would march straight up there and sort it out.* In one instance challenging a teacher in front of the class to recognise that *these kids are not uncivilised.* Although English was seen to be particularly important to mum, it is evident that it was not to be accomplished at the detriment of being Maori. Making distinctions between pictures that privileged *Pakeha* lifestyles combined with her insistence that the children would speak

English suggests that Maori English speakers would look and behave differently to what was pictorially represented by European characters with English text. While this woman's mother wanted opportunities for her children, these were to be achieved in terms of 'adding to' rather than at the 'cost of' her sense of *Maoriness.* The participant goes on to enumerate further distinctions between staff and community:

> ... our community had a different way of dressing, your good wear was totally different to what the teachers would wear, they had those straight skirts and those twin sets and even their hair was done differently. It was like there was no acceptance of the fact that they had beautiful curly hair and you didn't need to iron it - because that's what they used to do. They used to iron it and wear a lot of make up when they were in fact beautiful without it. They were sort of buying into all those sorts of things and their lunches, that's what I remember most - their lunches - even their Kai they adapted to Pakeha ways ... the teachers you'd see them with their sandwiches and yet we blinking well knew at home, you know, they weren't into having sandwiches with those sorts of fillings (participant, individual interview).

Observing staff in social situations within the community provided insight into the chameleon like existence of Maori teachers. How teachers behaved, what they ate and how they dressed in either context indicated what stock of cultural capital was being drawn upon and the student expectations that would be set. The notion of difference and cultural capital, expressed by five of the participants, centred on graphic descriptions of kai. Some of these descriptions were comparative in nature, including not only the type of kai but also etiquette: manners, whether it was shared or not, what it was wrapped in, and even the value of their kai in the market place. *I didn't have much bargaining power with a peanut butter sandwich with last nights news on it. Dad's response was it would improve my literacy skills.*

For the same participant, noted above, moving to a second Native school provided insight into dilemmas of a different type centred on levels of English competency.

> ... they were all my cousin there. When we're talking Pakeha terms they were either my first, second, or third cousins. That(s) where my mother was born and brought up. ... it was almost a one hundred percent Maori roll ... and our teachers were Pakehas. I actually enjoyed that school. I particularly enjoyed that school because there were only about twenty pupils and they used to do that 'Maori thing', but they'd bring in somebody to do weaving, and of course they'd bring in our Aunty ... now this is my mum's first cousin, they were always very close. Now if they had known anything about our community they would not have chosen Aunty ... because (if they were aware of the community politics they would have chosen someone else) the teachers chose Aunty because she could speak English fluently and she had all the

> airs and graces of somebody who I suppose Pakehas would say you know was a 'well civilised Maori'. ... so she used to come in for those Maori lessons ... actually that highlighted to me that the teachers really didn't know much about us ...
> ... we (my sister and I) were sort of differentiated from the rest of the kids .... we were (singled out by) one of the teachers remarking how well spoken my sister and I were ... 'it's most unusual because these little Maori girls they actually speak differently to other Maori children, what lovely high voices like our European children' - mum thought that was great- I thought it was insulting - and our voices were a little bit higher pitched than the rest of our cousins so this teacher used to teach us to play the piano... all those sort of things they persevered with her and I in learning to read and tell the time more than with the other children. I actually think now, when I look back on it, they thought that, oh you know, 'these children are more likely to get to that Pakeha stage'. They're more educable because of those mannerisms that we had (participant, individual interview).

Stanton-Salazar (1997) suggest, institutional agents can be at the same time potentially 'life altering and problematic' (p. 163) making sustained mentorship difficult to establish and maintain. The hegemonic evaluation and recruitment processes, identified by the participant, by which teaching staff evaluate and select Maori students for sponsorship largely entails teacher perceptions of the student's ability, and possible willingness, to adopt the cultural capital and standards of the dominant group. The power of the teacher lies in their ability to give or withhold knowledge, to contextualise it and decide how to best assess it. Stanton-Salazar (1997) maintains that the power of institutional agents also comes from their ability to situate youth within resource rich social networks by persevering and "actively manipulating the social and institutional forces that determine who shall 'make it' and who shall not" (p. 164). A further problematic in this context, is that sponsorship detrimentally differentiates the participant from cousins who provide this woman with other forms of cultural support. Teacher's lack of awareness of local politics also undermines their authority - even when consequent choices were superficially made in favour of the participant. The biggest undermining factor was that being singled out by staff meant differentiated treatment by cousins. Although school was enjoyed at this location it was not without contradiction and hard won acceptance, found at times as a result of physical altercations, as this woman fought with her cousins to counter the distance and distrust between peers caused by selective (individualising) promotion practices used by staff.

> ... they tagged me as being snooty ... but that didn't last long because I'd stand up and fight whereas my brother and sister, they withdrew (participant, individual interview).

Participants exposed to general stream education had mixed reactions to their primary school experiences. Some of the women recognised that marginalising processes based primarily on ethnicity could combine with other factors, such as class and gender, to further complicate experiences. This same women in her third school reflects that:

> ... it wasn't so much a division of race it was a division of class in that particular school because you had the farmers and they were quite wealthy and then you had all the mill children who were very poor. In this mill community there were majority of Maori but also a lot of Pakeha so you had that poor brown, poor white syndrome and then you had the better off white community ...
>
> ... within that particular community as far as being a pupil was concerned, I did notice that with the teacher there was more done for the farming community than there was for the mill children because the farming community were the people, you know, when you had working bees and you had school committees it was always them that were there and the only mill person of course was my mother, she was on all the committees(participant,individualinterview).

Where institutional links to the participant are not overtly obvious, mum's participation forms a sustaining connection between the two contexts. Mum's frequent intervention and presence on school committees particularly in Board schools provided a critical bridging mechanism, maintaining a physical presence in unfamiliar territory. Her further willingness to challenged both ideological assumptions and structures that were seen to be detrimental to the participant's advancement provided a reliable cross-boundary link that was frequently called upon.

> Our mother used to teach us table manners and she went down there to complain, being a very vocal woman, that teachers shouldn't treat us like that we're not uncivilised. So after that we never ever got taught about table manners and good lunches and things like that (participant, individual interview).

The ability of significant whanau members, particularly women in many of the narratives, to provide scaffolds between home (the kete) and school (the briefcase) by holding and claiming space in organisational forums increased access to networks in schools not automatically extended to other *poor Maori or poor Pakeha children.*

While all three participants focused on the commonality of whakapapa amongst students, proximity to Marae, influences of kuia and koroua, and significant geographical features as important factors contributing to their sense of security - other variables were contradictory. Variances in teacher

expectations, implicit messages transmitted through the hidden curriculum (embedded in core values and beliefs held by staff), and the number of ways in which curricula content could be arranged and taught, often made it difficult to make generalisations based on the type of school attended.

Cultural replacement underpinning school process and structures indicated by the third participant, were by and large perpetuated by both Maori and Non-Maori staff. The contradiction for this particular participant involved interaction with Maori teachers that contributed to school based *confusion* through contrary dress codes, behaviour and expectations. Contrary ideological notions of what constituted *good or appropriate behaviour,* detectable by students, in the distribution of rewards and punishment and endorsed in curricula material, added to learning experiences that often offered *no hooks to hang things on.* Furthermore the cogent, latent messages communicated to students about deficiencies and deviancy from institutional norms juxtaposed against community lifestyles introduced a range of negative connotations related to difference. Promoting ideological assumptions about the supremacy of institutional discourse served to obstruct the development of positive sustaining networks with institutional agents. This was the case particularly for the third participant, even in instances when staff afforded her extra attention based on the belief she was most likely to replicate institutional behaviours and mannerisms.

Board/General Schools

Two participants had parents and other whanau members as teachers. Both expressed high levels of satisfaction with primary school experiences. The status of the schools they attended, as previously stated, was uncertain. One participant qualified her reflections with *it was almost a Native School* while the other participants parents having taught primarily in small, rural Maori communities marked by images, such as, *the kuia with a moko living down the road* in remote locations also indicated the possibility that some may have been designated native. This participant having grown up in school houses next to the schools in which her parents worked, the other having spent time in Aunty's class during holidays, equipped them with a sense of familiarity with,

and access to, knowledge of school structures and processes. Familiarity with institutional expectations eased their induction into school based networks that include significant mentors and advocates with whom they had a sustained, meaningful relationship. For one, the succession of schools created *a blur of happy times in small rural predominantly Maori communities.* For the second, she remained in the same locality throughout her schooling, staying for a time with her grandparents while her family moved when dad secured a principalship.

The latter participant had little contact with teachers who were not her parents and no contact with Non-Maori staff prior to boarding school.

> I don't have a lot of memories of actual school but I can remember there being quite happy times ... Because my parents were teachers we moved around a lot to different schools and dad got headmaster's jobs at various places (participant, individual interview).

Two other participants talked about being the only Maori families attending rural schools. For the first woman attempts to decode implicit messages at school provided vague feelings of difference that remained unarticulated at the time, which caused confusion and uncertainty.

> I think I was a bit confused, I remember primary school because we were the only Maori family. We were brought up on a dairy farm and the majority of the community were farmers of some sort. I distinctly recall being the only Maori family attending this school. It was a two teacher school but even then at a young age I didn't know why but I always felt ... like somebody had something against us, and it was because of the colour of our skin - but it took me years to work out that, that was the reason... It was funny because like we'd do well at something and then you'd feel the pressures of everyone else trying to beat you or making sure that they did succeed. And I used to wonder why and it wasn't till later in life I realised that that's what was happening to me even though I didn't really realise it at the time.
>
> ... I know what it did for me and my sisters especially, is that we strove to succeed and we strove to be the best there at school and at the end of the day, we were getting prizes and merit awards ... but then there were times when the teacher used to drop us out of the tennis team because he'd put his son in and we knew that we were better than his son and always wondered how come - just little things like that happening. ... but we were very competitive in all aspects, sporting, schooling, very competitive... My brother is the oldest but he didn't have the same drive that we did - I don't know if he felt that way, I didn't even bother to ask my sisters if they felt the same way but we definitely all followed the same line (participant, individual interview).

Five of the women identified sport as a significant connective coupling to institutional sponsors, cultural peers and further school based opportunities. Sport also provided further avenues in which to excel, opportunities to travel and to *get out of school* and *communities.* Of equal importance, sport provided an avenue through which links could be sustained, particularly in high schools where streaming separated participants from their Maori peers. Playing sport was not however without its contradiction: it fed stereotypes of what *Maori were supposed to be good at* while also being used as the ultimate control mechanism; *being stood down* or *sidelined* often built resentment and highlighted inequities when justification was not given.

Being the only Maori at school in rural communities suggests that at least for some Maori, whanau experiences of rural 'pepper potting' (Walker 1990, p. 198) meant automatic access to cultural resources could not be assumed. In such instances, school experiences of vague discomfort were endorsed in the communities in which they were located.

> The other kids were ok[illegible] it was more the adults ... like I could go to a friend's house and the parents would be saying sh sh sh and you feel it, you don't understand because of your age what's going on but, you know there's definitely something there - why they're whispering about you or maybe they don't want you to stay overnight. It wasn't everyone in the community but there were just certain people (participant, individual interview).

In contrast, another participant cited common farming experiences, and the fact that they were all *just a bunch of farmers*, as the foundation of positive community relations.

> ... lots of friends, small community and everyone just talks to each other and they just sort of live like one big happy family. All they talked about was how many cows you've got, how may cows have calved ... all that sort of stuff, and that was just farming life (participant, individual interview).

In relation to school this participant maintains,

> ... life was life, you didn't really think about how it was, it was just what happened. Primary was about sports ... Education wasn't a very big thing, well you know, you didn't think of education as 'being education' ... although I do remember hating having to start kapahaka songs.

In spite of citing harmonious relations in the community not all school experiences were seen to have the same effect on this woman as her non-Maori peers. In this instance, school was seen to be the site where difference was first defined.

> I do remember being about standard three and they did a study on Mori-oris and how they were the first indigenous people of New Zealand and how Maoris just came along and attacked them ... I just thought oh my god that's me, I'm a Maori, that must have been me. ... I suppose it was when I figured out - oh my god I'm different. I'm not the same as everybody else in my class. ... and I think just finding out that you were a murderer once upon a time, or your ancestors were murderers, and not doing the same for the Pakeha kids in the school. We didn't study that way but that's how I felt... you know ... not particularly me being cast as something, but it was the little bells in my head just went off the hook. That's me, I'm a Maori aren't I? And I suppose that was the first realisation of gawd, I'm dark skinned, you're not. ... I'm going to go home and look in the mirror (participant, individual interview).

Maori content in curricula fossilised in time and European content depicted as evolving and dynamic, provides false dichotomies of static Maori knowledge juxtaposed with developing European knowledge bases. The non-critical approach to curricula ignores the differential and distancing effects content has on diverse student groups. The hidden message of Maori as barbaric and uncivilised embedded in the overt curriculum is personalised with *that's me, I'm Maori aren't I,* implicitly challenging her to internalise externally imposed views of deviancy. The scenario provides a number of choices for the participant i) acceptance of a lesser status as deviant; ii) disconnecting or submerging identity with the attendant psychological acquiescence to dominant hegemonic views and sense of shame; or iii) disengaging from the system. The problematic lies not in an isolated incident of difference but in the potentially disconnecting effects from institutional agents and networks that become characterised by distance and distrust (Fine 1991). Onwurah (1997), an African woman film maker, provides a typology of her school experiences commencing with, a scrubbing phase, physically attempting to divest herself of colour, then apologising or psychologically acquiescing to dominant notions of difference, and finally fighting for her skin colour as one of the only black family schooled in a white British community. Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988 and Banks 1994) also argue that moving from the position of shame to one of struggle and resistance is common amongst ethnic and linguistic minority groups.

For the third participant, long bus journeys marked the boundaries between home and school. Both the physical and ideological distance was clearly defined by *vivid memories of just walking. I can remember just walking and walking and walking to the bus stop and then the bus trip to school.* Though fatigue featured highly in her reflections of her first school, *I don't think I did anything*

anyway I just sat there in a stupor, moving to another rural community with a higher Maori population alludes to dimensions of what is *taken* and what was *given back* in school.

> ... another very similar sized school - different community though, I mean went from a rural white rural farming community to (a place) where we had Pakeha farmers but it was also right in the middle of a rural town which had a high number of Maori coastal workers. So you had your fishermen and then you had your shearers and your labourers and your farmhands so it had a very transient sort of a population. They moved in and out ... School was O.K. I was very sport minded because sport got you out of the community.
>
> ... I was expelled on the on my last day of form two though. .. A teacher went too far in and one of the things she said to a friend, singling her out because she wouldn't normally say anything, she wouldn't defend herself so, I think, the teacher used her as a target but was talking to all of us really. Well anyway, I jumped in and of course one thing led to another... I actually got really angry and I overdid it I mean as a form two I overdid it. I had to go into the Principal's office and talk to her and then they rang up my parents and - I got a huge hiding from dad and a whack from my mother and then mum told me I had to apologise and that I had to sort it out ... I did, for my mother's sake. But in the apology I told her I'm only apologising because my parents are making me not because I wanted to ... the principal heard, it was on the last day of school and he expelled me.

Criticism couched in terms of cultural characteristics is difficult to cope with. Where reprimands for being late, for example, require better time management, phrases such as she's operating on Maori time suggest the problem lies in being Maori and becomes the focus of change (not so easily nor desirably accomplished from the child's point of view). Where the important links with institutional agents are missing the support mechanisms developed between peers are fiercely defended, placing this participant at odds with the system. The dilemma is that the very thing the institution sees as problematic - talking back - increases her status, *mana amongst mates.*

Although this participant often saw herself *standing there and taking it,* tolerance levels when exceeded, created contexts where, like other participants, she would not back down. Believing derogatory comments to be unjust and unwarrantedly directed at a child less likely to respond creates the motivation to intercede. Support in such situations is difficult, particularly where power differentials between institutional structures and students are immense and parental discomfort with the system placed some women in situations where they were expected to *sort it out.* The lack of significant links to people in positions of power in school seriously restricts institutional tolerance and advocacy for groups othered by the system (Boykin 1986). This in turn increases reliance on

peers for acceptance and support. However, when unprepared to acquiesce to the powers of the institution, the situation quickly escalates to a point where the positive underlying intent of action is lost and the observable outcome results in expulsion.

In spite of resisting aspects of school the participant saw herself not only as *a fairly outgoing kid so I adapted well to any social situation that came along* but also a *conformist*, doing what was required at school.

> I basically was a conformist in the school system, I did what I needed to do to get through, to make life bearable and that was about it ... I think I was naturally able to cover the curriculum quite easily. I can remember in standard four having to do form two maths and all that sort of stuff ... but generally, I used to do exactly what I needed to get through and no more, then I'd be out. - like the teacher would say you have to do a page of such and such for a story I'd do my page and that's it. ... so I worked out at a really early stage what I needed to do to survive and then no more ... I would say none of the stuff really interested me to any great depth - none of it was relevant to me or anything I did really (participant, individual interview).

The inability of teachers and the system to provide clear links between curriculum relevant to Maori children, acted as a disincentive for her to do anything more than what was minimally required - the participant recognised her own ability to do more, but there was little motivation. The participant, along with one other, suggested that their work ethic at school was a consequence of teacher expectations (see Simon 1986). One maintained that she realised, particularly in secondary but also evident in primary school that if you were Maori *half pie was ka pai;* meaning that, with no view of excellence offered or expected of Maori children half an effort fulfilled school expectations of Maori. Stanton-Salazar (1997) identifies two factors that make problematic opportunities to acquire consistent and routine access to institutional knowledge. The first relates to students' receptivity, based on whether it is perceived to be meaningful and relevant to the student's experiences and their anticipated life chances. The second is situated in the structural dependence 'upon non familial institutional agents and school based networks for the acquisition of institutional discourses' (p 164-165). Stanton-Salazar and Dornbush (1995) argues that dependence on institutional relationships, however, is highly problematic, primarily because relations between minority children and institutional agents is often 'characterised by distance and distrust' (p. 159).

Three participants made reference to obscure shifting parameters by which work was judged - leaving these woman to attribute success to luck rather than making any connection between what they did and feed back given. Harker (1990) suggests that cultural capital criteria is often invisible, unarticulated and fluid allowing those in positions of power to move the parameters of acceptability in school and employment based contexts. Shifting parameters vacillate between assessment of curricula content, style, language codes, and mannerisms to maintain divisions between those who reflect the cultural capital endorsed by school and those who do not.

> I can remember scoring well on tests, one of my mates, she was a Pakeha girl and used to score really high in everything she did, any projects and all sorts of things because they always gave her really high marks for trying and I used to think why the hell would I bust my guts out to try ... when I know they'd give her A1 for effort, and she would deserve it, but it wasn't the same for me, that's what I used to think, nah it's not worth it ... it's no use me busting my guts if I'm not going to get any recognition for it, so I didn't (participant, individual interview).

This participant also reiterates comments from other participants about institutional funds of knowledge as a structure and a process of exclusion.

> (Teachers) used to talk about stories and things that I wouldn't have a clue about - even though we were a rural family they'd talk about horse riding and going hunting with foxes and hounds and stuff like that and I mean we never did that we had no access to horses whatsoever and when people went hunting no one I knew wore those riding outfits or had pig dogs that even remotely resembled hounds, so even though we'd nod and pretend that we knew what they were talking about we hadn't a clue. I mean our rural lifestyle was going and picking spuds and for hours on end turning the potato fields over so my uncle could come along and put them in the bags and things like that ... (participant, individual interview).

