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**MĀORI, CATHOLIC, EDUCATION
IN
AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND**

A thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In

Education

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Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Te Rangi, Te Whakatōhea

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates *Māori* participation in Catholic education in Aotearoa New Zealand. The purpose of this study is to provide a specific understanding on the *Māori* perspective of Catholic education, that involves the identification of cultural values and beliefs in relation to *Māori* practices of *tikanga*. The intention of this thesis is not to suggest how Catholic educational institutions of Aotearoa New Zealand should govern, manage, or operate themselves. Rather, it provides a snapshot of the *Māori* Catholic perspective of '*tika*' or rightness.

With the vast majority of Catholic primary and secondary schools legislated as State-integrated schools under the *Private School Conditional Integration Act, 1975*, the Roman Catholic Church has an obligation to monitor the reasonable steps that school boards, proprietors and diocese education offices are taking to ascertain and consider the views and concerns of *Māori* communities (Education Act, 1989).

Both historical and contemporary trends and patterns are analysed in this thesis, including legislation and State policy, in order to identify the reasons why there is a disconnection between Catholic educational policies and the educational aims of and for *Māori*. Major educational policies are reviewed alongside the wider political ideologies in order to illustrate the connections between the position of *Māori* in Aotearoa New Zealand and the likelihood that the educational aspirations of *Māori* will be met.

A life history approach using oral narratives was used to examine the reality of the participants' lives growing up, being educated, and navigating through the dual worlds of *Te Ao Māori* (*Māori* world) and *Te Ao Katorika* (Catholic world). This approach adds a personal element that brings life to the findings.

HE MIHI

He korōria ki te Atua i runga rawa, he maungā rongō ki runga i te whenua, ki ngā tangata hiahia pai. Ka kake ngā mihi whakapai ki te Atua, ko ia hoki te timatanga me te whakatutukitanga o ngā mea katoa. Ko ia te matāpuna o te ora, o te tapu, te kaihōmai i ngā mea pai katoa, te kaihangā o te ao, te kaiwhakaora me te kaiwhakatapu i te tangata me ngā mea katoa kua hangā e ia. He korōria ki te Atua i ngā wā katoa.

E mihi atu nei ngā uri whakaheke nei nō te iwi o Ngāti Awa me te hapū o Ngāti Hokopū, nō Te Whakatohea me te hapū o Ngāti Rua, nō Ngāi Te Rangi me ngā hapū o Ngāi Tukairangi me Ngāti Kuku, nō Ngāpuhi me ngā hapū o Te Kapotai, Ngāti Korokoro, Ngāti Wharara, Te Pouka, Ngāti Hineira, Te Whiu, Te Uri Taniwha, Ngāti Tautahi, Ngāti Kaharau, Ngāti Hau. Kei ngā maunga whakahii, ngā puke kōrero, ngā tai mihi tangata, ngā moana e hora nei, pari karangranga puta noa i te motu, tēna koutou katoa.

Koia tēnei ko te kupu whakamihi atu i runga i te karanga whānui o tēnei kaupapa rangahau. Ko te tūmanako ia, mā ngā whakaputanga o tēnei kaupapa rangahau, e āhei ai te iwi Māori me te iwi Katorika kia eketia ngā taumata teitei o te mātauranga, kia tū rangatira ai tātou katoa i roto i te Ao Mārama.

Kia tahuri ai ngā mihi ki hunga nā rātou i arahi mai kia oti pai tēnei kaupapa. Tuatahi ake, kia a Toihuarewa Howard Lee, te kaiarahi matua mō tēnei tuhinga roa. Tēnā koe i ōu kaha kia ū tonu ai tēnei kaupapa ki te aratika, ki tōna whakaotinga ake. Huri atu ki a Ahorangi Tūhono Alison Kearney, te kaiarahi tuarua mō tēnei tuhinga roa. Tēnā koe kua noho mai nā hei tuarā anō i te roanga ake o tēnei kaupapa.

E te whānau. E kore rā e taea e te kupu kōrero te whakakākahu atu i te nui o te whakaaro me te aroha ki roto ki te whatumanawa. E tāku tamaiti, Whiti, whāia kia tata te pae tawhiti. Kāti, e waiho ake ana mā te aroha o te ngākau e mihi kau atu nei ki a koutou katoa.

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I am conscious of the many scholars and researchers who have preceded me. Much of their work has been quoted in this thesis and regardless of the viewpoints advocated, I have appreciated their writings and wisdom, and the opportunity to study their work in a wide range of publications. I reserve a very special thanks to my supervisors Professor Howard Lee and Associate Professor Alison Kearney – you prove that prayers can be answered. It has been my privilege and honour to have you both in my life. I am extremely grateful to the Doctoral Research Committee and Dean Research Tracy Riley, the leadership of Te Pūtahi ā Toi and the Institute of Education, who thankfully, in the eleventh hour, all agreed to my transfer. I would also like to thank all the staff at the Graduate Research School and the Massey University Library for your time, patience, specialised advice and expertise. Tēnā koutou.

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*“Whakarongo mai ki te reo e tangi nei
E ringihia mai ana mai āku kamo ngā roimata e
Whiti mai te rā ngaro ana te mamae, ngaro noa te pouri
Kaua e mau riri anei anō he rā” (Cope, 1984)*

Listen to the voice that is crying out and see the tears that are falling from my eyes.
But as the sun shines, the pain disappears and sadness falls away.
Do not hold on to any anger, for today is another day.

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GLOSSARY – Te Reo Māori Translations

Māori terms provided in this glossary are explanations for the use in the context of this thesis only. They are not definitions as *iwi* (tribes) have their own dialect and can be used in different ways and in different contexts, thus having a different interpretation and meaning.

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Āhua | Feature(s), aspect(s), shape, look of a person |
| Āhua Māori | Particular character, aspect to being Māori |
| Āhukatanga | Likeness, characteristics relative to circumstance(s) |
| Āko | to learn, capacity to learn |
| Ao | World |
| Ariki | Chief of Chiefs |
| Aroha | Love, kindness, compassion |
| Atawhai | to show kindness to |
| Atua | Guardian, God, Deities |
| Awa | River |
| Awhi | Help/helpful |
| Āwhina | Help, assist |
| Hāhi | Church, Religion |
| Hāhi Katorika | Catholic Church |
| Hapū | Sub-tribe |
| Haukāinga | Home, people of home |
| Hauora | Health |
| Hinengaro | Mind |
| Hui | Meeting |
| Io | Supreme Being |
| Iwi | Tribe |
| Kaiako | Teacher, Tutor |
| Kaiāwhina | Helper, Assistant |
| Kaitiaki | Guardian |
| Kairangahau | Researcher |
| Kanohi kitea | Seen Face |
| Karakia | Spiritual Incantation |
| Katorika | Catholic |

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Katorikatanga | Catholicism, Catholicity |
| Kaumātua | Male Elders, Elders |
| Kaupapa | Agenda, Plan, Theme |
| Kaupapa Māori | Māori Agenda, Māori Topic, Māori Theme |
| Kawa | Professional Practice, Ethical Practices |
| Kete | Basket |
| Koha | Gift, Token, Pledge |
| Kōrero | Speak, Talk, Discuss |
| Korerorero | Discussion |
| Kōrero Tawhito | Ancient Story |
| Koroua | Male Elder |
| Korowai | Traditional Cloak |
| Kotahitanga | Unison/Unity |
| Kuia | Female Elder |
| Kupu | Word |
| Kura | School |
| Kura Kaupapa Māori | Te Reo Māori Immersion School |
| Māhaki | Humility |
| Mahi | Work |
| Mākutu | Bewitching, Sorcery, Witchcraft |
| Mana | Prestige |
| Mana Whenua | Authority over land and natural resources |
| Manaaki (tia) | Show Respect or Kindness, |
| Manaakitanga | Hospitality and Care |
| Manuhiri | Visitors |
| Māori | People of the Land of Aotearoa New Zealand |
| Marae | Meeting Place for Whānau, Hapori, Hapū and Iwi |
| Mātauranga | Knowledge |
| Mātauranga Māori | Specific Māori Knowledge |
| Mātua | Parents |
| Maunga | Mountain |
| Mauri | Life Principle |

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| Moana | Sea, Ocean |
| Mokemoke | Lonely, Homesick |
| Mokopuna | Grandchild |
| Ngākau | Heart |
| Noa | Unrestricted |
| Pā | Fortified Village |
| Pākehā | English, Foreign, European Descent |
| Pakeke | Adult |
| Pakiwaitara | Legend |
| Papakāinga | Homestead |
| Pēpī | Baby |
| Pia | Neophyte |
| Pononga | Disciple |
| Pōwhiri | Welcome Ceremony |
| Puna Mātauranga | Source of Knowledge |
| Rangatahi | Youth |
| Rangatiratanga | Autonomy, Self-determination |
| Rangimarie | Peaceful, Quiet |
| Ranginui | Sky Father |
| Reo | Language |
| Rohe | Area, Region, Boundary |
| Rongōa | Natural Herbal Remedies, Medicine |
| Rūnanga | Council of collective hapū to manage iwi affairs |
| Taha Māori | Māori side, Part-Māori |
| Take | Reason, Issue, Base of |
| Tamariki | Children |
| Tangata Whenua | Indigenous People |
| Tangi | Cry, Mourn |
| Tangihanga | Funeral, Rites of the Dead |
| Taonga | Treasure, Heirloom |
| Taonga tuku iho | Traditions, Knowledge handed down by ancestors |
| Tapu | Sacred, Under Restriction |

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Tautoko | Support |
| Te Ao Katorika | Catholic World |
| Te Ao Māori | Māori World |
| Te Kohanga Reo | Māori Language Preschool |
| Te Reo Māori | Māori Language |
| Te Reo Māori me ona Tikanga | Māori Language and Customs |
| Tika | Truth, Right, Just, Fair, Lawful |
| Tikanga | Customs |
| Tohu | Preserve |
| Tohunga | Expert, Priest, Healer, Skilled Person |
| Tūhonotanga | Connections, Affiliations |
| Ūkaipotanga | Recognition of origins |
| Urupā | Burial Ground, Cemetery |
| Wahine | Female |
| Wāhine | Women |
| Wai | Water |
| Waihanga | Construct |
| Wairua | Spirit |
| Wairua Māori | Māori Spirit |
| Wairua Rangimarie | Spiritual Calmness |
| Wairuatanga | Recognition of Spirituality |
| Waka | Canoe |
| Wero | Challenge |
| Whaea | Mother, Aunt |
| Whaikōrero | Formal Speech |
| Whakahīhī | Arrogant, Conceited |
| Whakaiti | to make small – Humble Oneself |
| Whakamā | to be ashamed, shy, bashful, or embarrassed |
| Whakanoa | to remove tapu, to make tapu |
| Whakapapa | Genealogical Connections |
| Whakatauki | Proverb |
| Whakatupuranga | Generation |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Whakawehenga | to set apart, Separate |
| Whakawhanaungatanga | Kinship, Links, Relationship Ties |
| Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero | Discussion |
| Whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro | Seminar |
| Whānau | Family |
| Whanaungatanga | Relationship, Kinship, Sense of Family Connection |
| Whare | House |
| Whare Kura | Māori Secondary School |
| Whare Tipuna/Tupuna | Ancestral House |
| Wharenui/Wharepuni | Meeting House |
| Whare Wānanga | Centre for Higher Learning |
| Whāriki | Mat |
| Whenua | Land |
| Whenua | Afterbirth |

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

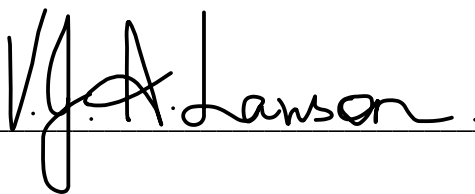
| | |
|----------|---|
| AJHR | Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives |
| CECNZ | Catholic Education Council of New Zealand |
| CDA | Catholic Diocese of Auckland |
| CDACSO | Catholic Diocese of Auckland Catholic Schools Office |
| DRS | Director of Religious Studies |
| ERO | Education Review Office |
| MOE | Ministry of Education |
| NZCBC | New Zealand Catholic Bishops' Conference |
| NZCEO | New Zealand Catholic Education Office |
| NZCF | New Zealand Curriculum Framework (1992) |
| NZCPCIS | New Zealand Council of Proprietors of Catholic Integrated Schools |
| PSCI Act | Private Schools Conditional Integration Act, 1975 |
| RE | Religious Education |
| RS | Religious Studies |
| SCCE | Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education |

STATEMENT OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. Macrons have been used to mark vowel length where applicable in *Māori* words, but not in direct quotes, which are written as they appear in the original source. The spelling of *Māori* words follows those in the P.M. Ryan's *The Raupō Dictionary of Modern Māori*, H. M. Ngata's *English-Māori Dictionary*, H. W. Williams's *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, and the online *Māori* dictionary based on the John Moorfield's book *Te Aka Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary and Index*.

This thesis is written in English and I have chosen to bolden italicize *Māori* words, excluding direct quotes, proper nouns, chapter headings and subheadings throughout this thesis to reduce ambiguity with words that have been adopted from *Māori* to English. The choice to bolden italicize *Māori* words is to indicate to the reader that the words and texts are from the language that is not being used in main of this thesis. A translation of each *Māori* word will also be provided when it first appears in the text. A glossary containing these words and texts has been included and can be found at the beginning of this thesis.

To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature:  _____

18.09.2021

Date: _____

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

*“Māori participation in education
should be consistent with being Māori while at school”
(Durie, 2001, p. 4)*

1.1 Background

Māori, as the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, have been marginalised through legislation, education policies and initiatives that have affirmed European knowledge and practices (Simon, 1992; Walker, 1990). The causes of this marginalisation are multifaceted and complex, reflecting historical disadvantage and differences in access to income, housing, health services, employment, and education for *Māori* (Davies & Nicholl, 1993). Thus, why have *Māori*, as a population, not been able to participate successfully across an education system that supposedly has fostered egalitarianism, equality, and equal opportunity?

This thesis examines the perceptions held by some *Māori* who identify themselves as also being Catholic, have whakapapa to an ancestor who is Catholic, and/or has participated in the Catholic education context. Its specific focus is on the educational experiences of *Māori* in the Catholic education context. The Catholic education context in this thesis refers to the intransigent nature of the Catholic Church’s cultural, political, and social dimensions in which the Catholic education context exists and operates.

The motivation to better understand being *Māori* in a colonized Christian world that, by definition, is non-*Māori* is the result of the author’s cultural dissonance brought about by personal experiences of disconnection between *Te Ao Māori* and *Te Ao Katorika*. These personal experiences are not only mine but also are ubiquitous and lifelong for many *Māori* Catholic. One simple example of

this disconnection can be illustrated in the lack of acknowledgement of *Māori* presence in the Church. On the one hand the Catholic Church references its allegiance with *Māori* via the work of Bishop Pompallier and the religious freedom clause he advocated for as part of the Treaty of Waitangi whilst, on the other hand, the Catholic Church refuses to engage fully with *Māori* whānau on education issues that plague *Māori* students in their schools. In addition, the New Zealand Catholic Bishops' Conference (NZCBC) continue the practice of making only perfunctory efforts to include *te reo Māori* by recruiting a small number of *Māori* Catholic to undertake such tasks to give the appearance of *Māori* equality within the Church. An example of this notion is the NZCBC announcement in 2017 of a new part-time role to support its secretariat and the bishops in their commitment to *Māori* in the Catholic Church, in particular some of the detailed work needed in areas of translations and communications (New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference, 2017, cited in NZ Catholic, 2017).

Due to this work being the first of its kind to be undertaken at a doctoral level, it was difficult to find literature or research specifically addressing the topic of *Māori* Catholic educational participation, other than three studies on nature and context of Catholic secondary schools. Consequently, the researcher relied heavily on studies, numerous research reports, government publications, and commissions of enquiry concerning *Māori* participation in education. Wide use also was made of a range of official documents on Catholic education produced by the Vatican and by the New Zealand Catholic institutions and authorities. In addition, the researcher's informal contacts, study, professional position, and *iwi* affiliations were considerable assets to the research project, providing access to material not usually available.

Māori education experiences in State integrated schools are difficult to locate in the education discussions in Aotearoa New Zealand because there is no clearly defined universal role for *Māori* education experiences in State integrated Catholic schools and the role is open to ambiguity and variation. Such variations in the role exist from school to school as a result of school needs and the philosophy of school administrators (Education Review Office, 2012; Ministry of Education, 2010) regarding the extent to which they acknowledge the significant role of *Māori* (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Durie, 2011; Ka'ai, 2004; Smith, 1997). Various authors have argued that further research is needed to create a 'critical mass' of knowledge about the significant role of *Māori* experiences in education (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Durie, 1995; G. Smith, 1997; L. Smith, 1999; Walker, 1985). This research seeks to add to current knowledge about the education of *Māori* in the Catholic education context by focusing upon their experiences with Catholic education.

1.2 Context

The Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand comprises of six local Catholic dioceses of Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin.¹ This study is confined to the Catholic Diocese of Auckland (CDA), which consists of 65 parish communities from Cape Reinga in the Far North to as far south as the Coromandel region. Each diocese is led by a formally appointed bishop, who is the proprietor who retains ownership of the school land and buildings. An example of this is the Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Auckland, under the *Private Schools Conditional Integration Act, 1975*,² who assumes the responsibilities of ownership over 43 primary and 15 secondary schools within the CDA's boundary,³ thus providing mainstream Catholic

¹ Each diocese has an appointed bishop who is responsible for all administrative matters.

² Hereafter to be referred to as PSCIA 1975.

³ The CDA's boundary is as far north to Cape Reinga to as far south as Thames.

education to some 24,314 students in 2019 (New Zealand Catholic Education Office NZCEO, 2019).

The educational priority and mission for schools in the CDA is:

not just to provide a high standard of academic learning for our students but also to help develop a Christ-centred faith relationship with Jesus Christ. Pastoral care reflects the sacredness of each individual, when individuals are encouraged to know, love and respect themselves as children of God and when a culture of excellence is fastened in the heart of the Gospel. (CDA, 2016)

Within each diocese, there is a Catholic Schools Office subsidiary, the purpose of which is to support the work of school principals and staff, parents, *whānau*, and parish priests in providing quality Catholic education. Its main function is to support the educational aspirations of the Catholic Church, whereby:

Catholic schools strive to work with families in forming young people who will take their place as leaders in the Church and society of Aotearoa-New Zealand. With a focus on the development of the whole person as well as striving for academic and all-round excellence, our schools are called to be establishments of hope, and to be responsive to the emerging socio-economic, political, religious and cultural structures that face young people. Catholic schools proclaim the virtue of hope, which is fundamental to the future of our society, providing quality Catholic education to students from early childhood to year 13. (Catholic Diocese of Auckland, 2016)

While the CDA and its Catholic Schools Office encourage schools to work with families, there is little evidence to explain how the CDA and its Catholic Schools Office audits and monitors *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context, or how the Catholic education context supports the educational aspirations of *Māori*.

There are approximately 10,000 *Māori* students enrolled in Catholic primary and secondary schools across New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2019). Te Kura o Hato Hohepa Te Kamura is one of four Catholic primary schools in Te Taitokerau and, in recent times, the school moved towards introducing *Māori* medium based programmes as part of the school's curriculum delivery.⁴

1.3 The Research Problem

Māori Catholics face many possible challenges as they participate in the Catholic education context. One challenge involves the Catholic church's equality of opportunity policy, and how *Māori* are perceived in relation to that policy (New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference, 2013, 2014, 2016; Pulham, 2014; Sacred Congregation of Catholic Education, SSCE, 1977, 1988). Whilst official Church documents authorised by the New Zealand National Body for Bishops - the New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference (NZCBC) - conceptualise *Māori* presence as a bi-cultural element, the terms of reference are written in such general terms that almost every citing is subject to interpretation. The founding document of New Zealand, the *Treaty of Waitangi*, identifies *Māori* as the defining partner with Crown (Colenso, 1890; Durie, 1991; Hook, 2010; Orange, 1987; Sharp, 2001; Smith, 1997).

A second challenge that *Māori* Catholics may face refers to the notion of equity; to recognise that *Māori* people are different and to acknowledge that difference by providing for *Māori* to achieve success as *Māori* (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Chappel, Jefferies & Walker, 1997; Durie, 2003). In

⁴ Te Kura o Hato Hohepa Te Kamura is in the small rural Māori community of Waitārūke. The other three Catholic primary schools are - St Francis Xavier Primary School in Whangārei, St Joseph's Catholic School in Dargaville, and Pompallier Catholic Primary School in Kaitaia. Also note that Pompallier Catholic College is the only Catholic Secondary School in Te Taitokerau. In 2019, the Board of Trustees closed Hata Maria Catholic Primary School in Pawarenga as a Catholic primary school and re-opened as Te Kura ā Iwi o Pawarenga - Designated Special Character School 156 under the New Zealand Education Act, 1989. Since 2019 discussions with the Catholic Diocese of Auckland proprietor – Bishop Patrick Dunn over the return of the school land and buildings have taken place and are ongoing.

their *Catholic Education for School-Age Children* document about the Catholic education system⁵ the NZCBC (2014) expressed concern about its “ongoing obligation to determine whether there are barriers (tangible or intangible) to access to Catholic schools for *Māori* families, and whether Catholic schools are places where they feel at home” (para.100). For some time educators, have become increasingly concerned with whether governance and management of schools are creating and maintaining culturally safe schools that embrace the intellectual freedom and autonomy of *Māori* students (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; MacFarlane, Glynn, Cavanagh & Bateman, 2007; Rubie-Davies, Hattie & Hamilton, 2006; Rubie-Davies, Flint & McDonald, 2011; Townsend & Bates, 2007). *Māori* Catholics may also face a third challenge influenced by the myriad of their representations in the scholarly and popular works in official histories and school curricula of the Catholic Church. Some indigenous researchers argue that the colonial encounters that occurred were managed by certain structures, codes, and rules that framed what was possible and what was not (Nandy, 1989; Smith, 1999). For example, much more is known about the Catholic Church’s encounters with *Māori* than is known about the *Māori* encounters with the Catholic Church. A fourth challenge, possibly a tension, rests in the authority that the teaching Magisterium and local bishops hold over Catholic educational institutions (NZCBC, 2014; SCCE, 1998, 2009; USCCB, 2005). All Catholic schools serve at the behest of the diocesan bishop and the bishop might determine that *Māori* are not adequately representing the faith in their participation in the catholic education context, ultimately resulting in diminished communication with administrators and offices of the diocesan and faculty alike.

There appears to be very little research on *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context of Aotearoa New Zealand. Specifically, the possible challenges and tensions found in *Māori* taking

⁵Hereafter to be referred to as the Document

part in the decision making, and the ways in which they react and work through them, are under-researched in the literature on Catholic education. Bryk, Lee and Holland (1993) began the contemporary international conversation with their study of the changes that have been made in Catholic education since the Second Vatican Council in 1960s. Other studies include those of O'Donnell (2000), Sweetman, (2002), and Larkin (2004).

More recently, exploration of the *Māori* Catholic dynamic of biculturalism is supported in part by Pulham (2014). His analysis of the current situation at Baradene College of the Sacred Heart reveals that promoting the inclusion of biculturalism might help provide meaningful and innovative ways to reconcile the differences between *Te Ao Māori* and *Te Ao Katorika*, namely the ideology of the Sacred Heart. Whilst Pulham provides a framework to introduce meaningful and tangible change, he does caution that it is the responsibility of the dominant culture of the school to navigate engagement with *Māori* to build a bicultural partnership and to ensure that the school does not become a site of struggle for *Māori*.

There are several contributing factors that make schools sites of struggle for *Māori*. Racism, stereotyping, stigmatization, racial profiling, typecasting, and pigeonholing have been identified by researchers as impinging on and often determining the status of *Māori* in education at the institutional level (Awatere, 1984; Mitchell, 1984) and at the classroom level (Alton-Lee, Nuthall & Patrick, 1987; Simon, 1984). Furthermore, the way in which school processes contributed to the marginalization of *Māori* were also identified. This included the classroom practice and teacher expectations (Ennis, 1987; Simon, 1984), and the retention and promotion of monocultural practices in schools (Benton, 1987; McDonald, 1989) such as formal assessment and scaling of senior school examinations (Benton, 1987; Lauder, Hughes & Taberner, 1985). These studies

included research on access, reform, and policy formulation around the participation and retention of Catholic schools.

Duthie-Jung (2011) sought to explore the Catholic world view of 18-28-year-old *Pākehā* Catholics in New Zealand. A key finding in his qualitative research pointed to a lack of connection between contemporary Catholic faith and daily life. Duthie-Jung noted that for the great majority of the young participants, “their Catholic religious experience was characterised by uncertainty and a discomfort born of a sense of disconnection with the institutional Church” (p. 88). While these studies do not exhaust the research on the responsiveness of the Catholic Church in Catholic education settings, there is little evidence of research being undertaken specifically regarding the actual experiences and perceptions of *Māori* participation.

The literature that is available from the few studies that exist on the participation of *Māori* in the Catholic education context, however, focus on the secondary school setting. For example, one study commissioned by the Ministry of Education in 1996 on the barriers and constraints to academic achievement in eight *Māori* boarding schools (including two Catholic boarding schools – Hato Paora and Hato Hohepa) by Graham Smith showed that the extreme pressure under which some of these schools had been placed was the result of adverse publicity derived from criticism contained in their respective Education Review Office reports. The data produced from the report clearly illustrated that the structural position of *Māori* boarding schools and the educational inequalities they endure were due to the lack of government support. Tata Lawton’s (1997) study on the context that established Hato Paora College (a Catholic Boarding school for *Māori* boys), explores the relevance of the education setting and its religious patronage. He focused on the evolution of Hato Paora College with changing policies of *Māori*, the Church, and the State.