In summary, primary experiences varied across sites although some common threads are evident. Of the four women who expressed the greatest satisfaction with primary school, two had parents who were teachers and the other two attended Native schools. The remaining four participants spoke of school as *school being school,* it was a place where you learnt to *take the good with the bad.* For the latter group school experiences were interspersed with episodes of uncertainty and confusion regarding their status and place in the system. This negated primary school being seen as an overall rewarding experience.

Factors across the whole group that facilitated the establishment of links with school included:

- Significant whanau members who had a visible role in school although one participant (attending a native school) indicated promotion of whanau members by school staff (for instrumental purposes) showed lack of awareness of community politics particularly when community members who best reflected European mannerisms and behaviours were chosen to teach Maori crafts.
- Whanau members who were either teachers or had been successful in schools.
- Whanau links amongst peers.
- Close proximity to cultural resources and wider whanau networks in and out of school.
- Opportunities to excel that did not negate values and beliefs such as sport.

Other factors made it difficult to integrate oneself into institutional networks.

- Exclusive curricula content that either ignored Maori altogether or conversely presented Maori as deviant as in history or social studies.
- Subliminal messages of secondary status manifest in the values and beliefs of staff members and parents of non-Maori peers.
- Recognition that half pie was ka pai; little recognition of excellence for Maori therefore not challenged to excel or offered extension.
- Selective mentorship occurring in ways that singled out participants from cultural peers in ways that evoked ridicule from peers.

For some the challenge to their cultural identity commenced early in their educational experiences. For others, primary school provided secure places of acceptance that did not prepare them for the contradictions they would face at secondary school.

Secondary School

This section explores the issues and experiences of secondary schooling. Figure 7.2 provides an overview of the types of secondary institutions attended. Significantly, five of the eight participants were 'boarders', with three of the five entering Maori Girls Boarding schools. Six of the women spent either all, or, the majority of secondary school in single sexed educational environments. Half

of these women experienced a change of school during critical stages in their senior years, that is, either during fifth, sixth or seven form. These years are critical as the successful completion of each is dependant on external examinations that either expand or limit career choice. New environments exacerbate the need to establish solid institutional links that are time consuming in their establishment and difficult to maintain.

Figure 8.2 Secondary School Experiences

Type	P.1	P.2	P.3	P.4	P.5	P.6	P.7	P.8
Urban Co. Ed	*		*					
Urban Girls		*	*	*			*	
Rural Co. Ed		*						
Maori Board.	*				*	*		
Catholic Board.							*	*
Correspond							*	
No. of schools	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	1

Key: P = Participant

Secondary school experiences are discussed according to the type of school attended. For those that attended more than one school their experiences are considered with the type of school in which they spent the most time.

Maori Girls Boarding Schools

Although they were physically separated from whanau the women attending Maori Boarding Schools, expressed greater satisfaction with schooling than either single sex day schools, co-educational or solely church based boarding schools. Maori Boarding Schools were also church based. Although two of the participants attending these schools were affiliated to the same religious denomination as those who attended a solely church based school, experiences were polarised. The difference suggested was not based on any particular religious denomination affecting experiences, but rather based on links to whanau and a context in which being Maori was 'normalised'. In addition, many Maori boarding schools boasted a history of attracting the *creme of*

Maori society. They were perceived by the majority of participants (both those who did and those who did not attend) to offer distinct advantages to those who were educated in these contexts. This was the case even in instances where participants recognised there were no obvious differences with regard to curriculum options, timetabling or external examinations which were seen to be constant across sites. In Maori boarding schools the sense of familiarity and anticipated acceptance was developed prior to entering high school through extended whanau connections. The women prior to attending were exposed to the favourable ways in which Maori communities viewed the schools and the graduates who came from them.

For three participants, separation from whanau, the size of schools, and the relocation to urban centres provided the most common adjustment issues marking their transition from primary to secondary schools.

> As I mentioned my aunt (the newly appointed as matron) was there so that helped me adjust, she was a good back up support because we were new, she was new we were all new at the same time, and I had a few cousins in there and good friendships developed ... forming friendships helped cope, and doing the school work. And also being part of all the sports teams. ... but you know the teachers - they weren't all Maori staff, there were Non-Maori staff there and they were really good because they saw what kind of person you were - I guess they could see what different ones had to offer and they'd encourage you to foster that. So that was good because I remember my teachers were really encouraging. If you wanted to do this or do that they encouraged you to (participant, individual interview).

Staff willing and able to *encourage and foster* participants provided messages about ability that were not predicated on a chameleon like existence; compatibility of being Maori and being capable were socially accepted norms. Further to this, teachers' delivery styles, and the implicit values and beliefs regarding the abilities of students provided an environment conducive to success unattached to the same cost to self experienced by those outside such contexts.

A participant who attended a different Maori Girls' school, coped with the transition which meant separation from parents who had provided most of her primary school education. But she also spoke of initial apprehension. This was overcome by the development of extensive, ongoing relationships.

> ... the boarding school that I went to only had a hundred and twenty girls but I still found it overwhelmed me, it was the biggest school I'd ever been to. ... The biggest support for me, was that I had cousins who started at the same time, so there were a couple of the girls that I knew and then as the years went on an another couple of cousins started and then my sister came so it wasn't so bad after that. I tried to get involved in sport and in cultural things as much as I could and really enjoyed them and I s'pose at that level I was pretty mediocre, pretty average. I mean there were outstanding sportswomen and outstanding performers. I mean the Maori Boarding schools were sort of attracting the cream of Maori society then ... But - yeah it was just a difficult time. I found that I got on well with my teachers and I had some excellent role models, excellent teachers not so much the principal and those ones who were in those management positions but my English teacher who I still love and still keep in contact with, my maths teacher who I just loved. These women were Pakeha - probably my first Pakeha teachers that I had and they were just wonderful people, they were wonderful women.
>
> What was wonderful about them?
>
> I think they brought a freshness to my life. They said, oh okay, life has given you this plate, what about having a look at this plate here and what about having a look here and what do you see, can you turn around and have a look at this, what is it saying - can you criticise it, whereas before I think I was handed a plate and accepted it. I thought oh yeah okay that's how things are, I'll just accept that, whereas I think these women challenged our thinking and said hold on, do you have to take this as it is? ... I think they made us look at things quite differently and if you ask a lot of girls who went through boarding school with me at that same time, they would have the same feeling for the same teachers (participant, individual interview).

While adjustment difficulties were expressed, the ability to embed oneself in networks that incorporated whanau, peers, knowledge codes, and staff as mentors and role models provide the foundation for overcoming initial apprehension. The forms of knowledge intimated extends beyond academic, task specific and technical funds of knowledge to what Stanton-Salazar (1997) identifies as access to institutionally sanctioned discourses, problem solving knowledge and network development knowledge. Institutional discourses incorporate the acceptable ways of using language and communicating in such contexts. Problem solving knowledge connects to funds of knowledge that provide keys to solving school related problems and making decisions that help reach either personal or collective goals. Finally knowledge leading to skilful network behaviour in institutional contexts creates links that integrate students in supportive adult and peer networks, providing access to extended curricula knowledge, bureaucratic and informational channels that connect with further opportunities external to the institution.

The requirement for all students to participate in cultural activities provided the scope to recognise that expertise was contingent on more than just being Maori. Being part of the group didn't blind participants to individual skills held by peers. Rather, it inspired an appreciation of attendant skills, diverse abilities and work ethic. Learning was seen to be *exciting* when given the opportunity to establish links with institutional knowledge codes based on analytic and critical skills rather than being *handed a plate and accept(ing) it.*

Nevertheless, the constant need to renegotiate access to previously acquired funds of knowledge and new ones creates a two step forward and one step back tumble lock effect where combinations fall in and out of place. Proactive attempts to access 'knowledge of labour and education markets' (Stanton-Salazar 1997, p 164) are hindered by agents that act as gatekeepers by denying the participant the career information sought. Hence confidence developed by staff with whom the participant had sustained contact did not prevent perceptions of Maori, external to her supportive environment, from encroaching on her educational experience.

> How did teaching as a career option come about?
>
> There were a group of us who bandied the idea around I think and made joking remarks,
> "oh yeah we could become teachers", but I don't think we meant it and think part of it was that we didn't think we were good enough for the profession. We had these wonderful role models but we saw them sort of way up here and we were down here. I think the turning point for me came when I went for an interview with a careers person ... somebody came and visited. There were two of us who went in and we said, "we'd like to look at a career possibly in physiotherapy" and the person said, "well you have to be quite bright for that",
> and that struck me and it's still here, still in my head. I still carry it around with me and I can remember being shocked at somebody telling me that, "you have to be quite bright". The words were harmless enough, but the way he said it implied we weren't or couldn't be and so after that you know the bandying around of becoming teachers sort of became - I'll show them. I sort of thought maybe the teaching thing isn't such a laugh, ... eight of us got (U.E.) sitting and so we thought maybe that teaching wasn't such a pie in the sky thought (participant, individual interview).

Though the girls were given one view of themselves at school they were not completely free from wider societal perceptions of themselves, or, of their abilities as Maori. In spite of the number of supportive role models in positions of authority, the infrequent negative messages served to

undermine confidence. Hyper-sensitivity to tone and body language added meaning to comments *you have to be quite bright for that.* The internal conflict caused by significant institutional agents denying access to career information based on preconceived notions of Maori capabilities makes problematic the participant's need to integrate being Maori and holding professional aspirations. Even though the comment provided the motivation *to show him*, physiotherapy was not pursued as a career choice. Career choice became instead, a matter of looking at options where there was security in numbers.

The third woman's experience of a Maori Girls Boarding School and an urban co-educational school amplifies the issue of vulnerability raised by the previous participant. The two sites provide contrasting views of her as a Maori. Third form through to sixth form spent in a Maori girls' boarding school with older sisters, provided an institutional culture that was decipherable. In this context stereotypical identity markers (based on singing ability that had been part of primary school experience) were not an issue. As with the previous participant, this woman also recognised that commonality also embraced diversity.

> The first impressions was yuk! Of course being moved from home but I had sisters who were already there anyway so it was like follow the line, all the senior kids knew me, ... so they all looked after you really well. When I look back on going to secondary school, I really loved it really, once I settled in ... when you look back on it, it's really neat, because I suppose it was different that everyone all thought the same, we liked the same sort of things, lived in the same sort of homes. ... and of course they never asked me to start any Kapahaka songs - the competition was too great and some of the girls did it so beautifully (participant, individual interview).

However general stream education during seventh form presented a different scenario, reducing diversity to superficial stereotypes.

> I remember being in seventh form hating every minute of it. Being the only Maori, and bunking, disgustingly bunking lots, that's all I remember about seventh form, hated it ... I did seventh form Maori by correspondence and I taught the fifth and sixth form Maori correspondence classes which was probably the only thing that kept me turning up.
>
> What was it that you disliked?
>
> I hated not being in a place that I was used to I think, when I look back on it, you know, it wasn't a bad school, or anything like that. I hated the cattiness of the girls

> and being the only Maori and being obviously **knowing**. It really stuck in my mind, I'm the only Maori in seventh form - probably because I'd just come from (a Maori Girls Boarding school) ... another thing I remember is when we had our English exam, getting top marks and being told, "oh you must have cheated". I thought to myself - no I didn't cheat, I didn't cheat, I just enjoyed that. "Oh no you must have cheated". You know, and from then on I just stopped. Just stopped working.
>
> Where did the comment come from?
>
> It was from another student ... I just didn't feel that I had anyone that I could talk to about it... and every break I had or every free period, I would just go home or hit the beach or go shopping anything, anything just to get out of school (participant, individualinterview).

Countering stereotypical assumptions about being Maori and intellectual capacity became an ongoing struggle once back in general stream. Being *dumb - less knowing* might have provided more acceptance, whereas being academically capable created problems for herself, her peers, and a system which chose to challenge the individual not fitting the stereotype rather than the ideological assumptions and institutional structures which perpetuate them.

> What would have made it better for you then?
>
> ... probably having a mate, a real friend someone you take home, someone you'd go out with on weekends. Although in saying that there were a bunch of girls that I used to hang out with, I mean they were really nice but they just.... weren't into the same things I was into at that age ... my dad said if you stay you can have the car so he gave it to me ...
>
> How did you find the staff?
>
> Oh the staff, you know at secondary how you have a home room teacher, he was just awesome, absolutely awesome and I could tell him, "I don't want to come to class", he'd say, "why not", "cos they're white and I don't want to go there". He used to say, "oh yep, yeah that's true". He said, "just go have a good time, that's all your seventh form's about, is just having a good time".
>
> Was he Maori?
>
> No
>
> So how did he deal with "they're all white"?
>
> Well I didn't know how else to say it then really, I mean everything was just dumb then, Chemistry was dumb, people were dumb - you know -and he just used to laugh, laugh at me and say "yeah I know what you mean", and "yes I can understand where you're coming from" and I would think yeah man I hate going to chemistry, it's so boring in there, no one has any fun in chemistry like we used to. So he said,

> "just don't go, just so long as you have a good time this year ... make that your aim for the entire year that you're going to enjoy yourself. Just do it", so he stood up for me heaps. Because I was living in town with my aunt when school would supposedly start and hit the beach, come back by three ... (participant, individual interview).

An alternative reading of this *awesome* staff member is offered here. The participant's story tells of sought after acceptance and understanding in an ideologically hostile environment. A second reading could reasonable question the professional ethic of the staff member's action. On the one hand he is well liked but maintains his popularity at the cost of his professional role and the potential life chances of this participant. His non-judgemental stance over the participant's choice of words earns him loyalty from the student while never seriously challenging the status quo.

Trinh Minh-ha (1990) maintains that language is not simply a tool that we use; it is a force that uses us as its instrument. The instrumental way in which language uses the participant limits her to articulating issues of racism - in what could be considered - a racist manner. Nevertheless, either the staff member's inability or unwillingness to interrogate his own complicity in maintaining the status quo clearly leaves the student on the margin. Furthermore, based on the assumption that seventh form home room teachers are normally senior staff members, one needs to further question the support of a potentially powerful advocate. Choosing to condone, even suggest truancy as an option does not nurture student potential nor does it require any member of staff to look at the institutional barriers alluded to by the participant. To the contrary, such a course of action becomes the means through which responsibility is abdicated. Standing up for the participant *heaps* would have more accurately required his advocacy in order to address inhibitive institutional forces at work. Furthermore, while condoning the participant's desire to opt out bears no personal cost for the staff member, for the participant, the loss of Bursary has both short and potentially long term implications. In the short term truancy negates the high regard whanau have for education. In the long term this action has financial consequences in post compulsory education. It is highly unlikely that whanau members who so strongly advocated education would have agreed with the guidance given by this institutional agent. Successful completion of general stream education was never

considered a 'sure thing', as the somewhat fatalistic comment *well lets see how long before they kick me out dad,* shows - irrespective of indicators that show potential.

General Stream

One of the Native school graduates commenced secondary school in the 1950's, a period when access to secondary schools outside of boarding situations was in its infancy. In 1955, 3.1 percent of Maori attained school certificate and 1.0 percent attained University entrance. By 1960 the figures had changed to 3.3 and 1.4 percent respectively (Openshaw, Lee and Lee 1993:74). With the establishment of Native District High Schools commencing in 1941, Metge (1976) notes of this decade, due to access, only one in three Maori progressed to high school. The participant reflects,

> I felt comfortable in the earlier forms, though when it came to the fifth and sixth ..again, that feeling of being culturally unsafe, you know you were on your own because the majority of Maori never achieved past the fifth form. ... classes were streamed in those days, and there were very few Maoris in the upper levels of high school. I think there were only about three of us in the sixth form so that whole feeling came upon you again about being out on your own .. but that didn't stop one from continuing to achieve, I mean, I think I have to owe it basically to my parents where I am today because for them education was very important and they were always there pushing us as well as supporting us and you know I can remember both my parents going to work just to give us an education (participant, individual interview).

Education was commonly viewed amongst the group as a means of improving life changes. Extended educational opportunity was not seen to be the sole prerogative of males within whanau; rather access was primarily dependant upon proximity of schools and financial circumstances. Many participants spoke of whanau sacrifices being made in order to provide children with educational opportunities. Women within whanau were cited as being central figures making critical decisions about future pathways and actively initiating processes in an attempt to ensure aspirations for their children would be achieved. One such whanau mentor spent her time writing to a school's Board of governors to gain exemption from zoning regulations to have her daughter admitted into a single sex school in preference to a newly opened co-educational high school in the localarea.

A significant factor for those who attended general stream High schools (whether co-educational or girls schools) identified streaming as problematic. Being placed in high streams, particularly for the two Native school graduates meant the first physical separation from their cultural peers. Separation from Maori peers increased their sense of vulnerability in new contexts, marking distinct changes in the ways the women acted and how they perceived themselves.

> Mum proceeded to write to the ... High School Board of Governors, stating her opposition basically, to what co-education could do for her daughter and so she wanted a zoning exemption and she wanted me to go to Girls High School, and the board of governors, decided to approve this. So I started High School and, I guess I was filled with apprehension really because I knew that this school took in students from the local intermediates who, as far as I was concerned at that point in time, coming from a full primary, just about all Maori, that they were different beings. The only thing that I liked about it was that there were still people around me that I knew that went there like my cousins. ... it was like a cattle yard, that was my perception of coming from a small school ...
> If you think about I'd spent eight years with the same group of kids, lucky if it was two hundred kids in total, when you're a kid two hundred is a lot of kids, you know that's almost a city but, then you find out everything is relative. So day one was pulling up on this crowded high school bus with all sorts of different kids going to different high schools and then you're all hurled into this huge hall and you know, now that I look back on it, it had tradition stamped all over it, particular traditions that I wasn't used to ... (participant, individual interview).

The growing body of literature on school culture, commonly encapsulating 'the way things are done around here' (Bower 1966 cited in Bolman and Deal 1991: 268), provides a level of security to those who understand the encoded and often implicit rules. In contrast, the participant in this section identifies how institutional culture can equally act as a marginalising mechanism; the subliminal values and beliefs create a climate in which vague, hard to define discomfort develops.

> ... I sat there, and I was quite happy until about half way through when I realised I was one of a very few number of Maori students left in this huge hall and all these Maori kids just kept going out and I thought, why isn't anyone calling my name. I had really, at that time, not a hell of a lot of knowledge about streaming and those categories of classes and how it would impact on me as a Maori person. I certainly didn't think I was going to be left alone in a class of thirty odd and I'd be the only Maori.
>
> So they all went out and then there I was the only Maori student in this 3 professional A classroom. And I knew because it happens all the time, in the calling out of your name, you hearing it being totally sort of bastardised ... most Pakeha teachers at the time weren't too sensitive about making an effort to pronounce names. So that was another major challenge just working out if it was you they were talking about, and then when I actually got to be standing in this class of thirty five I went to the person

calling out the names and I said, "I think you've made a mistake here". The person looks at me and says "What's your name"
and I said "My name is..."
and the person says "Yes, (name) of ... school (date). We haven't made a mistake".
I said "Well, I think you have, I mean look at this class" I thought, I am the only brown person in it - this is what I thought but I didn't say that.
She said "No, we've got the results of your tests and you should be in 3 professional A". I said, "Well what do I have to do to get out of it, cos I don't like it".
On reflection the person was probably quite understanding because she said "Well, tell you what, you can come and talk to me about it and we'll see if you're feeling the same way but I haven't made a mistake".