Lawton's two-dimensional framework examined the contributions made by each Rector of the school and *taha Māori* that had made Hato Paora College unique and distinct from other *Māori* Church boarding schools. The Rector-centred approach noted by Lawton enabled a systematic explanation of Hato Paora's performance and the often-contradictory expectations of staff, pupils, and the wider *Māori* community. The use of literature research, interviews and a questionnaire formed the basis of information gathered and presented in Lawton's work. There is substantial anecdotal evidence that identifies how Hato Paora, along with the other *Māori* Church boarding schools, has played an integral role in the preparation of young *Māori* to assume positive roles in their home communities, *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*. In addition, Lawton's study highlights the need for caution in terms of the relevance of *Māori* Church boarding schools like Hato Paora.

Māori themselves have witnessed the significant impact that *Māori* Church boarding schools have had in terms of education, social, health, and employment. Nathan Matthews (2006) study is an extension to the earlier work of Tata Lawton's (1997) in that it explores the type of educational environment provided by Hato Paora College. The significance of the Society of Mary and its role in education is also examined. This provides an insight into the philosophical and administration foundations of Hato Paora including both its *Māori* character and its Catholic character. Like Lawton, Matthews' use of literature research and interviews forms the main argument of his thesis. A model, using both *Te Ao Māori* concepts and metaphors as a basic framework and the philosophical foundations of the Society of Mary, is introduced as a plan for the future of Hato Paora to help support its relevance and long-term viability.

Relevance and long-term viability are concepts that have been used by the Catholic Church in more recent times when attempting to explain its narrative about the lack of participation by *Māori* in

the Catholic education context. The *Māori* Catholic community has little data to specifically evidence its engagement with the Catholic Church in addressing the challenges and tensions inherent in *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context.

While this study is limited in scope, it will provide a snapshot of how *Māori* Catholics perceive their participation and how they navigate the possible challenges experienced in the Catholic education context. The data provided in this study uses in-depth semi-structured interviews. These interviews can provide important insights that may help all the Catholic dioceses across Aotearoa, their education communities and faculties alike to develop policies and practices that ensures that *te reo Māori me ona tikanga* has relevance and priority within the Catholic education context. The Catholic education context functions from within a knowledge tradition or an epistemology that has its genesis in ancient Rome.

The Magisterium is the teaching authority of the Catholic Church established by Jesus Christ to “guard what has been entrusted” (1 Tim. 6:20). The Magisterium is exercised by the Pope and bishops in union with Christ (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1992, para.88). The Magisterium has contended that the partnership between a Catholic school and the families must continue and be strengthened (NZCBC, 2014; SCCE, 1988). The NZCBC (2014) expressed concerns that their schools might not be places where *Māori* families feel welcome. In the New Zealand context, Catholic schools are identified as the primary places in which to form close relationships with whānau and families so that the educational goals of the school can be achieved (Education Review Office, 2003; Ministry of Education, 2001; NZCBC, 2014; O’Donnell, 2000; Private State Integrated Act 1975; Pulham, 2014; SCCE, 1988). Te Puni Kokiri (2013) noted that there are factors that potentially have an impact upon the different religious compositions including, but not

limited to (1) the age of the population there is a generally stronger belief in religion in the older population and (2) changes in the values and belief systems in New Zealand society. According to Statistics New Zealand (2014), the number of people who affiliated with the Catholic religion increased between 2001 and 2006, but then decreased between 2006 and 2013. The number of *Māori* who affiliated with Catholic religion also decreased between 2006 and 2013. However, Catholic was the largest Christian denomination in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Many *Māori* Catholic families have not continued in the development of their faith that had begun in the home and sacramental education programmes.

There seems to be no nationwide policy that supports the development and implementation of a *Kaupapa Māori* theoretical framework for all Catholic education institutions. However, a recent study shows that there may be other options that the Catholic Church can respond to around *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context (Pulham, 2014). As diocesan bishops and their schools move towards making Catholic schools places where *Māori* families feel at home, *Māori* are expected more and more to ‘dilute’ or ‘compromise’ their *Te Ao Māori* worldview in identifying and agreeing to school statements and goals. In addition to this expectation, however, is a whole array of issues about the ways *Māori* relate inside and outside of their own communities, inside and outside the Church, and between those two different worlds.

According to Pulham (2014), “syncretism is the fusion of Christianity and the integration of indigenous worldviews” (p. 2). For syncretism to occur there is a necessity in the “compromising of fundamental tenets” (Pulham, 2014, p. 2). He states that syncretism is one way to ensure that “providing space within the curriculum for *Māori* participation is reflected the current intentions of the New Zealand curriculum and relevant Māori education policies” (p. 2). His study draws on

relevant policy documents and studies to reinforce the use of a *Kaupapa Māori* theoretical framework to inform the strategic direction towards biculturalism at Baradene College of the Sacred Heart. He claimed that dissecting the traditional *Māori* worldview to support the Catholic dogma was detrimental to the participation of *Māori* within the Catholic education setting. However, he went further when concluding that “in order for the Catholic Church to experience growth, consideration and reflection of differing worldviews especially *Māori* worldviews is imperative” (p.17). He pointed out that *Māori* needed to lead the change and development to ensure that power sharing was visible in a tangible way.

In 2014, the New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference put together a document for parents and trustees, principals and staff, priests and chaplains, and diocesan education staff (NZCBC, 2014):

This resource puts the encounter with Jesus at the centre of Catholic education ... It is a robust document which does not shy away from highlighting challenges for us all – parents and children, teachers, priests and bishops, parishioners and religious – as together we strive to shape every family and every educational institute into disciples of a single teacher, Jesus the Lord and Saviour of our world. (p. 2)

The language employed and the texts cited in this document reflect the theoretical traditions of the Catholic Church authorities. Despite identifying the perennial tension many *Māori* students and their parents encounter, very little attention is given to the contributing factors that impact on *Māori* educational participation in the Catholic education context.

1.4 The Purpose

There is a need, recognised by some in the *Māori* Catholic community, that in order to develop the faith of *Māori* students and their families and to secure the bi-cultural future of the Catholic Church of New Zealand, Catholic schools must be focused on transforming current ideals about *Māori*

participation in the decision making (Matthews, 2006; Pulham, 2014). This study intends to add to the under-researched area of *Māori* participation in New Zealand Catholic education settings, the “what” and “how” *Māori* participate, and the understanding that they have of their role in the Catholic education context. A more thorough discussion of *Kaupapa Māori* philosophy and *Māori* participation, and the challenges and tensions that arise in Māori participating in Catholic education settings, are presented in the review of literature (See Chapter 2). Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate and analyse the perceptions of *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context. A secondary purpose is to explore the perceptions and experiences of any challenges or tensions that *Māori* Catholics faced and navigated in their involvement.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

Māori participation in the Catholic education context is influenced by a number of forces at play within contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. The participation of *Māori* in Catholic education is unique and distinctive. The possible challenges they experience are different from challenges that are experienced by, for example, Pasifika or European Catholics. The challenges faced by *Māori* Catholics include the purpose of Catholic schools (SCCE, 1977, 1988; NZCBC, 2007, 2013, 2014), the conceptualisation of equal opportunity (NZCEO, 2013; SCCE, 1988; Smith, 1991), and equity (Smith, 1991; Sweetman, 2002), government legislation that has influenced Catholic education in New Zealand (Birch & Waden, 2007; Duthie-Jung, 2011; Lynch, 2002; O’Donnell, 2000; Sweetman, 2002; van der Nest, 2015), the representations of *Māori* participation in the history of the Catholic Church (Butchers, 1929; Luck, 1888; NZCBC, 2007; 2014; Smith, 1999; Ward, 2004), the Magisterium of the Catholic Church (NZCBC, 2013; 2014; SCCE, 1988; 1997), the NZCBC’s *The Catholic Education of School-Age Children* is a document about the Catholic education system

(NZCBC, 2014), and the rights of *Māori* to achieve education success as *Māori* under the *Treaty of Waitangi* (Durie, 2003; Smith, 1997).

This study applies and elaborates upon Graham Smith's (1997) philosophy of *Kaupapa Māori* theorizing as the conceptual framework and provides a lens with which to examine *Māori* Catholic's experiences of those challenges. This study also will discuss:

- a) Substantiating a base of official knowledge for *Māori*,
- b) The development of a model that responds to the needs of *Māori*,
- c) Bringing together the mutual interests of the Catholic Church in particular the Catholic Diocese of Auckland.

Over the past two decades, Smith (1997) has developed *Kaupapa Māori* philosophy as an educational resistance strategy that he called “transformative praxis”, in his earlier work, *The Development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and Praxis* (1997). Building on the work and ideas of Russell Bishop, Michel Foucault, Levi Vygotsky, Paulo Freire, and the work of his wife Linda Smith, Graham Smith proposed that *Kaupapa Māori Theory* begins with a shift in mindset, a “conscientization or consciousness arising, putting *Māori* experiences at the centre of everything” (p. 2). Those experiences are reflected upon and draw upon cultural knowledge and tradition. Such reflection then brings one to a reality check. In other words, the reflection is what allows cultural knowledge and tradition to play an integral part in “accepting increased responsibility for transforming their own condition and subsequently (getting out from under the influence of the reproductive forces of dominant society) finding a way to get momentum towards change” (Smith, 2003, p. 2).

Smith (1988a) argued that the mind-set shift of *Māori* should be towards the processes of reform and policy formulation and not against the education reform or policy development and practice. He sought to understand why the most significant crisis confronting New Zealand in the 1980s related to disproportionate high levels of inequality for *Māori* both within and as a result of the education system (cited in Lauder & Wylie, 1990, p.73). Smith argued that “the Māori educational crisis needs to be analysed within a theoretical framework of contested power relations in order to understand the actions of Māori people as they react to and mediate the political context of New Zealand” (cited in Lauder & Wylie, 1990, p.79).

Smith sets out six principles which he argues can be found in all the different projects associated with *Kaupapa Māori*:

- The principle of self-determination or relative autonomy.
- The principle of validating and legitimising cultural aspirations and identity.
- The principle of incorporating culturally preferred pedagogy.
- The principle of mediating socio-economic and home difficulties.
- The principle of incorporating cultural structures that emphasise collectivity rather than individuality such as the notion of the extended family.
- The principle of a shared and collective vision and philosophy.

As noted, Smith (2003) also provides a more expanded definition to these principles as “praxis”, “worldview”, “cultural principles”, and “change factors”. Smith (1999) characterises these principles as a “framework”, a “social project”, and as a “paradigm”.

In his work on ‘transformative praxis’, Smith (2003) promoted a deep understanding of cultural knowledge and tradition. Summarising the *Kaupapa Māori* approach, Smith (2003) claims that “the transformation has to be won on at least two broad fronts; a confrontation with the colonizer and a confrontation with ourselves” (p. 3). It begins with the need “to centralise the issue of transformation with a strategic reinvestment in theoretical tools to assist in the transformation” (Smith, 2003, pp. 3-4), then moves to the cultural knowledge and traditions, urges reflection, and provides space for *Māori* to integrate experiences with cultural knowledge and traditions to achieve a shift in mindset in which relationships and actions are informed by *Kaupapa Māori Theory* (philosophy and praxis).

Smith addressed the realities that *Māori* communities face in dealing with political distraction. *Kaupapa Māori* theorising provides opportunities for *Māori* to learn about their unique *Māori* episteme (Mahuika, 2003) in ways that may encourage them to think about their own traditions. Smith (2003) claimed that “a shift away from waiting for things to be done to them, to doing things for themselves; a shift away from the emphasis on reactive politics to and an emphasis on being proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation” (p. 2).

Finally, Smith made connections between his philosophy of *Kaupapa Māori Theory* and pedagogical practice. He argued for a *Kaupapa Māori* theoretical framework that requires intentionality, preparation, and some deep convictions on the part of Māori (p.3). He described a key approach to critical pedagogy:

It needs to be seen as a potentially useful tool for assisting positive transformation in our conditions; it needs to be seen as a tool – useful in the right hands and potentially destructive in the wrong hands; it needs to be transformative because the ‘status quo’ for

most indigenous contexts is not working well and needs to be improved; it needs to move beyond homogenizing position of seeing 'struggle' as a single issue and therefore needs to be adaptable to develop multiple transforming strategies; and it needs to be accountable to the community. (p.5)

Kaupapa Māori methodology is the lens that the researcher will adopt when considering the data collection methods, data, and findings in this study.

The two central research questions for this study are:

1. **How do some Māori Catholic perceive and understand their participation in the Catholic education context?**
2. **What are some of the educational experiences of Māori in the Catholic education context?**

Two subsidiary research questions are also included in this study:

- How did the participants' cultural backgrounds influence their educational participation in the Catholic education context?
- How did the participants' cultural backgrounds influence their church-going participation experience?

This adds to the limited body of literature on *Māori* Catholic participation in the Catholic education context of Aotearoa New Zealand. It seeks to go beyond recent studies and discussions about the provisions of *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context by identifying and analysing the actual perceptions and experiences of *Māori* Catholics in Catholic education settings. Thus, it

makes a unique contribution to the on-going conversation within the Catholic community that is concerned with developing and nurturing the unique *Māori* episteme of young *Māori* Catholics in the overarching context of Aotearoa New Zealand's educational settings.

This study describes how *Māori* Catholics perceive and experience possible challenges encountered in their communities. The data represents the perspective of practicing *Māori* Catholics rather than the point of view of the philosophical and theoretical documents of the Catholic Church. It also illuminates important insights for the New Zealand Catholic Bishops' Conference, and stakeholders in Catholic education, to consider as they continue to address the teaching of religion to *Māori* adolescents and their *whānau*.

1.6 Thesis Outline

This chapter begins with an introduction to the setting and to the theoretical orientation of this thesis, drawing upon the insights available in both postcolonial theory and critique and the *Kaupapa Māori* centred research tradition. More specifically, the research objectives are not only to generate primary Catholic education data that is *Māori* centric but also to explore the sources of intra-action tension inherent in the *Māori*/Catholic membership heterogeneity.

Chapter Two is a literature review organized in two parts. Part One provides a historical overview of the establishment of the New Zealand education system, with particular emphasis on the provision of education for *Māori*. Specific attention is given to the education of *Māori* and *Māori* participation in the early mission schools, the Native Schools system, the denominational boarding schools, and the nature of educational reform policies. Part Two explores the historical links between the *Private Schools Integration Act, 1975* and the roles and functions of the Catholic

Church. It also identifies the core values and virtues that have shaped the Catholic Church's vision for education.

The ideological discourse of secularism, *Te Ao Māori*, and Catholicism is discussed in Chapter Three. This chapter focuses specifically on the three paradigms that have influenced and shaped *Māori* Catholic participation in the Catholic education context: Secularism, *Te Ao Māori*, and Catholicism. It outlines the complex beliefs systems in relation to theory and praxis and explains how these aspects interact with our perspectives of the world around us. The paradigmatic differences of each discourse are contrasted. The problematic and contested nature of education policy in relation to *Māori* participation is examined.

Māori research epistemologies, and post-colonial theory and critique, underpin the theoretical and methodological basis for this study. Having discussed the ideological discourses of secularism, *Te Ao Māori*, and Catholicism in Chapter Three, Chapter Four connects post-colonial theory and critique with *Kaupapa Māori*. Details pertaining to the data collection, techniques of interview and documentation, and the methods used for the recording are described. Chapter Four presents a full account of the processes used by the researcher, their basis in qualitative research theory, and their practical application to this research. The ways in which this research is theoretically informed and adheres to research standards are examined and discussed, including issues of verification, reliability, and credibility.

Chapter Five report the findings of this study. In an attempt to offer transparency and offer fidelity to participant contributions, generous interview commentary is included. *Māori* Catholic reported educational participation experience is thus collated within acknowledged research traditions and

is organized thematically around each of the following three questions: *Ko wai ōku tūhononga?* (Who am I connected to?), *He aha ngā wheako ō tōku Hāhi?* (What are my church-going experiences?), and *He aha ngā wheako ō tōku kura?* (What are my school experiences?). The chapter continues with the findings of the thematic data analysis. The first theme, *Ko wai ōku tūhononga?* (Who am I connected to?), presents data about participants' cultural and religious nexus. The second theme, *He aha ngā wheako ō tōku Hāhi?* (What are my church-going experiences?), concerns the participants' relationship with the Catholic Church and data highlighting the juxtaposition of *Te Ao Māori* (Māori worldview) and *Te Ao Katorika* (Catholic worldview). The third theme, *He aha ngā wheako ō tōku kura?* (What are my school experiences?), draws upon intra-school relationship data and is organised around role expectations.

Chapter Six provides a discussion that synthesizes all three themes reported in the previous chapter. Utilising a post-colonial lens helps to bring the neo-colonial construction of *Māori* educational participation into sharper focus, particularly in relation to the Catholic education context. The empirical nature of this study, in combination with existing theoretical approaches, is discussed and fresh insights identified and analysed.

In conclusion of this thesis Chapter Seven recapitulates the coincidence of factors that brought about this thesis by backgrounding the study setting and by foregrounding the study findings. Potential contributions of existing literatures are noted. Finally, the chapter ends with the recommendation for further research in a range of areas.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

'Ka tika ā muri, ka tika ā mua'

A genuine effort must be made towards healing the past,
before building a future

In this chapter, studies specific to *Māori* Catholics are discussed. An overview of the position of *Māori* Catholics in the education sector is presented and research on the status of *Māori* in education generally and *Māori* Catholic in particular is outlined. A review of historical accounts of *Māori* and education examines the way in which colonial constructions of *Māori* people and *Māori* Catholic perpetuate stereotypical and Eurocentric views that continue to have credence in contemporary writings by non-*Māori* commentators. Accounts by *Māori* scholars that deconstruct Eurocentric constructions are explored and specific publications, studies written or edited by *Māori* Catholic are presented. In addition, some studies and writing by other *Māori*, also are offered.

Although there is a burgeoning body of research on *Māori* people and *Māori* education generally, there remains a paucity of studies that have as their central focus the education and schooling experiences specific to *Māori* Catholic. There are even fewer studies that focus on *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context in Aotearoa New Zealand. For example, in official information reports commissioned by the Catholic Church of Aotearoa New Zealand, *Māori* Catholics remain invisible in the texts and official discourse subsumed within the definitions of 'Catholic'.

On occasion, *Māori* often are referred to by Catholic Church leaders as Catholic *Māori* – a statement implying that *Māori* culture in the Catholic context is the subordinate. Conversely most *Māori* Catholic will have a different view. For some it is possible that the term Catholic *Māori* suggests that *Māori* people are owned or at the behest of the Catholic Church. For others, *Māori* in front of the word Catholic may be seen more appropriate and culturally sensible in that it acknowledges *Māori* of their birth as *Māori*.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section begins with a brief description of the traditional education of *Māori* followed by an overview of the historical background to the establishment of the modern New Zealand education system, explaining how education has evolved for *Māori*. The historical section also covers a discussion of the various government acts, ordinances, policies, and reports that have had an impact upon the education of *Māori*, either by suppressing or ignoring their culture and language, or by placing *Māori* culture, language, and knowledge in an inferior position to western culture. A particular focus will be placed on the early Mission schools where education was provided by the missionaries, the government established Native School system, the denominational boarding schools, and the political ideologies that have influenced the nature of educational policies. The second part explores the historical links between the *Private Schools Conditional Integration Act, 1975* and the roles and functions of entities with the Catholic education context. Together both parts provide the conceptual basis and framework for this research.

PART ONE: MĀORI AND EDUCATION IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

Education systems reflect and are shaped by ideological and organisational processes at the individual, group, societal and world level (Fiala, 2007). Harman (1974) speaks not only of this

importance but also to the inevitable nature of the inter-relatedness of education and politics when he observes that:

Politics and education are of necessity closely intermeshed and intertwined. They are two basic or fundamental activities of the human societies. The one has to do with the process of the transmission of knowledge and culture, and the development of skills and training and employment while the other is concerned with the exercise of power, influence, and authority, and with the making of authoritative decisions about the allocation of values and resources. (p. 5)

2.1 Māori Participation

It is generally accepted by *Māori* themselves that the role of *Māori* participation with government agencies, departments, and faculties alike is undervalued and underutilized (Nepe, 1990; Smith, 1990). Participation involves decision making with asking questions and a willingness to take responsibility for decisions are fundamental to this view (Shone, 1978). Durie (2001), in describing her research on *Māori* participation in education, captures the complex nature of *Māori* participation in education when she claims that:

Māori educational performance has customarily been measured against the performance of school peers who are not Māori ... there is often an implicit expectation that non-Māori criteria can form an appropriate benchmark for Māori ... the more important difference is not simply between the progress of Māori and non-Māori learners, but between the state policies for Māori education and a Māori agenda for education. (p. 1)

Māori hold strong views about the relationship between education and politics (Walker, 1985). These views are based upon inferences, beliefs and assumptions about what education is, and, perhaps most important, what it should be for *Māori* (Bishop, 1996; Bishop & Berryman, 2006; Bishop & Glynn, 1999).

The enormous importance of the education of *Māori* is apparent in contemporary education policy, a fact evidenced by the high priority assigned to addressing the outcomes of past government policy failures. As such, the education of *Māori* is often accompanied by an emphasis on low academic achievement and attainment (MacFarlane, Glynn, Cavanagh & Bateman 2007; MacFarlane & MacFarlane, 2012). The first document that identified and highlighted the concern for the under-participation of *Māori* in education was a report on the Department of *Māori* Affairs (Hunn, 1961). The *Hunn Report, 1961* was significant because it demonstrated statistically that, in relation to the rest of society, *Māori* were severely disadvantaged in education (Coxon, Jenkins, Marshall & Massey, 1994). It was hardly surprising that the *Hunn Report, 1961* found “an underachievement gap in Māori education” (Walker, 1996, p. 265). The deficit explanations of the low participation of *Māori* at the time of the *Hunn Report, 1961* centred around the culturally deprived state of the *Māori* way of life (Jenkins, 1994; Smith, 1997). Despite the policy makers at the time believing that *Māori* children were failing at school because of the restricted language codes they spoke (Walker, 1996), they did accept that the key priority of government should be to improve the education of *Māori*. Although the *Hunn Report, 1961* was the first public document to shed light on the poor state of the education of *Māori*, *Māori* disadvantage in education has its historical political roots. In 1959, for example, Herron wrote that:

Politics in New Zealand in the eighteen fifties reflect the practical and boisterous nature of a typical pioneer society. Some of the worst features of British politics took root rapidly ... indecorous behaviour was a characteristic of New Zealand politics right from the start. (p. 329)

According to Walker (2016) the aim of the early government was to introduce “Māori as quickly as possible into European ways” (p. 21). Other commentators note that at the time it was widely

believed that what was best for *Māori* was to introduce them to the practices and customs of ‘civilised life’ (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974).

2.2 Traditional Māori Education and Whare Wānanga

Education for *Māori* in Aotearoa New Zealand existed long before the arrival of missionaries and early settlers. Pre-colonial education for *Māori* was presented very differently by comparison with the Western education to which most settlers were accustomed. *Māori* practiced the sharing of knowledge based on a ‘canon’ or ‘ritualistic manual’ (Chapman, 1984) where instruction was exclusively by lectures and recitations, with the students required to memorise exactly the knowledge being transmitted. Although it is acknowledged that there were some variances in what was taught and the names used to describe the different levels and parts of these systems (Metge, 1983), they literally taught the same material and used a similar pedagogy.

The traditional schooling of *Māori* is a multifaceted phenomenon with many features that were focused on developing mental discipline and adeptness of *tauira* (students). The types of schools of learning (Metge, 1983; Smith, 1913), the classes of knowledge (Best, 1952; Cowan, 1910), the modes of learning - pedagogy (Best, 1923; Metge, 1983), the forms of assessment procedures and certification (Best, 1923; McLean, 1972; Mitchell, 1948), and the grading of students and/or teachers (Best, 1952, 1986; McLean, 1981), all make the traditional schooling of *Māori* distinct and unique.

Types of Schools of Learning

Different *hapū* and *iwi* had different names for their schools of learning as well as different names for particular areas of the schools that dealt with specific forms of knowledge (Metge, 1983). For

example, in the Urewera's, Ngai Tuhoe schools of learning that taught the arts of the occult were known as *whare maire*. Ngati Awa, also an *iwi* of the *waka Mataatua*, refers to the *whare puni* as their *whare wānanga* (McLean, 1971). For Ngai Tahu, *whare kura* is the name given to *whare wānanga*, (White, 1887). As McLean (1971) points out other schools of learning, or *whare wānanga* have been described that are based on particular activity. For example, the *whare tatai* is described as the house that taught knowledge pertaining to the heavens and astronomy, whereas the place where *raranga* (weaving) and *whaikairo* (carving) took place was known as *whare pora*. The *whare tapere*, *whare karioi*, *whare rehia*, *whare matoro*, *whare rapa*, and *whare pakimairo* refers to an assembly house or a place of recreation (McLean, 1971). Regardless of their specific identity and purpose, these *wānanga* were widespread with the focus being on the transmission of specialised knowledge, both secular and non-secular.

Classes of Knowledge

Both Best (1923) and Cowan (1910) have recorded two underlying components to the *Māori* way of teaching of knowledge; terrestrial knowledge, symbolised by *te kauwae raro* (the lower jaw), concerned the subjects of history, legends and worldly things, and celestial knowledge (higher mythology, *Io*, *karakia*, religious matters, etc) symbolised by *te kauwae runga* (upper jaw). Cowan (1910) explained these two aspects as follows:

Celestial lore pertained to Io, the Supreme Being, the primal parents and their offspring, the upper world and cosmogonic myths. The terrestrial knowledge imparted was information concerning the homeland of the race, traditions, migration, tribal history and other matters of worldly importance. (p. 30)

As Benton, Swindells and Chrisp (1995) and others (Buck, 1982; McLean, 1981; Rangihau, 1992) point out the need to take cognisance of both these aspects of knowledge, even in the contexts

where one or the other is apparently of primary concern, is probably still one of the distinguishing marks of a *Māori* approach to learning and teaching.

Subject orientation also was organised and contained into various *kete* or curriculum areas. The highest order of the world learning was within *ngā kete o te wānanga* (the three baskets of knowledge) brought from the heavens by *Tāne nui a Rangi*. These *kete* each contained a different type of knowledge pertaining to the physical and metaphysical worlds. A contemporary description of *ngā kete o te wānanga* can be found in Anderson (1969), Best (1924, 1974), and McLean (1981) who all cite similar descriptors relating to the subject matters of each *kete*. The first *kete - te kete aronui* (also known as *te kete uruuru tau or te kete uruuru tawhito*) contained knowledge that was good, peaceful, and relevant to the enlightenment of man, and the preservation of his physical, spiritual and mental welfare. The second *kete - te kete tuatea* (also known as *te kete uruuru rangi*) was the repository of evil knowledge, such as that related to *karakia* of warfare and *makutu*, and the third *kete - te kete tuauri* (also known as *te kete uruuru matua*) contained knowledge of peace, goodness and love, benign rituals that were *tapu* and the history and practices of *whakapapa* (human lineages).

Modes of Learning - Pedagogy

Traditional *Māori* modes of learning provided a versatile approach towards the education of *tauirā*. Metge (1984) has documented a three-fold classification of approaches to learning that are well supported by historical accounts of the traditional ways of imparting and acquiring knowledge in the context of study in *whare wānanga*. Based on the oral traditions of *Te Ao Māori*, three types of learning processes existed to assist *tauirā* in the acquisition of knowledge and skills.

1. Self-motivated experiential learning (learning by absorption, learning by conscious observation, and learning by direct participation),
2. Apprenticeship (specialised practical instruction by an expert),
3. Selection by ascription and examination (young male of chiefs or leaders of the *hapū* or *iwi* could gain entry).

Benton, Swindells and Chrisp (1995) make the point that the formal teaching and learning in *whare wānanga* was a collective approach and that the role of woman was significant when they note that “although teachers and students of the most sacred knowledge were men, no sessions took place without the presence of a least one high-ranking older woman, whose function it was to protect the mauri of all the participants” (p. 8). The times when teaching took place also differed across regions. Both Anderson (1969) and Best (1924) agree that the seclusion of the student and their respective teachers - *tōhunga* - was maintained for a period of four to five months. During this time, no member of the community could go near the participants. Participants and students were not allowed near any place where food was being prepared or cooked. The method and practice of teaching in *whare wānanga* was delicate and effective to the discipline of each subject of learning (Robust, 2006). Robust (2006) observed that:

The ability to travel and share each others knowledge attested or benchmarked by others was a key part of the maintenance of that tribal lore. *Tohunga* were central to the entire process of controlling *Māori* knowledge and selecting to whom it was to be imparted. (p. 32)

Forms of assessment and certification

Formal and symbolic were two forms of assessment used in *whare wānanga*. Both forms of assessment took place at the end of the lectures/teaching of the respective *tōhunga* for each of the

scholars. In a formal course, students would be tested on the mastery of the subject matter, accurate recall, and the ability to relate the details of chants and text of various kinds (Best, 1923). Weavers and carvers would be tested on both their knowledge and practical skills. For graduation, this would involve not only the production of a masterpiece but also its performance under conditions which would test stamina, alertness and concentration, as well as technical skill (McLean, 1972).

Mitchell (1948) noted that to graduate some scholars were required to perform a series of tests. He recorded six symbolic assessment tests that could be applied. The first of these included the hurling of a stone at a shrine. If the stone remained intact the student passed. If the stone shattered the scholar was considered unfit to graduate and had to return to the *whare wānanga* for another session. Other tests included breaking a stone into fragments by reciting chants, killing a flying bird uttering a potent karakia, and controlling a tempest at sea or a storm on land. Graduation from the highest levels of the *whare wānanga* was marked in many *Māori* districts by the presentation of a special stone or set of stones to successful candidates (Best, 1923). These stones were given personal names and thus were taonga of a special kind. The stone placed in the mouth of a scholar was known as a *whatu whangai*. A stone that was placed in the scholar's mouth during the performance of a certain rite was known as a *whatu whakahoro* (Best, 1923). Best (1923) recorded the acknowledgement of proficiency for a scholar who had been credited in *kete aronui* with the successful candidate given a stone called *whatu kairangi* which the scholar retained for life.

Grading of Students and Teachers

Best (1986) and McLean (1981) are of the view that there appeared to be a three-to-five-year period for scholars to complete their respective courses/tuition. A first-year scholar or neophyte was called a *pia*. In order to reach the successive stages of *tāura* and *tauira* of full graduation, the neophyte

or *pia* was required to pass a series of examinations (Best, 1986). The *tauirā* stage itself was a significant one; the term was applied generally to all serious scholars. McLean (1981) reports that *tauria pū kōrero* was used to designate a student “more qualified” than an ordinary *tauirā*. After passing the stage of *tauirā*, the scholar would be accorded the status of *tōhunga*.

Within the upper levels of the *whare wānanga*, there appeared to be a series of academic ranks (Best, 1952). For example, *ariki* were normally *tōhunga* as well as political and military leaders. *Te Ahorangi* was the chief expert in the *whare wānanga*, whilst *whatu* was the chief expert for any learning institution, paralleled by *uenuku*, *taumata ahurewa*, and *taumata atua* for priestly high chiefs followed by *tōhunga ahurewa* and *horomatua* at the next level down (Best, 1952). *Amorangi* and *amokapua* were two other important priestly titles that were associated more directly with leadership roles and the application of knowledge (Best, 1952). Lay assistants who acted as teacher aides were often referred to as *takuahi*. Those students and teachers who participated in *whare wānanga* were seen to hold the key to solving various facets of the *Māori* society (Best, 1952; McLean, 1971).

This brief description into the traditional features of *Māori* education prior to the arrival of Europe provides a basis for analysing the beliefs, values, and assumptions of *Māori* aspirations for education. The historical concepts of both traditional *Māori* education and the *whare wānanga* have been described within some written publications of specific note by Elsdon Best, Peter Buck, Percy Smith, Herries Beattie, David Simmons, John White, James Cowan, Joan Metge, Hirini Mead, John White, Raymond Firth, and John Mitchell in a review by Peter McLean (1971). It is important to note that much of the literature on traditional *Māori* education and the concept of *whare wānanga* that is available has been recorded predominantly by non-*Māori* recorders

(Robust, 2006). As noted by Robust (2006), Elsdon Best who was not of *Māori* descent recorded findings within the *iwi* of Ngai Tuhoe, in the Urewera Bay of Plenty region. Another notable non-*Māori*, Percy Smith produced written work that was based on experiences with Te Matorohanga, the *tōhunga* from Ngati Kahungunu. Te Matorohanga organised the last *whare wānanga* opened on the East Coast. Herries Beattie, also of non-*Māori* descent, recorded information in his thesis about Teone Taare Tikao a prominent *kaumatua* who resided at Rapaki on the Banks Peninsula in the South Island. David Simmons (non-*Māori*) translated the work of Aperahama Taonui who recorded Ngapuhi history for John White, another non-*Māori*. Robust (2006) concludes that the common elements described above by these scholars refer to the same stories, myths, and legends that underpin the traditional teaching of *Māori* in the transference of knowledge. It is acknowledged that, whilst there are tribal variations of the stories, myth and legends taught, the core curriculum of each is the same and is discussed by all of the writers mentioned above.

2.3 How the New Zealand Education System has Evolved for *Māori*

Belich (1986) in *The New Zealand Wars*, writes that despite the complexity of the *Māori* society, it nevertheless was flexible, resilient, and adaptable. This was due to *Māori* society being organised around a well-developed belief system, a rich oral and artistic culture, and the principle of kinship traced through *whakapapa* (Belich, 1986). To understand the position of *Māori* within our education system, and indeed within the wider contemporary society of Aotearoa New Zealand, knowledge is needed about the events and processes that have occurred since the arrival of colonisation. The timeline below has been adapted from Simon (1993) to indicate key events in the history of education in New Zealand.

Table 2.1: Establishment of Schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand

| Date | Type of Schooling |
|--|--|
| 1816 – 1840 | Mission Day Schools |
| 1840 – 1852 | Provincial Schools (NZ was divided into 6 Provinces with education administered by a Provincial Council). |
| 1847 – 1867 Education Ordinance, 1847 Introduction of English as the language of instruction in all schools | Government subsidiary for Mission Boarding. Education Ordinance applicable to all children especially Māori. Schools were to deliver a specific kind of training (religious and industrial training), instruction in English, and agree to regular government inspections. |
| 1867 – 1969 Native Schools Act, 1867 | Government established secular village day schools (Native Schools) that were controlled by the Department of Native Affairs until 1879 and thereafter by the Department of Education until 1969. |
| 1877 – Education Act, 1877 Egalitarianism and Equality | National system was initially designed to provide schooling for all elementary (primary) children. The Department of Education was set up to centralise control of schooling. |
| 1903 – Secondary Schools Act, 1903 | National system to provide free places in secondary schools for all children who completed their primary schooling with the Standard 6 Certificate of Proficiency. |
| 1935 - 1969 First Labour Government Currie Report, 1962 | Equity vs Equality Policies that influenced the disestablishment of the Native schools' system disbanded and integrated. |
| 1989 – Tomorrow's Schools, 1989 New Right Economic Theory | <i>Tomorrow's Schools</i> . New Right economic theory emphasised competition, individual rights, choice, and freedom from constraints. The New Right viewed education as a means to an end – economic growth. |

Numerical dominance

In the beginning, it was *Pākehā* – British settlers - who were the minority, and it was *Māori* who were numerically dominant in society. This enabled *Māori* “to exploit opportunities as they arose because they were secure in their own traditions, their own cultural practices and in their own ways of knowing” (Johnston, 1998, p. 83). However, as more and more settlers arrived, a process of deculturation within society began to occur for *Māori* that resulted in assimilation.

Assimilation is widely acknowledged as an administration policy that deliberately set out to destroy the indigenous numerical dominance throughout the world. Simon (1998) speaks not only to this destructive policy but also to the sordid nature of the assimilation policy:

While assimilation was being offered as a means of protecting the Maori, it nevertheless represented an effort to extend hegemony over the Maori by establishing the colonizers' world view as universal. In later years, under a settler administration, the 'undercurrent of economic self-interest' was to become more overt. Statesmen were concerned to establish British law in the country and assimilating Maori to European values and customs was one means of getting Maori to accept the law. Since British law was being called upon to facilitate European access to Maori land as well as the securing of social control, the policy of assimilation clearly supported the interests of the colonists. (p. 66)

Other commentators reflect more on the British Empire's educational administration techniques of domination, subjugation, and domestication of indigenous populations. Walker (2016), in *Reclaiming Māori Education*, speaks to this polemic practice when he observes that "the British Empire portrayed itself as civilised and painted the people it encountered in the New World as savage, uncivilised and inferior" (p. 19). Initially, the early missionaries learnt *te reo Māori* in a bid to use *Māori* language as a means to pass on their knowledge. Despite this, the goal was ultimately for *Māori* to assimilate into *Pākehā* culture (Walker, 2016).

Mission Schools

The first mission school in Aotearoa New Zealand was established by Thomas Kendall, a lay member of the Church of England, in 1816 at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands. However, within two years the school closed due to the lack of *Māori* interest. In 1822 the Wesleyans arrived and established a mission station at Whangaroa, north of Rangihoua and, like the Church of England, were faced with a largely disinterested *Māori* population. Due to the ongoing hostility among the

locals the Whangaroa mission was abandoned in 1827. Nonetheless, the missionaries continued to develop their resources and in 1827 the Gospel was translated into *te reo Māori*. By the 1830s the churches each had their own printing press to cater to the demands from *Māori* for the written word. Simon (1992) explained that *Maori* interest in European schooling arose from their admiration for European technology, and the knowledge, and thinking that produced it.

It is not surprising therefore that by the early 1830s *Māori* appetite for education began to increase. By 1838 the Catholics, led by Bishop Pompallier, had set themselves up in the North Hokianga. With the Protestants already established in the North Hokianga the Catholic Church seemed more focused on establishing mission stations to quickly generate new converts (Matthews, 2006). In August 1839, the British Secretary of the State of War and Colonies, Lord Normanby, sent written instructions to Governor Hobson warning him to find a balance between the State's education objectives and their moral obligation to *Māori*. Normanby's objective was clear:

The establishment of schools for education of the aborigines in the elements of literature will be another object of your solicitude; and until they can be brought within the pale of civilised life, and trained to the adoption of its habits, they must be carefully defended in the observance of their own customs, so far as these are compatible with the universal maxims of humanity and morals. (cited in McNab, 1908, p. 735)

Nonetheless, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) had introduced the Eurocentric type schooling to its respective communities, the initial purpose of which was “to further the spread of Christianity and to show the natives the way to salvation” (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 2). Binney (1969) explains how Christianity during the early 1830s was used to emphasise *Pākehā* superiority and to support *Māori* assimilation when she notes that “one approach was to make the Maoris realise that

Christian society was the result of God's favour; that the material prosperity of the Europeans was directly connected to their religion" (p. 152).

However, there are a number of contemporary accounts that give some indication of the extent of *Māori* enthusiasm for literacy. Writing in 1961, Parr claimed that "the Wesleyan missionary, Turton claimed that while the ability of the Maori to learn to read was equal to that of the Europeans, their perseverance in mastering the skills was much greater" (p. 439). This echoed Brown's observations in 1845 that "if one native in a tribe can read and write, he will not be long in teaching others. The desire to obtain this information engrosses their whole thoughts and they will continue for days with their slate in their hands" (p. 98).

Other commentators also noted that by 1840 almost every *Māori* village in the North Island had inhabitants who could read (Openshaw, Lee & Lee, 1993). However, there is some debate on the recordings of *Māori* participation rates in reading and writing. McKenzie (1985) in his observations raises a good point in terms of the quality of education being provided to *Māori*. According to McKenzie (1985) most *Māori* responses to print did not constitute what he classed as reading, stating that 'oral repetition from memory' typically masqueraded as reading. In addition, McKenzie argues that the reports of the quantities of material printed should not be taken as an indication of the quantity of *Māori* readers. While the argument regarding the substantiation of the quantity of material produced may be valid, of greater concern was the fact that many reports about *Māori* interest in and aptitude for literacy came from traders, travellers, and recorders living amongst *Māori* communities (Coxon et al., 1994). Walker (2004) makes the point that some *Māori* tribal chiefs viewed reading and writing as an extension of their own forms of representation - the art of *whakairo* - and therefore asked the missionaries to bring their literacy resources and tools to their

own tribes. Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) note that the enthusiasm for literacy spread beyond the villages with mission stations and schools to those without as *Māori* who learnt to read took the new skill to other neighbouring villages and taught the inhabitants.

The first step towards the introduction of a national education system

At signing of the *Treaty of Waitangi*, the new colonial state began to subsidise the missionary schools as they were seen as a vehicle for civilising the natives (Barrington, 2008; Simon & Simon, 2001; Walker, 2004) and promote the state's assimilation policy aimed at primarily accessing *Māori* land (Simon, 1994).

In October 1847, the *Education Ordinance* was passed, outlining provisions for the education of children, especially *Māori* and half-caste children. Under the *Education Ordinance* five per cent of the government's revenue was to be set aside to be used for education (Bradly, 1996). However, the government was willing to provide financial support to those existing Mission schools that met certain criteria (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). In a letter to the Bishop of New Zealand, Governor Grey clearly stated that:

All schools which shall receive any portion of the Government grant, shall be conducted as heretofore upon the principle of religious education, industrial training, and instruction in English language, forming a necessary part of the system in such schools. (cited in Simon, 2001, p. 160)

Given these strict criteria, what is known about the administration of state led education and the mechanisms used in developing a national education system and the impact on *Māori* participation? The *Education Ordinance, 1847* was the first of many policies that allowed the government to implement a controlled curriculum delivered in English, thus making schooling

challenging for those *Māori* students who spoke only *te reo Māori*. As Barrington and Beaglehole (1974) note, it was the industrial training schools that channeled *Māori* children into non-academic curriculum areas because “a country to created” (p.44). The mission schools were also seen as a means of promoting the state’s policy of assimilating *Māori* into European society by encouraging *Māori* to follow physical rather than intellectual pursuits.

The *Education Ordinance, 1847* also encouraged the establishment of more *Māori* denominational boarding schools between 1848 and 1852 (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). The missionaries who ran these schools were keen to identify intellectually able *Māori* youth who could then be educated within a Christian values environment. It is believed that the missionaries wanted to teach them to worship God and practice European ways in isolation away from their families so that when they returned to their homes and villages, they would not abandon their European teachings or modes of behaviour (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Ka’ai (2011) argued that “these schools separated Māori children from their whānau, therefore separating them from their language and cultural base and increasing the chance of language loss and assimilation” (p. 201).

It is well documented in the existing literature that the construction of the curriculum within the *Māori* denominational boarding schools was designed to create a class of *Māori* who would perpetuate good *Māori* ‘citizenship’ (Matthews & Jenkins, 1999). During this period of schooling *Māori* students were discouraged from speaking their language by teachers using corporal punishment. This form of discipline against speaking *te reo Māori* facilitated the marginalisation of *Māori* and prompted feelings of isolation in these schools for many *Māori* students. Being disciplined for using and speaking *te reo Māori* at school had a huge effect on the students’ home life as it disrupted the intergenerational transmission of knowledge and weakened the strength of

Māori identity and society (Walker, 1991). Ka'ai (2011) regards the *Education Ordinance, 1847* as the first formal move towards language domination and hegemony when she argues that:

Language domination occurs when members of the dominant culture silence an Indigenous language. This often takes place in the classroom, when the dominant language is viewed as superior to the Indigenous language as a result of the values and beliefs instilled in the school system (Darder 1991:36) ... According to Giroux, 'Hegemony refers to a form of ideological control in which dominant beliefs, values and social practices are produced and distributed throughout a whole range of institutions such as schools, the family, mass media and trade unions' (cited in Darder 1991: 33-34) ... Therefore, the culture and values of the oppressor are promoted over that of the oppressed, whose culture and values are devalued through the colonising powers. (pp. 201-202)

The *Education Ordinance, 1847* as a significant piece of legislation was expected, amongst other things, to overcome particular perceived inequalities in society by making provisions mainly to the education of *Māori* and half-caste children. What is not surprising is the fact that the *Education Ordinance, 1847* aimed to reinforce the already existing bias and discriminating processes and structures in society, and the continuation bid to fully assimilate *Māori*.

The Decree of the Native Schools Act, 1867

The impact of the land wars and hostilities between the Crown and *Māori* began to have an impact upon *Māori* participation in the Mission schools and saw *Māori* virtually abandon the Mission school system (Sorrenson, 1992). The colonial government at the time realised that even with state funding the Mission schools did not have the financial capacity to support a national system of schools for *Māori* (Openshaw et al., 1993), and, therefore, sought a new vehicle for its assimilation agenda.

A Report to the Minister of Native Affairs concerning Native schools found that the Mission schools were not furthering the government's objectives of removing *Māori* students from their community-based living nor were they encouraging the use of the English language in instruction or communication (Walker, 1990). Walker (1990) notes that the report urged the government to intervene in order to regulate the curriculum and give additional emphasis to using English as the language medium in the schools. As a result, the government introduced the *Native Schools Act, 1867*, to establish secular village schools for *Māori*. Under the *Native Schools Act, 1867*, the government exerted more control over the delivery and content of the curriculum (Walker, 1990).

The *Native Schools Act, 1867*, system is referred to as the 'dual' system, in that it operated parallel to the public primary school system and *Māori* could attend either. Under the *Native Schools Act 1867* *Māori* communities were required to form a committee and provide land for the school. One reason for such a requirement was that this would demonstrate each community's commitment to attending a school when it was built. The government would provide the building(s) and the teachers on the basis that *Māori* would pay for one half for the building and one quarter of the teacher's salary (Openshaw et al., 1993). The administration of the *Native Schools Act, 1867* also played a key role in disrupting the transmission of *te reo Māori me ona tikanga* by ensuring that all instruction in schools was to be conducted in English (Simon, 1998). Throughout most of their existence the Native schools continued to follow a policy of assimilation, with the government emphasizing the importance of a curriculum that focused on providing practical labour-intensive skills rather than intellectual skills in order to provide *Māori* students with "sufficient schooling to become law-abiding citizens" (Simon, 1998, p. 17). Whilst some policy decision makers appeared to have a genuine concern for *Māori* education (Simon, 1998), others saw schools as a form of

social control in that money spent on schools would save spending on jails and military (Openshaw et al., 1993). As Openshaw et al., (1993) explain:

The first was that Europeanisation/assimilation was an appropriate model for the government to pursue in order to ‘civilise’ Maori; second, that the schools should be used for the express purpose of social control and finally, that education should be made available only in those communities where Maori had not only asked for schooling but also committed resources. (p. 40)

These three key principles were set to dominate *Māori* education policy not only for that particular time but also for many years to follow.

The Education Act, 1877

During the 1870s, “some children, for a number of reasons, had been given the opportunity to go to school while others had not” (Coxon et., al, 1994, p. 43). The *Education Act, 1877* was seen to champion the idea to make schooling compulsory attendance. However, this idea was not support by all communities (Coxon, et., al, 1994), and there was a general dissatisfaction among parents of those students attending schools with the quality of education provided, particularly in the North Island where the economic and social effects of the Land Wars were still being felt (Simon, 1994). McKenzie (1975) wrote that “in the interest of equality of enjoyment of individual right, parental discretion should be forgone and attendance at school be enforced upon all children of legislatively defined school age” (p. 93). This observation by McKenzie appears to reinforce the view at the time that education was good for all children. However, Adams et al., (2000) and Sutherland, Jesson & Peters (2001) note that the creation of the *Education Act, 1877* was guided by an official ideology of social equity. The *Education Act, 1877* at the time was designed to ensure safety of the state and social safety to stimulate the emerging economy:

We do know that education teaches the self-control that is absolutely necessary for a civilised state of society ... In countries where the statistics have been taken, the proportion of criminals who are absolutely destitute of education is 80 per cent. (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1877, Vol XXIV, p. 33 cited in Adams et al., 2000, p.14)

Harker (1985) analysed the parliamentary debates leading up to the *Education Act, 1877* and identified four major themes:

1. Social control
2. The production of a discerning and intelligent electorate
3. The enhancement of productivity, and
4. Individual rights to education

In his analysis Harker (1985) points out that themes two and four reflect humanitarian and egalitarian ideals, whilst the other two themes were more concerned with economics, law, and order. Nonetheless, he and others (Coxon et al., 1994) conclude that the only reason why the *Education Act, 1877* became a reality was because all four arguments happened to point to the same direction to that of State control.

New Zealand commentators have pointed out that the *Education Act, 1877* seemed to have been shaped by perceptions of what had been promoting inequalities beforehand (Fry, 1985; Mackey, 1967; McCulloch, 1992; McKenzie, 1975). Carpenter, Dixon, Rata and Rawlinson (2001) and Shuker (1987) argue that the *Education Act, 1877* seemed to disadvantage working class, female and *Māori* students:

While poorer parents were more able to send their children to primary schools, students attending secondary schools were required to pay fees ... The belief that education was less important for girls than for boys was reflected in the policy. Girls between the ages of 7 and 13 were only required to attend school for half the attendance time of boys. They were not encouraged to learn maths and science because it was thought girls lacked the ability to cope ... Compulsory attendance for Māori at both native and public schools was not introduced until 1894. (Carpenter et al., 2001, pp. 76-77)

The *Education Act, 1877* specified free primary schooling and an ‘entirely secular’ curriculum for children aged between five and fifteen, with attendance made compulsory for all children aged between seven and thirteen. Egalitarianism and equality were assumptions used to promote the notion that by providing equal access all people had the same opportunity to be successful.

Tensions also began to appear regarding the type of education children were getting and the lack of skill sets required to achieve this, because education was seen as promoting the virtue and intelligence of individuals (Hampser-Monk, 1992) who belonged to a particular class, namely male and *Pākehā*.

Department of Education – Native Schools Code 1880

In 1879 control of the Native schools moved from the Department of Native Affairs to the Department of Education, thereby establishing a ‘dual’ and parallel system of public primary schools (Coxon et al., 1994). In 1879 fifty-seven Native Schools came under the control of the Department of Education. By 1907 there were 97 Native Schools with the number increasing to 162 by 1955 (Openshaw et al., 1993). Ultimately, the aim of the government was to integrate all Native schools into the public primary school system once *Māori* children were sufficiently ‘Europeanised’ (Simon, 1998). Nonetheless, many Native Schools remained outside the public system, despite the level of ‘Europeanisation’ of their *Māori* children (Coxon et al., 1994). It is

thought by some that *Māori* children were better off in Native schools because they were in an environment with their peers who largely consisted of *whānau* (McKenzie, 1982). However, some *Māori* school communities preferred to remain under the control of the department rather than the Board because the Department of Native Affairs dealt specifically with *Māori* issues (Simon, 1998).