So I went into that classroom and they were nice polite kids. I mean they couldn't help it that they weren't Maori for goodness sake ... and they were actually quite sensitive but I still felt totally displaced and alienated and I certainly didn't participate at the level that I do now when I wander in culturally different forums. Obviously I didn't have the confidence or the knowledge at the time to be able to do that so it was in many ways it was very restrictive and in many ways I found myself almost wanting to apologise for being Maori. Even though there was no outward display by the other students, in fact they'd say it's really good that I was there, but I certainly felt awkward.

I remember a social studies teacher in fourth form talking about what our parents did, so you know, by the time it gets to me - I mean we've talked about the lawyer's kid and the doctor's kids and the shop owner's kid and the mayor's daughter - and then I thought oh god, you know, my mum works in the clothing factory and my dad works in the bloody ministry of works, so I hated the position I was put in terms of you know, for a moment there, doubting my parents upbringing and credibility and their self worth as human beings and I look on that now and I think how could you do that? That was almost criminal but that's certainly what a system does to you. So when it got to me they said,
"well what does your father do", well, the teacher was like "what's his job?"
I didn't want to talk about it, and I think she realised by the time it got to me that the probability that my parents would be self employed, professional, or skilled had probably struck her as being remote so, I said, "Well, actually, my mum works in a clothing factory, my dad works for the ministry of works and they are the two most intelligent people that I've probably met" you know, in all of my fourteen years being on this earth.
I look back on that and take comfort in the fact that at least I had the courage to say that but I hated it because I kept doubting my worth as a Maori person and my parents, you know. I had to really work at countering it. They weren't intentionally ostracising me, I mean, you know, prize giving came around and I got prizes for French and everything else, but I still hated that period of my life because of the impact it had on me (participant, individual interview).

School culture manifests itself as both product and process. As a product, the accumulated wisdom of school is apparent in the traditions and the ways things have are 'traditionally' done which

becomes a principle of credibility. An example provided by this women involved symbols; the trophies of achievement that accentuated for her a sense of individuality with the heroines of the past typifying for new students what they should strive to emulate. Culture as a process is the act of inculcating new members into the core values and beliefs. The reproductive process privileges the ideological assumptions that underlie school structures, causing participants to question and doubt self. They underpin rituals such as the initial assembly cited in the dialogue, clearly marking who has a voice and the value placed on names and those who bear them. The *particular traditions I wasn't used to*, remained by and large obscured by the implicit or hidden curriculum; that which is rarely planned but nevertheless learnt by those in the institution. Thus, even when success was experienced, its significance is diminished by the psychological cost of having to acquiesce to institutional norms. Similar experiences of simultaneous resistance and accommodation are apparent in the dialogue shared by the two women attending Catholic Boarding Schools and the whanau members who mentored them.

Although many of the adult women directing participants' choices didn't themselves have the opportunity to attend secondary school, they sought to understand many of the systems subtleties. These women took little for granted questioning the consequences of streaming and subject choice to ascertain the impact it would have on future educational and career opportunities of their children.

> ... in the boarding side there were three Maori pupils and in my class there was only two, and of course they streamed you, you either did general stream or the professional stream. ... the difference that was spelt out to my mother was that one was typing and the other one was languages - French - my mother couldn't see the use of French but she didn't want Typing either because that indicated secretaries and that sort of thing so I went into the professional stream (participant, individual interview).

Changes in behaviour were commonly cited by all participants upon entry into high school. Responses to school and the various institutional cultures encountered ranged from being quiet and introverted to rebellious and confrontational. This participant notes the time of transition from one to the other.

> I actually retreated from being quite open and gay in everything to being very quiet. I just wouldn't put my hand up, I wouldn't volunteer for anything and my marks were

> really very low and I actually felt that I wasn't good enough at that stage. The worst insult was when we went to the library and on the library door was a list of names and I can remember the title 'remedial readers', and I used to love going to the library but of course I couldn't access a lot of the books cos the books I was supposed to read were these remedial books. So our names were publicly displayed on the board and from then on instead of retreating into myself I then became very rebellious and I thought if they're not going to leave me alone I'll give them something to pay attention to ... I can remember acting up in the sewing class - I didn't like sewing it just was not in me and this teacher used to keep saying, "well you must be good at sewing" and now I know why I must have been good at sewing - I was supposed to have been really good at crafts too! I was kicked out of there and I was made to go into the art class and I absolutely loved it, couldn't draw for peanuts but the teacher was such a positive person. ... She had actually gone to the public library and brought back this book for me and she said, "you know you draw just like this artist" I just really loved going to that class. I knew that I wasn't a gifted artist ... (participant, individual interview).

The division of time and compartmentalisation of knowledge into discrete subject areas requires the decoding of teacher expectations and the negotiation of networks that change by the hour as participants move from one subject to the next.

> ... the ones that I felt that really oppressed us were the nuns - it wasn't our lay teachers, we had a French teacher who I loved, initially we had this nun and I didn't actually mind her, she was really hard and she'd whack you with the rosary beads and the rulers and all those kind of things, she was a real henchman but I could accept her because it was fair across the board and she actually had a really kind heart - but then we got a French teacher who was French and she used to talk about their culture and I loved it, we had a science teacher who was a lay person and she took the time to make it meaningful she knew what some of us had missed out on and she came through ... but the nuns I couldn't tolerate them - they just treated the Maori students as if we were never good enough, there was always the **but** ... (participant, individual interview).

Positively, the disjointed and compartmentalised nature of high school curricula offers respite from continuous contact with institutional agents that hold deficit views of Maori. The difficulty however then becomes one of accessing opportunities and sustainable relationships with people who control the distribution of valued institutional resources in a structure that is by design temporary and transient. As previously stated, the successful access to institutional networks is difficult for Maori students, particularly, in a climate where interaction between institutions and Maori youth are often characterised by social distance and distrust. Nevertheless, it is these very

networks that need to be engaged as they become societies gatekeepers and distributive agents of occupational choices.

Being quiet was detrimental to self as it meant acceptance of remedial status, but rebellion also had consequences, the most meaningful of which was not expulsion from school but the disappointment expressed by parents.

> I went home after being expelled I can remember mum being really disheartened ... they (Mum and Dad) were so pissed off with me that mum just said "well we're not spending any more money on you, you can just go on correspondence." I stayed on correspondence two years ... when I got a couple of UE subjects mum asked me what I wanted to do ... and I just said "I'd like to go back to school" and that was fine by my parents. They would have sent us to school for the rest of our lives as long as we wanted to go to school (participant, individual interview).

Boykin suggests that children who come to view the educational context as hostile to their own interests and integrity may either:

> i) "decide that what they *should* do is not what the teacher thinks should be done";
>
> ii) "act in such a way that they *will not* do what the teacher wants"; and
>
> iii) "display what they *can* do in ways that are not in accordance with what the teacher prescribes" (Boykin 1986, p79).

Boykin further suggests that such action maybe coherent and understandable to the child, but is rarely decoded by the teacher. Often teachers working from monocultural precepts are oblivious to the possibility that other worthwhile but diametrically opposed values maybe competing with the ones they wish to inculcate.

The second participant attending a Catholic School, identified peers as an important part of the inculcation process that accentuate the different values within the cultural contexts of school and home.

> I can remember my mother was ropeable because now all of a sudden six weeks out I had been balloted out of a place at (a Maori Girls Boarding School) ... so she applied for anywhere and everywhere ... I had to go to boarding school it was that or correspondence. ... looking back at it, it probably was the best thing that could have happened actually in a lot of ways .. for a couple of reasons ... I was forced into a small exclusive Pakeha school so I had to compete against all of them to be able to even be seen and I did - I did well academically. ...there were only three Maori in the

> whole boarding school and I think when the day pupils came in we might have had about six or seven. That was from third form to seventh form. A lot of the girls were from rich families and it gave me my first dose of institutional racism. I also had to sort of deal with going home and them saying, "oh geez you talk like you've got a plum in your mouth - you're going to this Pakeha snooty school", then going back to school and I was the odd one out - the Maori from a poor Maori background - the country bumpkin who spoke like a hick. ... For the third and fourth form, I played it pretty close - I just sat there and listened and sort of figured out the power plays that happened and what I needed to do and where I needed to go and by about fifth and sixth form I did exactly what I wanted to do. I mean I did all the right things I flew through school C, I did the bare minimum to get UE accredited and I played sport because it was another way of getting out (participant, individual interview).

The ideological and structural differences that were so clearly separated in primary school by long bus journeys blur in the boarding context locating the participant at the edge of both cultural boundaries in a 'borderland' (Anzuldua 1987 cited in Jones 1998, p. 2) in which differences from both sides are accentuated. It is curious how learning to negotiate the dominant culture of power within the typical school environment - which proves to be alienating and symbolically violent (Bourdieu 1974) - is couched as *the best thing that could have happened.* Working against such forces requires extraordinary amounts of ambition, motivation and resilience particularly because those working in institutional contexts rarely recognise the part they play in perpetuating combination locks delineated by factors such as ethnicity, class or gender. Decoding the system necessitates *play(ing) it pretty close* in order to *figure out the power plays.*

Learning to run the gauntlet, deciding who to talk to, for what purpose and in what context as a means of eliciting support for instrumental purposes requires the establishment of links with advocates who are at times prepared to elasticise boundaries. Elasticised parameters of acceptable behaviour are often afforded privileged children because the odd *muck up* does not interfere with the general perception of such children. However for children from minority groups, often stereotypically seen as deficient, *slip ups* become an endorsement of deviancy and delinquency as a cultural trait. Hence learning when to be vocal and when to be quiet and the participants tenacity to use negative experiences as the motivation to succeed, gives insight into the raft of key strategies required that extend beyond displaying technical or conceptual competence in curricula.

> I think I was well liked at college by the teachers because I used to converse with them regularly, certain teachers not all of them. There were no Maori teachers at all. One thing I did envy about my sister going to a Maori Girls' College was the Maori contact that she had and stuff like that. But at the same time I knew that to get in and around in this world I needed to have something else as well and I probably would have done really well too (at sisters school) but I think in this situation I was forced to do a lot better ... I'd look at the kids and I'd go, "Now you've got a lot over me ... but I can beat you academically". And I did. "And I can beat you in the sporting field". I think though that I mean when I look back on it, I know that's why I was doing it. If I'd have done it for me I think I would have done a lot better but that's what I did to survive really. I mean racism was rife, in fifth and sixth form I can remember I'd had about six or seven stand up arguments with kids on racism in class. The teachers just let it go - let me do it. I was really surprised at actually how lenient they were. Looking back I think it was one of those things that if they had've come down too hard on me cos of the subjects being argued about, they would've been seen to be racists so they let it go, but I remember in the sixth form - I was a prefect, and this kid called me a "Maori Warden". Well I saw red. (Returning from the movies, at) about half past ten at night and the whole boarding school was all quiet till we got home ... Well about two o'clock the next morning I got this tap on the shoulder. I looked up and there's one of the head nuns there peering down at me, and there's this poor kid who's been crying ever since I chased her - apparently the sisters had heard what had happened and had the rest of the group up, while I was fast asleep. The rest of the boarding school were woken up and for about an hour had a talk on racism and what it means. Then they made this girl come and apologise to me at two o'clock in the morning. I had gone to bed and forgotten it. I'd done what I needed to do, expelled my energy and anger by running around after her and telling her what I thought. From that day onwards though I was sort of revered, none of them would say things around me or do things in front of me and that was fine by me. ... so from that day onwards they bent over backwards, over compensated really for the fact that racism was alive and well in a catholic school that preached good will to fellow man (sic)... (participant, individual interview).

Summary

In the main, educational institutions required strategic negotiation and decoding of ideological positions and structures working in tandem to create contexts where success based on meritocratic principles was never assured. Primarily this was the case because schools did not operate from a position of neutrality. The first experience of external institutions and how the values and beliefs store within the contents of the kete were viewed from outside came by way of schools. These institutions did not generally provide the opportunity for cultural endorsement or the strengthening of identity. The formidable task of decoding funds of knowledge, and implicit networks was

expected of children and adolescents, where the unequal distribution of power erred on the side of the already powerful.

In this chapter, particular attention was paid to the lack of school networks automatically accessible to Maori youth that makes educational success distinct from that of middle-class Pakeha children. A network analytic approach extends beyond a singular focus on 'role modelling' or 'cheerleading' influences of significant others (Stanton-Salazar 1997). The approach also looks at the inequitable transmission of tangible institutional resources and opportunities, and the difficulties in forming and sustaining significant links with all that is important in institutional settings (Boykin 1986; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 19(5).

Institutions locked into ethnic additive approaches (Smith, G., 1986; Banks 1994) avoid in their careful construction the real issues of power that pervade all facets of the educative process. In general schools failed to provide the safe havens sought by a group of children who ultimately wanted what their Non-Maori peers took for granted; protection and endorsement of self by a system and authority figures in contexts that they were compelled to attend.

The group, though superficially seen as educational successes did not progress unscathed by either overt or covert messages about the subordinate status of being Maori in institutional contexts. Their reflections are interspersed with tangible episodes of expulsion; suspension; physical punishment in the form of strapping; remediation; bearing the brunt of cultural stereotypes and intangible ideologies that evoked confusion, anger, resentment and self doubt. The observable episodes often resulted in the dilemma of facing further physical punishment at home or guilt at the level of disappointment caused parents as they coped with unrealised expectations held for their children. The intangibles encased in promoted institutional values and beliefs, created vague notions of discomfort, difficult to understand and articulate at the time of experience. The contradiction of advancing the 'one people myth' juxtaposed with curriculum that not only identified difference but also situated it outside the norm afforded Maori realities polarised from the rhetoric of meritocracy. Participants faced contradictions where vocality was seen as arrogance; silence as either surliness

or acceptance; lack of direct gaze as insolence and defiance; different language codes as ignorance; achievement as cheating by Non-Maori and evidence of being a *potato* or *mallow puff* by Maori; challenges as irrationality; 'bucking the system' providing acceptance by Maori peers but suspension or expulsion from the institution.

Separation for this group occurs on at least two levels; physical and ideological. Physical separation for the majority involved schools distancing participants from whanau, involving the physical act of crossing boarders between home and school. Ideological separation required participants to either disengage or submerge what they perceived themselves to be. Ideological assumptions underpinning images fed back to them in curricula content and pedagogical practice reflected a system that often saw them contrarily to how they saw themselves. Walker (1996) maintains that, from its inception, education in New Zealand has been one of the primary sites of domination, resistance and struggle. Domination, struggle, resistance and accommodation are all aspects of experience evident in the dialogue shared. *Domination by legislation* was seen to shape the school site underpinning struggles against identity subjugation that attempted to create second class brown Europeans. Distinct power differentials between student and institution shaped the form and context in which many of these struggles took place. This required striking a balance between resistance to hegemonic forces that would have the group see themselves culturally deficient while accommodating the system, at least enough in order to be credentialled by it.

Native Schools at the primary level, and Maori Girls' Boarding Schools at secondary drew the most positive reflections. The mere existence of these programmes may have been more important than their specific content. In these contexts, in the main the schools took the children seriously: responded thoughtfully to their behaviour, believed in their potential achievements, and listened to what they had to say. A further outcome appears to have been to give both children and parents the extra confidence required in subsequent dealings with the education system. Five participants, other than the two women with parents as teachers, were schooled in either Native primary schools or in Maori Girls Boarding schools. These women commonly experienced significant whanau support from women who intervened in school processes, with: *Mum was on all the committees; Mum*

wrote to the Board of Governors; Aunty wrote my name on the application forms; They dragged me up there by the horns, I owe a lot particularly to my mum. In comparison to general stream education, Native schools and Maori boarding schools were perceived by both those who did and those who did not attend such schools as positive places where aspects of their Maori identity could be fostered. This was the general perception even for those within the group who identified irreconcilable contradictions.

Success for this group is not a simple matter of learning competently or performing technical skills. Rather success for othered groups requires the participation in the rituals and ceremonies of institutions and their abil ty t decode often obscure meanings, practices and processes that may challenge core values and beliefs. Fundamentally, success becomes a matter of 'learning how to decode the system' (Stanton-Salazar 1997 p 165). In order to fully access the socially constructed founts of knowledge contained within the briefcase (and to use those founts productively for instrumental purposes), this group is required to 'pick' the combination locks that constitute the cultural logic of the dominant group - no matter how arbitrary it may be. Decoding the system begins with identifying the right keys and making sense of the cultural logic transmitted through discursive practice. It further entails knowing how to role play using the institutions 'identity kit' in order to be endorsed by its credentials. Ironically for those unfamiliar with the ideological underpinnings of such structure, success at school is dependant on the willingness to, at least, overtly don institutional norms that are more often than not advanced by implicit means. Furthermore, the problematic resides in the institutional belief that these channels are neutral and therefore equally applicable to all. The present positions these women hold as educators has been dependant on their tenacity to decode the system as students. Attaining entry criteria into teaching necessitates a decoding of 'institutional culture' (Chemers 1984; Aronwitz and Giroux 1985; 1991) predicated on an understanding that holding a kete, when the institutional preference clearly indicates the contents of the briefcase, requires the group to develop coping mechanisms.

The discussion drew out some of the hidden costs lying beneath the statistical data that defines these women, by outcome, as educational successes. Rather than taking success for granted the

narratives raise awkward questions about why and how - this group require different keys to unlock files that underpin school success. The group poses a serious challenge to the validity of understanding their educational experience in terms of meritocratic interpretation. The problematic for Maori youth is not only in decoding the right digits but also understanding the tendency of institutional factors to interlock while simultaneously remaining fluid. For many participants this provides the unnerving experience of constantly shifting boundaries where support from institutional networks at times appear rigid and inflexible while at other times fluid and hard to locate. Nevertheless access to institutional discourse is contingent upon developing relationships, relationships with institutional agents that are often characterised by 'distance and distrust' (Fine 1991).

What constitutes valid knowledge within the structures of time and division of subjects; how knowledge should be amassed and demonstrated leading to who is thus deserving of its credentials has gained critical attention (Foucault 1972; Harker and McConnchie 1985; Boykin 1986; Fine 1991; Banks 1994; Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995; Mead, L., 1996; Smith, G 1997; Stanton-Salazar 1997). What is unclear to those youth who are franchisees and disenfranchised, as they progress through the system, is the ways discursive formation and practice combine to create cultural boundaries and borderlands (Andulzua 1990; Minh-ha 1990) that privilege some groups and undermine others.

Institutionally sanctioned discourse (Boykin 1986; Stanton-Salazar 1995) devoid of conceptual development of discourse on racism, classism, assimilation, colonisation, hegemony, cultural capital, denied the group the power to conceptualise and articulate their confusion. Being denied the power of language created difficulties in attempting to name and define experience in contexts where *you didn't talk about those sorts of things.* For one woman in particular, the problem of not having the linguistic tools occurred ironically a time when she was placed first in a seventh form English exam. At this time the only way of expressing what she experienced, saw, and thought was *dumb, everything was just dumb then.* These women recognise that the language they needed to explain their world came from outside of school and pre-service teacher training courses. The

vocabulary to express what had previously been notions of difference, confusion and contradiction were engaged and solidified through language that provided the explanatory power to address their experience (hooks 1990; Fine 1991).