In 1880 the newly established Department of Education appointed James Pope as its first inspector of Native Schools and one of his first tasks was to write the *Native Schools Code 1880*. That *Code* clearly outlined the expectation that Native Schools would “bring an untutored but intelligent and high-spirited people into line with our civilization and by placing in Maori settlements European school buildings and European families to serve as teachers, especially as exemplars of a new desirable mode of life” (Bird, 1951, p. 64). While many *Māori* parents wanted their children to become competent in the English language, they also wanted their children to be proficient in both *te reo Māori me ona tikanga*. However, as Simon (1998) asserts, the newly-establish schools under the *Education Act 1877* were not aimed at extending their *Māori* students academically but rather have them enter labouring roles within society.

Contribution or Retribution and the Secondary Schools Act, 1903

Scholarships were provided for the most proficient *Māori* students who attended the Native Schools so that they would have the opportunity to attend one of the denominational secondary boarding schools. By 1887, four denominational secondary schools were recognised officially:

- Te Aute (Anglican Boys) in Otane, Hawkes Bay (1854)
- St. Stephens Anglican (Boys) in Bombay, Auckland (1860)

- St Joseph’s Catholic Providence (Girls) Bluff Hill, Napier (1867)⁶
- Hukarere Protestant (Girls) in Eskdale, Hawkes Bay – 1875 (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974)

Despite being run by the various churches, these schools were subject to annual inspections and essentially had to offer a mainly manual and practical curriculum as they were treated as being an extension of the Native schools by the Department of Education (Simon, 1998). In addition, the way in which the Department of Education exerted its powers over these denominational schools is well documented. For example, Te Aute College had built a reputation for providing an education to its students that was equivalent to English grammar schools. This, in turn, prepared students for the Form 5 Matriculation Examination that was required to enter university. However, this was condemned by the Department of Education who, at the time, urged the school to reconsider its use of resources (Openshaw et al., 1993). The Department of Education wanted Te Aute College to introduce compulsory study in agriculture and woodwork and cease instruction in Latin and Algebra (Openshaw et al., 1993). After much heated debate between the Department of Education and the school’s Headmaster and prominent *Māori* leaders, a report was signed off by the Department of Education outlining the need for Te Aute College to align its teaching programmes with the government’s education objectives. The report recommended that the school focus on “manual and technical instruction in agriculture” (Openshaw et al., 1993, p. 54). Having been graduates of Te Aute College and then gone to university, Sir Apirana Ngata and Te Rangi Hiroa who, by 1906, were Members of Parliament, defended the college’s right to teach an academic curriculum but also advocated the adoption of manual and agricultural subjects for those boys wanting to return to home to take up farming (Walker, 1996).

⁶ Original site of St. Joseph’s Catholic Providence (Girls).

It is interesting to note that the *Māori* parents of students who were attending Te Aute College at the time did not support the agricultural subjects (Barrington, 2008; Openshaw et al., 1993). It was also made clear to teachers and to the Department of Education staff that *Māori* parents favoured the academic curriculum because they wanted the best for their children – that is, an education that allowed them to enter an occupation or profession of their choosing, that enabled them to have a good standard of living, and that ensured equitable outcomes (Openshaw et al., 1993). As Walker (1996) points out, the success of Te Aute College graduates clearly demonstrated *Māori* academic potential and competence.

The Secondary Schools Act, 1903

The introduction of the *Secondary Schools Act, 1903* by the Seddon Government provided free places in secondary schools for all children who completed their primary schooling with a Standard 6 ‘Certificate of Proficiency’ (Coxon et al., 1994). Education commentators point out how secondary schools were seen as social filters that reflected the ideology of meritocracy:

With most middle-class children mostly being channelled into academic education and the working-class children mostly being encouraged into manual and trade-type education ... The ideology of meritocracy was to assume an important role: that of concealing the contradictions embodied in a *selective* education system that was offering to extend opportunities and rewards across social boundaries in order to produce a more egalitarian society. (Coxon, et al., 1994, p. 48)

Coxon et al., (1994) claim that the meritocratic philosophy of education was intended to make the curriculum appear to be available equally to all children with differences in achievement and attainment perceived as being the result of the different abilities and efforts of students. This took attention away from the assimilative practices inherent in the administration of the Act.

From 1903 to 1909 six more denominational schools were established:

- Queen Victoria School for Māori Girls (Anglican) in Auckland (1903)
- Hikurangi College (Anglican) in Wairarapa (1903)
- Turakina Māori Girls School (Presbyterian) in Wanganui (1905)
- Waerenga-a-Hika School (Anglican) in Poverty Bay (1909)
- Te Waipounamu Māori Girls College (Anglican) in Christchurch (1909)

By 1913 the government had recognised 10 schools offering secondary education for *Māori* (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). McKenzie (1987) and Shuker, 1987b) observe that these schools were expected to select and group children on the basis of perceived differences in ability and then reward them differently in terms of their achievement. Fry (1985) points out that there also were differences in the schooling opportunities and funding for girl schools. She notes that subjects relating to science which required apparatus and equipment were discouraged by the Department of Education and, moreover, when science was introduced as a compulsory subject for girls it was in the form of ‘home science’. Fry (1985) further notes that the overall government focus was still on preparing young girls for domestic roles in society rather than increasing their life chances and independence. Tennant (1977), on the other hand, notes the assumption that education of girls would provide simple economic and social solutions to the wide-ranging societal problems such as poverty, child neglect and juvenile delinquency.

Whilst the *Secondary Schools Act, 1903* intended to promote ‘equality’ in terms of access to schooling, the administration of schooling nevertheless helped to perpetuate inequalities related to ethnic, gender and social class (Coxon et al., 2001; Matthews, 1988; McKenzie, 1987; Shuker,

1987b). Under the *Secondary Schools Act, 1903* provisions for manual, technical, and commercial education continued to be incorporated in the existing schools (McKenzie et al., 1990). Codd (1985) and other commentators (McKenzie, 1987; Shuker, 1987b) also note that schools were expected to select and group children on the basis of presumed differences in ability and then reward them differentially in terms of their achievement.

Equality of Opportunity

In 1935, the first Labour Government took power and initiated significant changes to State policies concerning employment, housing, and education. From the Labour Party's perspective education was now considered an 'entitlement' of New Zealand citizenship (Carpenter et al., 2001). In other words, education was regarded as a fundamental human right. In 1939, the Minister of Education, Peter Fraser, outlined his policy on education which is widely regarded as being the first government statement that outlines the goal of equality of opportunity:

The government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in town or country, has a right, as a citizen, to a free education of the kind of which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers. So far is this from being a mere pious platitude that the full acceptance of the principle will involve the reorientation of the education system. (*AJHR*, 1939, E-1, pp. 2-3).

While it appears that the then Minister of Education's statement aimed to fulfil the education needs of the individual child, it did pose one important question: if each individual child was to be given the kind of education for which he or she was 'best fitted', who decided what that was – the individual child's parents or the State?

Coxon et al., (1994) recognised Fraser's policy as an expression of the earlier 'egalitarian credo' in that the final statement indicates that the system would need to be changed to ensure the equality of opportunity would be provided (p. 67). In 1940 Dr Clarence Beeby ('Beeb') was appointed Direct of Education for the Department of Education to roll out Minister Fraser's education policy. Reflecting on this policy years later Beeby acknowledged that:

In our call for equality of opportunity we too readily assumed that nearly everybody who was given the opportunity would take advantage of it. We didn't take into proper account of the economic and social conditions of any of the adolescents who were dropping out ... we did not even realise that the average girl did not have the same opportunities as the average boy simply because less was expected of girls both at school and at work ... what should have been more obvious was that some of the disadvantages they [Maori] were suffering had their roots deep in our social attitudes and in the economic and structures of our society. (Beeby, 1986, p. 57)

To this end, a number of initiatives were introduced: (1) two teacher training colleges that closed during the Depression were reopened; (2) the school starting age was lowered from six to five; (3) abolished the Proficiency Examination (set at Standard VI); (4) teacher salaries were increased; (5) kindergarten and adult education grants were restored; (6) funding for school maintenance, materials and libraries was increased; (7) the correspondence school introduced secondary school courses; (8) school bus services for rural students began (Coxon et al., 1994). By 1937 some 65 per cent of primary school leavers went on to secondary schooling (Shuker, 1987). For some children, particularly *Māori* children living in rural isolated communities this made little immediate difference, as there were no secondary schools near their homes for them to attend (Coxon et al., 1994).

The Native District High Schools

Despite the Labour Government continuing to support free secondary education in 1930s, *Māori* still had very limited access to secondary schooling with fewer than 1000 *Māori* children attended secondary schooling during their first term in government. For many rural isolated *Māori* parents sending their children to denominational boarding schools was not an option and by 1939 Sir Apirana Ngata had changed his mind about the exclusion of *te reo Māori* in schools on the grounds that:

It explains the case of thousands of Maoris [sic], old and young who entered the schools of this country and passed out, with their minds closed to the culture, which their inheritance and which lies wounded, slighted and neglected at their very door ... But there are Maoris [sic], men and women, who have passed through the Pakeha [sic] whare wananga [sic] and felt shame at their ignorance of their native culture. They would learn it if they could, if it were available for study as the culture of the Pakeha has been ordered for them to learn. (cited in Walker, 2004, p.193)

In 1941, the first Native District High School opened at Te Araroa on the East Coast, followed by two more in 1942, at Ruatōria and Tikitiki. From their earliest beginning these schools were poorly resourced and heavily biased towards manual instruction rather than the academic curriculum being offered at urban board high school and denominational boarding schools. However, in 1945, the national Form 5 examination - School Certificate - was introduced to the Native District High Schools system and by 1947 thirteen more schools, including Northland Agricultural and Technical College, in Kaikohe were established. The Native District High Schools offered two curricula tracks – an academic track that provided examination qualifications to enter university and thus the professions, and a practical/manual track that led to employment on farms and in factories (Openshaw et al., 1993). Despite the Labour Government's ostensible commitment to providing equality of access to schooling it did not provide *Māori* with an equality of opportunity with all

other children, rather it served only to severely disadvantage **Māori** and widen the gap between **Māori** and **Pākehā** in terms of their relative economic and political power.

The Hunn Report 1961 – The Policy of Integration

In 1960, the Prime Minister, Walter Nash, appointed Jack Hunn as Acting Secretary for Māori Affairs and Māori Trustee for Department of Māori Affairs to carry out a stocktake of **Māori** participation in society and bring vigour and sensitivity into the Department of Māori Affairs (Coxon et al., 1994). Hunn was a staunch advocate for the integration of **Māori** and **Pākehā** having personally witnessed how **Māori** and **Pākehā** attitudes towards each other had change since returning from World War II. He wanted to capture that change in the government’s administration, particularly in employment, housing, health, welfare and education, and therefore proposed to abandon the assimilation policy and introduce ‘integration’. Of particular interest was the data and statistics in education that showed **Māori** were being disadvantaged in education that subsequently were published in the *1961 Hunn Report*⁷ (Coxon et al., 1994). The *Hunn Report, 1961* also acknowledge that there was a **Māori** educational crisis in terms of a ‘statistical black out’ of **Māori** students in post-compulsory schooling (Hunn Report, 1961, p. 22) and suggested that it would be best if all **Māori** children to attend public schools where they could interact with **Pākehā** children as part of its integration policy. This proposed that “instead of the culture and language of the by now numeric group being destroyed, all minority groups were to be integrated into the culture of the dominant group” (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 36).

The Liberal Myth and False Generosity

The *Hunn Report, 1961* also recognised that parts of the **Māori** culture - namely the arts, crafts, language, and the *marae* - were worth preserving and sought to incorporate some of these aspects

⁷ Although the Hunn Report was release in late August 1960, the Report was published in 1961.

into the school curriculum (Hunn Report, 1961). It is clear that on one hand the *Hunn Report, 1961* advocated for better education outcomes for *Māori*, that would promote better employment, leading to better housing, better health, better social standards of living, and better education thereby creating something of a chain reaction to encourage the closer ‘racial integration’ of both *Māori* and *Pākehā* (Hunn Report, 1961). However, on the other hand, the *Hunn Report, 1961* is an example of “false generosity” (Freire, 1996, p. 26) - by including some aspects of *Māori* culture in the curriculum as a way of appeasement, in that by giving *Māori* something the State hoped that this would keep them happy and quiet. Freire (1996) writes that:

Any attempt to “soften” the power of the oppressor in deference to the weakness of the oppressed almost always manifests itself in the form of false generosity; indeed, the attempt never goes beyond this. In order to have the continued opportunity to express their “generosity”, the oppressors must perpetuate injustice as well. (p. 26)

Freire demonstrates that this ‘false generosity’ only serves to further oppress and patronise indigenous people. The *Hunn Report, 1961*, like the numerous government reports and commissions of inquiry before, blamed the *Māori* problem not upon the State’s administration of the education system but upon *Māori* parents and *Māori* communities themselves. At the time of the *Hunn Report, 1961* the number of *Māori* people fluent in *te reo Māori* had declined significantly from 95 to only 25 per cent and *Māori*, in relation to the rest of society, were not only disproportionately disadvantaged in education but also in other areas including justice, employment, housing, health, and welfare. However, the notion to streamline the education system was to maintain State control over the social and economic outcomes throughout New Zealand came as a result of the publication in July 1962 of the *Report of the Commission of Education in New Zealand* (Currie Commission, 1962).

The Currie Report, 1962

The *Currie Report, 1962* in general accepted the Minister of Education's (Peter Fraser) 1939 statement that asserted that the fundamental structures and values of the existing education system should be maintained (Coxon et al., 1994). In addition, the *Currie Report, 1962* supported “the claim that equality of opportunity was the central aspiration of New Zealand education and of the community as a whole, second, the belief that the system was progressing towards that principle; and third, the notion that State activity was benevolent and should be employed to encourage further progress of this system” (McCulloch, 1992, cited in Coxon et al., 1994, p. 70). However, Coxon et al. (1994) make the point that the *Currie Report, 1962* was uncritical in its assumptions that there was a general consensus of public opinion regarding education despite concerns raised by groups with “special needs” - rural communities, new urban dormitory suburbs, the physical and intellectually handicapped, and *Māori* (Department of Education, 1962, pp. 14-16). The major recommendation in relation to *Māori* participation and the education of *Māori* was that the Native Schools system should now be abolished and integrated with the public school system in order for the government to provide an educational system that would produce equality of opportunities for all involved (Department of Education, 1962). It was clear from the *Hunn Report, 1961* that the Native Schools, District Native High Schools, and Denominational Boarding Schools under the control of the Department of Education were not delivering an education that enabled *Māori* students to progress to universities (Hunn Report, 1961). The *Hunn Report, 1961* had identified that *Māori* participation at universities was only one-eighth of what it should have been in relation to *Māori* and *Pākehā* proportional data (Hunn Report, 1961). This finding can be attributed to race relations and the diluting of the perceived need of *Māori* children. The *Currie Report, 1962* commented that:

From the angle of world politics ... this country is drawn, perhaps unwillingly, into considering its solution of inter-racial problems in the light of what is being attempted and achieved in the world outside New Zealand. Happenings in Asia and Africa do not leave us unmoved. There is a feeling in this country, in the minds of both Maori and Pakeha, that if other races are with such energy setting about the task of assimilating and adapting to their needs the European economic, political and social structure, the New Zealand Maori should certainly not lag behind. (Department of Education, 1962, pp. 401-402)

Simon (1994) makes the point that there is irony in the recommendation that the advancement of *Māori* education would better be achieved within the *Māori* schools' system than in ordinary public schools. Despite the Native Schools having been established to implement assimilation, they had become valued features of *Māori* communities and did at least focus on the perceived needs of *Māori* children. In contrast, "Education Board schools at the time treated Maori children with indifference or hostility if they did not fit in with the Pakeha-orientated system" (Simon, 1994, p.72). By the late 1960s the Department of Education had transferred control of *Māori* schools to the regional education boards. Although justified on the grounds of ensuring egalitarianism, education board schools were an alien environment, unwelcoming and prejudiced against *Māori* children who were unfamiliar with *Pākehā* cultural norms and values (Coxon et al., 1994). It became clear to *Māori* that the general position of the State was still to victim blame to distance itself from its failures in the administration its education policies and practices (Jenkins & Ka 'ai, 1994, cited in Coxon et al., 1994).

A Crisis in Education and a Dilemma for the State

A shift of State policy to dealing with the unabated crisis in *Māori* education 'masked the realities of differential access, participation and outcomes' (Jones, Marshall, Matthews, Smith & Smith, 1995, p. 176). The 1970s saw nearly 70 per cent of *Māori* students leaving school with no formal education qualification and the crime rate statistics showed a sharp increase in *Māori* offending,

especially by young *Māori*. Jenkins and Ka'ai (1994) point out that, as a consequence, *Māori* students were being targeted as potential offenders while they were at school:

The police and the bureaucrats sought co-operation of schools to monitor all truancy and reading levels and to supply or keep records of particular families known to the police ... These patterns of distinction by the police, emphasising the errant behaviour of Maori pupils rather than the structural impediments to learning ... Non-Maori pupils who are slow learners and truants while being treated to special class teaching programmes, can do so without the fear of being monitored by police as to their performance. (cited in Coxon et al., 1994, p. 152)

Lourie (2015) argues that the State was under pressure to deal with the effects of ethnic inequality, which, at the time, was reflected in lower school achievement rates and higher arrest, conviction, and imprisonment rates for young *Māori*.

The Policy of Biculturalism

The notion of a partnership between *Māori* and *Pākehā* was enshrined in the *Treaty of Waitangi* in 1840 and biculturalism, as a general principle of that partnership, has gained momentum since the early '*Māori* activism' of the early 1970s (Walker, 1984). However, the implementation of the *Māori* ideals of biculturalism in specific areas of government administration and policy has been slow and often controversial.

The policy of biculturalism was introduced into the education sector as a response to the policy of multiculturalism and the *Pākehā* - 'one people' ideology (Walker, 1996) that often was used to justify the lack of provision for the social, economic, and cultural needs of *Māori* (Simon, 1986). The first academic commentator credited to use the term biculturalism was anthropologist Schwimmer (1968) in his edited collection, *The Māori People in the Nineteen Sixties*, who defined

biculturalism as the “conscious confrontation and reconciliation of two conflicting value systems both of which are accepted as valid” (p. 13). In 1973, *Māori* scholar, Ranginui Walker, used the term when discussing the underachievement of *Māori* children in terms of the importance of individual children becoming familiar with their own culture and identity (Tooley, 2000). Walker (1996) described three elements of being bicultural: (1) understanding the values and norms of the other culture; (2) being comfortable in either *Māori* or *Pākehā*; and (3) power sharing in the decision-making processes of the country at a political level. As Jones et al. (1995) note, as a policy biculturalism was designed to create real structural change rather than continue the domination of society by one cultural group. Conversely, biculturalism is inherently colonial, and positions *Māori* as the minor partner of the partnership with the Crown oversimplifying the cultural and political nature of both *Māori* and *Pākehā* (O’Sullivan, 2007a). Since the advent of European settlers, *Māori* have had to be bicultural - that is to operate competently in both the *Māori* world and *Pākehā* world - while *Pākehā* have not. Aspirations of biculturalism within the education sector were, in practice, an attempt to educate *Pākehā* about *Māori* culture. However, it did nothing to promote the educational advancement of *Māori* children, nor were the wider structural inequalities with the administration of the education sector addressed (Coxon et al., 1994).

2.4 The Context of Education Reform

Before 1984, the Labour Party had generally been in opposition since 1949 with just two three-year terms in office (1957 to 1960 and 1972 to 1975). From 1935 to 1949 the first Labour Government had constructed an economic and administrative system involving a “high degree of government intervention, and a limited use of the market mechanism” (Easton, 1994, p. 79). From 1949 to 1984, Successive National Governments that dominated the political space began a slow and subtle process of market liberalization. However, in 1984, the fourth Labour Government

ushered in reforms that purportedly attempted to deal with the perceived crisis of the welfare state (Peters & Marshall, 1996). At the time it was claimed that the public sector was overloaded in terms of workload, and the massive fiscal deficit and heavy overseas borrowing had increased the disparities in income distribution among other economic and commodity issues (Openshaw, 2009). It was reported by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that New Zealand had an economy that was cost-plus and uncompetitive (Kelsey, 1995, p. xiii). Despite the Labour Party being traditionally a champion of social democracy, it soon followed the “Washington consensus” in liberalising the economy (Kelsey, 1995, p.18).

The 1980s ideas advocated by a world-wide political and economic movement known as the ‘New Right’ brought change to New Zealand’s education system. The New Right economic theory emphasised competition, individual rights, choice, and freedom. As Coxon et al. (1994) observe:

Education issues would be solved by market forces, by taking the state as far as possible out of the day-to-day running of schools, by deregulating and de zoning schools so that they could compete, parents could freely choose, and excellence would emerge through competition. (p. 21)

McMaster (2013) recognised that the adherence to neoliberal policies required the State to reduce its role in society. Giroux (2008) defined neoliberalism as “a broad based rhetorical and cultural movement designed to obliterate public concerns and liquidate the welfare state” (p. 9), one in which the market, and the State, was viewed as being best equipped to meet society’s needs. Giroux (2008) further argued that neoliberalism radically alters the social contract, redefining the role of the State from its long-standing commitment to the social good to one of managing global movements of capital. McMaster (2013) summarises the changes as follows:

As the government reduces its responsibility for the public good (health, housing, education, jobs), individuals are made responsible for their own successes or failures ... The point under neoliberalism is that it is not structural or systemic deficits that produce inequalities, but *individual* strength and weaknesses. (p. 524)

Other commentators point out that neoliberalism is both an economic theory and a culture of politics. For example, under the neoliberal ideology, the wealth continues to be squeezed upward at the same time the social inequalities increase (Stiglitz, 2012). Giroux (2008) observed that the balancing of the State's budget has become a primary focus of governments in that the vision remains economic rather than social with a future that holds nothing beyond a watered-down version of the present.

The Kiwi Experiment – Tomorrow's Schools (1988)

In 1984 the fourth elected Labour Government volunteered to participate in the OECD international structural adjustment programme to build New Zealand's capacity to secure loans from international financial institutions. The reforms affected all sectors of New Zealand society. While international economic theorists lauded the New Right policy programme, social critics pointed out that "unemployment" and "poverty" had consequently become "structural features" of the Kiwi life (Kelsey, 1995, p. xiii).

The introduction of *Tomorrow's Schools* in October 1989 was the Labour Government's policy to reform the administration of New Zealand's compulsory education sector (Lange, 1988). This followed the 1987 *Picot Taskforce Report, Administering for Excellence*, that called for a complete overhaul of the structure to New Zealand's education system. Its key feature included (1) education was seen as a market like any other public service, which if opened to competition, would improve the quality of the 'product' as well as student achievement; (2) the public school was seen as a

monopoly, with a captive clientele; (3) Education boards and the Department of Education would be abolished and replaced with a scaled down Ministry of Education, who would deal with policy making; (4) Boards of Trustees would be set up (with parental and community representatives) to govern individual schools with money allocated on a per capita basis; (5) Board of Trustees would be required to outline their mission statements and objectives in a charter which would serve as a contract with the government; (6) review and audit agencies would be established to ensure the objectives in the charter were being met (Picot Taskforce to Review Education Administration, 1988). These radical changes seemingly fitted with the Lange-led Labour Government's neoliberal programme of the 1980s.

The Perennial Tension of Competing Political Ideologies

Politically expedient, this embedded the notion of individual choice in education, and influenced how much teachers could be paid, and gave freedom to choose what type of education could be delivered with supposedly, limited government interdiction. Jesson (1989) and others (Easton, 1989; Grace, 1990) point out that under neoliberalism the State expresses a commitment to individualism and a view of citizens as motivated mainly by self-interest. Carpenter et al. (2001) conclude that the neoliberal educational aim is to produce the "citizen of the market", enterprising, innovative, freed from state intervention, and focused on the immediate (p. 91). This would allow schools to increase their focus on individual potential, emphasising for teachers to teach to the needs of each individual child. The tension arising out of this is that in practice it is impossible for teachers to focus on individual learning, because having an average class of twenty-five to thirty-five would see that many different forms of knowledge, skills, interests and motivations, with teachers needing to focus on the performance of the class as a whole (Nuthall, 2001).

Throughout the history of education, tensions have occurred when competing political ideologies have influenced the nature of education policy. In Aotearoa New Zealand one perennial tension that has evolved is the policy of equal opportunity versus the policy of equity. Both policies have been underpinned by different political ideologies. Equal opportunity has been predominantly influenced by the ideology of class liberalism whilst equity is underpinned by socialism and culturalism. Socialism emerged as a reaction against many political attributes that permeate liberalism. Socialist theorist such as Karl Marx from the 19th century noticed that many people were subjected to the inequalities of opportunity caused by the exploitation of the capitalist economic system and due to the liberal ideas. From a socialist point of view, Karl Marx emphasized that many individuals were located in unequal socio-economic classes. What became apparent was the fact that equal opportunity was a liberal myth. Equity, from a socialist point of view, means social justice and fairness, demands that without socio-economic provisions individuals do not have equal opportunity. In Aotearoa New Zealand examples of this are identified in the *per capita* funding and schooling zoning policies and practices.

The funding by *per capita* under *Tomorrow's Schools* has created a tension around the ability of schools to deliver successful outcomes. Educationalist and researchers alike believed that, from a socialist view, this would restrict access to perceived better education opportunities in schools where the income of families generally was consistent with to the percentage of like incomes in the community (Coxon et al., 1994). *Tomorrow's Schools* allowed for parent donations to subsidise or top up government funding to schools. In an area where parental incomes are limited the school is not able to attract teachers of good quality who might consider positions elsewhere depending on the levels of additional resourcing generated by donations.