Though each of these women clearly articulate experiences of racism and classism, few explicitly address issues of gender. The primary organisational framework of such institutions was the promotion of one cultural stock of knowledge over another in which gendered divisions were of secondary importance. More often than not, the women felt that it was the brown face that institutions made assumptions about before any recognition of whether such bodies wore dresses or trousers. Further to this, given that six of the eight participants spent the majority of their secondary schooling at single sex schools, no personal comparative points were drawn upon. Equally, experiences offered within the whanau for all but one, were not considered gendered. Even though the fathers were considered the 'breadwinners' the position of the women and the roles they were seen to play in the home balanced any differentials that might have otherwise been perceived. Providing an income was only one facet upon which authority or power was seen to manifest itself by this group. The fact that many of these women as children were not divorced from adult conversations deliberating choices for their whanau increased their understanding of the diverse roles their mothers, aunties and kuia played in deciding the direction that whanau would take. Such discussions traversed economic, cultural and political domains. The women's deliberations about where whanau lived, the type of work they sought, and the directive roles played in educational and career choices countered notions of women as submissive and docile. In fact many of them saw their fathers as 'soft touches', more easily swayed to their way of thinking, than the no nonsense approaches taken by female whanau members.

The women's experiences at school necessitated the development of coping mechanisms, many of which contribute to the pool of strategies drawn on at work. Strategies in general are discussed in the next chapter with particular attention paid to the ways silence is used as a strategic tool.

Chapter Nine

The Tuara

This chapter examines the strategies that participants utilise to negotiate institutional terrains both as students and as teachers. Their strategies are talked about in terms of the tuara literally translated as backbone or spine. Metaphorically the tuara represents the axis upon which the participants strategically attempt to balance the two repositories, the kete and the briefcase. It is not suggested that any one fixed point of balance exists for these women; rather, their dialogue suggests that drawing on either archive (to achieve educational objectives) is contingent on a number of personal and c nte. tual factors. Typically, participants recognise a need for both repositories as well as indicating grey areas where they intermingle and neither is clearly delineated nor solely distinguishable.

> ... I'm always questioning myself and at this stage I couldn't probably say if I used one more than the other and yet sometimes I know I damn well do. I mightn't agree but I can understand how particular people behave for particular reasons, so I'm more knowing of that, and that in a way influences what you do - you can't discount it and say well, I'll chuck away that experience and I'll go to this sub directory and pluck out another, because somewhere along the line it's all intermingled and tangled up with everything else but definitely being Maori and a woman and operating both in Maori tikanga and Pakeha has a lot to do with how you operate. It's very interesting you know, the number of wrong assumptions that people still make, it's quite incredible really - they've got to start meeting you as a whole person - most think because she's female and because she's Maori you know, we'll stick her in the education forum about Maori issues, when really in actual fact, I'm probably better versed and really skilled at talking about property and financial issues (participant paired interview).

To contextualise the discussion, the first section of this chapter overviews the types of educational programmes in which the eight participants have taught. (This helps to explain why participants do not confine their comments to the programme type for which they were selected). The second section builds on the previous chapter, asking the question <u>why</u> participants attained school credentials in a system ambivalent to them and it does so by exploring the most commonly cited institutional influence that motivated them to achieve.

The next section investigates how the women used particular strategies in the course of attaining institutional credentials and juxtaposes these with current strategies used as teachers. While many strategies emerge from the data, this section primarily focuses on the strategic use of silence, examining how silence is 'made' in institutions and how silence is 'broken'. What motivates the participants to be silent and what motivates them to speak, emerge as central in the dialogue. Questions raised by the strategic use of silence require a separation amid what Boykin (1986) calls four planes of interaction that occur between the child and school. The narratives in this chapter suggest that the four planes of: "what children do or do not do, what they can or can not do, what they will or will not do or, and what they should or should not do" (p 76) need to be equally examined for adults in the workplace.

Although issues of 'do', 'can', 'will' and 'should' are indistinguishable in most school based analyses, Boykin (1986) offers an explanation as to why this is so.

> In a culturally homogeneous population, what children actually do in an academic setting is based on what they can do and will do, and on what they understand that they should do. Similarly, what they don't do follows from what they should not, will not, and cannot do. Because white middle-class children participate in a relatively homogeneous cultural experience, they are likely to do what they can, will and should do. Moreover, what the children themselves believe they should do is likely to be consistent with what their teachers believe: there is a congruence of value and belief. (1986, p 76)

Thus, separating questions of: 'will', 'should', and 'do' from 'can', seems hardly necessary when considering homogeneous groups. Yet in reality educational institutions are far more complex in that they bring together a number of diverse groups who are compelled to be there. In these contexts distinguishing between do or do not, will or will not, and should or should not become extremely important. This is because these factors do not often represent 'can' or 'can not' at all. Combining these facets takes for granted that each is congruent as though individual facets present no conflict for any child who wants to do well at school. Many of the participants grappled with these distinct planes of interaction as students. Currently they continue to consider them as they contemplate the scope and limitations of the programmes in which they are presently working.

Teaching Experience Across Programme Types

Figure 9.1 Teaching Experience

Type	P.1	P.2	P.3	P.4	P.5	P.6	P.7	P.8
Native		*						
General	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Bilingual	*	*			*	*	*	*
Kura K.	*	*			*			*
RTM		*				*	*	*
Other				*				*

Key: P = participants

As illustrated in figures 8.1, 8.2 (chapter 8) and 9.1, the women in this sample have experienced a variety of educational options both as students and as teachers. As outlined previously, all participants have experienced teaching in general stream. Six have taught in various types of bilingual programmes, four have experience as resource teachers of Maori and four have taught in kura kaupapa Maori. One participant has previously taught in a Native School and another has taught in the Catholic system. Participants three and four (although not having taught across the other programme types) have participated in the establishment, development and management of either taha Maori programmes, bilingual and/or immersion units.

All participants are primary trained. One entered pre-service training under the Maori quota scheme operating in the 60's, one trained as part of a bilingual group reflecting a broader range of options at time of entry, while the remaining six participants attended three year, general stream division A courses. At the time of the interviews the women's teaching experience ranged from 5 years (at the end of 1996) to over thirty years - approximately 130 years teaching experience combined.

The group demonstrates both commonality and diversity of experiences. For example, teaching was chosen as a career pathway for a variety of reasons. Some women entered teaching at the direction of whanau, others were channelled into the profession by institutional agents while still others entered of their own accord. Some participants initially held different occupational

aspirations but were dissuaded. Still others unsure of their own ability held the view *only brainy people were teachers,* a characteristic that they did not ascribe to themselves.

As previously cited, as students, one third of the group experienced either suspension (1), or expulsion (2), while one other spoke of corporal punishment and another of being truant, as students. Yet, all these women continued to seek a career in education. It is unlikely, although unknown, that these types of student experiences would be reflected in other cohorts of educational administrators.

What is common to all these women is their identification as Maori and as teachers. Their willingness to hear, and support each other and their commitment to improving educational outcomes for children in general and Maori children in particular was also a prevailing commonality - although such commonalities do not suggest unqualified agreement about the best way to achieve such goals. The ways in which the women conceptualise improved educational outcomes is consistent with their personal career aspirations, which are couched in terms of collective growth and development, discussed in later sections.

Not one participant limited their discussion to the programme type in which they were operating, nor for that matter, the programmes in which they had teaching experience. Participants' experiences reflected their ongoing interest in Maori educational initiatives across a broad range of programme types in primary sector. Experiences included establishment and teaching in rumaki (Maori immersion), units in general stream, bilingual schools opposed to bilingual units, general stream schools changing their status to kura kaupapa, and kura kaupapa home school initiatives that later attracted state funding. As one participant pointed out, they represented a more diverse group than originally targeted. As a consequence, and previously noted in chapter five, the cited dialogue is not divided according to programme type, nor does the ensuing discussion necessarily reflect the opinion of the participants currently working in the programme type for which they were originally selected.

None of the women believed that they represented *the Maori voice* on the issues at hand, or that they necessarily held the authoritative position for all Maori women in the programme types in which they operated. They freely acknowledged that within each of the programmes, variances existed based on a number of personal factors (refer to chapter seven) and contextual factors which actively shaped their experience and practice. Contextual factors ranged from the macro level related to globalisation and the potential detrimental effects on indigenous peoples; *this stuff about the globally shrinking world is really dangerous, the concept is dangerous because it actually has the potential to break down cultures and languages,* to political issues; *the word Political is a word that is thrown around a lot in schools, but its actually used oppressively, you know "we're not political'. What they're in fact saying is that's not whe e I ant you to go.* At the micro level issues explicitly related to varying management structures, reso.. e accessibility, community and collegial awareness of Maori issues in education and various demographic factors such as ethnic composition of communities in which schools were located. All these issues were part of a smorgasbord of interrelated factors that combined to affect their experiences.

Narrating Success - The Women's Motivation to Succeed

Chapter seven indicated the level of whanau support, particularly the critical role played by women, as contributing to the participants' motivation to succeed. Chapter eight indicated a few institutional mentors and advocates who facilitated access to knowledge codes (Harker 1985, 1991), encouraged their engagement with institutional discourse, and linked participants to informational networks related to careers (Stanton-Salazar 1997). The chapter also outlined those who acted as institutional agents prepared to tolerate, if not act upon or encourage the development of, the participants' social critique. Sponsorship was not however, solely based on academic aptitude but often qualified by the women's potential willingness to integrate the hegemonic 'can', 'will', 'should' and 'do' characteristics and mannerisms of the institution.

A critical motivational influence, not represented in the literature, emerged from the data regarding how many of these particular women responded to negative experiences as students. For the

majority of these participants the most commonly cited motivational influence derived from institutional contexts paradoxically came from experiences that undermined them. The episodes of uncertainty, confusion and distress brought to the fore in chapter eight, typically evoked silent pledges to prove themselves by showing institutional agents that they could be, at the very least, as good as their peers. The dialogue cited here narrates success not as an individual exercise but as a form of resistance. The crucial institutional factor resisted was the pervasive perception of Maori as deviant and intellectually deficient in institutional contexts.

> ... being made to feel inadequate but I think that's what provided the drive for me an' wa' to succeed and be as good, if not better, than my peers. Yeah, it was fur ıy

> ... being marginalised ... And really what we have to recognise is that many of our kids go through that too, so you know, the pressure to conform and the price of not conforming is very high for Maori kids it can be manifested not just one but in many ways. That's how I feel about it, sheer determination probably did it for me, you know, not necessarily the fact that I wanted to succeed to see what you could do but that I wanted to succeed to show that I could .

> I hated it (secondary school) because I kept doubting my worth as a Maori person and my parents - you know - I had to really work at countering it. I mean prize giving came around and I got prizes for French and everything else, they didn't have Maori at the time, but I still hated that period of my life because of the impact it had on me. I'll never forget the doubting stage of where I came from.

> I'd look at the kids and I'd think now you've got a lot over me you're white to begin with, from a wealthy background you have all the social niceties, you know, the clothes and everything else - well - I can beat you academically and I can beat you on the sports field, I think I thought that. I mean, when I look back on it, I knew that's why I was doing it. If I'd have done it for me I think I would have done a lot better but that's what I did to survive really. Racism was rife. In fifth and sixth form I can remember I'd had about six or seven stand up arguments with kids on racism, ... the teachers allowed it to happen I was really surprised actually how lenient they were with me. I think it was one of those things that if they had of come down too hard on me because of the subjects I chose to argue about, they would've been seen to be racists ... so they let it go.

> ... never feeling one hundred percent comfortable ... I know what it did for me and my sisters especially, is that we strove to succeed and we strove to be the best there at school and at the end of the day, we were getting prizes and merit awards ... but we were very competitive in all aspects, sporting, schooling, very competitive... My brother is the oldest but he didn't have the same drive that we did - I don't know if he felt that way, I didn't even bother to ask my sisters if they

> felt the same way but we definitely all followed the same line (Dialogue drawn from individual interviews).

Underpinning each narrative is an explanation that illustrates their success in terms of the desire to prove their worth by rebelling against the sense of inadequacy and inferiority they experienced. Success is attributed to determination in the face of adversity. Rather than their success providing an endorsement of meritocratic principles, their *grit and determination* is played out in silent rebellion against their secondary status, which by default, strengthens their resolve to succeed. The path they travel is complex; fraught at times with contradiction. For example, not only must the group be confronted with institutionally sanctioned cultural slurs that create stress which is related to reduced learning time (Neisser 1986; Fine 1991); they must also, at the very least, silently tolerate cultural affronts to attain credentials.

Using, in part, negative influences in order to effect positive outcomes is further evident from the participants' home experiences. Whanau desire for positive educational outcomes for their children combined with the internalisation of hegemonic view of Maori as somehow deviant, contributes to the convoluted pathways travelled by some.

> ... that's the trouble with you bloody Maori kids, this is my mum talking as a Maori herself, so you give up. But I know the impetus to succeed from my mum was just as great and I don't think she considered how she was going about it, how she pushed me to succeed in a negative way ... like she could have probably said well,...Oh, you know, you're going to have get in there, it's going to be tough, be determined and that's what's going to get you through but what she chose to do was focus on the negative and what can I say, it worked... I thought I can bloody do this, you know, I'll show you ... so the grit and the determination sets in (participant individual interview).

Being successful is about much more than what any of these women 'can do', or their academic aptitude. It is more accurately about what they were prepared to do in order to cope with many institutional situations that saw difference and deviance as synonymous.

Strategies - Negotiating the Borders

Being compelled to cope with school provides a pool of strategies drawn on the work place. While, not all strategies employed by students are seen to be productive in current roles many *coping mechanisms* have their genesis in this period.

> I think I learnt a lot about coping at school but I need to learn more the skill of negotiating properly. I mean in primary school my first reaction was to physically attack. That was my first instinct and that's what I did but by form one and two I'd learnt that words can hurt a lot more than anything physical. I had my skirmishes along the way but when I had the disagreement with the teacher in form two it wasn't anything physical, it was verbal. I didn't yell or scream or anything. It was very quiet and calm but it was very cutting. Then I learnt by the time I got to form five and six I'd learnt to debate things and to stand up for principles. I didn't care who it was in front of... and learnt to debate quite vocally about things but then I also learnt that by form six from my encounter with (Jane at the movies - being called a Maori warden) that if they debate with each other and not you, it's more effective. So if you look at the strategies I learnt in effect to refine them as I got older. I mean by that stage when the sister had brought her up to me crying in effect it was their hang up about their relationship with me being Maori not mine. The rest of the boarding school had to sort it out and then they came to me and I thought that was a wonderful thing. I mean that wasn't deliberate. It just happened that way , but I learnt that lesson - that if they think that they are in the wrong well it is their wrong, not yours and they need to fix it. Then they do all the yelling and the debating. I s'pose it was just experiences at school that taught me that and home too but, I mean if you look at it, it was a gradual sort of a refinement of coping mechanisms. I mean it wasn't designed to be like that, it was just the way that it happened - there was no big plan at five to learn those strategies by the end of your seventh form, nothing was a calculated as that but that was what the experiences did - they dealt you things you had to learn to cope with (participant individual interview).

Early strategies cited by participants, typically represent choices made by Maori youth, who, in the main, had little understanding of the complex array of competing and often contradictory ideological positions at work in the places where they were educated. Nevertheless, these women, as children, had to contend with being made aware of their difference as deviance in institutions, where being the same was considered important. What they did to cope with their institutionally defined differences to achieve educational success is the centre of interest here.

Their coping strategies conform to one of two types; passive and active coping mechanisms. While each type of strategy is treated separately, there is enough evidence to suggest that participants often combined or moved between the two categories on different occasions. Equally, the participants' narratives suggest that within both categories there is considerable scope for diversity of expression. It should also be noted, that not all strategies lead participants down a smooth path toward successful school outcomes. The number of ways institutional forces combine and interlock to potentially exclude the participants, meant that even placing first in seventh form exams (in a large urban co-educational school) did not guarantee access to institutional rewards or retention within the system. The passive and active strategies outlined here pertain specifically to the participants use of silence.

Passive Strategies: Making Silence

The first type of strategy involved accommodating the system, what Boykin (1986) calls passive strategies. As one student perceptively put it; *being given a plate and accepting it, with no questions asked.* The innocent acceptance of institutional discourse by either choosing to ignore, or "forgo consideration of the inherent oppressiveness of the system" (Boykin 1986, p 73) is often defined by participants in terms of silence. As noted by one pa ti ıpant many of the women were educated at a time when *You never talked about <u>that</u> sort of th ı . You just got on. You were a very criticised race of people.* Boykin suggests for Afro-American children these passive strategies require a subservient (or Uncle Tom) posture. Compliance is thus used not to represent what the participants 'can do' but, reflects an understanding of what they 'will or will not do', and their analysis of what the institution contends they 'should or should not do' in order to withstand at least the harshest manifestations of racial oppression. Commonly this involved institutions making silence being met with silence.

For the participants, silence was known to be used in a number of ways by themselves and by Maori communities. Little of this dialogue indicated that silence meant agreement. Generally, silence as a coping strategy was spoken about in terms of: *shutting up; shutting down; hanging*

down, in order to provide themselves with a psychologically safe place where contrary views of the world and opinions could be held. As students, this involved an understanding that teachers, in general, were uncomfortable with extended wait times.

> You just stand there and shut up. What every Maori kid does, you know, you stand there if you don't want to do or say something - Just hang down. You knew back then that if you waited long enough ... they'd choose somebody else quite smartly. And I learnt that. ... being thought of as dumb was better than being thought of as lippy (participant individual interview).

Discovering that teachers are not comfortable with silence or gaps in conversations is contrary to institutional agents commonly assuming silence, on the part of Maori children, means either agreement or lack of understanding. Even though the participant believed the teacher decoded silence as sign of being *dumb*, it was preferable to breaking silence and being considered *lippy* offering their views in situations where *'you were* (a lone swimmer) *swimming against the tide'.*

For the majority of participants, silence became the means for deflecting attention, a way of avoiding controversy, a means of holding contrary views safely and as a space in which participants could; *sit there and listen and sought of figure out the power plays.* One participant cites an incident at primary school involving her sister eliciting the support of silence and her attempts to break it

> I can remer o r we had a Christmas show and they wanted a Maori item and so they wante· ıy sister and I to sing Pokarekareana, now there were other Maori kids there but they chose her and I. Now we weren't good singers and she refused to so she acted dumb to get out of it and I just said I don't want to sing it. What do you mean by acted dumb, what did she do?
>
> Well she just withdrew into herself again and she just hung her head and said nothing, it wasn't stubbornness because we knew that's when teachers pick on you when they think that you're being stubborn. It challenges their authority, but she just put her head down and acted really extremely shy. She wasn't shy, she treated people very indifferently ...(participant individual interview).

Though the sisters' educational experiences and educational outcomes were not discussed further, appearing shy and acquiescent provides an image of compliance likely to evoke teacher sympathies. The participant however, unwilling to acquiesce, ultimately in later years would experience expulsion.

Five of the women indicate that by high school silence associated with passive type strategies involved significant changes of character: *I retreated, I wouldn't put my hand up, I wouldn't volunteer anything; I went from being gay and extroverted to being quiet introverted really.*

Once participants became teachers there were times when passive forms of silence were also evoked to cope with a variety of situations. This was particularly so (though not solely) for the women in early stages of their careers as they *did try to fit in the patterns of the ideal teacher according to training college.*

> I was very confident in terms of how I operated in the classroom and there was nothing, in time allocations, or classroom practice that I was doing different during the time that I was their teacher. However, that was a time where they didn't have to cope with the issues that the reformations brought, they didn't have to deal with the renaissance at its peak, and it may not be at its peak now but, they didn't have to deal with those issues, where we were on the news and it became more apparent that Maori people had concerns and that their silence did not mean agreement, that their silence actually meant disagreement. They didn't have to deal with those issues, so because they didn't have to deal with them, I didn't have to deal with them (participant paired interview).