Following the introduction of *Tomorrow's Schools*, and with the help and political clout of parents and the community, the socialist momentum has seen a fairness-through-equity approach both ease and, in some cases, increase the tension involved in the redistribution of resources to remedy the education and social inadequacies now being recognised in a different environment. Equity funding for low decile schools, which assist where the levels of parents' income diminish the contributions parents and communities, can help to make the school more financially secure and therefore viable.

School zoning regulations allow for restricted access when a school has reached its physical capacity. McCulloch (1992) observations noted that the new provisions of school zoning changed the emphasis of education in that "balancing out the declared need of different schools, to one of emphasizing the alleged right of parents" (p. 105). McCulloch further noted that despite schooling zoning involving a stronger role for freedom, it also endangered schools especially those in disadvantaged locations. Moreover, tensions arose where freedom of choice saw numbers of parents enrolling their children at schools that were not their neighbourhood schools. This was presumably based on the premise that educational delivery was ineffective or, worse still, that the perceived social class did not match their own aspirations (Niggle, 1985; Scherer & Ross, 1990).

In 1990, Waslander and Thrupp (1993) investigated the effects of free market education when it was implemented and found that removing the zones caused mass tensions among schools and their communities. For example, brown flight and white flight describe the mass exodus that existed because schools emptied and then filled at random with scant regard for the education and social consequences (Waslander & Thrupp, 1993). Other researchers note that the free market system also promoted a 'natural selection' to education (Chubb & Moe, 2011). According to these researchers, the natural selection to education would encourage competition not only between

schools, but also between students for limited places in those schools that were perceived to be performing academic well (Chubb & Moe, 2011). Problems with overcrowding, and as a consequence, managing behaviours and social class distinctions meant that remedies had to be sought. All of these issues, while helping to shape the way education is delivered in Aotearoa New Zealand for both liberalist and socialist ideologies, have had a major impact on *Māori* participation and how *Māori* language and culture have become pivotal to the State's dilemma of how best to provide a quality education to *Māori*.

The development of political philosophies in culturalism emerged as a reaction against the liberal ideas. Stuart Hall, a cultural studies theorist, believed that there needed to be an emphasis on the ethnic and cultural aspects of all humans. For those cultures and ethnicities victimized by the policies and practices of liberalism, equity would provide some recourse (Hall, 1997). Culturalism maintains that cultures and ethnic groups have a claim to rights and protections even if, at the same time, they violate individual rights (Eriksen, 2010). In New Zealand this meant reforming the education system to meet the cultural and ethnical needs of its indigenous people. Durie (2003) suggests that the purpose of education was to prepare people to participate actively in both the western and *Māori* worlds.

The 1980s and 1990s have been characterised by the reassertion of *Māori* over the control of their education. In addition, *Māori* saw the policy of multiculturalism as a threat to their ideals of cultural capital (Walker, 1984). The tension surrounding this and the failure of public schooling to address *Māori* needs to retain *te reo Māori*, together with official recognition of *Māori* as an official language, sparked a revival in education and in *Māori*. This system of *Māori* language medium

schooling includes: Te Kohanga Reo (*Māori* medium early childhood centres); Kura Kaupapa (*Māori* medium primary schools); and Whare Kura (*Māori* medium secondary schools).

In 1992, the Ministry of Education was challenged by representatives of the *Māori* Catholic community. At the heart of their concerns was the need for Catholic schools to be able to provide a quality bicultural education for *Māori* Catholic children. The shortcomings of the Ministry of Education were identified, including concerns over the willingness to provide national policy provisions for the development of a more *Māori* centred Catholic education (Bishop Mariu, 1992). As one *Māori* education commentator pointed out, the idea of making provisions for equal opportunity from the government's perspective simply meant assimilating people into the mainstream (Smith, 1990b; Coxon et al., 1994). Jenkins writes, "For Maori this meant forsaking their 'Maoriness' in favour of someone else's 'Pakehaness'. 'Pakehaness' is the cultural capital ... of mainstream schooling" (cited in Coxon et al., 1994, p. 167).

After some 180 years of successive governments mismanaging the *Māori* education space, many *Māori* see these schools as providing the best chance for a culturally appropriate education system (Coxon, et al., 1994)). These schools were established, based on *Kaupapa Māori Theory*, and aimed to 'validate and legitimise' being *Māori* within the education system (Pene, 1991; Smith, 1991). *Kaupapa Māori Theory* incorporates *Māori* language, culture, knowledge, and values, thereby creating a learning environment that makes students feel not only comfortable but welcome.

In conclusion, it is clear from the literature that the problem of inequitable educational outcomes for *Māori* students is complex, and one that is grounded in the history of *Māori* education. The State has undergone numerous changes since 1852. The shift in 1984 from a welfare State to a less

interventionist and more market driven neo-liberal State has had a lasting effect on *Māori* participation in education.

The policy of equal opportunity, influenced by the ideology of classical liberalism, has for a long time been the corner stone of education policy. Historically, shortcomings in practice have seen the gradual tempering of those views and, as recognised, changes to equalize have occurred. Although equity objectives are given prominence in the ongoing restructuring of our education system, the strategies needed to address the lack of equity for ethnic minority groups are yet to be implemented.

PART TWO: CATHOLIC EDUCATION IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

The Catholic education context in Aotearoa New Zealand is an educational environment that is distinct and unique. To understand and appreciate the relationship between distinctiveness and uniqueness in Catholic education in the particular national context of Aotearoa New Zealand, it is essential to identify and appreciate the literature regarding the important changes in the composition of Catholic schools. When combined with the effects of government legislation these changes present new challenges and opportunities to Catholic leaders who now need to re-examine the rationale for Catholic schools in particular, along with *Māori* participation and the foundational principles that should underpin and permeate all their decisions. As one commentator writes:

In general, we have been less attentive to cultural differences in constructing interpretations of the past ... An important consequence of this failure is that New Zealand historiography has masked the internal heterogeneity of settler society and repressed the experiences of human agents. (Fraser, 1995, p. 87)

According to Fraser (1995), the New Zealand evidence indicates that “the formation of ethnic consciousness is historically grounded and needs to be understood as a matter of process” (p. 96). The second part of this literature review will take into account the Fraser’s findings and focus on the establishment of the private schooling system, including the circumstances that led to the introduction of the *Private Schools Conditional Integration Act, 1975*. The first part begins with a brief overview of the early history of Catholicism in Aotearoa New Zealand. The philosophical foundations that have influenced the nature of the Catholic Church’s educational policies will also be explored, followed by a brief review of the studies on *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context.

2.1 The Advent of Catholicism in the South Pacific and Aotearoa New Zealand

The first Catholic missionary effort in the South Pacific was led by Irish Captain Peter Dillon. Dillon travelled throughout the Pacific from 1809 to 1829 observing the missionary work of the Protestant Churches. As Simmons (1978) notes, Dillon wanted to see his own Catholic Church active in the South Pacific, upon his return to Paris in 1828, he approached Father Patrick McSweeney administrator and rector of the Irish College in Paris about the possibility of a Catholic mission to the South Pacific. Father de Solages Prefect Apostolic of Bourbon had also approach Father Patrick McSweeney seeking support in establishing a Catholic mission in the South Pacific. Approval was given to Father de Solages with specific conditions – getting permission from the French Government. Wiltgen (1979) writes that in January 1830, “the Prefecture Apostolic of the South Sea Islands was formally established and Father de Solages was given additional duties as the Prefect Apostolic of the South Sea Island” (p.48). However, on 8 December 1832, Father Gabriel de Solages died, and the office of the Prefect Apostolic of the South Sea Islands became vacant (Wiltgen, 1979). As a consequence, the Prefecture Apostolic of the South Sea Islands was

divided into two missions and reconstituted as the Vicariate Apostolic of Eastern Oceania, and the Vicariate Apostolic of Western Oceania. As Wiltgen (1979) records, a French priest name Jean Baptiste Francois Pompallier, was appointed to lead the Vicariate Apostolic of Western Oceania (included Aotearoa New Zealand within its statutory boundary). The Society of Mary, also known as the Marists, were tasked with supplying Bishop Pompallier with missionaries (O’Meeghan, 1988).

The Irish Catholic Advocacy

As Simmons (1979) has noted, support for the establishment of the mission was forthcoming from the recently migrated Irish Catholic communities in the Hokianga, Far North. Taylor (1936) notes that Thomas Poynter, an active Irish Catholic living in the Hokianga had travelled to Sydney Australia twice, once in 1835 and again in 1835, requesting the appointment of a priest to minister to the New Zealand Irish Catholics. However, both requests were denied owing to insufficient resources and funds. On 10 January 1838, Bishop Pompallier, Father Catherin Servant, and Brother Michel arrived at Hokianga and would stay with Thomas Poynter in his guest house at Totara Point on the Northern side of the Hokianga Harbour until they were able to build at Papakawau (1978). Despite the late establishment of the Catholic Church in New Zealand, Bishop Pompallier was the first bishop of any church denomination to reside permanently in Aotearoa New Zealand (Simmons, 1978). Bishop Pompallier’s first year in the Hokianga was complex and extreme – he encountered rivalry with the Protestants who had already established ties with local *hapū*, inter-*hapū* dynamism, and lack of economic trade and opportunities. Nonetheless, the extensive travel undertaken by Bishop Pompallier and his Marist staff attracted interest from the *Māori* communities in the Hokianga, Mangakahia, and Mangonui. Simmons observes that the majority of

these *Māori* communities had prior contact with the Catholic faith through interpersonal connections with the Catholic settlers.

Support from Home and Rome

With the arrival of additional Marist priests and brothers and supplies, as well as the guarantee of financial support from Rome in September 1839, Pompallier would eventually move to the Bay of Islands. King (1997) argues that two things attracted Bishop Pompallier to the Bay of Islands; first, because at the time Kororareka was the capital of New Zealand there was extensive traffic through the Bay of Islands and, second, the interactions between Captain James Busby and the *Māori* around forging a partnership also appealed to Bishop Pompallier. The mission station in Kororareka (Russell) would quickly become the headquarters for the New Zealand Catholic Church (Simmons, 1979).

Treaty of Waitangi

On the day of the signing of the *Treaty of Waitangi* (6 February 1840), debate concerning ongoing respect for *Māori* customs and authority became mixed with a dispute amongst the representatives of the churches. It is noted that Pompallier was concerned that the predominance of the Anglican Faith amongst the British representatives and missionaries would discourage *Māori* from adopting Catholicism (Orange, 1987) and accordingly, Pompallier asked that the natives be informed that all who should join the Catholic religion should have the protection of the British government. Hobson agreed to the inclusion and this is outlined in the *Treaty of Waitangi* text as follows:

E mea ana te Kāwana ko ngā whakapono katoa o Ingarani, o ngā Wēteriana, o Rōma, me te ritenga Māori hoki e tiakina ngātahitia e ia ... The Governor says the several faiths of England, of the Wesleyans, of Rome, and also the Māori custom, shall be alike protected by him. (Treaty of Waitangi, 1840)

King (1997) argues that Pompallier's approach to Captain Hobson was genuine in that he was seeking reassurance that the Catholic Church would be able to remain and continue its mission once Britain gained sovereignty over Aotearoa New Zealand. One interpretation of the discussion between Hobson and Pompallier is noted by O'Meeghan (1988) who claims that Pompallier was given assurances that the Catholic Faith, alongside the Anglicans, the Wesleyans, and the traditional *Māori* religion would be protected by the Governor. Other commentary on the reasons for Pompallier intervention is less generous in that it suggests that at the time Pompallier was trying to ensure a level playing field where he could compete for the souls of *Māori* on equal terms (Watkin, 2003). Despite the declaration of protection for all religious faiths, it was never included in the text of the Treaty, and so it is not regarded as an official Article. Nonetheless, it undoubtedly informed the views of those 500 *Māori* chiefs who were seated on the lawn at Waitangi considering the Treaty and its implications.

2.2 Mission to Māori

Although Pompallier had success with the *Māori* communities during his tenure as Bishop he struggled with financial difficulties and gaining support from his Marist missionaries. His philosophy for the evangelisation of *Māori* can be found in the *Instructions pour les Travaux de la Mission*. According to Girdwood-Morgan (1985), the instructions contained two specific themes relating to the mission to *Māori*. The first regarding the integration of traditional *Māori* protocols and customs, and the second explained the way in which Catholic missionaries were expected to behave during their interactions with non-Catholic Christian missionaries and their teachings.

Simmons (1979) points out that the gradualist approach adopted by Pompallier to guide his interactions with *Māori* was based on the philosophical foundations of the social teaching

principles of showing kindness and humility and leading by good example. Pompallier observed that there were good things already active in the *Māori* society and, therefore, the task of the mission was to attempt to build upon those things that “were compatible with the Catholic Church doctrine” (Girdwood-Morgan, 1985, p 3). In order to slowly change those behaviours and habits that were not in line with the Catholic Church view Pompallier sought sage and guidance from local chiefs.

In 1846, Pompallier presented his new plan for the Mission in New Zealand to the leaders in Rome. As a consequence of that trip, New Zealand was divided into two dioceses, Auckland and Port Nicholson – Wellington (Simmons, 1979). Pompallier would control the Auckland Diocese with the support of secular priests whilst Bishop Philippe Viard assumed control of the Port Nicholson – Wellington Diocese. As Simmons (1979) notes, from 1850 until his resignation on 23 March 1869, Pompallier’s reign was overshadowed by financial instability which he struggled to contain. Two years later, on 1 December 1871 died in Puteaux, France.

A number of *Māori* report that, despite his faults, Pompallier’s genuine love and concern for *Māori* is acknowledge among the many *Māori whānau* and communities in the Hokianga, Bay of Islands, and other rural Northland areas, with some *whānau* naming their children and grandchildren after him. Taylor (2009) sums up Pompallier’s legacy when she writes that:

The impact made by Pompallier affected forever the fabric of New Zealand ... who taught the same sort of Christian message concerning peace, charity, forgiveness of enemies and reconciliation. This teaching, which concerns true tolerance and “caritas”, without any condescension, inevitably resulted in a better New Zealand society than the society which Pompallier saw when he arrived, which was plagued with violent lawlessness. (p. 14)

Taylor (2009) observes that the continual devotion to Pompallier is also “uncovered by oral history, which gives access to the views passed down by elders to each successive generation” (p. 14). Taylor goes further to argue that proof of Pompallier’s success with *Māori* is gained by close scrutiny of *Māori* publications, including documents relating to the establishment of *Māori* mission autonomy within the Catholic Church structure. She rejects the claims that assimilation was a core practice of the Catholic Church during Pompallier’s reign, and argues that:

Despite the various proposals for assimilating Maori into normal parish structures, such plans were abandoned because most Maori did not cooperate ... It is well said of Pompallier that he was a man with a crusade not only to spread the Catholic message of the Gospel but also to try to preserve the best of the Maori tradition. (pp. 105-106)

Some *Māori* Catholics have reported sentiments similar to that expressed by Taylor when referring to their deep sense of belief that Pompallier was a true man of faith and that his crusade was about protecting *Māori* from the evils of the British (King, 1997).

Catholic Schooling of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand

In 1841, Pompallier established a Sunday school in Kororareka (Russell) for the children of the settlers and was open to all, including *Māori*. As recorded, the school had two divisions of learning/training: a higher school for the training of *Māori* catechists and a school for younger children (Catholic Bishops of New Zealand, 1938). Due to the mounting tensions between Hone Heke and the Crown which led to the ransacking of European settlements in Kororareka many Catholic settlers escaped to Auckland.⁸

⁸ It was not until 1847 that it was considered safe for European settlers to return to the North.

The first Catholic school was established after the arrival of Bishop Pompallier in Auckland in late 1841.⁹ The number of Catholic schools established rapidly grew, inspired by the educational virtues of various religious orders¹⁰ of the Catholic Church. From 1867 to 1953 seven Catholic schools for Māori were established in Te Taitokerau and across Aotearoa New Zealand:

- St. Joseph's Māori Girls College – Hato Hōhepa in Taradale (1867)¹¹ – Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions.
- St. Joseph's Convent in Panguru (1918) – Sisters of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart.
- St. Mary's Convent in Pawarenga (1927) – Sisters of Mercy.
- St. Joseph's School in Waitāruke (19 March 1928) – Sisters of Mary (Marist Sisters)
- St. Peter's Māori College – Hato Petera in Northcote (3 June 1928) – Mill Hill Fathers.
- Hato Paora Māori Boys College in Cheltenham (1947) – Marist Fathers.
- St. John the Baptist in Te Huahua (1953) – Sisters of Mary (Marist Sisters) and Mill Hill Fathers.

Although being initially established by various religious orders of the Catholic Church, a number of these school were required government assistance and therefore had to adhere to the government's policy – that *Māori* students be assimilated into the European settler culture. For example, the Mission Sisters at St. Joseph's Catholic Providence (Girls) were obligated to follow an English-language programme (Smith, 2007). Nevertheless, Smith (2007) points out that the

⁹ The first school opened in Shortland Street

¹⁰ Religious orders involved in education in Te Taitokerau and greater Auckland: Christian Brothers, Sisters of Mercy, Marist Brothers, Marist Sisters, Dominican Sisters, Sacred Heart Sisters, Sr. of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, Sr. of St Joseph of Nazareth, Brigidine Sisters, Mission Sisters, De La Salle Brothers, Holy Faith Sisters, Rosmini Fathers, Society of Mary, Cluny Sisters, Franciscans, Good Shepherd Sisters, Mill Hill Fathers.

¹¹ St Joseph's Māori Girls College was first named St. Joseph's Catholic Providence (Girls) and established at Bluff Hill in Napier. After the 1931 Napier earthquake the school was relocated to its current site in Taradale. Sacred Heart College (Girls) now occupies the original site.

Mission Sisters did have their misgivings about the government's policy and how this would impact on the students and their families. In 1865, Mother Marie du Coeur de Jesus¹² wrote to Father Reignier outlining the Providence requirements for education:¹³

...first of all be trained in virtue, an enlightened, simple, solid and practical virtue ... Care will also be taken to give the children a knowledge of the sciences, especially those which are essential to their state of life e.g. reading, writing, grammar and arithmetic, etc. The children will also be trained in crafts suited to women, e.g. knitting, sewing etc. They will help in the kitchen and in the different employments of those house so as to be trained in order and cleanliness and all that appertains to the domestic economy. (Cited in Smith, 2007, p. 78)

In 1873, Euphrasie further wrote to Father Reignier stating that the Mission Sisters would ensure that students at the Providence spoke English only, not *te reo Māori* (Smith, 2007). However, Euphrasie pointed out to Father Reignier that the students could not be expected to hold a conversation on any subject whatsoever particularly in a language like English so difficult for foreigners.¹⁴ Smith (2007) makes that point that “it was unlikely that the sisters recognised the extent to which their mission was culturally conditioned and how this bias informed the education they provided in the Providence” (p. 78).

St. Joseph's Catholic school in Waitāruke during its first year of operation were also visited by inspectors from various government departments. The first inspector to arrive at the convent was from the Department of Agriculture and was intrigued by how the Marist Sisters have devoted four

¹² Otherwise known as Euphrasie Barbier (hence forth Euphrasie), Foundress and First Superioress General of the Institute of the Daughters of Notre Dame de Missions.

¹³ Euphrasie Barbier, “Regulation of the Providence of Our Lady of the Missions, 1863-1865,” in Euphrasie Barbier, “Writings of Mother Mary of the Heart of Jesus, “vol 1, “1851-1870” trans. and ed. Sisters of Our Lady of Missions (typescript), Archives of the Province of Aotearoa New Zealand (henceforth PANZ Archives).

¹⁴ Euphrasie Barbier, letter to Father Reignier, October 1, 1873, in Euphrasie Barbier, “Writings of Mother Mary of the Heart of Jesus, vol.2, 1871-1875,” trans. and ed. Sisters of Our Lady of Missions (typescript) PANZ Archives.

hours a week for the students to do gardening and part of their education (Christieson, 2011). As Christieson (2011) notes that regular visits from the inspector of the Department of Education also prove fruitful for the Marist Sisters, with the inspector citing his satisfaction in the students' progress.

With the arrival of Mother Tarcisius in 1939 more changes to the infrastructure of the boarding facilities and day to day school operations would follow:

- Wooden slates formerly used in school were replaced by exercise books.
- Enamel basins were provided for the students to wash in.
- Wooden bunks built by Brother Egbert were gradually replaced with iron bedsteads.
- Cod liver oil (now supplied to Māori schools by the Department of Education) would be administered by Mother Tarcisius each morning after Mass.

Christieson (2011) states that Mother Tarcisius “was unhappy with the contrast between the conditions at Waitāruke and those she had experienced in Fiji” (p. 45). The changes Mother Tarcisius wanted were both large on scale and rapid, however, due to the lack of financial assistance from government and having to rely only on the sales of secondhand clothing and the little financial contributions whānau could offer, she was forced to prioritise urgent needs over essential needs.

During the late 1970s, numerous discussions among the various religious orders about the longevity of their missions with schools had begun. Christieson (2011) provides some insight into the discussions that took place in Waitāruke, stating that:

Some sisters asked how much longer the work in Waitaruke could be carried on given the diminishing number of sisters available to work there. Doubts were expressed about the wisdom of education Māori children from the city separately rather than enrolling them in their local Catholic schools, while others say the need to help urban Māori parents transmit cultural pride to their children. The Waitaruke sisters believed that their students achieved better results studying in a Maori atmosphere, that for neglected children the sisters provided a secure environment but follow-up in Auckland was essential for the children's future. (p. 49)

Discernment among other religious orders were also taking place about their roles in schools. For the Marist Fathers at Hato Paora their ongoing commitment to the college to a distinctively *Māori* Catholic faith was no longer tenable (Matthews, 2006). As Matthews (2006) explains by the late 1990s:

... the Church had to come to accept that it could no longer be involved in the school's religious life. Some schools it chose to continue staffing, notably St Augustine's, may have been influenced by practical considerations ... While the Society of Mary hoped staff would be forthcoming for abandoned schools, such as Hato Paora, in reality such resources were never found. (p. 256)

Matthews makes the point that the move "indicated how far the Society of Mary had moved away from its missionary beginnings in Aotearoa and its original commitment to ministering to Māori" (p. 257). He suggests that the Church failed to see the importance of Hato Paora's school environment and its curriculum.

St. Joseph's Māori Girls and Hato Paora are the two of the original Catholic schools for *Māori* that continue to maintain their unique *Māori* environment and Catholic curriculum have survived the plight of successive governments and leadership within the Catholic Church. The other Catholic schools have either been forced to close permanently, opted to amalgamated, or reopened with a new designation and/or focus.

2.3 Catholic Diocese of Auckland – Post Bishop Pompallier

Bishop Thomas Croke would succeed Bishop Pompallier as the Bishop of Auckland. Bishop Croke would focus on various cost-cutting and revenue producing measures to remedy the financial loss and lost property incurred by Bishop Pompallier (Simmons, 1979; Sweetman, 1993). However, Bishop Croke seemed to focus on his Irish Catholic community and appeared to be disinterested in non-Irish Catholic traditions and practices (Sweetman, 1993). Although Bishop Croke's ignorance and arrogance towards *Māori* needs within the diocese did not go unnoticed, *Māori* Catholic communities in the Auckland Diocese would have to wait until the appointment of Bishop Steins in 1879 to be recognised as part of the Catholic Church. During his short reign as Bishop of the Auckland Diocese, Bishop Steins advocated strongly for the Catholic schools and the reestablishment of the *Māori* mission under Father James McDonald (Simmons, 1979).

In 1882, the fourth Bishop of Auckland was appointed. Bishop John Luck was responsible for bringing the Mill Hill Fathers to Auckland (originally from the Netherlands) to work in the *Māori* missions in the southern towns and regions of the Auckland Diocese namely, Western and Eastern Bay of Plenty, Taupo and as far east as Gisborne (King, 1997). The Mill Hill Fathers collected and collated a large number of the *te reo Māori* language terms and uses of words from these specific areas that were used in the *Māori* scripture text and order of Mass, and in official Church documents. Due to their ability and fluency in *te reo Māori*, the Mill Hill Fathers were eventually given control of the *Māori* missions in the Northern regions of the Auckland Diocese (King, 1997).

By the end of the nineteenth century there were four Catholic dioceses in New Zealand centred on Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin. As the Catholic Church expanded and became a permanent part of the ever-evolving new New Zealand society, churches and schools were being

established across all of these dioceses. In addition, both the Mill Hill Fathers in the Auckland Diocese and the Marist Fathers in Wellington were firmly entrenched in their mission work among *Māori* (Simmons, 1979).

During the early twentieth century, *Māori* began to recover from the land wars and the various epidemics that had ravaged their communities. The *Māori* missions of the Mill Hill Fathers and the Marist Fathers began to feature again within the Catholic Church. In 1928, with the support of the new Bishop of Auckland, Bishop Henry Cleary, St Peter's Rural Training College on the North Shore was opened. The college would later become Hato Petera College for boys (King, 1997) and provide a type of schooling centred on the role and responsibilities of catechists for the Catholic Church.