Attempting to fit the mould, as young teachers, meant having to simultaneously be the same but different where both positions were defined by hegemonic norms. Being the same demanded that they replicate planning, pedagogical and assessment practices of the dominant group. All viable differences reduced being Maori, in institutional contexts, to endorsing stereotypes where expressions of being Maori, such as the development of cultural groups, posed no threat to the status quo. Institutional discourse, while providing the linguistic scope to support prevailing norms and theories, concurrently silence through limiting access to theory and language to express counter - hegemonic discourse (Friere 1994). These positions are communicated in the reflections of two women discussing early teaching experiences, during individual interviews.

> I taught a year, then I came back and finished my degree.
> And ... I thought well, what am I going to do?
> I mean I'd been out teaching for a year and I reflected on my experiences and one thing I learnt was, for a Maori person to walk through a gate of a kura, they thought written on their forehead was: plays the guitar, sings, does the taha Maori programme and speaks Maori.
> True to form, that's what they thought.

> I thought oh my god, you know, I'm the most musically dormant of Maori people, you know, like, if someone's harmonising by me, I can't hold my part in my head and these people actually think I can sing. When they get me, they think I can sing, they think I can strum the old rakuraku and they think I speak Maori. So I thought after a year of experiencing what Pakeha expect of Maori, that I'd better find out about a bit of Maori language (participant paired interview).

> ... the racist attitudes as far as knowledge is concerned, what I mean there, is that the teachers I have worked with have always taken lock stock and barrel the theory and the knowledge that they've learnt at training college and in fact at University, most of the teachers I've taught with continue doing papers and they use that as the weapon to almost put you in your place to suggest that our knowledge as a Maori is inferior or is never good enough. Also working with teachers and often being discredited because of the way I work with children when I actually feel I couldn't at that time put a theory to what I could see, how the kids were learning and not being given that credit for the way I planned and the way I evaluated children.
> When I was a young teacher it was not good enough because it didn't fit into the boundaries of the theories at that time. But when I look at what people are doing now, they were the same things that I was always arguing about as a young teacher, that our children learn in different ways whether it is because of their race or their socioeconomic class. I always knew ... that there were children who learnt better visually, well that wasn't really emphasised, wasn't even talked about really when we were at training college. That there were children who were more practical. That there were children who ... can move in and out of those particular learning styles. I've always maintained that, but I never had those words I suppose to justify what I was doing to the senior teachers at that stage.
> I knew that there were other people who were experiencing those types of things and that Maori children were greatly ' .. 'ervalued by teachers. There was a period when I did try to fit in the patterns of he ideal teacher according to training college but it didn't work for me or t' e Maori kids I worked with (participant pairedinterview).

Innovative ways of responding to children were undermined because they did not reflect prevalent theories or institutionalised knowledge codes. Once their own philosophies of education began to crystallise some of the women were surprised that they did not question the extent of their *institutionalisation* earlier. Frequently, participants saw their own student experiences mirrored by Maori children in schools. For many of the women, being part of the system and observing the way it operates provided the first opportunity to realise that the marginalising processes that they experienced in silence were not unique to them. *It didn't work for me or the Maori kids I worked with*.

Much of their critique remained in the space provided by silence not only because they recognised it was counter to ideological assumptions entrenched through hegemonic processes, but also because few discussions actively encouraged their counter-hegemonic views.

Silence came from being in a crowd and not having anyone to talk to. This type of silence was not about their inability to speak, Boykin's issue of 'can', rather it was about their assessment of situations in which they were unlikely to be heard.

> ... it's these schools like kura kaupapa that provide the only places where we can get the chance to sit down and talk about issues concerning us. I mean if I have got a problem I have got no hesitations, I will ring (another tumuaki) and bug her until she gives me the answer or tells me how I should address a particular issue that has arisen. But just sitting down and talking issues through that come up for you is what's important. When we are at Akatia, that's what we do all the time. It's that collegiality that we don't get in other forums. Other than Akatia and say like a Maori group, there is really no other forum, and we know that the principals in lots of areas, they have meetings - there's a cluster here and a cluster over there but they don't address or even want to focus on our concerns (participant paired interview).

> The hardest thing for you was you were on your own. You didn't have anyone else you could talk to. In those types of scenarios especially in bilingual units if your the only class you are on your own. And you really have to think twice about why people stay in the kaupapa ... it's certainly not the monetary gain (participant paired interview).

> An interesting job (as an RTM) but a very lonely one, once again I suppose because you're out there trying to do trying to do the work by yourself you have your other teachers who you were supposed to support and yet you were on the road four or five times a week by yourself (participant paired interview).

This form of silence was prevalent in general stream and bilingual units attached to general stream schools. Silence was contingent on the women's assessment of a number of factors; for example: the significance of the issue at hand, *If I didn't say something those kids were going to be out;* the pervasiveness of issues, *when you realise this isn't happening just now and then;* the likelihood of contrary views being considered mediated their decisions to be silent or conversely to break silence.

Breaking silence was mediated by knowing that constantly speaking out against inequities attracted resistance and backlash. Silence at these times was not about saving face or *self aggrandisement*

but about accessing space for Maori children. The need to balance collegial support from people who would facilitate access to key institutional resources with supporting Maori children currently in the system was contingent to a degree on selective silences and compliance. Speaking up *too loud, or too often* put participants in situations where

> ... you were just banging your head against a brick wall and you were being labelled all sorts of lovely descriptive words ...(participant individual interview).

> It's always the holder of that institution. Like in my case it is very clearly other teachers and senior management, staff, the Principal, Board of Trustees, Ministry of Education, ERO, the very people who hold those institutions together so that they will survive they are the challenge (participant paired interview).

Participants while working in mainstream and bilingual units were drawn at times into silence as a response to the pervasive and interchangeable nature of issues that confronted them. In instances where multifaceted and multilevelled barriers were identified, selective silences allowed participants to channel their energies into specific areas where change could be initiated. For example some focused their attention on the attitudes of colleagues as the first point of institutional contact experienced by Maori children. Being aware that

> ... basically most teachers, are not intentionally rude, not intentionally insensitive, not intentionally ignorant, not intentionally naive, not intentionally racist, and yet in practice all those things (participant paired interview).

> ... you had to employ different strategies for the different situations you worked in. ... no two schools were the same ... I was moving around a whole lot of schools and I guess ... you'd have about four schools to visit and in this particular school the issue might have been developing the staff to address a bilingual programme. In this school, it might have been the community to come on board, and in this school you have a strong management who believed in the bilingual so you know it was far easier delivering programmes in this school, than that school (participant paired interview).

Silence was also about recognising small incremental steps as progress toward long term goals and being aware that Maori centred objectives could be derailed or sabotaged by a variety of factors. Interestingly, in some respects it is reminiscent of the *half pie was ka pai* position (noted in the previous chapter) in reverse; accepting that half an effort was as much as could be expected from colleagues who needed to make *major paradigm shifts* (indicated by other participants). Conversely

it could be read as a display of understanding the difficulties inherent in looking at other ways of knowing - an understanding which had been previously denied these women.

> These teachers had a genuine need and a genuine desire to impart, and to acquire some knowledge and pass that on to their students ... they were wonderful learners ... the funny thing was you would try your hardest with te reo and teach them the proper pronunciation but you'd come back the next week and it was all screwed up but they tried, you can't ask for more than that and so we'd put it onto a tape and said now really listen to the tape, and you'd come back the next week and the kids would have got it but the teacher hadn't so you'd just have to go with that(participantindividualinterview).

> It is working. People are learning, they are stepping outside their comfort zones just a little bit and at this stage I can't ask for any more really. I think it's quite a scary thing for some people to actually be seen to understand this Maori way, you know (participant paired interview).

> I'm not saying that my Pakeha colleagues don't have that empathy but sometimes there are children who see the white face and see authority and think, I've got to buck it, here's the system I'm not going to do that, they don't automatically react that way to a brown face (participant individual interview).

For one of the participants cited above her support of colleagues' growth and development was at the personal cost of her own Maori sensibilities that required her to repress anger and hurt caused by unintentional culturally insensitive words actions and lack of support returned. The dialogue cited is drawn fr[illegible] paired interview during a discussion about staff development. The dialogue is picked up afte[illegible] first participant outlines inequities in professional development provisions through a scenario where a colleague receives paid leave to attend a regional rugby tournament, while she is denied unpaid leave to participate in national kapahaka competitions. She then asks,

> If the schools are really there to support this Maori thing, how come rugby is more important? You said your staff is supportive (name) anything like that ever happen to you?

> No... um ... well ... yeah, sort off, yeah ... O.K. We had an incident where a colleague who was brought up by her grandmother, had to go and look after Nanny. So my colleague (after getting the requested Doctors Certificates) goes and looks after her Nanny, who a few days later dies. Myself and another Maori colleague on the staff, are waiting to hear from our friend because we know that the tangi will be soon. We start getting our classes organised so that we can go at a moment's notice. We arrive at school one morning and find that Nanny had died, we had missed the tangi. Our friend came back to school very soon after. We hadn't even gone to the tangi and we felt so bad. What was even worse was that the hierarchy knew. She rang back to say my mother has passed away. And

> we couldn't be there. Not because we had other commitments, nobody told us we just heard in conversation in the staffroom.
> "Oh, ... mum died."
> "When?"
> "Oh the tangi was Saturday."
> This was Monday. We just felt so, so upset. We had a tangi of our own at school, the two of us just cried for our friend because we couldn't be there.
> So just a little bit of intolerance, I think, just, well a lot of intolerance. Total lack of understanding. Totally missed the plot actually.
> And I think that's an important lesson and something that I have seen so many times, that often, the hierarchy who are Pakeha will only see that an incident like that just affects the one person. Whereas, no, there are those of us who give just as much support, she's our whaea too and we are there to support her as well. We know what she's going through. This is a hard time. We need to be there. She doesn't go through it by herself. On a totally different agenda.
>
> How did you handle the comments in the staffroom?
>
> You know the ways that we communicate, we just sat and stared and said nothing. Sat. And stared. And just cried. We didn't have to say anything. We really didn't have to say anything. We just cried for our friend. So now, if there is a tangi we cover for each other. We ring each other up (participant paired interview).

The sense of frustration and anger mounted during this discussion as the participant struggled with internal conflict and contradiction. Situated in a position of responsibility where the participant's sense of leadership and authority required her to support colleagues growth and development also provided another form of silence. Her reluctance to identify the lack of reciprocity from non-Maori colleagues appeared to be derived from institutional discourse where speaking out is considered unethical. Once silence was broken, by the probing questions posed by the other participant, the mounting sense of disquiet appeared in qualifying statements; *just a little bit of intolerance, I think, just, well a lot of intolerance. Total lack of understanding. Totally missed the plot actually.*

Silence was also about active attempts to be heard. Being selective about when to speak meant they at times they tolerated racist jokes or colleagues who actively character assassinated Maori children in terms of their ethnicity. Colleagues neither politicised nor sensitised to the issues, or the previous experiences of the women, openly displayed their Pakeha-centric views. At times this was tolerated in silence to avoid claims of crying wolf. In other words, some recognised that if

they said something every time they were culturally affronted people would stop listening altogether.

> ... these kids previously had been little ratbags because nobody else could control them, only because nobody else had actually ever listened to them. They were Maori kids and I mean like you had the typical comments coming through in the staffroom like,
> "that kid's been to kohanga reo and can't speak English what do they do at that kohanga reo, doesn't know a word of English, can't even read and ... ".
> Things like that, and I learnt straight away these people looked for weaknesses first with no consideration of these kids strengths (participant paired interview).

> It was frustrating in bilingual continually having to defend your position because there were rifts between the staff. They couldn't understand why the bilingual had to have X amount of money over what the other areas got, that was one thing, so money was an issue. And secondly, they couldn't understand why the ratio in the bilingual classes was a bit lower than the mainstream classes. But, one of the things that they could never appreciate was the double workload that we had to carry. They couldn't appreciate or see where we were coming from. Everything was there for them. All they had to do was plan and execute it. But we had to go and find it first, translate it, plan it and execute it but they couldn't appreciate that difference (participant paired interview).

Active Strategies

The second type of strategy is more active in nature. These strategies arise out of resistance to oppression (Boykin, 1986; Fine, 1991), often placing participants at odds (either psychologically, emotionally or physically) with the system. Active strategies for students and teachers included components of silence, where *shutting up* meant that their critique of the system became an internal conversation with self. Some participants engaged in 'dissembling'(Boykin 1986), whereby they conceal their true feelings (of hurt, frustration or anger) and provide a pretence, or present themselves as a chameleon (Bravette 1994), to the outside world of oppression.

Active silence further allowed some participants to *sit there and listen and sort of figure out the power plays.* Boykin refers to this as a 'get-over' strategy whereby minority students recognise that success requires playing a kind of game as they strive to 'outfox the power brokers and

credentialling agents, typically by using cunning, expedience and trickery' (1986, p. 73) in order to gain the stamps of approval that signify success.

A different strategy from playing the game, was to resist oppression by defying the system. Resistance in this sense was derived from the attitude; *if they're not going to leave me alone, I'll give them something to pay attention to.* Reading silences, tone and body language and the frequent mismatches between each plane of interaction motivates three other participants (as students) to break their silence. Breaking silence to offer alternative views was generally not well received, read by teachers as *confrontational,* or *being subjective.* In contrast to making silence, breaking silence distances those who used such strategies from institutional support, and potential institutional advocates. In the following quote a curious mix of emulation and integration of two cultural communication styles is evident. There is a mix of strong body language and forthrightness used by women in the participants whanau, and tone, particularly sarcasm drawn from institutional experiences.

> Oh, I used to always sit at the back of the room and when they asked you questions and you didn't know or didn't feel comfortable with what was being suggested - well - it was always my facial expression that would portray how I felt. It was very arrogant and very defiant, that's one thing they can remember about me was the defiance. Even to this day, if I look at people everything just goes straight into my face. So they would avoid me, they wouldn't ask me because if that didn't work, if they kept plugging me for a response I would stand up with my hands on my hips and I would challenge them. I would want them to challenge me and they knew not to come anywhere near me because if they were going to push me I was going to push them back and they knew that. I just wasn't going to wear being put down or being made to look foolish. So I actually showed defiance and I would use my voice because Pakeha people, I noticed, were very sarcastic and so I would use that, but I would put everything I had into the word that I said to almost make it sound like a slap and I know I learnt that from there. I learnt that Pakehas move away from confrontation, they don't carry on, whereas when you're with Maori they just keep coming towards you and that doesn't work, but nice middle class Pakehas don't handle confrontation like that well, they don't know what to do.. So body language first and tone second and then I'd move into them I knew Pakehas don't like us getting close and I knew that just moving into their space would really intimidate them (participant paired interview).

Breaking silence or providing a counter-hegemonic (Freire 1996) discourse emerges when participants are pushed to the outer extremities of their tolerance levels. When this happens it

proves to be detrimental to the participants' length of stay in a system that already considers their presence as 'temporary and probationary' (Fine 1991, p. 60).

As students, the participants who held contrary views but remained silent, were able to avoid the harshest forms of institutional punishment. Once qualified as teachers selective silences decreased the distance between themselves and those in positions of power, particularly where being vocal attracted the label of being radical. The participants as students who held oppositional views but ignored institutional messages about compliance, committed a form of educational and occupational suicide in situations where institutional power was paramount.

Survivalist strategies often manifest in defensive responses which furnish the means to *literally cut people off*, both teachers and peers. Curt answers, and silence particularly combined with eye contact, were often misread across the cultural boundaries. Silence with eye contact did not mean 'attentive behaviour' when these participants were children, rather, it was encoded in one of two ways. For some, it was a silent plea not to pursue certain types of questions or, conversely for others, it became the forerunner to challenge; *push me and I'll push you back;* as a way of indicating tolerance levels were being breached.

> I knew what was coming obviously because I wasn't the first person asked so in a way while they were going around the classroom and sharing the respective parents occupations, I handled it in a way, where I figured out what I would do is matter of faculty state what they did, but because I was so defensive, I put in that curt remark at the end about - they're the two most intelligent people I've probably met. So, I didn't like attention that came to me but when it did I s'pose I deliberately became defensive and really gave them a message of, this is the situation ... it was really delivered as almost an ultimatum, so don't ask me any more questions, do you know what I mean? (participant individual interview).

> I literally cut people off. Now the perception of the rest my Maori peers in relation to me, was really another battle, because they saw that I was in this professional class, they made assumptions about me. Like really that, well I s'pose for want of a better expression, you know, she's a potato. ... Basically what that means is, maybe she's brown on the outside but that's the extent of being Maori and for all good intents and purposes in this educational institution she's white - so you have the kid basically in a situation where on the one hand, in a professional class feeling totally displaced and alienated from her people and the very people that she needs to socialise with are also the people who alienate

> and displace her in a different way. But effecting the same result in this way, interesting isn't it (participant individual interview).

While the contradictions offered students were marked and often handled in silence, participants recognised paradox in their own professional experience. In dealing with Maori issues many found they had to struggle with systems that wanted a Maori presence but failed to recognise or support commitments that were contingent on them sustaining their Maori integrity.

Breaking silence as teachers drew from a different motivational base to the survivalist strategies employed by participants when they were students. Whereas breaking silence both as students and as teachers emerges from resistance to many taken for granted assumptions, the shift in relative power allows teachers a louder voice in institutional settings. In addition, as adults, teachers, mothers and aunties many of the women drew from cultural notions of reciprocity; giving back to the future in recognition of what one has received in the past. Breaking silence as teachers became an intermediary step to the women positioning themselves, for want of a better word, as change agents (Foster 1986).

Paradigm Shifts: Asserting Face and Making Space.

The participants are aware that they are successful products of a system that operates in ways contrary to Maori philosophical orientations. Each raised questions about the complex and obscure functions of schooling. Two women talked about education as an explicit political act tightly bound to the politics of difference and silence. *My Principal said that to me, 'your job is not a political job, Maori education isn't political.' Then I want to know what the heck is it? I mean if we are not making a statement that challenges the present system in education, we're not making any sort of statement at all.* Others confronted personally posed question of themselves; *at times I question my own level of institutionalisation. Sometimes I wonder what I'm doing, if I'm really making a difference here, because if you're not ,well, you might as well get out, you should step aside and make room for others to carry on; one of the biggest things for me is to recognise my own used by date ....* Still others, frankly recounted experiences where questions had also been directed at

themselves by other Maori pointedly asking, *when will you be captured by the status quo?* At different times each candidly ask hard questions of each other; *do you really think we're making any real difference,* and the system in which they worked; *why does the Ministry continually pit us* (the different programme types) *against each other - we're not going to get anywhere competing with each other when really we're all meant to be rowing the same waka in the same direction.*

The women recognised that while they saw themselves advocating change, they worked in institutions that are perceived as problematic by many Maori, and trained in pre-service courses that did not adequately prepare them for, nor actively support, their present positioning within it.

Half the group attribute attaining positions of responsibility to sheer determination, confident in the personal support of whanau networks when within the system few institutional mentors or advocates suggested taking on positions of responsibility. In contrast two other women previously held deputy principal positions in the schools in which they won principalships. In addition to whanau support these two women cited the previous principals as actively encouraging them to applying for the positions they were leaving. For another participant attaining a principalship was about being actively recruited, as a year three teacher. For another participant, in her third year teaching gaining a position of responsibility was about being *landed with the responsibility of a senior teacher* after a particular set of circumstances left the syndicate devoid of senior staff.