The Years Post-World War II

In the decade following World War II, the Catholic Church refocused on its building programme “to fulfil the aim of a place in a Catholic school for every Catholic child” (Simmons, 1978, p. 106). In 1946, the Marist Brothers offered their services to the Auckland Diocese to help staff the school and give students a complete religious secondary education (McSweeney, 1954). One *Māori* Catholic scholar has noted that the aim was to provide *Māori* students with an education that would equip them to enter their desired professions as well as knowledge how to be good Catholics and examples to other *Māori* in their home communities (Matthews, 2006). However, the situation of the Catholic schooling system was dire and very noticeable. Simmons (1978) notes that by the 1960s the number of Catholic school aged children had doubled and there were not enough religious staff available, nationally or internationally, to meet the demand. Those schools that formerly were staffed by members of religious orders were forced to employ more lay teachers.

This led to an increase in operational costs for the schools, as the salaries for the lay teachers were higher than those staff from the religious orders (Simmons, 1978).

During, this post-World War II period, *Māori* began to migrate away from their traditional rural communities to the towns and cities in search of employment. The Catholic Church was willing to meet these changes and established *Māori* centres that were occupied by *Māori* speaking priests and clergy. For example, the Mill Fathers were shipped out of the rural communities and were moved to minister the urban based *Māori* in Auckland (Sweetman, 1998).

2.4 The Second Vatican Council 1962-1965

In 1959, Pope John Paul XXIII¹⁵ announced the creation of the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II). Pope John Paul XXIII was concerned that the Church's practices at the time need to be modified in order for it to survive and stay relevant in the changing world. A number of changes occurred including the saying of Mass in English and *Māori* instead of Latin; the altar being turned to face the congregation; some older hymns, considered to be archaic, were replaced with new ones that included reference to Aotearoa New Zealand and *Māori*; the sacrament of confession was reconstituted as reconciliation; and the cardinal virtues were highlighted over the ten commandments (King, 1997). As King (1997) and other commentators (Taylor, 2009; Win Wanden, 2009) point out, owing to the changes in liturgical practices, the Catholic Church began to develop into a New Zealand institution rather than being something that bore some resemblance to the original reformation in England. King (1997) observes that this was noticeable in the

¹⁵ Pope John Paul XIII, born Angelo Guiseppe Roncalli was canonized on 27th April 2014 along with Pope John Paul II. Saint John XXIII's feast day is 11 October.

decreasing numbers of Irish-born clergy at the same time as increasing responsibility was being given to lay church members in the administration of the Church and spiritual leadership roles.

2.5 The Private Schools Integration Act, 1975

Throughout the history of private schooling in Aotearoa New Zealand the issue of State funding for private schools has always been contentious. Nonetheless, from 1929, the State began to introduce a consistent stream of small financial assistance to private schools. Over the next forty years, this amount would gradually increase, and by 1969 all political parties conceded that the State now needed to provide a more robust form of financial assistance to private schools (Sweetman, 2002). However, there was still controversy amongst all parties over what was constituted appropriate levels of State funding. As a response, the concept of private schooling being integrated formally into the State system was introduced. By 1975, integration was defined legally as referring to:

The conditions and procedures on and by which a private school may become established as part of the State system of education and remain part of that system on a basis whereby the education with a special character which it provides is preserved and safeguarded ... between the proprietors and the Minister, under which provision is made for establishing a private school as an integrated school; and includes a supplementary agreement entered into under that section. (*PSCI Act, 1975*, p. 6).

In 1975 the *Private Schools Integration Act* (PSCI) was passed into New Zealand law, based on the idea that private schools would receive more government funding provided that they accepted a higher level of government oversight. At the time the Catholic and other private and church schools were also experiencing financial difficulties (O'Donnell, 2000). The *PSCI Act 1975*, offered private schools the same level of government funding per student as State schools, and although schools are required to teach the *New Zealand Curriculum*, they are guaranteed the right

to be able to provide “an education with a special character” (*PSCI Act, 1975*). In the *PSCI Act 1975*, education with a special character refers to “education within the framework of a particular or general religious or philosophical belief and associated with observance or traditions appropriate to that belief. (*PSCI Act, 1975*, p. 5). These individual agreements consolidate the school’s identity as a special character school. According to the New Zealand Council of Proprietors of Catholic Integrated School (NZCPCIS) 1995), special character is defined in the Integration Agreement in the following way:

The school is a Roman Catholic school in which the whole school community through the general school programme and in its religious instruction and observances exercises the right to live and teach the values of Jesus Christ. These values are expressed in the Scriptures and in the practices, worship and doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church as determined from time to time by the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese. (p. 8)

Part 1 section 3 (1) of the *PSCI Act, 1975* states that “an integrated school shall on integration continue to have the right to reflect through its teaching and conduct the education with a special character provided by it”.

Part 1 section 4 (1) a, b, and c of the *PSCI Act* further states that:

- (a) On integration, an integrated school becomes part of the State system of education in New Zealand; and
- (b) An integrated school is subject to all the provisions for the time being in force of the Education Act 1964, the School Trustees Act 1989, the Education Act 1989, and of all regulations made under any of those Acts or under any enactment repealed by any of those Acts; and
- (c) An integrated school is subject to all the provisions of the State Sector Act 1988 as if service in the employment of the board of trustees of the school is education service within the meaning of that Act.

The *PSCI Act, 1975* also influences the responsibilities of the Board of Trustees to not only have normal governance responsibilities (as outlined in part 2 sections 4 and 5 of the *Education Act*,

1989) but also a duty to maintain and preserve the special character of the school under the supervision and management of the Proprietor. In the case of Catholic schools, the Proprietor is the local bishop of the diocese or religious order who is responsible for determining and maintaining the special character. The Proprietor would also appoint a representative to sit on each school Board of Trustees who together ensure that the special character is upheld by its integration within the education system. The NZCEO (2019) understands effective school governance to mean:

The core purpose of a Catholic school is first and foremost a place to encounter the living God who in Jesus Christ reveals his transforming love and truth. The primary goal of a Catholic school is above all a question of communicating with Christ or helping form Christ in the lives of others. That is, the goal against which the effectiveness of Catholic Schools must be assessed because it is the reason for their existence. (p. 2)

Under the provisions of the *PSCI Act, 1975*, the position of the principal of a Catholic school must be ‘tagged’ - that is, the role of the principal is expected to not only have normal school operations and management responsibilities but also be a fully committed member of the Catholic Church and able to function as a role model for the whole school community (O’Donnell, 2000). In addition, the principal of an integrated Catholic school is responsible for the maintenance and preservation of the special character in the school’s day-to-day operations. As the cultural and educational leader, the principal also assumes leadership of all religious aspects of the school’s culture, having ultimate responsibility for ensuring the delivery of a quality and effective religious education programme in conjunction with the Crown’s educational expectations as outlined in the *New Zealand Curriculum* (2007).

Staff appointments are also subject to the *PSCI Act, 1975* in that a proportion of the teaching positions, determined by the school’s integration agreement, must be advertised as ‘tagged’ - that is, the teaching positions must be filled by teachers who have a “willingness and ability to take part

in Religious Instruction appropriate to the special character of the school” (NZCPCIS, 1995, p. 17). As O’Donnell (2000) points out, the requirement of such ‘tagged’ teaching positions is intended as a means of maintaining and preserving the special character of the Catholic school. The position of Director of Religious Studies, as the other key management and teaching role within the school, is also tagged. However, unlike the principal and teaching staff positions where there are no qualification specifications, in most instances the Director of Religious Studies positions require a postgraduate level type of degree (Masters or Doctorate).

Student enrolments in Catholic schools are also influenced by the *PSCI Act, 1975*. Part 5 section 29 (1) and (2) of the *PSCI Act, 1975* that refers to ‘preferences of enrolment’, states that:

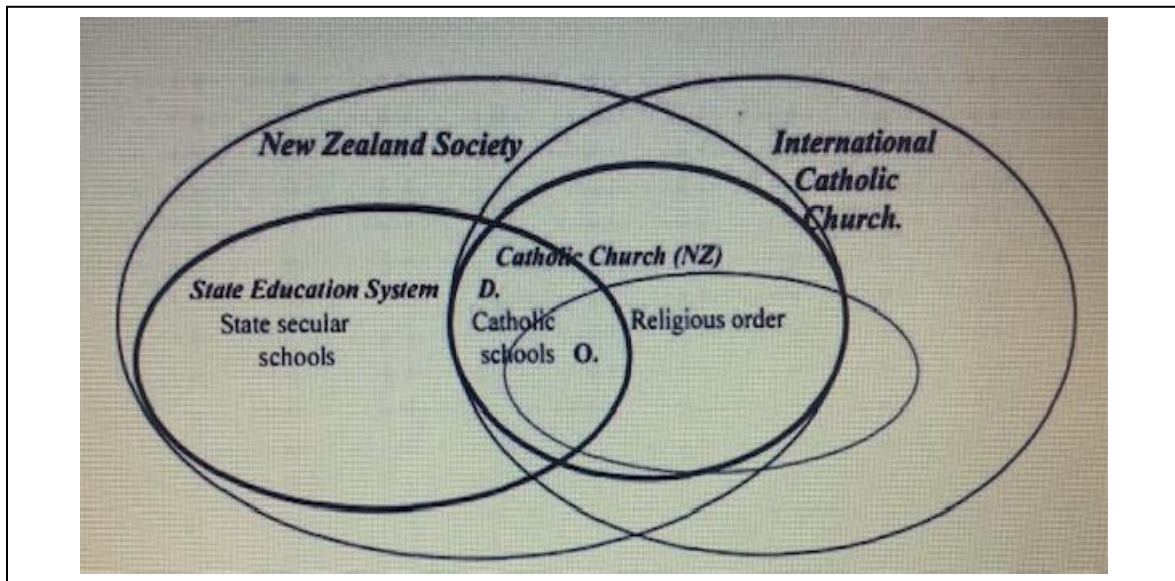
- (1) Parents who have a particular or general philosophical or religious connection with an integrated school shall have preference of enrolment for their children at the school.
- (2) Subject to the provisions of subsection (1), no prospective pupil shall be refused enrolment at an integrated school on the grounds of religion, race, socio-economic background, or lack of willingness of the parent to make financial contributions to the school.

Preference, in terms of enrolment at a Catholic school, is given to those students whose families have an established connection with the Catholic Church. The number of non-preference students allowed to be enrolled at a Catholic school is limited to five per cent of the maximum school roll as stated in the school’s integration agreement. However, individual Catholic schools can apply to extend their non-preference enrolments up to a limit of ten per cent. The *PSCI Act 1975*, for all intentions and purposes, has created a unique context for Catholic schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. Through the *PSCI Act, 1975* the Catholic school’s right to exist is guaranteed, until such time that the proprietor – the local bishop of the diocese - determines that the school is no longer ‘financially viable’.

2.6 The Catholic Education Context

Educational contexts are complex places where groups, individuals, and organisations interact and network to form a basis of commonality. The Catholic education context is distinctive owing to the number of contextual elements in which it is situated. O'Donnell (2000) provides the following diagram to explain this context (p. 0).

Figure 2.2: O'Donnell's (2000) Context of the New Zealand Catholic School



According to O'Donnell (2000) five interlocking, dynamic, and contextual elements are at play for the Catholic school, thus creating a unique, complex and often demanding environment. 'D' represents those Catholic schools owned by the Roman Catholic Diocese, under the proprietorship of the Diocese Bishop. 'O' represents those Catholic schools established and owned by a Religious Order, who continue to exercise proprietorship of the schools. As O'Donnell (2000) and others (Fraser, 1995; Hawke, 2002; van der Krogt, 2000) point out the Catholic education context in Aotearoa New Zealand is not immune to the range of social, economic, employment, and political

issues and problems that confront society and these invariably are reflected in the sub-culture of the Catholic community.

The Aims and Purposes of Catholic Education

Catholic education has a specific philosophy, in that it is “influenced by a particular concept of what it means to be a human person” (SCCE, 1982, para. 18). The SCCE (1988) further explains that education involves more than teaching and learning in that the educational process is a “genuine Christian journey towards perfection” (para. 48). The Christian journey, according to O’Donnell (2000), “suggests growth, uncertainty, discovery, [reflection] on life and the reaching out to an ultimate destination” (p. 15). Buckley (2014) notes that the spiritual essence of the interior life of faith and love is held in “a much greater importance than the external, judicial structure of the Church” (p. 37). This level of importance is acknowledged in the Vatican’s (1971) education documents. It states that the purpose of education is the “synthesis of faith and culture” (SCCE, 1982, 1988) in that the integration of religious meaning and the personal way of living is an interrelationship of intellectual development, religious faith, and personal growth. As O’Donnell (2000) writes:

What is believed should find its fullest expression in **how it is lived**. The aim of a Catholic education is to enable the student to develop a harmony between knowledge, understanding, personal values and a Christian worldview ... The development of religious meaning and cultural meaning are both essential elements in the full development of the human person. (p.16)

In this way, the key goal of Catholic education is the integration of faith, culture, learning, and lived experiences. Dwyer (1993) provides insight into the coherency of faith, culture, learning, and lived experiences, when observing that “our faith provides us with an understanding of a reality

that we use to make sense of and develop our culture. Our culture gives us ways of expressing our understanding of life and purpose of living” (p. 15).

SCCE (1982) declares that “the most important element in the educational endeavour is about the individual person” (para. 32). According to Buckley (2014), “the primary theological imperative was to ensure that the interior life of faith of the Church’s members was nurtured, and education, although not an end in itself, of necessity concerned itself with guiding pupils to the highest state of perfection” (p. 37).

Buckley (2014) makes the point that although individuals must strive for that ultimate perfection, “the process of salvation is achieved through the corporate nature of the Church” (p. 37). In other words, education should encourage individuals by every means possible, to strive towards that higher state of perfection (Redden & Ryan, 1956). Such teachings of perfection and the inherent understanding of the Catholic education system as an essential agency for maintaining the faith meant not only a separate education system but also a rejection of secular schooling as unsatisfactory (Buckley, 2014). Nonetheless, Catholic Church leaders believe that education is not only for the good of the person but also for the good of society (SCCE, 1977; Vatican, 1971). These Catholic Church leaders further argue that Catholic education equips students not only to gain well paid employment and/or enhance their social class status but also to equip them in the mission of bring about a world of justice, peace, and equality (SCCE, 1977). The SCCE (1977) echoes this purpose when it declares that:

Education is not given for the purposes of gaining power, but as an aid towards a fuller understanding of and communion with (people), events and things ... Knowledge is not to be considered as a means of material prosperity and success, but as a call to service and to be responsible for others. (para. 56)

Catholic education therefore is more than a human enterprise. In fact, the belief in a personal God is essential to all Catholic thinking in any and every phase of education. For Catholics and other Christians alike, God is thought to be found in the sacred but also in the secular where Christian values and virtue. Whatever is human is inherently Christian. St Thomas Aquinas summarises this concisely when he states that God is the central aim of education and He is at once our teacher. This does not mean that human beings cannot teach or be taught, but it shapes what we understand by knowledge and what we mean when we say that someone has learnt (Ozolins, 2013).

Another element to education from a Catholic perspective is the “preparation for responsibility” (Vatican, 1971). Scholarship and faith belong together, the whole person, seeking ultimate truth, goodness, and beauty. Catholic education builds character by developing in its students as a moral compass and a sensibility to understanding how society works. Addressing this point, Vatican (1971) states that “true education is directed toward the formation of the human person in view of his final end and the good of society to which he belongs and in the duties of which he will, as an adult have a share” (para.1). Finally, education is central to the mission of the Catholic Church. Addressing Catholic educators at the Catholic University of America, Pope Benedict XVI (2008) declared that:

Education is integral to the mission of the Church to proclaim the Good News. First and foremost every Catholic educational institution is a place to encounter the living God who in Jesus Christ reveals his transforming love and truth. (n.2)

The literature on education presents a rich vision of what Catholic schools should be and why. O’Donnell (2000) explains this vision in the following terms:

The philosophy, values, and beliefs expressed in official Church documents have a global quality, intended to inspire and guide Catholic educator world-wide and establish a theoretical, religious understanding of the nature of Catholic education and its broad implications for schools and Church. (p. 48)

Within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, Catholic schools, like State schools, have been the most potent sites of cultural assimilation for *Māori* and for that reason alone it would be fitting for all schools to become sites of revitalisation for appropriate aspects of *Māori* culture. Beyond the parameters of sound Christian educational practice, Catholic schools, as agencies of both the State and Church, have a responsibility to meet the needs of *Māori* communities, both as an exercise in goodwill towards *Māori* but also as partners in accordance with clause 4 of the *Treaty of Waitangi*.

2.7 Catholic Schools in Aotearoa New Zealand

The New Zealand Catholic Education Office (NZCEO) is the office of the New Zealand Council of Proprietors of Catholic Integrated Schools (NZCPCIS). The office also serves the educational requirements of the New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference (NZCBC). The NZCEO assists both NZCBC and the proprietors of Catholic State-integrated schools in their mission of providing a Catholic education (NZCEO, 2019). In addition, NZCEO works with schools and diocesan educational bodies to promote a full understanding of Catholic education.

In 2020, there are approximately 66,762 Catholic students enrolled in Catholic schools in Aotearoa New Zealand. The following table provides data pertaining to the total number of students in their respective diocese in Aotearoa New Zealand attending Catholic schools (Adapted from NZCEO Annual Report 2019).

Table 2.3: Catholic Education System in Aotearoa New Zealand, 2019

| Diocese | Number of Schools | Primary Students | Secondary Students | Total |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Auckland | 58 | 10684 | 13630 | 24314 |
| Hamilton | 33 | 5656 | 4047 | 9703 |
| Palmerston North | 36 | 4329 | 3342 | 7671 |
| Wellington | 46 | 6767 | 4741 | 11508 |
| Christchurch | 35 | 4628 | 3843 | 8471 |
| Dunedin | 28 | 2804 | 2291 | 5095 |
| Aotearoa New Zealand | 236 | 34868 | 31894 | 66762 |

As of 2019, there were more students attending Catholic primary schools than Catholic secondary schools (NZCEO, 2019). Approximately 44 per cent of students were attending contributing Catholic primary schools, 17 per cent attending intermediate schools, and 39 per cent attending secondary schools. *Māori* students comprise 15 per cent of the total number of students in the Catholic school sector compared with European students at (48.5 per cent) and Pasifika and Asian (16 per cent) students. There were approximately 8,996 *Māori* children enrolled in Catholic schools (including primary and secondary) across Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry of Education, 2016).

Historical Accounts of the Māori Education Experience

The contemporary educational experiences of schooling by *Māori* in general and *Māori* Catholic in particular cannot be separated from the historical context in which these experiences are embedded. However, most of the historical accounts, written by non-*Māori Pākehā* males, tend to represent official views of educational provision for *Māori* people as a whole.

Barrington and Beaglehole (1974), in their historical review of *Māori* schooling, provide the first comprehensive view of *Māori* education from the early nineteenth century Missionary era through to the end of the separate system of *Māori* schools in 1969. Butcher's (1932) earlier account of

New Zealand's education system was written four decades earlier and was largely underpinned by the ideology of assimilation and the superiority of western language and culture. Despite these historical accounts written by non-*Māori Pākehā* men, both accounts reflect the attitudes and beliefs of society at the time and what was considered relevant and important. Of particular interest is Barrington and Beaglehole's (1974) theme of progress in terms of race relations and their contention that, despite many shortcomings, western education for *Māori* had some potential for good (Openshaw et al., 1993). Ranginui Walker (1985), a *Māori* scholar, offers an uncompromising radical critique that highlights the damaging effects of missionary 'civilising' practices, State assimilationist policies and practices, and large-scale land alienation and confiscations. In discussing the involvement of mission schools, Walker (1985) argues that the missionaries were active participants in the process of cultural invasion because they "regarded Maori mythology, traditions and customary usages as abominations to be extirpated ... Conversion to Christianity was synonymous with transforming the Maori from barbarism to civilized life" (p. 73).

Colonial constructions of *Māori* customary practices and the *Māori* society by non-*Māori Pākehā* male historians, ethnographers, and economists attempted to show a universal view of *Māori* culture and a representation of *Māori* as a collective, informed by deeply embedded cultural practices located in Western patriarchy and imperialism (Smith, 1999).

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that there are few studies that focus primarily on *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context. Nonetheless, this chapter has traced the development of the New Zealand education system, with particular emphasis on *Māori* participation and the education

provision for and treatment of *Māori*. It is clear from the literature that throughout its existence the State education system, in its various forms, has largely failed *Māori*. State policies of assimilation and later integration aimed to replace *Māori* culture with that of *Pākehā* through education as a result of the successive government's assimilationist agenda. It is also clear from the literature that, at best, *Māori* cultural elements were given a limited tokenistic place in the curriculum but were never valued nor central to the State's education aim of *Māori* participation nor to the education of *Māori*. State education policies that sought to limit *Māori* to particular fields of employment through the provision of limited types of education invariably confined *Māori* to manual and practical fields of employment. However, there are other indigenous cultures that have had very similar experiences – e.g., Aborigines in Australia, Indians in Canada and North America. It is obvious that the problem of inequitable education outcomes for *Māori* is unique and complex, grounded in the history of *Māori* educational participation, and that no single factor that can be said to be the main influence on the educational achievement and attainment of *Māori* students in education.

CHAPTER THREE: PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS

“A paradigm encompasses; axiology, questions of ethics within the social world; epistemology, how do I know the world and what is the relationship between me and the known; ontology, what can be known about the form and nature of reality; and methodology, what tools provide the best ways of gaining knowledge about the world”
(Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 245).

Paradigms serve the direct function of outlining a complex system of beliefs, in relation to its theory and praxis, and how these aspects interact with our perspectives of the world around us. These perspectives help us to understand the meanings and purposes in life. In terms of the context of this study these paradigms are Secularism, *Te Ao Māori*, and Catholicism. Because each paradigm is unique in its own right, and understanding these paradigms as distinct, and in some ways similar, will serve the function of understanding the meaning and purpose in education in Aotearoa New Zealand.

3.1 Secularism

Secularism is informed by “a long history of engagements with the temporal world and purposes that imply no transcendence of immanent conditions” (Calhoun, 2010, p.1). Calhoun (2010) argues that secularism not only needs to be seen as a presence, but more broadly as a culture. Calhoun concludes that despite secularism often being treated as a sort of absence – exclusion of religion from the public sphere - there needs to be a conscious effort to unpack the literature from a range of sources. This section will take into account Calhoun’s argument and focus on the ontological, epistemological, methodological, and axiological elements of secularism, referring to the works of Plato – the ancient Greek philosopher and a student of Socrates. It is important to note that Socrates, despite being widely recognized as having profound influence on the development of Western

philosophy, did not record his theories. What knowledge the world has of Socrates has been of the workmanship of Plato. Dialogue depicted in conversation in compositions by Plato at the very least convey the gist of the questions Socrates asked of and about society. The questions and the answers Plato received and the general philosophical orientation that emerged from these conversations are used in this section.

Ontology of Secularism - Classical View

The origins of secularism lie in Plato's work *The Republic*. In this idealised society, Socrates emphasizes three daring political proposals - the inclusion of women into the guardian class on full and equal terms with men, the abolition of family for this elite class, and that philosophers should be kings. First of all, the non-philosophers are asked to agree on 'what is'. They establish that in order to define this flummoxing complexity, the person has to presume, or predicate. In this circumstance, the person must define the reality around them, hence the term *form* (the predicate is given a definitional identity). Using the term *form*, the non-philosophers arrive at the next proposed consensus - to agree that "knowledge" (*gnosi*) is an infallible power, a cognitive faculty separate from mere fallible "opinion" (*doxa*). From this distinction between the form of *gnosi* and the form *doxa*, other cognitive faculties are agreed upon to be distinguishable from each other - vision being of color, hearing of sound, and so on. The same train of reductionist thought is taken to apply for *gnosi* and *doxa*. They are different entities that should be treated only as distinct from one another.

In combining the two proposals, the non-philosophers are able to assume the definition of justice (*dikaioσύνη*). Building on the demonstration by Socrates, Plato goes further to provide a profound analysis of secularism when he delves into the inner social constructs of the city. He writes that the

rulers and auxiliaries would share meals, no one would own more than essential personal property, no one would have a private room, no guardian or soldier could touch gold or silver or be in the same room. In a sense, this discipline is intended to avoid any temptation they might feel to seize more world power through corruption (*diafthora*).

From the originating question of ‘what is’, Socrates simply asks his participants, “what is justice”. As a response the participants have described the city in enough detail to assure themselves of its goodness (*kalosyni*). Socrates that explains, “the city we have described is very good, it is wise, courageous, modest, and just, and if we set aside those defining characteristics of the city responsible for its wisdom, courage and moderation, whatever characteristics remain will define its justice” (The Republic, pp. 427e-428a).

Justice in Plato’s *The Republic* postulates that the city-state, and its citizens, as well as its rulers, are responsible for establishing their own laws and systems. As outlined by Plato these systems were intended to be dialectic in nature with no presupposition implying supernatural causality, as this would create a division in belief, and status between the rulers and their citizens. Moreover, the meaning of the city would no longer be considered “good,” but rather a cesspool for corruption and abuse - rulers would be idolised as superior beings. In essence, this laid the foundations for a shift from ontology towards epistemology for the secularist paradigm.

Epistemology of Secularism - Modern View

After the *Age of Enlightenment* had passed, many western philosophies underwent a period of radical and rapid change. One of these figures who contributed largely towards this change in the secularism paradigm was the British philosopher John Stuart Mill. In 1859, he published one of his

best well known works, *On Liberty*, an essay that emphasises the importance of equity for all peoples. In his essay *On Liberty*, Mill claims that:

To assert one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealing of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control . . . That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral is not a sufficient warrant . . . The only part of the conduct of anyone, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In part which concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign. (*On Liberty*, pp. 65-72)

This statement means that neither government, nor a public acting informally, as Mill argues, may legitimately exercise coercion to stifle the expression of opinion. As core tenets of being human, freedom and thought and expression are conditions both for overthrowing error and for fully understanding the grounds on which truths are held. Furthermore, Mill argues that only opinions exposed to refutation and contradiction (having been subjected to critical scrutiny) constitute reliable guides to action:

Complete liberty of contradicting and disproving our opinion is the very condition which justifies us in assuming its truth for purposes of action; and no other terms can a being with human faculties have any rational assurance of being right. (*On Liberty*, pp. 81-82)

From liberty, the person is able to remain just, so justice is achieved. With reference to religious and state authority, the progress of civilization involves an increasing degree of association and interdependence amongst human beings that can only proceed on the basis of equality. Such proliferation of this concept is realized through an educative criterion. According to Mill “the whole force of education, of institutions, and of opinion, directed, as it once was in the case of

religion, to make every person grow up from infancy surrounded on all sides both by the profession and practice of it” (On Liberty, p. 83).

The educative criterion of politics required that institutions orientate and operate in such a way that they contributed to the moral development of individuals by encouraging them to reflect on and internalize the greater good (justice) rather than personal or sectional interest (religious and state interests). Through education, individuals could learn to transcend the immediate and particular class interests which, in the present state of human civilization, tended to heavily influence and dominate their views of the world (in essence becoming civilized).

Methodology of Secularism - Assimilation of Māori in Education in New Zealand

The New Zealand education system was established on the notion of assimilation, a social policy born out of the 19th Century imperialist European beliefs on race and civilization. Most Europeans at this time perceived the ‘races’ of the world in hierarchical terms, ranging from inferior to superior, from ‘savage’ races through to ‘civilized’ races. As a result, the colonial government sought out to civilise *Māori* in customs mostly unrelated to missionary education. *Māori* embraced schooling as a means to maintain sovereignty and enhance their life-chances. However, the government sought control over *Māori* and their resources through schooling in an attempt to replace *Māori* culture with that of European, thereby, according to the secularism paradigm, establishing what they believed to be a just, civilized and equitable society.

The government provided industrial training in schools, which became a cause of much dissatisfaction for many *Māori* parents and resisted by many European settlers. A report on Otaki school in the mid-1850s found that the pupils, aged between 8 and 15 years, spent only two and a

half hours daily in lessons and up to eight hours in hard labour on the land. From all the reports at this time, it was clear that intellectual development for *Māori* was given a low priority by the government. The *Treaty of Waitangi*, ostensibly promising equity between *Māori* and European settlers, was quickly and ruthlessly trivialised and marginalised by European settlers in the quest for land, a quest that resulted in almost all *Māori*-owned land being in European settler hands by the end of the 19th century, most by illegitimate means. *Māori* were now suffering from the “deleterious effects of colonisation via secularism, that had resulted in educational disadvantage and socioeconomic marginalisation” (May, 2005, p. 366).

Axiology of Secularism - Segregation of Māori in Education in New Zealand

By the 1860s the government had abandoned its objective to limit and control the life chances of *Māori* and seeking a more effective way for its assimilative agenda, began working on establishing its own public primary schools (Coxon et al, 1994). Conversely, the Native Schools system was intended to be a system of secular village primary schools for *Māori* that was controlled and funded largely by the State. In accordance with its policy of assimilation, the State would only provide grants specifically to those Native Schools where the English language and ordinary subjects of primary English were taught by a competent teacher and the classroom instruction was to be carried on in the English language.¹⁶ Parliamentary debates in 1867 highlighted three principles that were to dominate *Māori* Education policy - assimilation, education for those *Māori* who could afford their own resources, and government support for those *Māori* parents willing to adhere to the philosophical teachings of European styled schools. In 1867, the *Native Schools Act* was passed and established a national system of secular native primary schools that were to be administered

¹⁶ No school shall receive any grant unless it is shown to the satisfaction of the Colonial Secretary by the report of the inspector (cited in the *Native Schools Act* 1867, para 21).

by the Department of Native Affairs. A curriculum policy for Native Schools was introduced in the form of the *Native Schools Code, 1880*.

The *Native Schools Code* of 1880 made it expressly clear that the prime purpose of native schools was to assimilate *Māori* children into European civilisation. Education was given an important role in counteracting the trend toward the extinction of the *Māori* population, 80 per cent of whom were decimated mostly by the introduction of European diseases in the 19th Century. Considerable curricular emphasis was placed on personal and community hygiene in an effort to improve health and living standards in *Māori* communities. Teachers in Native Schools were instructed to set the example as government representatives in the villages, administer simple remedies for illness, and arbitrate in local disputes. This intention for teachers to serve as exemplars of Western civilisation as a more desirable way of life was planned to hasten the assimilation process. This also often involved discouraging *Māori* from speaking their own native language in the playground, in favour of English.

The Native Schools suffered from delays inherent in a centralised system based in Wellington. It took months and even years to establish a local native school. Many had inadequate facilities and decisions heavily relied on the annual visit of an inspector by horseback. Pupils often had to travel long distances, and families moving for seasonal work also disrupted attendance. Most teachers were *Pākehā*, while some had *Māori* junior assistants who were of variable quality and mostly untrained. Disturbingly, the negative attitudes of some teachers (not all teachers were so negatively inclined) towards *Māori* and their language had an impact upon the children's sense of self-worth and invariably reinforced the hegemonic belief that *Māori* were in fact academically inferior. Furthermore, the belittlement of the *Māori* language also affected *Māori* self-esteem. *Māori* felt

whakamā (embarrassed) of *te reo Māori* due to the *Pākehā* notion that the English language was superior.

According to McCarthy, “through both overt and covert processes, the colonised are inculcated with the belief that their culture and all that it offers is infallibly inferior to that offered by the colonising culture” (McCarthy, 1997, p. 32). As a result, *Māori* language and culture were almost brought to the point of extinction by the secularist paradigm.

3.2 Te Ao Māori

In contrast to the Western philosophy and secularism, *Māori* shared a holistic view of the world. Within Māori society, respect for relationships rests in the base of the kin group, *whānau* (family), *hapū* (subtribe), and *iwi* (tribe). Throughout *Māori* society, whether it be the gathering of *kai* (food), holding *wānanga* and *hui* on *marae* (tribal place for gatherings) or the planting of crops, *Māori* incorporate the spiritual and physical dimensions of learning handed down from generation to generation (Robust, 2002). What follows highlights various aspects of *Te Ao Māori* in the view of a paradigm. Sources for these explanations are provided in an attempt to arrive at a deeper and more systematic understanding. These aspects are *whakapapa*, *tikanga*, *whanaungatanga*, *manaakitanga*, *aroha*, *mana*, *tapu*, *noa*, and *pono*.

Ontology of Te Ao Māori - Whakapapa

Ranginui Walker (1996) points out that:

The world view of the Maori is encapsulated in whakapapa, the description of the phenomenological world in the form of a genealogical recital. Implicit in the meaning of whakapapa are the ideas of orderliness, sequence, evolution, and progress. These ideas are embodied in the sequence of myths, traditions and tribal stories. (p. 13)

Barlow (1991) elucidates that *whakapapa* acts as the foundation for the organisation of knowledge because it is underpinned by genealogy, lineage, and descent. All things are said to have *whakapapa* that originate back to *atua* (gods), and it is by this means that the *Māori* world is ordered. *Whakapapa* is a taxonomic framework that links the animate and inanimate, known and unknown, phenomena in the physical and spiritual worlds. It binds all things and maps relationships so mythology, history, knowledge, *tikanga* (societal lore), philosophies, and spirituality are organised, preserved, and orally transmitted from one generation to the next. Therefore, *whakapapa* is the core of traditional *mātauranga Māori* (*Māori* knowledge). Doherty (2009) describes *mātauranga Māori* by stating:

It is a term that places importance on Māori histories, knowledge and language; it refers to the Māori way of thinking, doing, and acting (Mead, 1997; Smith, G., 1997). Mātauranga Māori bridges both traditional and contemporary Māori knowledge curriculum, pedagogy and philosophy. It is through mātauranga Māori that histories and knowledge within Māori education are uncompromisingly told. (p. 67)

Therefore, *Mātauranga Māori* in terms of *whakapapa* can be seen as a method for generating knowledge, and all of the knowledge generated according to that method.

Epistemology of Te Ao Māori - Concepts of Te Ao Māori

All concepts in *Te Ao Māori* incorporates *tikanga* and it is through the link that *whakapapa* provides with *Io* and *atua* that these *tikanga* exist. Mead (2003) explains that *tikanga* “deals not so much with a set of rules and regulations but with values” (p. 27). Although *tikanga* concepts are constant, their practices can vary between *iwi* and *hapū* (Mead, 2003). *Tikanga* is derived from knowledge systems that are deeply rooted in logic and common sense associated with a *Māori* world view and has been handed down through each generation. As Hawaikirangi-Pere (2013) points out, “opportunities to transmit knowledge and understanding of Māori culture depend greatly upon the availability of contexts in which tikanga is practiced” (p. 21). *Tikanga* serves to

guide behaviour for living and interacting with others within *Te Ao Māori* – *karakia, karanga, powhiri, whai kōrero, mihimihi, tangihanga, hura kōhatu, rāhui*, gathering of *kai*, burials, and others. Theory and praxis of *tikanga* are consistent with knowledge of *Te Ao Māori*, where the former represents the value of the idea while the latter is the actual practice of the value.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga embraces *whakapapa* and focuses upon familial relationships. Individuals expect to be supported by near and distant relatives, but the collective family expects the support and help of its individuals. These are the obligations as defined by *whakapapa*. Many forms *tikanga* prescribe ways of restoring a balance in relationships because it is recognised that these relationships are fragile and therefore need to be nurtured. An associated principle is *kanohi kitea* - a face seen - indicating that family members need to be seen and the bonds of *whanaungatanga* kept strong. The principle of *whanaungatanga* reaches beyond the physical *whakapapa* relationships and includes relationships to non-kin persons who become like kin through shared experiences and by belonging to the ancestral house at the *marae*.

Manaakitanga and Aroha

Tikanga is underpinned by the high value placed on *manaakitanga* - nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about one's behaviour and actions towards others. Integral to *manaakitanga* is *aroha* – demonstrating genuine respect, compassion, empathy, humility and affection for others (Barlow, 1994). Wilson et al. (2019) explains the notions of *aroha* and *manaakitanga* by stating that:

Aroha derives from *aro*, to face towards others, while *ha* is to breathe and is often referred to as the life force (Moorefield, 2011). *Aroha* is interrelated with *tika* (correct and right) and *pono* (true and honest) ... *Aroha* and *manaakitanga* when translated into

action, drive nurturing responses and strengthen relationships, adding quality and meaning to life, demonstrated by sharing with others. (pp. 6-7)

Manaakitanga extends beyond its simple everyday translation of hospitality and generosity. Durie (2011) explains *manaakitanga* in relation to the notion of *mana*:

Manaakitanga means to care for a person's mana. Mana is strengthened by a longstanding relationship with the land and by the way people conduct themselves and the words they speak ... But a further expression of mana is found in the level of generosity shown to visitors. Generosity is reflected in carefully chosen words, expressions of regard, the provision of food and shelter, and the allocation of ample time to guests. (p. 165)

Manaakitanga is important, no matter the circumstances. In the end, a judgement is made about a person's behaviour in relation to how closely they adhere to the expected requirements of *tikanga*.

Mana

There are various terms used to describe the nature and function of *mana* in particular contexts. The word "*mana*", as defined by Williams (1957), has a range of meanings that reflect "authority, influence, prestige, power" (p. 152). *Mana* has to do with the place/status of the individual in the social group. People with *mana* tend to be in leadership roles within the community and are usually well placed in terms of *whakapapa*, often coming from chiefly/senior lines or from important families. People of *mana* draw such prestige and power from their *mana tūpuna* (ancestors). The power is typically endowed upon the individual by the parents, *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*. There is also a personal increment based on proven works, skills or contributions made to the group over time by an individual to provide *mana tangata* (human authority). The element of supernatural power relates to *whakapapa* and the connections with the *atua -mana atua*. *Mana*, in turn, is mediated by the value placed on the *tuakana/teina* standing of a person. *Tuakana* - older siblings,

male or female - have a higher position socially than their *teina*, younger siblings. As a general rule, *mana* must be respected (Irwin, 1987; Shirres, 1997; Tate, 2012). Actions that diminish *mana* may result in trouble. As Irwin (1984) explains:

Mana is a dangerous power both to the possessor and to those who come into contact with it; thus certain ritual observances are necessary to prevent harm coming to a community or individual. Mana, as a supernatural power, carries with it certain problems. The 'power' of mana is undifferentiated and dangerous unless it has some controls. Just as a nuclear pile requires insulation to protect the experts, the unwary and the ignorant from radiation, so mana has its protective shield to prevent illness or death arising from the dangerous force of mana. (p. 23)

Irwin (1984) makes the point that *tapu* is seen as the system of control or shielding of *mana*. Mead (2003) also links *tapu* as the system of control of *mana* but in a sense of growth – “as mana of an individual grows, the tapu rises at the same time” (p. 45). Shirres (1997) explains how *mana* and *tapu* are interconnected to a person's existence:

A universe of two systems that were not closed off from each other. It is a universe in which the two worlds are closely linked with each other, all activities in the everyday world being seen as coming under the influence of the atua, the spiritual power. So the mana of the spiritual powers is the source of tapu of the person and extends to the tapu restrictions surrounding the person. (p. 34)

Shirres (1997) maintains that, according to a number of narrative manuscripts of the 1840s and 1850s, different *iwi* explain the explicit connection between *mana* and *tapu* that together form an intrinsic link with being and existing.

Tapu

Tapu is a word that has a broad range of meanings. Williams (1985) provides four meanings of tapu; (1) under religious or superstitious restriction - a condition affecting persons, places, and things, and arising from innumerable causes; (2) beyond one's power inaccessible; (3) sacred

(mod.); (4) ceremonial restriction, quality or condition of being subject to such restriction. Marsden (1992) relates *tapu* in a primary sense to the Jewish idea of the ‘sacred’ and the ‘holy,’ writing that:

The sacred state or condition of a person or things placed under the patronage of the gods. The person or object is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. It is untouchable. No longer to be put to common use. (p. 121)

Marsden (1992) makes the point that the untouchable quality is the key factor in the concept of *tapu* in that “the object is sacred and any profane use is sacrilege, breaking the law of tapu” (p. 119). Marsden goes further to say that “in a secondary sense, a tapu object may be classified as an accursed or unclean thing. The condition of tapu is transmitted by the contact or association and a person can be contaminated and polluted by it” (p. 121). Barlow (2004) also links *tapu* with being sacred and set apart but relates it in the sense of the person being under the power and influence of the gods by stating:

First and foremost, tapu is the power and influence of the gods. Everything has inherent tapu because everything was created by Io (Supreme God) ... The land has tapu as well as the oceans, rivers and forests, and all living things that are upon the earth. Likewise, mankind has tapu. In the first instance, man is tapu because he is created by the gods. Secondly, he becomes tapu in accordance with his desire to remain under the influence and protective powers of the gods. (p. 128)

In the religious component, *tapu* relates to the dedication of a person, place or thing to the *atua* concerned and, because of this arrangement, are set for the exclusive purpose of use by a particular *atua*. This transcends the dedicated item from the world of the living to the world of the spiritual. In this state, profane use results in sacrilege and a violation of the law of *tapu*. As Marsden (1992) has observed “it is this sacrosanct untouchableness that lies at the heart of tapu” (p. 121). The legal component of *tapu* is inextricably bound by the relationship between the person and the *atua*. The

person serves as the agent to the *atua* such that while the *atua* protects the person from the malevolent forces of evil, the person is also given the power to manipulate the environment for their own needs. An act of allegiance and dedication to the *atua* is required and, through this, the person is endowed with *mana*. People endowed with this gift are referred to as *kaitiaki* (guardians). In this context, the *kaitiaki* are guardian spirits who watch over people and sacrosanct sites. They fulfil the role of messengers who allow people in the living world to communicate with spirits in the spirit world.

Noa

Noa in a general sense means free from restriction. Williams (1985) provides five meanings to *noa*; (1) free from *tapu* or any other restriction; (2) of no moment, ordinary, (3) indefinite; (4) within one's power; (5) without restraint; spontaneously; gratuitously; at random; fruitlessly, in vain. For Irwin (1984) *noa* is the opposite of *tapu* and relates *noa* in a general sense to rituals of purification, writing that:

The word [noa] means 'common' as opposed to 'sacred'. Thus, that which is *noa* is ordinary ... When *noa* is used in adverbial phrases it indicates 'free from restrictions, without limits', as in *puta noa i te ao* (to go out into the world as far as desired) ... The rituals associated with making a person or thing *noa* are termed *whakanoa*, i.e., cause to be ordinary ... *Whakanoa* is a compound of *noa* with the causative prefix *whaka*. It then means 'to make ordinary' or 'common', and so indicates the removal of all restrictions. (pp. 28-29)

Shirres (1997) maintains that there are two types of *noa*:

At its essence, *noa* means to be free from restriction, where some states of *noa* are negative and some are positive. Positive *noa* for example is where the correct protocols are followed so that the restrictions of *tapu* are lifted, as with a formal welcome ceremony on a marae. If one *tapu* overpowers the other, as with someone who has been captured in war, then the outcome for that person is negative. (Shirres, 1997, p. 44)

Irwin (1984), Shirres (1997), and Williams (1985) have provided similar meanings to the nature and functions of *noa*. In its literal sense, it is not *tapu*. More importantly, should the inevitable happen and *tapu* has been breached, *noa* provides an opportunity to make things ‘right’ or free from the effects of *tapu*, that affects the person or person’s *mana*.

Pono

Pono is the foremost principle tied to *Te Ao Māori*. Williams (1985) translates *pono* meaning “true” (p. 291). Tate (2012) relates *pono* to the principle of ‘perception of truth’, observing that:

Pono is the result of the process whereby our mind, in perceiving some aspect of reality, judges it to be true ... Firstly, it is a principle of perception whereby we acknowledge such truth. Secondly, it is a principle of perception whereby we not only acknowledge this truth, but also respond to it. (p. 106)

Tate (2012) goes on to claim that “essential to *pono* is the integrity of the relationship between these two aspects” (p. 106). The aspects of *pono* are interconnected to a oneness between acknowledging the truth and living the truth (Tate, 2012). As a spiritual quality, *pono* can be seen as the motivation of the “Holy Spirit, the guide and comforter left by Jesus to those who are faithful” (Peters, 2000, p. 10).

Whakapono is a compound or derivative of *pono* with the causative prefix *whaka* and contributes other aspects of meaning to this word. It then translates to “believe, admit as true” (p. 291). Ryan (2012) translates *whakapono* with the modern understanding of “faith, religion” (p. 389). The term is also used to refer to the various religious faiths in a statement read to the meeting before the signing of the *Treaty of Waitangi* under clause 4:

E mea ana te Kawana ko nga whakapono katoa o Ingarani, o nga Weteriana, o Roma, me te ritenga Maori hoki e tiakina ngatahitia e ia ... (The Governor says that the several faiths of England, of the Wesleyans, of Rome, and also Maori custom shall alike be protected by him. (Shearer, 1976, para. 6)

In the case of those *rangatira* (chiefs) who signed *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, they were of the *belief* that Governor Grey was *pono* in his agreement to protect *Māori* interests. Thus, it can be seen that if we recognize and evaluate the *mana* and *tapu* of those *rangatira* who signed *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* as having been violated or diminished, then *pono* puts the government in a position to act and restore the *mana* and *tapu* of their (*rangatira*) respective *hapū* and *iwi*. Tate (2012) makes the point that *pono* as an ethical principle of action “qualifies how we manifest, address, enhance, sustain and restore *tapu*, and how we exercise *mana*” (p. 105).

Methodology of Te Ao Māori - Revitalisation of Māori Education in a Secular System

The *Hunn Report* (1961) was the first document to present statistics regarding the under participation of *Māori* in education, health, employment, and housing. It came as no surprise that there was underachievement gap in *Māori* education (Walker, 1996). The schooling that *Māori* had received over the years had restricted their life chances and prepared them for working-class jobs which they took up as they migrated to the cities. Explanations for the low participation of *Māori* at this time centred around the secularist ideals of *Māori* culture. *Māori* homes were deemed to be culturally deficient (Jenkins, 1994; Smith, 1997) and ‘lacking’ the ‘right attitude’ towards schooling and employment. Among the secularist State interventionist strategies to overcome this alleged deficit were English language enrichment programmes. The secular State considered that *Māori* children failed at school because of the restricted language codes that they spoke (Walker, 1996). It became easier to blame *Māori* families than for the secular State to take responsibility for

Māori (Coxon et al., 1994). *Māori*, as ‘victims’, took on board the hegemonic view that school failure was perhaps their own fault, and many saw themselves as deficient as a people.

As a result, the *Hunn Report, 1961* recommended a change in policy from assimilation to integration. A number of recommendations were forthcoming, including steering specially selected *Māori* children towards into the technical schools to better equip them for conditions in the skilled labour market (Hunn Report, 1961, p. 26). Simon (1986) claims that the *Hunn Report, 1961* promoted cultural egalitarianism - cultural class differences and that the secular State had only altered the wording of its assimilation policy. During the 1970s and 1980s, the secular State attempted to intervene once again by promoting multiculturalism and biculturalism in the expectation that this celebration of diversity would somehow enrich *Māori* and all New Zealanders, to be just, fair, and equal citizens. As a matter of fact, it had the opposite effect. Harker (1994) maintains that multicultural education focuses on the lifestyles of different cultures while ignoring the question of life-chances, thereby diverting attention away from issues of inequity. This resulted in *Pākehā* teachers and students taking for granted that theirs was the superior culture. This further reinforced the notion of cultural inferiority for *Māori* children.

Biculturalism was focused on the local level and in individual schools. There was little, if any, structural change in schools arising from the establishment of bilingual classes. Because the curriculum, funding, and resourcing were beyond the control of individual schools, it failed in two ways. First, it failed to produce bicultural New Zealanders and, second, it had limited potential to meet *Māori* aspirations of cultural renaissance and language maintenance (Smith, 1997).

As the government turned towards the prospect of establishing *Total Immersion* schools, where instruction in these schools would be based on *te reo Māori* and *Te Ao Māori*. Research showed that for the successful acquisition of a second language, students would need to be immersed in this language for lengthy periods of the day and over time (Baker, 1996). Total immersion schooling therefore was more likely to bring about a revival in the *Māori* language than bilingual classes. However, total immersion programmes could not succeed alone as a State initiative without the agreement of *Māori*. *Māori* academics noted that *Māori* initiatives and energy had been called upon to carry out the policies on behalf of the State, and usually on a voluntary basis (Jenkins cited in Coxon et al., 1994). This premise led to the establishment of *Kaupapa Māori* schools and *Kohanga Reo* using the *Kaupapa Māori Theory* framework.

Axiology of Te Ao Māori - Kaupapa Māori Theory

In resisting and then assuming control and responsibility for their own learners, *Māori* engaged in *tino rangatiratanga* or self-determination. Smith (1997) states that *Kaupapa Māori Theory* evolved in *Māori* communities as a “deliberate means to comprehend, resist, and transform the crises of . . . underachievement . . . and the ongoing erosion of *Māori* language, knowledge and culture as a result of colonisation” (p. 27). In this process of self-determination, *Māori* parents were made aware of some of the structural constraints of secularised education that have limited the educational and cultural aspirations they have for their children (Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1997). By penetrating the veil of hegemony, *Māori* have engaged in what Freire (1972) terms praxis - that is, “reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (p. 28). Praxis therefore becomes an emancipatory resistance movement controlled by *Māori* for *Māori*. *Kaupapa Māori Theory* counters some of the hegemonic beliefs and practices of the secularist paradigm by placing *Māori* language and knowledge at the centre of the curriculum, rather than on the periphery. Bishop and

Glynn (1999) define this as being a means of proactively promoting a *Māori* worldview as legitimate.

Smith (1997) argues that there are six key elements of *Kaupapa Māori Theory*. The first is *Tino Rangatiratanga*, or the self-determination principle. This principle reinforces the objective of having more meaningful control over one's cultural well-being and educational decisions that have an impact upon the lives of *Māori*. More control over transformation processes and outcomes lead to new and alternative structures - for example, whanau input into the school and the curriculum. Following on from this, *Taonga Tuku Iho*, or the cultural aspirations principle, is where *Māori* cultural aspirations, language, knowledge, culture, and values are made legitimate in a wider social context. This validation ensures that emotional and spiritual factors are introduced that assist in *Māori* learning. *Ako Māori*, or culturally preferred pedagogies, integrate teaching and learning closely and effectively link to the cultural backgrounds and life circumstances of *Māori* individuals and communities. *Kia Piki Ake i Nga Raruraru o te Kainga* - the socioeconomic mediation principle, attempts to lessen the negative pressures of the lower socioeconomic positioning of many *Māori* families, such as providing financial support, counselling services, and childcare. By drawing on the social capital of the culturally collective practice and using this to negotiate better outcomes (Smith, 2003). *Whanaungatanga* promotes a strong family structure and relationship for students that involves support for schoolwork in the classroom, as well as at home, that allows *Māori* learners to be active participants and drivers in their education. *Kaupapa*, or the collective philosophy, is a commitment to a shared philosophy or vision. *Te Aho Matua* is the philosophy that provides an outline for Māori to attain excellence in education. *Kaupapa* recognises the parallel need for *Pākehā* culture and skills for *Māori* children that enables them to participate successfully at every level in New Zealand contemporary society.