The following dialogue indicates that winning senior jobs (when they were actively sought) involved the same tenacity used to overcome would be glass ceilings and institutional barriers negotiated by participants as they progressed through the system as students. One participant called it *knowing your stuff and knowing the stuff of those who would interview you.*

> ... it was time for a change so I started applying for principalships of schools. I sent away for the principals' information packages from prospective schools, and I had to be very selective cos I had two things in my mind. I was an assistant principal, which most people associate with junior school - anything from new entrants to the J3's and I was Maori, and I was a - would be first time principal so I thought to myself when I read these packages, I considered the realities of being an assistant principal, being a Maori, and potentially being a first time principal, and I had to ask

myself - what school will take a risk with,...the potential to be an excellent principal versus proven ability even if mediocre. Would they take mediocre proven or would they take potential excellence, and that was the gamble. So, I thought to myself, what schools would do that? So as I looked through the Gazette I took particular notice of the area because as soon as I got the right socioeconomic grouping, I decided probably anything between decile 1-3 would take a gamble on me. And those ... lower socioeconomic area schools tend to be most of our people, or mostly Polynesian. It's not because they're Polynesian or Maori that they're there, it's because they're in a lower socioeconomic group - most Non-Maori people tend to confuse the two (participant, individual interview).

... appointments without a doubt are affected by who we are - you know - Maori. I guarantee if any one of us three wanted to apply for the principalship in (an affluent area) we would probably be lucky to be shortlisted for an interview, and that would be no matter what qualifications or experience we had (participant, paired interview).

I was determined to be a principal and I prepared myself for it. I made sure I knew what the legal requirements were, personal requirements, curriculum and property and I made sure that I had some understanding of how boards had to operate, and I knew what areas I was weak in, but I felt that I had enough networks and I knew where to go to get the information and support... so it was a bit of homework and I would say that my involvement in the New Zealand Education Institute prepared me in a major way because I got to look at a number of areas and how they impacted on the schools nationally so I didn't just have a narrow view ...
I had a view of my school, our school, yeah our school, that's what institutionalisation does to you, you're used to using personal pronouns, but our school in the bigger scheme of life in New Zealand and particularly for Maori kids so working in the institute probably assisted in preparing me as well - definitely in Maori education, and looking at the myriad of issues affecting our people. So I went for this job ... they were taking a big risk with me, I felt like I had a personal stake because these were our kids. I knew what had to happen and I knew for them to succeed and be successful, academically and culturally successful, I had to shift minds and it was the hardest thing. And in the end I didn't shift minds because they shifted. What I had to do as a professional was to make sure that what I did was ethical and that I would provide support for them, and then really they couldn't make the change, I couldn't stop that happening but I knew that the bottom line was, these kids are on the back foot to start with, that is how monocultural systems perceive them and that is how the operating world would perceive them. And, who are the people to make the change, not the kids, it had to be us, professionals first, we're the big people for goodness sake then have another look at the kids. But the situation was compounded by lots of different things ... and the only thing that got me through that really, now that I look back, was rightly or wrongly, what I definitely knew was things had to change for these kids. The kids could wear you down but even at my lowest ebb I realised that was my problem, the kids didn't have any problem with how things were, that was mine, so those were the major changes for me that had major implications ... I had to put up with comments from professionals who were in the ministry and union, saying, "so ... I've noticed that (x number) of the appointed staff have left". I said, "yes they have", and they were offering assistance to me while implying something else. I basically said to the person talking with me, "I will not kiss the ground that any teacher walks on because they've chosen to teach at our

> kura . ... you give us the teachers that are intelligent and have a particular expertise, to work with these types of children and they'll be fine. These children have a special character" I said, "and it's not religion..." So what I can say to you, is that throughout the whole ordeal or process, I think ordeal is a better word, to tell the truth, I've been ethical and professional and provided support but in the end those teachers made the decision to move of their own volition. ... But the bottom line for me is that, if teachers aren't there for kids and in particular our kids, then really there's not much you can do. I mean, you're as ethical and professional as you can be within a framework, always mindful our kids can't afford to wait, they've waited and endured particular types of education and institutionalisation for their entire school experience (participant, individual interview).

As personal educational philosophies began to evolve participants began to question the ability of different programmes to effect change. These discussions were less about facilitating their own career paths, having more to do with creating and fostering institutional space for Maori youth. They freely talked of their visions and aspirations. Many of these were not talked about in an individual sense but became tightly bound to their ideas of education's potentialities; what schools *could* and *should* provide for Maori. Achieving the 'could' and 'should' was tied to an obligation to give back; *I'm not talking about self aggrandisement.* Giving back as indicated in the previous section was not lineally defined but couched in future growth and development. The future was represented and physically present in the generation of children with whom they had daily contact.

> It's funny, even on a bad day though you notice it's that giving back to children and the parents giving back their heritage that keeps you going. That's why our whakatauki is the way it is kia whakahoki te mana. That's what it's all about just to gather back (participant, paired interview).

Giving back in a sense was about returning or making reparation for institutional injustices that they wanted no part in replicating. Each participant contemplated systematic change. While the motivation to change drew the group together, the order of priority and emphasis placed on different factors varied.

Views of Change

Being cognisant of difference and how difference is perceived in institutional contexts is woven through the two preceding chapters and the earlier sections of this one. While many of the discussions where animated, none more so than when the topic of change arose. Those

discussions evoked a range of responses whereby some were optimistic and prepared to effect change and respond to proactive measures irrespective of their source.

> I'm confident to debate issues with just about anybody and yet I still keep my mind open I'm still open to really anything that will bring about positive change for our particular children and the aim would be to capitalise on any window of opportunity, should it become available and to embrace it and to pursue ruthlessly, any strategy or piece of information that's going to achieve the ultimate goal for Maori kids and that is to increase their life chances ... the only thing that's constant is change (participant, paired interview).

Others however were pensive, sure that change was needed but not yet sure of any one finite structure that would serve the diverse realities of Maori.

> I'm still mulling all that over what the structure should look like. Even after 20 years out teaching, since I was born really, I'm still trying to figure out what's there and why. I've had ideas but I don't even know what the structure to help us is going to look like, I'm still looking and trying to weigh it up in my own mind, trying to fathom it because as a people, as an indigenous peoples, we are changing so fast as we have always done but I see different things happening and for me it's always a dilemma to try and balance my views with what I can see and try and make some sense of it. How do we move on, how do we get there, what do we put in place to get there. How are we suppose to achieve that dream where our kids have real chances and real opportunities that don't require them to become brown Pakehas ... It's important to look and see what's happening and listen to lots of people and try and work out in your mind what's happening because it's not worth trying to guide people in a direction if they can't see what's there. I mean we have a vision that is encased in seeing us as whanau, hapu and iwi members, how do we make the vision a reality is the challenge (participant, paired interview).

Some expressed weariness and ongoing scepticism, particularly when change involved tikanga in institutional contexts and where the locus of control resided outside Maori control.

> Today's society where some of our tikanga get overlapped and we tend to forget what it really means. And that's why I have, difficulty at times with rangatahi trying to operate in a Maori kaupapa. I'm trying to operate a Maori kaupapa in a Pakeha system (participant, paired interview).

In contrast others saw tikanga as fluid while the philosophical core provided the constant.

> ... as far as Maori management I believe we do have styles that are more friendly to us but I mean it's like everything else like our people's tikanga it was the rules that we lived by our lore l. o. r. e. at the time that's what our tikanga is and it changed, it had to change, your environment changed you had to change the tikanga. I'm not saying that your beliefs or your philosophy changed. The philosophy that was behind lore would have been the same, that was the constant. But all this thing about tikanga, you shouldn't change it is rubbish. How else did

> you get from a race of people coming over to things like going onto a marae with paeke or tu atu, tu mai, how else would you have got two different ways of doing (except for whanau or hapu making choices) that was the changing of tikanga. So as far as I'm concerned some Maori management systems should be changing with the time to suit us it's rubbish about us going back into those little mud huts and grass skirts, we would have changed. A lot of people said that the Pakeha brought technology and all the changes well trading did and we were trading and that's how you improve on anything through trade and meeting new people. I really do think if we hadn't been colonised I think we would treat a lot of things differently and the other thing which is saddening I think we would not have lost as much as we did. I think we would have developed in a far superior way than we have at the moment because we're still in that servant sort of a stage as we are and that's the biggest thing about colonisation that I have problems with is the fact that they robbed us of so much of our heritage that we'll never ever get back again and it's that knowledge and that understanding of who we are and who we come from that's so important (participant, paired interview).

Attempting to effect change also required knowing the rules of the game.

> I know for me going in there I was very clear about my identity and my role but it puts me at loggerheads with the framework, not only within my school but within the whole area of education and you are constantly battling, you are constantly having to revise, you are constantly having to restrategise, your long term goals always remain, but every day, every hour is constantly adjusting (participant, paired interview).

The group were unanimous agreeing that systematic change was needed. Discussion focused on knowing what to change, identifying goals that would effect desired outcomes, the need to monitor change and the potential hindrances that made effecting change problematic.

Knowing What to Change

The primary theme underpinning the discussions about change focused on changing mindsets; prevailing discourse that persistently situated Maori in institutional contexts as being somehow inferior. Where facets of Maori culture were seen to be in addition to structures and processes (rather than fundamental to the core business of schools), participants remained sceptical of colleagues' commitment to change, aware that for the majority of their colleagues commitment towards a Maori contribution was contingent on initiatives that did not encroach on school structure or processes. More extensive initiatives were met with resistance by many who did not believe more substantial change would positively contribute to the educative process.

Changing mindsets, particularly of non-Maori colleagues was about moving beyond deficit modes of thought and the development of stereotypical strengths.

> ... what these people couldn't see was that you couldn't crack the cycle with these kids with a particular uniqueness, the same way you could crack the cycle with other children. So basically it requires a paradigm shift, a whole new way of looking at these kids and say, well okay that's where they are in this particular area can we deliver in their strength? (participant, individual interview).

> ... most teachers can't deliver to our kids strengths. They can not deliver and take them beyond singing at primary school, when they get to high school it's too late, unless they have the personal commitment and burning desire to be a musician. I mean this is definitive stuff but in general the majority of teachers can not deliver or extend their cultural and their aesthetic innate talents. The major barrier, as far as I was concerned, to the kids, in effecting positive outcomes in education is really a lot of teachers, by saying that I recognise I have to put in the work too. You have to find people that are willing to work with teachers in order to enskill them. The urgency of everything is accentuated because you think of our kids being pushed to fail everyday - this school has given me experience in ethical dilemmas that I just don't want to know about any more.
> However, we work through the issues and really if you want to succeed with our kids, what I tell our teachers now is, the probability is when you back our kids into a corner they're going to do one of two things - they're going to submit or they're going to come out fighting. My experience in the short time that I have observed these students at (this kura) is that they will not submit, you back them into a corner and you publicly humiliate them, you takahi their Mana and their Mauri you're going to pay the price and you might say that's unfair but the point is you're the big person, the expectations are upon you to change, you don't like the behaviour - change the programme and sure there are exceptions to that rule, but the point of fact is if you can't do anything for the ones that you can't handle, the majority are still there waiting to be taught, so start doing something for them. But the bottom line is we have to get teachers in front of our kids. We find that we have to bite the bullet in some instances because there is no doubt a school employs the best person available, but of course everything's relative, it's the best person *A vail-able* within a shrinking pool and questionable quality (participant, individualinterview).

> ... my niche is in Maori education and it is to address those inequities and to build within Maori children particularly, a pride of who they are and what they are and to build within them that determination to achieve ... I've always had this philosophy with Non-Maori, I'm as good as you, you're no better than me, we both have faults and we need to recognise each other, our *strengths* and our *weaknesses*. And that's what I've tried to build within children, is the respect for each other no matter what race they are. I think that's another important value that children need to develop ... (participant, individual interview).

> We're still outspoken but we've found another way to address the issues and you've got another lot coming through that were like us ... a cycle coming full circle, I think it might be fair to say that those ones that are coming through now, we probably in some small way had a part to play in that because we've tried to *make spaces* in the system where they could believe in themselves, to be proud of who they are fight for their rights and you see that's what's coming but they're addressing it in their way, we addressed it in our way. I guess it's a stage of development in terms of addressing self determination and we've come through that developmental period and now we're at another stage of development and we're saying, here is another way that we can address it. In order to create changes, you have to be part of the system, so you have to get within to make changes. You have to be in there to create the changes you can't create them from the outside (participant, individual interview).

Change was focused on excellence and getting the best for children in order to get the best from them. Ideological change was the primary issue, *change the way people think about these kids and they'll start to identify for themselves some of the other things that need to change too.*

Identifying Goals

Effecting change was contingent on being able to identify goals that would achieve the desired outcomes. The participants commonly talked about changing resource allocations, specific timetabling structures, curricula content, pedagogical practices and assessment methods. Identified changes also varied according to contextual factors, that included for example, people, places, incidents and the institutional cultures in which they worked. Knowing your focus was an important factor. The dialogue suggested change needed to occur simultaneously at a variety of levels in ways that included all with a vested interest in education.

Some of the women focused particularly on staff issues.

> If you want to work in this kura you have to have intelligence and you have to have grit. How you interact and how you behave with these children and how you treat them is really important and that's not to say we don't feel like giving them a size twelve up the derriere at times, hell you do! But when that becomes the norm as a thought process, or when you're constantly publicly humiliating kids and when I say constantly, if you do it three times a day that's three times too many, then we need to do something to affect positive change and I have to realise that sometimes people can not make the paradigm shift required outside (participant, individual interview).

Setting goals were also discussed in terms of short term goals that would instrumentally lead to the achievement of long term objectives.

> The school I have here was a predominantly Non-Maori school it also served a purpose for me as a Maori to achieve a key decision making position in a predominantly Non-Maori community, and you see you could sew some seeds there in that particular school but the strong desire was always for me to come back into a Maori community, just to put that in its right context, over the thirty years plus in education, since graduating most of it has been in Maori communities and Maori schools but I have also had the experience of the other side of the fence, so coming here, mainstream the Principal and I decided on a ten year plan and that was to develop the bilingual cos they already had a bilingual Whanau, so the both of us developed it into immersion, to completely immerse the school. Those were the goals for this particular school. We have a vision and I feel we're achieving it, ... it's a struggle but you see I go back to my upbringing and draw on that determination to achieve (participant, individual interview).

Participants talked about the complexity of issues, realising that there were no easy or quick solutions. Previous approaches were seen to treat serious issues as though they were passing hiccups in a system that required little in the way of fundamental change. The group had a sense of optimism that this view was changing and that positive incremental steps were being put in place. This was seen to be primarily initiated by community effort which later attracted state support.

> ... what the government said would be just an overnight affair developed into an everlasting affair. The thing that's given this momentous growth in Maori education, is the Kohanga. It was the beginning that developed that growth that's happening in primary. So bilingual schools began to grow and have increased to meet the need and then immersion came in and then the transition into Kura, it's growing so much that it is a concern. As an educationalist the concern I have in the growth is that the government is not meeting the needs, they're developing reactive policies. The biggest concern I have for Maori, is the quality of delivery because for me personally, it has to be the best for Maori education. It cannot be second best, the resources, the personnel ... (participant, individual interview).

Significant change was based upon people working together toward a common goal rather than being imposed by a system of which many whanau members were sceptical.

> ... we had to do our homework because it was in the days when you had to register yourself and do all that sort of thing. I called all the huis, wrote to the experts on bilingual education because you had to go through that whole process. You couldn't just start it up so then together we moved towards reorganising the whole school to work as one and we started really small and progressed along each year. .. There were just no resources then, nothing at all, there were no Training Colleges putting out any teachers to deliver the curriculum in Maori none of that happened (participant, individual interview).

Monitoring Change

In monitoring change many participants were caught in the dilemma of wanting to effect change quickly for the sake of those currently in the system but also recognised that in order for change to be accepted and collaboratively owned, this further created contexts where change appeared frustratingly slow.

> It's difficult for us to work with the different groups because even though you may have a plan of action, the main thing is to gain the confidence of those people that where you are, who you are, and where you are going is a place worth getting to. And what it means is that it has taken this long for just a couple of fractions to become confident that I am not going to sell them out.
>
> ... I would say that ...in the context that I'm looking at now and in those beliefs that have been driven I would probably use, draw on a lot on my own unvalidated experiences however, at particular moments I would use the validated experiences to further progress what I saw as important, and indeed if I was at Saint Cuthberts, I would use the validated one to the enth degree but I need both of them ...

Change required commitment and long hours necessitated by the need to simultaneously be curricula expert in all areas (finding, developing, writing, implementing and assessing curricula and children across multilevels), and being the developer and publisher of resources.

> I was teaching the children and getting the resources, translating all the books - there was only me and I had parent help you know and some of the parents were tremendous. I could call on them to help me. I was teaching, seven different levels and it was very difficult. Nobody else in that Whanau bar one other person could korero so I really did everything on my own I mean I didn't have lunch hours cos there was no one around so I'd eat with the kids but there was never a break for me away from the kids and it was very tough. Even now I can get upset when I talk about this phase of my teaching experience. I was so disappointed that I didn't see the twelve months out, disappointed in myself because I didn't stick to it

One particular benefit arising out of RTM positions was having the space to step back and reflect on school structures and programmatic issues. Other dialogue taken from the same paired interview also recognised many draw backs based on positions being reduced to superficial assessment criteria that saw them as resource makers, hindered by current climate of delivering tangible outcomes

> One of the things that I find that being in this position which is different and more positive than being in the classroom and being in charge of say five teachers, is that you have that ability to stand back and reflect. You haven't got all those flooding restraints on you like looking after your own class, ensuring that your staff are all on task or whanau issues. You are quite isolated from all that, you can actually stand back and have a look at what the situation is like because it was your reality, but now you are actually able to look at all the other issues, the long-term outcomes of immersion education, because of the day to day realities of the classroom aren't yours. But you can identity not only the short, middle and long-term goals you also have got a better view of what the other issues are impacting on classrooms (participant, pairedinterview).

> But when I came into the job I saw it as a resource person encouraging and promoting the growth of Maori medium education. The focus that I have taken was that the resource is me - how resourceful could I be in encouraging others to opt into Maori medium and be informed and have choices (participant, paired interview).

> I mean I have seen people in this position who have taken my job title literally. Because we are Resource Teachers of Maori, that's what they have done, they have made resources in Maori. And we all know that, all that does is empower the person that makes the resources and doesn't empower the people who use the resources and I'm not into that. I would rather teach the person how to make the resource themselves, they do it themselves and then they have got that power, I don't have it (participant,pairedinterview).

> The making of resources is a tangible output which you can actually measure in terms of people and output, whatever you want to call it, you can measure that output, now, en-skilling a person is really difficult to measure as an output but when you make a resource you can say look I have done this and this and the school have these resources in their store room and they can say "WOW". You can measure it, but all your doing is justifying this salary as a glorified teacher aid really (participant paired interview).

Monitoring change was about being effective individually, as a profession at large, and as a systematic institutional structure aimed to meet the educative needs of all.

> I mean, if we were effective, we should basically be out of a job. Do you understand what I mean? We should be doing ourself out of a job. Instead we are securing ourselves for many years. Instead our services is becoming more demanding, there is more demand for our job now - why? I think it's because we are not being effective. I don't think we can under the conditions and terms in which we are working (participant,pairedinterview).

Aware of the Hindrances

Participants spoke of a number of hindrances and resistance to change. Many have been previously discussed in terms of ideological resistance by colleagues and communities, underpinned by perceptions that Maori thought processes, values and beliefs would not enhance the educative process. Vocalised resistance however was often expressed in terms of pragmatic issues. The issues cited ranged from timetabling, horizontal class groupings and even included architectural design.

One benefit expressed by some of the participants to overcome resistance was the long route they had taken to immersion. Having worked across a number of sites participants were clear about their personal philosophies and able to articulate with clarity the short comings of current general stream options for Maori.

> Then I went from there (an integrated school to a bilingual) to an immersion unit. By that stage the immersion unit was totally autonomous from the rest of the school and I was developing my own theories on immersion education and what that means for me, what that means for my kids, what it means for the other kids and we were putting it into practice, it was great. It was a gradual development but one thing that I could see was we were moving forward. I couldn't have planned it better the way that I did it really. I mean going through the Catholic system and then going into a mainstream bilingual and then immersion. I know it was a longer but I actually think my grounding is wider and when I argue things on immersion education I argue from experience as well as from theory plus I grew up a lot, it's just that I can say I've tried that, I've been there, I've seen how that works, I've seen how other people teach and it doesn't work and I know this is the reason why. Many can't differentiate between the two because they don't know the two they don't know how the mainstream school system works and they don't know actually how an immersion school system works, they can't differentiate so they don't know which it is. Maori think as a whole, we think about the total being before we go down to the individual skills of the total being (participant, paired interview).

> But dividing makes it easier to manage. It provides a safety net and don't forget outputs - you can physically see the outputs of a spelling lesson, a writing lesson things like that, you can't often see the outputs of a whole language session in the same way (participant, paired interview).

The most common dilemma faced by the group was, *the whole issue is with inadequate resource base full stop.*

Dealing with the frustration's of gained and lost ground also became a common challenge to be coped with.

> ... I tend to go out into other schools and I get frustrated as hell because you work with a group of teachers or you work with a teacher usually for a year and a) either the teacher leaves, b) the situation changes, or c) or the teacher has lost something or they go away for the holidays and you have got to start again. And to me it is maintaining sanity. You have got to start all over again and you think to yourself, what I have done the last year. You have got situations nine times out of ten that are changing and you have got to start all over again (participant, paired interview).

> We both have that conflict all the time and what I find is that it's an outcome of having to working alone (participant, paired interview).

Change was also about common understanding of issues between those they worked with, communities and themselves. For example the following quote about equity states that

> The idea, the word equity is very problematic. Principals dive on the equity issue as meaning the disabled, Maori, and gender issues, whereas when if you have worked within Maori education with students who are Maori, equity means something quite different. It's talking about their resources so that we will have equal outcomes and to try and get Principals to sort of see that your whanau is actually saying we should be working towards equal outcomes has being very difficult. I have been very disappointed because I thought that these people would have a fair idea of what the issues are (participant, paired interview).

This practitioner was clearly demonstrating that common understandings are at best illusive, but more often, non-existent.

Future Aspirations - Drawing Back to the Centre

The main thrust that contributed to their aspirations regarding educational change was excellence. Notions of excellence encompassed ideological shifts, teacher perceptions, and structural change.

> ... we have to open up another world for our Maori children. There is another world out there that they have to survive in and the environment is becoming very difficult for them to survive in (participant, paired interview).

> ... I think Maori education is well and it's alive but we need to nurture it and we need to develop it and we can only do that if we have the resources to do that and if everyone is in agreement (participant, group focus interview).

> ... Well, you have to look, your actually bringing them out of the mire. Your getting them to rise above it. What's the future for Maori children now? Now what I'm saying is it doesn't matter where you come from, first and foremost you are Maori, be proud of who you are and you can achieve. When I considered career options, the only option that was really considered for us was teaching. Now we're struggling to get good Maori students applying for training college. What have we got now? We've got them going into law, accountancy, medicine. In my day no one considered law or being doctors, dentists - no one. Nursing or teaching were the career options for Maori (participant, paired interview).

Participants also talked of the future. Future aspirations not only involved where the participants saw themselves but more importantly where they saw themselves in relation to supporting children currently in the educational system.

> ...what I hope to see for me in the future is going a little way to cracking that cycle and to have people look at our kids with new eyes and new ears, it mightn't be as a principal of a kura it could possibly be as a political lobbyist. I do have a concern for Maori students that are in general education, at present they do not have the same political clout as Maori children who are not. What I mean is we need to go further to actively lobby so that, whoever is in front of them actually recognises that they have to use a different vehicle to achieve the same sort of thing and they have to know that their language and their culture has to be part of the vehicle - unless, they produce something like me and then you wait till they're adults and think oh my god, I've got to go back to the Marae, I better do something about being so white for so long. We're going to come to a day of reckoning with this and it'll assist in programmes if people are able to see the language and culture of these kids as a strength, as a step to see it as we all do. More people are starting to see but the actions don't necessarily come with it. So I'll be somewhere, definitely in education .. we've lived with the ten point plan for a while - The ten point Maori education plan - it's beautiful rhetoric and it's just lovely to trot out when you're at a strategic planning meeting but we have to realise people make it happen and you've gotta realise that you can't divorce policy making from the people that are s'posed to be implementing it. So definitely I'll be battling for Maori education and thinking of Polynesian and Maori kids that are in general education. General education's changed a hell of a lot now, and I guess I should pay tribute to the changes that have been made in favour of kids, I just get a sense of urgency that we have to bloody hurry up and do a lot more because kids are too often being consigned to rubbish heaps that aren't of their own making. I mean this crap about the globally shrinking world is really dangerous, the concept is dangerous because it actually has the potential to break down cultures and languages ... in Aotearoa New Zealand Maori culture is the only thing that makes us unique but we're beginning to see global policies which have the potential to actually break down cultures like we've never seen before. .. when Aotearoa New Zealand was first colonised by Pakeha and continued right up till 1960, the biggest weapon used to actually destabilise and ensure that the culture - in as far as they could make it - became sterile was by legislative violation - really it was violations of the law that

> were the biggest weapon used to break us down in terms of our beliefs and values (participant, individual interview).

The participants' aspirations extended beyond their own physical placement in education. It was difficult to get participants to talk about themselves as separate entities from the children with whom they had daily contact, from whanau who these children were an extension of, or from Maori educational issues in general.

> What I hope to see for me in the future is just going a little way to cracking the cycle ... to have people look at our kids with new eyes and new ears. It mightn't be as a principle of a Kura, it could be as a political lobbyist ... (participant, individual interview).

> Knowing me, I'll be in there somewhere fighting for these kids. I just want to be sure I know when I've stopped fighting cause that's the time to get out and move over for someone else to step in (participant, individual interview).

> I'll have to think about that, before the reforms I would have said the inspectorate, I don't know that ERO has the same appeal. ... there's still a lot of work to do, just ask whanau and they'll tell you we've still got a long way to go, I'd like to think I've still got things to contribute and a few more years to do it in ... (participant, individual interview).

Summary

An initial aim of the research was to identify student strategies used by the participants to negotiate institutional terrains that facilitated the attainment of school credentials. The data provided a diverse and complex range of responses. The necessity to develop coping mechanisms emerged from contending with hegemonic norms that drew attention to the mismatch between the liberal educational principles of egalitarianism and meritocracy and the ways these principles' discursive formations silenced the social critique of this group of students.

Applying the principle of meritocracy - where the idea of educational outcomes in a 'neutral system' is based on the assumption that school success is derived from ability plus effort - provides a weak explanation for the women attaining school based credentials. This is primarily because such principles fail to recognise the differentiated costs delineated by ethnicity,

complicated by gender and often exacerbated by class for some within the group. What the group must cope with has less to do with what Boykin (1986) defines as the 'can or can nots'; their ability to display the technical or academic competencies associated with curricula (many attained awards for subjects as diverse as French, English, Maths and Science), rather their experiences brought to the fore issues of 'will' or 'will not' and 'should' and 'should not' as they contended with competing norms, values, beliefs and behaviour patterns. What is often taken as Maori children's failure to learn, can just as easily be seen as the school's failure to teach (Neisser 1986). It would appear that many of these women succeeded not because of neutral systems but because of inordinate amounts of determination in the face of adversity; overcoming the multifarious contradictions of negotiating cultural terrains that threaten to ideologically and structurally lock them out. Boykin (1986) maintains that 'schools can and do function as agents of hegemony' (p79).

Their struggle reflected a mismatch between self ascribed identity and the identity markers ascribed by others. The often subliminal messages that challenged their perceptions of self caused a range of responses from doubt, vague discomfort and confusion to confrontation as they struggled with the pressure to acquiesce to totalising institutional norms.

The issues raised are multifaceted in that power is not a simple, technocratic, lineal phenomena that flows from the top down. Within each site (noted above), contestation, resistance and/or accommodation occurs. For students, power is about the struggle to attain credentials and the development of coping mechanisms in order to negate the 'glass ceilings' that first appear for this group at the school site. They must cope with hegemonic precepts of their difference as deviance in terms of teacher expectations, institutional discourse, knowledge codes, informational networks, pedagogical practices, peer interaction and the application of cultural stereotypes.

Strategies used to progress through school ranged from being a 'private affair' where little in the behaviour, public responses or attitudes to school could be interpreted as different from their non-Maori peers. Passive silence used by all the participants at various stages (as students and as teachers), provided a smoother path through school and employment contexts; however, it was not

without a sense of possessing ill fitting institutional keys that did not quite fit institutional locks that represented the cultural logic of the briefcase. The participants at the other end of the continuum, as indigenous women, who through public display of breaking silence and talking back, in situations where the power differentials were and continue to be distinct, learnt the fate of unwelcome guests in the learning house of the immigrant coloniser.

The injustice of oppression for this group can not be defined outside or divorced from a historical, socio-political context. The institutional forces that each participant struggled with were situated in the disjunctive process of colonisation and its attendant notions of power and racial hierarchies.

Equally as staff they must contend with high visibility and cope with performance expectations based on stereotypical precepts about being Maori. In contrast to their student experiences the women define their teaching roles in terms of creating institutional space, not so much for themselves, but more significantly, about enabling Maori students currently in the system to maintain a positive Maori identity while striving to succeed. The facilitative roles they see as critical are drawn in part from a body of knowledge from which notions, roles and functions of leadership are derived from a cultural source. It is one of the foundational cornerstones from which they operate that is ignored within Western conceptualisation's of leadership. None of the women see themselves as individuals working toward aspirations based on solely self fulfilment; rather it is based on where Maori, as a group, might advance to and what would facilitate such growth and development.

Often the cultural logic embedded in institutional norms implicitly requires those outside its norms to see themselves as deviant. In stark contrast, for this group, it became the motivation to succeed. At least six of the eight participants at some stage in their student experience consciously and quietly made a pledge to show 'them' - that they 'could', 'would' and 'should' succeed. At times this meant accommodating the system not because they accepted the 'rightness' or the 'justness' of the system but because it engagement with it for instrumental purposes was unavoidable. Silence provided the safe haven in which the engagement occurred.

Their current convictions are predicated on their own school based experiences as students and the often unchanged recurring scenarios with which they are confronted as teaching professionals.

Student experiences provided the genesis for strategies used in teaching related contexts. The frankness with which the issues are discussed highlight the alignment of many of their experiences with those of the Maori children presently in their charge, rather than drawing them closer to other professionals with whom they trained. Their narratives are situated within a multitude of dualisms emanating from the multifaceted nature of self perception juxtaposed by identity markers ascribed by others. Ironically though self ascription and ascription by others may both result in the same designation - Maori - the meaning and value attached to such ascription is often polarised. As emphasised in the kete, there are variances across the group attributable to a variety of factors. Nevertheless, colonisation has collapsed together such differences providing commonalities of experience in institutional contexts that are either unable or unprepared to move beyond diametrically opposed dualities of them and us.

Often, as young teachers, silence was also used as a significant strategy. As their own educational visions emerged, the fundamental strategy employed to stay in the system was derived from their personal convictions. Being convinced that things have to change and in believing that, knowing that there have to be people prepared to effect change motivates them to stay. They are further motivated by a sense of reciprocity - giving back, by giving forward; about creating the space for future generations. The biggest strategy of all that sustains their commitment to education is their clear articulation of the need for change encased in their visions, hopes and aspirations for a better, fairer future. Their visions both help them to tolerate and be frustrated by the inconsistencies, contradictions and paradox, as they remind themselves that they are not there solely for themselves (recognising better money, prestige and reduced stress to be found elsewhere), but for children in the system and those yet to come through. On this basis they chose at times to allow some things to go unchallenged (such as racist jokes) as a means to conserve energy and reduce the risk of being

marginalised knowing full well that the required resources to effect change do not reside on the margins.

Success seen as another form of resistance is derived from the ways in which their success has been utilised. Not one of the women sit within the comfort zone that denying a Maori identity would provide. To the contrary, they actively use their positions to struggle, often against the tide to effect change. Placing themselves in opposition to supporting the status quo by actively seeking change continues to provide a curious mix of holding silence and breaking silence.

The third and final aim initially identified at the beginning of the research was to investigate the correlation between student strategies used to attain school based credentials and those employed by teachers in the primary sector. This aim was explored as previously discussed specifically in relation to silence.

The clamour of silence and its subtleties reverberate through the hallways of institutions, echoing messages of exclusion (Awatere 1984; Fine 1991) for those outside the hegemonic norm. The presence of particular discourse, and the absence of others proclaims who may creditably speak, the topics able to be spoken about, and the ways in which discourse is heard and validated. Silence is derived from the paradox of elicited dialogic engagement while concurrently making it clear that only particular responses will be heard (Jones 1998).

Chapter Ten

Conclusion: Looking Back, Moving Forward.

The introduction to this thesis identified three aims. They were:

- to record both student and work based experiences of six Maori women who held positions of responsibility as educators in general stream, bilingual and total immersion programmes in the primary sector;
- to identify the strategies used by the participants to negotiate institutional terrains in order to sustain their self ascribed identity and attain educational success; and
- to investigate correlations between student strategies used by the women to attain school based credentials and the strategies they employed as teachers to negotiate their work based contexts.

The thesis has investigated the experiences of eight successful Maori women who held positions of responsibility in the primary sector. It has theorised that beneath the homogenising titles of principal and senior teacher, were educational experiences that set these women as Maori women, apart from their colleagues. The thesis has shown that the pathways to success were not simple; nor could success be taken for granted based on principles of meritocracy. The women's pathways through school were often tortuous taking them through convoluted highways and byways, potentially denying them the credentials that would allow them entry into teaching.

The thesis has argued that discrepancies between the liberal notions of free public education (based on egalitarian and meritocratic principles) juxtaposed with the educational realities experienced by the participants, identifies the problematic - situated across multifarious sites and within multifacetedissues.

It is paradoxical that these women, as part of a larger group of Maori 'who make it', are often used to defend the meritocratic myth of schools. The group are aware they are used as examples of the systems 'neutrality', providing the living 'proof' that Maori can and do succeed. This, however,

ignores or fails to ask about the costs that lie in the wake of their attaining credentials. Rather than negotiating educationally neutral terrains, these women are driven, at least in part, by their own grit and determination to negate negative experiences. This group is motivated to succeed in spite of subliminal messages that see them less than equal in institutional contexts.

Although the thesis investigated the three aims - 'to record', 'to identify' and 'to investigate' at different levels (theoretical and practical) and in different contexts (schooling, educational and personal), as identified in chapter five, this research has some limitations. The number of participants involved in this research were, for example, members of a rare population, because the number of Maori women educators in educational administration is small. Therefore no generalisations are claimed. This position is clearly identified and firmly held by the participants themselves, who were strongly resistant to the fact that they might be cast as holding 'the' Maori voice. Nevertheless, important issues are raised by this research and themes have been identified that warrant further consideration.

Chapter one acknowledged the participants self ascribed identity by foregrounding the way in which women are represented within Pre-Colonial Maori archives. The ways in which female characters are represented in those archives across cosmological narratives, in narratives of lore and in a number of tribal narratives suggest that rather than the participants' and their current leadership roles being atypical, culturally inappropriate and somehow deviating from the norm, they are competently diverse and normal.

The cosmological narratives interlocated female and male elements together representing both as necessary, active constituents of a whole that engaged in complimentary relations rather than as superordinate and subordinate dichotomies. Narratives of lore positioned women as authoritative with the power to change the destiny of humanity. They were further identified as bearers of knowledge and the imparters of technology often enabling male counterparts to achieve feats often (in the western archive) solely attributed to men. Tribal narratives indicated that women were not solely the appendages of men; women in their own right, provided channels through which access

to all the social, political and economic rights within their respective tribal groups could be claimed. Across a number of iwi narratives, women are immortalised as respected leaders, as fearless and compassionate community members, admired for their bravery, remembered for their intellect and noted for displaying self determination. They have been imaged as powerful allies whose support and counsel was often solicited. The analysis in Chapter one therefore drew out how Maori women have an archive of knowledge that both centralises and normalises the participation of women in a number of diverse roles across numerous domains.

In contrast, Chapter two tracked the evolution of research on leadership in the western archive. A critical overview of influential empirical studies and later critique in the literature reveals that much is still yet to be discovered about the nature of leadership as a socially constructed phenomena. This remains the case even for white, middle class men who have historically constituted the focus of inquiry. Women within this archive are by and large invisible. When present they appear deficient and incapable in terms of gendered attributes and characteristics. White feminist critique situate the problematic within androcentric and patriarchal hegemony, perpetuating male centred norms. Centring the socio-historic 'norms' that are culture bound and gender specific as though they were universally applicable is particularly problematic when they then become the yardstick by which subsequent groups are measured. The outcome is a set of gate keeping mechanisms that act in exclusionary ways to discount women's participation in many leadership roles.

Chapter two further investigated critique from black feminists who situated the problematic within the discursive practice of racism drawing links to androcentricity and class issues that were seen as secondary complicating factors. As the argument suggested, many women of colour must first contend with their difference as deviance not in terms of gender but in terms of ideas about race and how the stereotypical assumptions about the ethnic group to which they belong are played out in institutional contexts. Analyses derived from mana wahine discourse while informed by both previous analytic positions, further critiques the diametrically opposed positions of individualism and collectivism. Sustaining mana wahine is equally contingent on sustaining mana tane, mana whanau, mana whenua, mana Maori. The position of Maori women is thus grounded in a particular

set of historical, socio-political circumstances that provides a legacy of deviancy and deficiency derived in part from the very institutions in which the participants in this study work. As educators they work in institutions that have historically had a vested interest in perpetuating particular notions of difference that serves potentially to deny participation at any level in the professions, prior to considering any possibility of attaining positions of responsibility.

Chapter three investigated the literature that combined, 'Maori', and 'student', in educational contexts elucidating the existence of 'glass ceilings' occurring at school. This body of knowledge indicates that the experiences of Maori in general, and Maori girls in particular is detrimentally different to their non-Maori peers. The literature is presented as a typology that tracks the development of six stages of research that has emerged in western discourse. The typology includes the types of questions asked, the approaches taken and ensuing outcomes, commencing with the statistical documentation of Maori as a distinct group in education. That first stage indicates significant disparities between Maori and non-Maori in terms of access, retention rates and educational outcomes. The second stage provided a focus on Maori as disadvantaged and subordinate as a way of explaining previously noted discrepancies between Maori and Pakeha. The majority of these studies resulted in cultural deficit views of Maori and the development of remedial programmes. In stage three a search for successful Maori students was instigated, supporting claims of institutional neutrality and success based on egalitarian and meritocratic principles that sustained the status quo. The fourth stage marked the commencement of research studying Maori on their own terms. In contrast to stages two and three, research identified critical institutional factors acting in culturally biased and exclusionary ways as providing the previously indicated glass ceilings thus denying many the necessary institutional rewards that allow access into professional career tracks. Stage five emerged as Maori academics positioned themselves as a challenge to theory, advancing analyses of existing theories and theorising how they might change in order to incorporate Maori positions. The most recent addition to the literature, at stage six, incorporates the work of those engaged in transformation of theory developed from kaupapa Maori and Maori centred approaches toeducation.

Chapter four, as the first of two methodological chapters, considered theoretical issues around the development of Maori research approaches. It was argued in the chapter that the philosophical and methodological orientation of the researcher in relation to the researched, impacted significantly on the research process. The position adopted by the researcher not only influenced what was perceived to be a worthwhile site of study, but also affected the choice of methodological approach used and subsequently the types of research outcomes achieved. Chapter five tracked the stages through which the research progressed. The discussion documented the impact of the pilot study contributing to the abandonment of a formalised schedule of questioning and the adoption of an open ended dialogic exchange between the participant and the researcher. The three types of interviews: individual, paired and group focus were enacted cognisant of the participants identity, providing the motivation to enact the ethical principles of mana, mauri, mahitahi and maramatanga.

Chapter six utilised the principles of whakapapa to develop an analytic framework through which the women's institutional experiences could be examined. Through the metaphoric use of patu, the role that relationships between Maori youth, institutional agents, structures and processes play in the wider context of attaining institutional credentials was considered. Utilising patu as the metaphoric vehicle lays claim to an integrative way of describing the experiences of the participants through a framework that examines interconnections in institutional contexts. Applying the descriptive framework and making the links transparent suggests that the attainment of school credentials are neither individually initiated, advanced or attained. Furthermore the ihi and wanawana of patu sometimes active, sometimes passive, carried across the border between the kete and the briefcase, supports and strengthens each participant's tuara.

Chapter seven engaged with the ways in which the women characterise their self ascribed identity. The organisational schema for understanding the full symbolic significance of patu, (grounded in whakapapa) was replicated in the ways in which participants described themselves. Identity markers identified as significant to and by the group were embedded in a series of intersecting relationships forged with people, land and cultural resources. The metaphoric use of kete whiri characterised how each woman wove defining characteristics into the tension of each emerging

pattern. Kete as a completed artefact was also characterised as a cultural repository in which defining attributes and characteristics could be held for future generations.

Chapters eight and nine provide insight into what types of inter-relationships exist between participants and two cultural repositories. These chapters addressed questions of the how and why kind. How and why participants needed to develop strategies to negotiate institutional terrains that were not particularly sensitive to them as individuals, nor their aspirations, raised many issues in the research. For example issues of racism in its various forms provided the most commonly cited and pervasive factor with which the women had to contend. The complexity of racism is often contradictory in the ways it couches 'other' in both attractive and repellent terms (Young 1995; Howe 1997). Attractive as the exotic and compliant indigenous body (Churchill 1992; Howe 1997) provides a venerable school and national icon. For example the appeal of powhiri (welcoming ceremonies) performed by children and staff, otherwise displaced by the overarching structures of institutions, seductively marks for new comers that there is a place for Maori. These same bodies however, are repelled when they refuse to be complicit in their own subjugation. Attempts to acquire a piece of 'the pie' through liberal meritocratic principles requires the application of 'effort' on far broader fronts than mastery of curricula content alone. They must confront and contend with complying with assimilative ideologies that are culturally incongruent with their primary identity. The ensuing conflict places many at odds with a system because they dare to tarnish, through exposure (by challenging institutions) the fabric of a society that prides itself on egalitarianism and principles of meritocracy.

A number of consistent points were raised throughout the thesis.

In the introduction for example, I outlined how, crossing the borderlands (Jones 1998) and juggling the binaries of home and school and of racism, while also attempting to access the life chances schools represented, necessitated the development of coping strategies (Boykin 1986). The research has illustrated that for all eight Maori women those borderlands and binaries existed.

The women were required to attain credentials that provided the entry criteria to pre-service teacher training. However, as discussed in chapter three, the issue of coping with 'glass ceilings' evident in work based analyses of minority groups, was equally evident in the student experiences of these women. One main divergence between the participants' experiences as students and their teaching experiences, is their *relative* difference in power. As adults the women may choose to remain in work based situations but as students, compulsion makes their presence not negotiable.

By looking at what the participants did do as students, and believed they should do in school, the research revealed an institutional influence that added to their motivation to succeed that was not otherwise found in the literature. They used negative situations to strengthen their resolve to succeed - seeing success as another form of resistance. For example by being silent, safe spaces were created in which contrary views and their oppositional forms of social critique could be safely held without evoking the antagonism of those in influential positions of power and with credentialling authority.

The women's tenacity in using negative institutional experiences as one of the primary catalysts to succeed became a way of narrating success as another form of resistance. How participants responded to negative messages about Maori in general provided a fuller understanding of what participants 'will or will not do', 'can or can not do' in schools than analyses that take for granted meritocratic principles operating. It is in the moments of time that negative experiences occur that the women (whose lives, self conscious critique, and even the source of their current convictions) pierce the fragile veneer of equal opportunity. In stark contrast to experiencing equal educational opportunities, their narratives highlight the presence of ideological and structural barriers that require strategic negotiation. The requirement to form positive links with institutional agents in schools was problematic particularly when community and national relationships were often characterised by distance and distrust. Nevertheless they were required to engage with curricula that situated them outside institutional norms, contending with ideological structural barriers that reinforced the marginal status of Maori in schools. For example, in some of the schools attended, the ideological assumptions about the worth or utility of Maori as a language meant it was not

offered as a subject choice. In others, outside of Maori Boarding schools, school structures such as timetabling, streaming and the clustering of subjects discounted those in academic classes from selecting Maori language as an option. Where languages such as French and German were accessible to academic students, Maori, clustered with Home economics, Biology and Woodwork, became structurally inaccessible and ideologically considered an incongruent option for academic students.

The ways in which the women contended with these types of issues provided a curious mix of accommodation and resistance as they confronted the ideological and structural organisation that permeated their schools. All the women have accommodated the system in some form in order to be credentialled by it. However, the should not(s), will not(s) and do not(s) expose the ripples of interruption, resistance and outright rebellion that lie in the wake of their success and remain clearly visible in their stories and experiences related throughout the thesis.

Fine (1991) suggested that minority children typically pay the price of the unwelcome guest, learning how 'temporary and probationary' (p. 194) their presence is considered. The level of suspension, expulsion, remediation and truancy amongst the participants highlights their status as indigenous women who become unwelcome guests in the learning house of the coloniser. Having the tenacity to utilise the effects of institutional ambivalence toward purging their educational aspirations manifests itself in the silent pledges *I'll show you,* explicitly made by six of the women.

The research examined the strategies used by these women in sites that continued to be filled with paradox and contradiction. Caught in the cusp of *what is* and *what could be* is the unnerving reality of these women's professional lives. Being reminded on a daily basis of *what is* through the experiences of *our children being consigned to rubbish heaps not of their own making* situates the women in positions where they are *as ethical and professional as you can be within a framework, always mindful that our kids can't afford to wait, they've waited and endured particular types of education and institutionalisation for their entire school experience.* This provides the impetus to work toward what *could be.*

The notion of coping at school as students rarely embraced the participants' ability to engage in curricula content or display technical competencies. Many participants attained academic prizes, the value of which was diminished by accusations of cheating and feelings of uncertainty as to why they did not quite fit in institutional settings. Clearly their success was not attributable solely to their own personal desire to succeed.

Whanau, particularly the role played by women who held high educational aspirations for children, proved critical to success. Many of these women mentors, supported, cajoled, pushed and bullied participants to succeed. They acted as bridging mechanisms across the breach of school and home providing avenues through which access to crucial school based networks could be optimised. Where many incidents at school actively served to dissolve sustaining links with ideological underpinnings of schools, their structure and processes, the same resolve manifest in whanau role models was drawn upon, providing the participants with the tenacity to utilise negative institutional experiences as further motivation to succeed.

In sorting through the data, a typology emerged in relation to change that bears some resemblance to Smith's (G., 1997) contextualisation of critical theory discussed in Chapter four. A significant component of this group's praxis could also be understood within the whakapapa frame presented in Chapter six. This is marked by the common attempts of participants to increase their own awareness of the breadth and depth of issues and reintegrate what has otherwise been presented as disparate components of the educative process. Making transparent the links and connections that exist between education for children and the ideological and operational focus of schools indicates the intent of praxis.

1) A stage of conscientisation - participants questioning taken for granted assumptions about the underlying principles of education. This was based on developing an understanding of what they were dealing with both in terms of their own childhood

experiences of education and the experiences of students that they came in contact with on a daily basis

2) Using the contradictions to identify institutional shortcomings and theorise change. This was about making the links between issues hitherto taught as disparate factors. Fractionating the constituent components of education and treating them as complete separate entities limited participants early in their careers to seeing issues as peculiarities to themselves, the school sites at which they taught, or curricula as separate parcels of knowledge, rather than the ideological underpinnings that flowed beneath them all.

3) Change or praxis was about identifying and developing goals, working toward them in incremental steps and monitoring change - personal and institutional.

4) Monitoring change made many aware of the difficulties associated with effecting positive change as they identified hindrances, such as timetabling, collegial and community resistance and backlash.

The narratives more accurately reflect issues of cultural placement, displacement and replacement. Cultural placement was about learning the place of Maori in educational institutions, and how the women coped with that. Cultural displacement was about *a Maori person who has been a minority all of her life who knows and has lived and has to come to rationalise and reconcile, the fact that her Maoriness wasn't considered an asset,* and how they coped with that. And finally cultural replacement is about no-ones land, about being located in particular school sites and feeling *totally displaced and alienated from her people and the very people that she needs to socialise with are also the people who alienate and displace her in a different way. But effecting the same result in this way,* and how they coped with that.

Some issues that need further investigation were raised by the research.

Firstly critical finding derived from the research is the experiences of this group of women, as students and as teachers, (played out at the micro level) is reflective of a far larger drama - not scripted by the participants, but certainly one in which they are caste as the antagonist and must

play opposite to the protagonist role. The central tenet that reverberates across the sites is one of explicit and implicit power.

At the core of each level and site for both student and staff is the central issue of power. Power played out at the school level in the structuring of classroom practices, what constitutes core subjects and what is identified as extracurricular. The use of power is further evident in decisions made about whose cultural capital is recognised, resourced and rewarded. At a national level who participates in the development of curricula, who decides resource allocations and how such resources are to be distributed are seen to be crucial. Further to this, is the cost in terms of predefined parameters that accompanies the receipt of such support. At a deeper structural level again are the ideological assumptions that assume 'one people' means a mirror image of those who hold institutional power. An initial attempt has been made in this thesis to unravel some of the complexities by drawing on the network analytic approach advanced by Stanton-Salazar (1997) and developed through a whakapapa frame. A fuller understanding of the specifics of power and the interrelationships involved to make transparent the operation of power at these multiple levels needs to be developed.

Secondly this research focused on eight Maori women working in a publicly funded education system. It illustrated how many consciously brought their cultural identity into the workplace. As Maori women holding positions of responsibility they were all pro-active in the establishment, maintenance and development of educational initiatives that advanced ideological, structural and processual change in order to centralise Maori positions. This thesis has aimed to contribute to an understanding of their unique position. If indigenous women are to (re)claim their voice in public arena and the valuable contribution they make is to be fully recognised however research on a larger scale needs to be undertaken.

A further set of recommendations are made as a result of this research. First that preservice training needs to better reflect and prepare Maori for the nature of their roles that they are expected to fill by both their non-Maori peers and within many Maori communities. Secondly that professional

development is required to support those already teaching that befits the nature of the transformation sought by this group. As previously identified by Puketapu (1993) gaps exist in the education of Maori teachers and administrators including socio-political, economic, historical and cultural antecedents to current tensions. Thirdly professional development needs to both recognise and facilitate the acquisition of theoretical knowledge and skills that support the complex role Maori administrators are expected to fulfil. Professional development at present does not reflect the broader influences that have operated to shape the educational experiences of either Maori students or teachers.

In concluding the thesis I leave the last word to the participants.

I have this most wonderful, incredible dream that one day all our children will enter into schools and be valued for what they bring and the strengths they have to contribute.

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APPENDICES

1. Information Sheet

2. Consent Form

3. Confidentiality Declaration

4. Follow up checklist

Note The title change on the cover of this thesis differs from the headings on the original information sheets. The final title emerged after considering the participants narratives and in discussion with the women. The change of title is evident in appendix 4.

INFORMATION SHEET

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

Taku Titiro - Maori Women in Educational Administration

E nga mana, e nga reo, e nga maunga, e nga awaawa, e nga pataka o nga taonga tuku iho, tena koutou katoa.
Tena koutou hoki i o tatou tini aitua. Haere atu ki a ratou i ahu mai i Te-moana-nui-a-Kiwa. Haere, haere, haere koutou katoa. Ratou te hunga mate ki a ratou. Tatou te hunga ora ki a tatou. Tena tatou katoa.

Ko Tauhara te maunga,
Ko Taupo-nui-a-Tia te moana,
Ko Tutemahuta te hapu,
Ko Tuwharetoa te iwi,
Ko Te Arawa te waka,
Ko Te Heuheu te tangata.
Ko Hine Waitere-Ang toku ingoa.

Kia ora Koutou,

I am seeking support from Maori women in positions of responsibility (senior teachers, itinerant teachers of Maori, deputy principals or principals) in the primary sector of education for research purposes. It seems natural to me after 16 years of teaching in both bilingual and mainstream primary schools in one capacity or another that my research topic should focus on the motivating factor that drew me back into an academic context; an attempt to better understand the complexities for Maori women working in educational settings. The study is being carried out for three distinct reasons:

- as partial fulfilment for the requirements of a Masterate of Educational Administration at Massey University.

- Secondly, to highlight the contribution Maori women make to education within the the primary service in Aotearoa and finally,

- to inform the literature base, through oral dissertation and further publication, of a view (taku titiro) that exists, that is largely unknown, regarding administrative theory.

Please consider your willingness to participate in this study as you read on.

What is the study about?

The study is about Maori women holding positions of responsibility in educational

organisations at the primary school level. The voices of eight educators will be sought across Maori immersion, Bilingual and English immersion primary school services in order to highlight the diverse range of programmes we operate in and what our experiences are within them.

My aims are:

1. to record both student and workbased experiences of eight Maori women who currently hold positions of responsibility as educators in general stream, bilingual and total immersion programmes in the primary sector;

2. to identify the strategies used by the participants who identify as Maori to negotiate institutional terrains and sustain their self ascribed identity;

3. to investigate any correlation between student strategies used by the wornen to attain school based credentials and the strategies they employed as teachers to negotiate workbased contexts.

Who is the researcher?

Hine-tu-whiria-o-te-rangi Jane Waitere-Ang

Where can I be contacted?

Department of Policy Studies
Faculty of Education
Massey University
Palmerston North.
Phone: (06) 356 9099 Ext. 4569
or at home: (06) 3258 132

Who are my supervisors?

Mrs Arohia Durie & Ms Marian Court.

Where can they be contacted?

Mrs. Arohia Durie
Department of Policy Studies
Faculty of Education
Massey University
PALMERSTON NORTH Phone (06) 350 4563

Ms. Marian Court
Department of Policy Studies
Faculty of Education
Massey University
PALMERSTON NORTH Phone (06) 350 4562

What will the participants have to do?

In order for the information to be gathered, you would be required to participate in three interviews. The first interview would involve you and I talking about issues pertinent to you (you are welcome to have whanau with you during this interview if you wish). The second, would be a paired interview involving you and one other Maori women working in a similar environment to yourself - discussing issues relevant to employment within that context. The final interview will be a group focus interview with all participants discussing issues pertaining to Maori women working as educators and administrators. For us to meet in pairs and in a group focus interview, issues of confidentiality arise - while you are well within your rights to discuss your own role in the research - a requirement of your participation in this project is that you respect the anonymity of other participants. Without an expression of commitment regarding anonymity some may be dissuaded from participating in the project.

If you would like to be part of the study and agree to be interviewed, the choice of venue and interview time will be at your discretion and in consultation with the other participants for interviews two and three. If agreeable to you, the interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed by myself or by a transcriber who has signed a confidentiality statement. A summary of the data and findings will be sent back to you before final submission at which time your comments or ammendments would be welcomed.

If a group larger than eight expresses an interest in the research a random sample of the group will be asked to participate.

How much time will be involved?

It is envisaged that the first two interviews would take approximately one to one and a half hours. As previously mentioned, control regarding the time of interviews will be at your discretion. The third group focus interview is intended to take approximately two hours.

What can the participants expect from the researcher?

As well as being treated with the utmost respect as a Maori, as a professional and as a woman you can expect:

* feedback from the researcher regarding your interview.

* that your anonymity will be a priority.

* your right to withdraw from the project will be respected by the researcher at all times.

If you take part in the study, you have the right to:

- to choose whether or not to have the interview tape recorded
- ask for the tape to be turned off at any time
- refuse to answer any particular question
- to withdraw from the study at any time
- ask any further questions about the study that occur to you during your participation
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher
- to expect that other participants respect your choice of anonymity.
- request that the researcher be the transcriber of any taped data
- to expect that any person employed to help with the transcription of data will sign and be bound by a confidentiality statement
- be given access to a summary of the findings from the study when it is concluded.
- agree to participate in the study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Please return the consent form included if you wish to participate or contact me if you have further queries you wish to have answered.

Naku noa,

na Hine Waitere-Ang.

MASSEY
UNIVERSITY

Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North
New Zealand
Telephone 0-6-350 4534
Facsimile 0-6-350 5635

FACULTY OF
EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF
POLICY STUDIES
IN EDUCATION

Taku Titiro: Maori Women in Educational Administration.

Consent Form

I have read the information sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about this study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree to participate and I understand I have the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to decline to answer any particular questions.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that my name will not be used without my permission. (The information will be used only for this research and other publications arising from this research project).

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

If I am required, I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed: ----------

Name: ----------

Date: ----------

CONFIDENTIAL

Massey University
Taku Titiro; Maori Women in Educational Administration
Confidentiality Statement.

I ---------- have read the information sheet given to the women participating in this study.

I have also read and understand the twelve principles pertaining to the Privacy Act 1993 as outlined in Hine Waitere-Ang's proposal to the Massey University Ethics Committee.

I agree to keep all information pertaining to the transcription of taped data provided by the participants completely confidential.

Date: ----------

Signed: ----------

The Kete the Briefcase and the Tuara
Masterate thesis
Hine Waitere-Ang
Massey University College of Education

Please fill in and return

NAME (in full) : _____

IWI/HAPU: _____

I am prepared to have my name and tribal affiliation printed in the acknowledgments of the thesis **Yes/No?**

I give my permission for the data to be used in other publications and/or conference papers **Yes/No?**

If the data is used **I would/would not** want my name acknowledged? (cross out one)

What do you want to happen to the tapes of the interviews (cross out two)

Returned to you
Destroyed
Held by me?

Any comments, questions, queries.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____