Kaupapa Māori Theory fulfils specific functions within the indigenous *Māori* struggle for schooling and education (Smith, 1997) in that (i) it promotes the validity and legitimacy of *Māori* language, knowledge and culture, (ii) it creates the political space to enable the legitimate study and continuance of *Māori* language, knowledge and culture, (iii) it is positioned as *Māori* centred, but also speaks cross-culturally in the sense of making space for *Māori* language, knowledge and culture existence, (iv) it is concerned with economics and structural change, (v) it attempts to take account of unequal ‘power relations’ and dominant/subordinate politics, (vi) it is transformative in its aims, (vii) it attempts to challenge existing theory as being culturally and interest laden, (viii) it supports the use of all existing theory (by *Māori*) providing that it can positively support *Māori* advancement, and (ix) it recognises that indigenous struggle is neither singular nor homogenous and that there is a need to ‘struggle’ on several levels and in several sites, often simultaneously.

Smith (2003) maintains that *Kaupapa Māori Theory* is not the same as *Mātauranga Māori* and makes a contemporary distinction between *Kaupapa Māori Theory* and *Mātauranga Māori*, writing that:

It is not a study of Maturanga Maori – Kaupapa Maori Theory makes space for Maori to legitimately conduct their own studies of Matauranga Maori in their own terms and own ways. In this sense Kaupapa Maori is not a synonym for Maori Matauranga Maori. (p. 11).

The implications of *Kaupapa Māori Theory* can be linked to Bourdieu’s theory of cultural reproduction (1974). For Bourdieu cultural capital is the knowledge, language, values, norms, and styles of self-representation that are acquired from the family and demonstrated through habitus (Harker & Nash, 1990). Harker argues that schools accept as normal and appropriate the cultural capital of the dominant group and treat all students as if they have equal access to it. Those whose

cultural capital most closely resembles that of the school system are more likely to perform successfully (cited in Harker & Nash, 1990) in terms of talking, writing, knowing how to dress, and interact - habitus.

Educators are urged to teach the rules and codes to those who do not have them through explicit instructions. These instructions are more likely to facilitate the learning of those without power. According to Corson (1998) power involves five dimensions – active, purposeful, informed, collaborative, and emancipatory. Sullivan and King (1998) claim that teachers, by virtue of their position, have and can exercise power over their learners. A pedagogy of liberation or emancipatory practice ensures a shift of power between the school and the *Māori* community, enabling oppressive structures to be evaluated and critiqued so as to allow space for *Māori* learners to succeed.

As educators, a power sharing model involving *Kaupapa Māori Theory* and cultural capital is necessary. One of the critical elements that ought to be understood here relates to the commitment of educators to the potential of *Kaupapa Māori Theory* and cultural capital to make a positive difference in *Māori* participation. It produces a culturally relevant learning environment that ascertains the cultural and academic inspirations of *Māori*. There is a need to question and, where appropriate, change the existing secular structures imposed by the secularist paradigm that affects political, economic, and cultural structures. These secular structures have reproduced economic and educational privilege for some while disadvantaging *Māori* and therefore need to be challenged constantly. *Māori* and *Pākehā* have a shared responsibility and role to play in ensuring that educational processes will both enhance and empower the future life chances of *Māori*.

3.3 Catholicism

The paradigm represents a shift from an objectivist secular paradigm towards a more holistic paradigm. The Roman Catholic Church is the largest Christian denomination in the world, and in this respect has had a profound role to play in world history across millennia. Due to this large time span the definition of Catholicism is quite broad, so in order to understand what is meant by the term “Catholicism” we must look back at where “Catholicism” began.

Ontology of Catholicism - Classical View

Many Catholic scholars refer to the Gospels of Luke, Mark, Matthew, and John as a type of Jewish Midrash - a commentary on Scripture that often used the imaginative invention of episodes in order to illustrate biblical themes. The authors drew on oral tradition that told stories about the deeds and words of Jesus, in the forms of sermons, and catechetical and liturgical material. Mark was assumed to be the author who invented the form of the Gospel - a unique literary form at the time. Matthew and Luke borrowed some of Mark’s writings as well as some documented words of Jesus referred to as *Quelle*. The last author, John, radically shifts away from a third person narrative account towards a metaphorical and symbolic portrayal of Jesus Christ. From these writings, early biblical scholars began to study the material in depth and shifted from ontology towards an epistemological understanding of Christ.

Epistemology of Catholicism - Classical View

The early biblical scholars understood that the Gospels were not meant to be a literal historical or biographical account of Christ. They were written to influence early Jewish and Greek peoples and convert them to have faith in the Messiah of God, risen and living now in his church, and in his second coming all men would be judged. The scholars further realised that the authors did not deliberately invent or falsify facts of Christ, as they were not primarily concerned with historical

accuracy. The authors included materials from various Christian enclaves through Asia Minor in order to create an authority figure that people could aspire to. As a result, the scholars decided that there should be a distinction between the Jesus of History (His life) and the Christ of Faith (Faith of the Church). Even though this distinction occurred, some scholars disagreed on the order in which events happened, especially the church fathers of Papias and Jerome, as well as Dionysius bar Saliba and 16th Century Spanish exegete Maldonatus. The latter observed that:

the evangelists from Christian enclaves, as well as the other biblical authors, do not follow chronological order, and further that the discourse of Jesus neither report all that he said nor quote him in the order which he spoke. (Allison, 2009, pp. 1-2).

It would not be until the 4th Century AD that the debate between the Historical Jesus and the Christ of Faith would be resolved for Catholicism. St Augustine of Hippo sought to resolve this debate, and so in the first four books of his works, *De Trinitate*, he outlined a treatise on the manifestations of God or *theophanies* (a visible manifestation of God to humankind). He argued that “the person of God Himself is not assumed in every event which is a message from God” (cited in Bucur, 2008, p. 69), and he distinguished the following theophanic situations - theophanies involving angels, theophanies involving angels bringing about change, and, finally theophanies involving a body made for a certain occasion that is discarded when its mission is complete. Several observations are necessary at this point. As Bucur (2008) writes, Augustine considered that the appearance and words in passages in Biblical texts were those of a real, created angelic being. Augustine believed that, in the first instance, that those theophanies involving angels, God is present but only inasmuch as the angel speaks *ex persona dei* (the effect is attributed to the cause). The second form of theophany involves the appearance of apparitions not in an angelic form but that of a creature intended to carry out Gods will. The third form of theophany is God creating objects out of nothing to signify an occasion for edification. For example, the dove (Luke 3:22), the tongues of fire (Acts

2:3), the burning bush (Ex 3:2), all “came into being ... to signify something and then pass away, *ut aliquid significaret atque praeteriret*” (cited in Bucur, 2008, p. 71). Augustine goes further to declare that “these corporeal forms were made visible in order to show what had to be shown ... and afterwards ceased to be” (cited in Bucur, 2008, p. 71).

In conclusion, theophanies are an evanescent manifestation invented for a specific occasion, and that this manifestation is the Son Himself in the form of the Holy Spirit and is directly active in the lineaments of the visible form of an angel, human being, and so forth. From this exploration of the Trinity serving as a symbol of will, medieval scholars expanded the idea of the will to include creating and producing virtues, that result in the foundation of ethics.

Eschatology of Catholicism - St Thomas Aquinas

The will of God came to symbolise the beginning and end of all things. Therefore, carrying out the will of the God was perceived to be a step towards salvation and eternal life. St Thomas Aquinas in the 13th Century AD contextualised this will as being for people in the form of virtues.

According to Aquinas in *Summa Theologica*:

All acts of virtue are prescribed by the natural law (the will of God): since each one’s reason naturally dictates to him to act virtuously. But if we speak of virtuous acts, considered in themselves, in their proper species, thus not all virtuous acts are prescribed by the natural law; for many things are done virtuously, to which nature does not incline at first; but which through the inquiry of reason, have been found by men to be conducive to well living. (question, 94, article 3)

Thomas defined the four cardinal virtues as prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude. These cardinal virtues are natural and revealed in nature, and they are binding upon everyone. There are, however, three theological virtues - faith, hope, and charity. Charity was defined as the form of virtues, as it gives virtues a clear direction. Charity is the herald and coordinator of many infused virtues, such as love and grace, that compels the end of man to be united with the good that is

eternal life through suffering. Virtues are further developed into ethics, a man's actions as directed to his ultimate end. In another section of *Summa Theologica*, Aquinas further elucidates that:

Virtue denotes a perfection of a power, now a thing's perfection is considered chiefly in regard to its end. But the end of power is act. Wherefore power is said to be perfect, according as it is determinate to its act. (question, 55, article, 1)

This determinate was revealed to be one's faith, where virtue served as the agent to establish one's ethics. In the Catholic faith, there are two subjects on understanding the Catholic faith - preambles of faith and the motivation of faith. The preambles of faith include rational steps through which the believer reaches the conclusion that belief in God is reasonable whereas the motive of faith is presented by Catholic theologians as "the authority of God revealing". It is used primarily in conjunction with preambles in faith, where if God reveals himself, he does so authoritatively, and motivates a person to make the act of faith. At this point, the core tenet was established - the belief that faith in God reveals the truth and, from this truth, the person is compelled to become virtuous, and ethical in how they conduct themselves.

Axiology of Catholicism - Modern View

The dominant eschatological framework of theophanies, virtues, ethics, and faith help seminarians to grasp a greater understanding and definitive definition of Catholicism. However, some laity found it difficult to perceive these notions and associated such ideas with an elite scholarly class. In order to change this perception, the Catholic Church moved towards a more readily understandable axiological framework, contextualizing the previously said ideas in a vernacularised form.

The central belief in the Catholic faith is that of the *Holy Trinity* wherein God is believed to be three divine persons in one, but each is distinct from each other. These three persons are the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit (Salet, 1960, p. 133). The Father is responsible for all creation. It is through

his will that all things exist, and it is believed that the gift of existence is his first gift to humanity. His love for humanity is demonstrated by the fact that he gave the world his only son, Jesus Christ, to be crucified. The son left humanity a parting gift which was the forgiveness of sins in the hope of resurrection and joys of salvation and eternal life. The Holy Spirit is the spirit of Christ and is the expression of love between the Father and the Son that through its perfection and reciprocity gives rise to the person. At the centre of the *Holy Trinity* are divine love and selflessness, both of which are essential to the concept of Catholicism.

Catholics strive to live their lives in a manner that follows the teachings of Jesus Christ in both word and deed. This system of morality includes adherence to virtues such as justice, temperance, fortitude, faith, hope, and charity. The importance of this morality is that love must be paramount: love of God, love of yourself, and love of all mankind. The prohibitions in this moral code are designed to prevent violation of love (sin) that allows love to grow and become an essential part of a person's life.

Methodology of Catholicism - Role of Education for Māori in promoting Catholicism

Throughout his tenure as Bishop, Pompallier followed a philosophy for the evangelisation of Maori that is found in the "Instructions pour les Travaux de la Mission" that he wrote in 1841. The instructions contained two important themes - first, that traditional *Māori* protocols and habits were to remain undisturbed provided they were in line with Catholic doctrine and, second, that Catholic missionaries were expected to behave and respect other non-Catholic missionaries and their teachings. Pompallier believed in the gradual introduction of Catholicism to *Māori* through an understanding of *Māori* way of life and he attempted to change those habits that offended them or their Catholic views slowly over time.

In the 1850s, the Catholic Church opened a boarding school for girls at Mount St Mary's by the Sisters of Mercy, who administered to *Māori* and European alike, but who were especially concerned about the needs of Māori and half-caste children (Sisters of Mercy 1931 cited in Gaughan, 1939). This positive development ended in the 1860s with the arrival of the New Zealand Land Wars. During the war, *Māori* mission stations were abandoned across the North Island. After the war, these mission stations were staffed again but, due to the general distrust between *Māori* and *Pākehā*, the missions now catered more for Catholic settlers than *Māori* (Simmons, 1978). In 1870, Thomas Croke was appointed Bishop after Pompallier and resorted to various cost-cutting and revenue-producing measures and these greatly increased the revenue generated by the Auckland Diocese. Croke focused primarily on meeting the needs of his mainly Irish immigrant congregation and ignored the needs of *Māori* within the diocese (Simmons, 1978). In 1882, Bishop John Edmond Luck succeeded Croke and was responsible for bringing the Mill Hill Fathers to Auckland in 1886 to work in the *Māori* Missions in the south of the Diocese (Simmons, 1978). The Mill Fathers eventually took charge of the mission stations in the north of the Diocese as well. Finally, in the 1890s, Mother Suzanne Aubert established Hiruharama in Wanganui, following a request from local *Māori*. During her time in Hiruharama, she published a *Māori*-English phrase book that adapted *Māori* herbal *rōngoa* (medicine) as well as home remedies that were bottled and sold to the public to help fund the mission (cited in Bishop, 2014). From this, she established the Daughters of Our Lady of Compassion.

Once the early twentieth century had arrived, there was a period of change in the Catholic Church as well as New Zealand as the nation moved out of the colonial period and sought to establish a more stable permanent and independent society. At this stage, the primary focus of the New Zealand Catholic Church was on the education of children, especially *Māori* children. A main driving force behind this vision was the Society of Mary.

3.4 Society of Mary

The Society of Mary has had a long association with education, originating back to the founding Marists in France. Many of the original members of the order, and those attached to the brotherhood established by Marcellin Champagnat, were teachers in a seminary school in Lyon, France. They steadfastly believed that education and evangelisation are linked. The very reason for the society's founding was mission, to take the Gospel to all people, uniting them as one under their teachings.

The idea of the Society of Mary (Marists) came from a French priest, Father Jean-Claude Courveille (The Institute of the Marist Brothers of The Schools, 1990). Father Jean-Claude Colin (also a French priest) has the title of the founder for the Marist Fathers, whereas Father Marcellin Champagnat formed the Marist Brothers, and Mother Jeanne-Marie Chavoin co-founded (with Father Jean-Claude Colin) the Marist Sisters (The Institute of the Marist Brothers of The Schools, 1990). From the first days of the Society of Mary, Marists (Fathers, Brothers and Sisters) have been involved in ministries with young people as well as establishing and working in schools within the Catholic education worldwide (Society of Mary, 2019).

The Marists philosophy of education founded by Father Jean-Claude Colin emphasises an even-hand, and fair approach – “to accept the young person as a gift from God and to spend time alongside them, encouraging and mentoring as they grow in wisdom and confidence” (Society of Mary, 2019, para. 4). There are five distinct pillars that defines the educational style of philosophy of Marist schools; (1) presence – caring for each other, seeking relationships founded on love, (2) simplicity – being straightforward and genuine, humble and modest, ‘doing good quietly’, (3) family spirit – relating to each other as members of a loving family, building community, acceptance, sharing successes and failures, setting clear standards of honesty, mutual respect, and tolerance, (4) love of work – being generous of heart, constant, and persevering in our daily work,

confident, visionary, decisive in meeting the needs of our community and encouraging each other to discover the dignity in our work with others, and (5) in the way of Mary – seeing Mary as the perfect model, tender, soft, constant in faith, open to God’s calling to us in our own journey of discipleship.

According to the Marist philosophy, Catholic schools are based on the Gospel values of Jesus Christ, in that the education provided is orientated towards God, the goal of salvation, and humanity thereby producing students capable of contributing to the Church and their own communities (Quinney, 2018). Moreover, the Catholic school exists to provide an environment where children will see, experience, share, and come to understand a Catholic way of life and to learn what being Catholic means through the life of the school and the religious education curriculum (Marist Brothers, 2017). The founder of the Marist Fathers, Father Jean Claude Colin, firmly believed that the most important work that the society was involved in was education because this was the means for ensuring the salvation of the world through the scriptures (Murphy, 1986).

In 1935, Father James Riordan proposed the establishment of a *Māori* priesthood in Aotearoa New Zealand, and he endeavoured to make Catholic secondary education available to as many *Māori* as possible through the Marist colleges (Matthews, 2006). Ultimately, he believed that the only real chance for the creation of substantial *Māori* vocations was through the establishment of a *Māori* college for boys – Hato Paora. The curriculum of this school consisted of subjects both theoretical and practical such as trades, *Māori*, English, and Latin. Father Gupwell, the first chaplain of Hato Paora, believed that each boy, “once given a real opportunity, can take and use the best in our culture and remain proud of his heritage as a *Māori*” (Gupwell, 1949a). As the school developed, Gupwell noted that the school started to develop a spirit of its own:

“Parorangi has an atmosphere of its own has an atmosphere, a spirit that is the sole justification for its existence. This was engendered by the early boys and staff; it is something quite unique; it has to do with Māoriness which is something I cannot define other than a special gift from the God of love to a people especially chosen” (Gupwell, 1973, p. 9)

English was taught so that the students would be more comfortable in the wider New Zealand context. However, the *Māori* language was also promoted so that students could continue to operate in their family context. This blending of *Māori*, New Zealand, and Catholic cultures contributed to a sense of renewal for *Māori* Catholics.

3.5 Implications - Te Ao Māori and Hāhi Katorika

The integration of *Te Ao Māori* and *Hāhi Katorika* led to the creation of *Katorikatanga*. *Māori* cultural beliefs are still a major part in this culture, with the rituals and ceremonies on the *marae*, such as *tangihanga* (funerals), *powhiri* (formal welcome), and hosting *manuhiri* (guests) still holding an important place in the community. In practice, Catholic prayer and associated ritual, instead of those directed towards *ngā atua Māori*, are used in concert with these more traditional *Māori* practices. Henare (1996) argues that:

While Māori refer to Christianity as whakapono, faith and beliefs, it should not be presumed that the new religion has supplanted either the world view or significant ritual practices contained in traditional religion. On the other hand, the Bible, Māori Christian theology and liturgical forms of prayer and worship, are an accepted part of Māori life. (p. 208)

Katorikatanga takes on its own framework that incorporates parts from *Te Ao Māori* and *Te Ao Katorika* (Matthews, 2006). Conversely, *Katorikatanga* as a philosophy is based on *Māori* societal lore with a particular set of beliefs and customs that extends to the way in which *Māori* raise their children and the type of education they desire. According to Matthews (2006), Hato Paora College provides a unique environment to foster and nurture *Katorikatanga*.

3.6 Conclusion

As noted in the secularist paradigm, the intention was to create a society that was just, fair, and equitable for all peoples from all classes. This idealistic paradigm was hampered by constant assimilation and the hegemony of indigenous cultures by the dominant European cultures so that indigenous peoples would adapt to European culture and fit into the term “civilized.” *Māori* resisted this notion and implemented the *Te Ao Māori* paradigm to create the *Kaupapa Māori Theory* framework where *Māori* could strive for independent learning in *Te Reo Māori* and English, without feeling dominated, belittled, and diminished. From this, *Māori* were able to re-consolidate themselves with their cultural beliefs and practices, as well as share power with *Pākehā* in creating the ideal New Zealand society. The Catholic paradigm followed a similar path to the secularist paradigm in the notion of creating the idealized society, based on the teachings and actions of Jesus Christ. The idea that an individual’s faith, virtues, ethics, and actions could determine whether a person receive salvation and eternal life was seen by the Catholic Church as the way to create an idealized society. Marist missionaries borrowed these ideals and contextualized them in terms of education. From this education they sought to evangelize *Māori*, in the sense that they would preserve some aspects of *Te Ao Māori*, provided that these were compatible with the Catholic faith. Thereafter, *Māori* Catholics would combine their understanding of these two frameworks in order to help their own communities, and well as raise and educate their children in a disciplined manner to assist their children to become role models for future generations to come, passing down *Te Ao Māori* and the Catholic faith from one generation to the next.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Te manu e kai ana i te miro, nōna te ngahere

Te manu e ki ana i te mātauranga, nōna te ao

The bird which feeds on the miro berry has access to the forest

The bird which feeds on knowledge has access to the world

4.1 Developing the Research Methodology

Traditionally, *Māori* research priorities seek to generate *Māori* centred data and directs *Māori* researchers to research with *Māori* using *Māori* research methodologies. Rata (2012) exemplifies this by stating that, “when researching *Māori* social phenomena, recourse to *Māori* knowledge systems is necessary in order to produce informed, accurate, and useful research” (p.15). It is in this chapter that the practical and the theoretical aspects of this comes together in a manner that seeks provides a coherent and relevant account of this research journey.

Identifying an appropriate methodology that would inform the research design and support the focus of the research questions posed was an integral part in the preparation of this research. It was also paramount to select a methodology that would – (1) respect the cultural values, beliefs and practices of *Māori* Catholics, (2) acknowledge the worldviews of *Māori* Catholics in that these may differ from the worldviews that inform ‘mainstream’ methodologies, thus, influencing the way in which the data is analysed, and (3) acknowledge the historical and contemporary influences on, and experiences of, *Māori* Catholics with research, and the potential impact that this research may have. Within the context of these issues, it was important to select an appropriate methodology that would both protect the interests of *Māori* Catholics and also meet the needs of the research aim,

the research objectives and the research questions. This chapter provides the background and rationale for the methodological approach taken in this research that is cognisant of *Te Ao Māori* knowledge and understandings.

The process of developing the methodology for this research was an iterative one that considered research design, methodologies, methods, theoretical perspectives, as well as the ontological and epistemological assumptions, methodological tools for analysis, and ethical considerations. According to Bowling (1997) research has been characterized as the “systematic and rigorous process of enquiry that aims to describe processes and develop explanatory concepts and theories in order to contribute to a scientific body of knowledge” (p. 14). Bowling maintains that the process of enquiry is influenced by the way in which we view the world and our perceptions of it. These interpretations, ideas, and perspectives are referred to as paradigms and, are integral to research because they guide action, and provide an interpretative framework (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Kingi (2002) makes the point that the defining feature of a paradigm in research is that it determines “what can be considered legitimate priorities, how problems are considered, as well as which methodologies and methods are acceptable?” (p. 47). Following Denzin and Lincoln (2000), I used the following questions to guide the methodology of this study:

1. How will I be as a moral person in the world? (axiology)
2. How do I know the world and what is the relationship between me and the known?
(epistemology)
3. What can be known about the form and nature of reality? (ontology)
4. What tools provide the best ways of gaining knowledge about the world? (methodology)

This chapter also discusses and outlines the appropriate tools that will provide the researcher of this study with the best ways of gaining *Māori* knowledge about the Catholic education context (world).

Harding (1987) writes comprehensively about the technical distinction between research methodology and method. She defines research methodology as “a theory and analysis of how research should proceed ... [whereas a research method is] a technique (or way of proceeding in) gathering evidence” (p. 2). Smith (1999) relates this technical distinction between research methodology and method in a general sense to indigenous research, writing that:

Methodology is important because it frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods. Within an indigenous framework, methodological debates are ones concerned with the broader politics and strategic goals of indigenous research. It is at this level that researchers have to clarify and justify their intentions. Methods become the means and procedures through which the central problem of the research are address. (p. 143)

Panoho (2012) explains this necessity in order to provide greater accuracy of information, “the research questions, a priori research assumptions, research objectives, and the methodological choice, all influence the data generated, and when congruent, can potentially produce insight (p. 69). The genesis and justification for the research questions, research aim, and research objectives have been covered in the previous literature chapters. In short, there is a need for more insight into *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context and the intra-action process using empirical data.

The research process began with the a priori assumption (something known or assumed ahead of time) - that within the Catholic education context there would be some experiences of cultural incommensurability. Kuhn (1970) restricted “incommensurability to semantic relations between theories” – a metaphorical meaning in describing the relationship between alternative paradigms or theoretical perspectives (Sankey, 1997, p. 426). Hoyningen-Huene (1989) best describes Kuhn’s concept of incommensurability in the following example:

Incommensurability is a relational concept: it holds (or does not hold) between an *A* and a *B*. In *SSR*, *A* and *B* mainly are consecutive traditions of normal science ... the concept of a tradition of normal science is controversial ... Think of the Ptolemaic, geocentric system of planets and the Copernican heliocentric system. In both conceptions, there was a relatively unanimous research tradition dealing mainly with the prediction of planetary positions. Between such traditions that are separated by a scientific revolution, incommensurability prevails. (p. 483)

A similar comparison may be drawn between *Māori* and non-*Māori*. Jackson (1987) claims that although *Māori* and non-*Māori* “co-exist within one wider society, they continue to exhibit perceptions and insights that are frequently at variance” (cited in Pere, 2006, p. 45). Furthermore, Jackson and other *Māori* commentators (Bishop & Glynn, 1992; Cram, 1993; Pere, 2006; Smith, 1999; Stokes, 1985) all argue that this *Māori* perspective is a necessary consideration of *Māori* research.

Therefore, this study represents a blended set of research methods because this research is an attempt to collate and analyse *Māori* Catholic perceptions and participation in a traditional Western institutional setting.

Table 4.1 Overall Research Goals

| | |
|---|---|
| Thesis Title | <i>Māori</i> , Catholic, Education in Aotearoa New Zealand |
| The A priori Research Assumption | That <i>Māori</i> Catholics will experience some cultural incommensurability in the Catholic education context. |
| Research Aim | To develop an understanding of how <i>Māori</i> participation in the Catholic education context represents the overall <i>Māori</i> educational experience in Aotearoa New Zealand. |
| Research Objectives | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To generate primary data from within the Catholic education context that is <i>Māori</i>-centred. • To explore the sources of intra-action tension inherent in Church membership heterogeneity. |
| Central Research Questions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do some <i>Māori</i> Catholics perceive their participation in the Catholic education context? • What were some of the educational experiences of <i>Māori</i> in the Catholic education context? |
| Sub-Research Questions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did the participants' cultural backgrounds (language, <i>whakapapa</i>, <i>tūrangawaewae</i>, location, household routines, <i>whānau</i> rituals, traditions, spiritual values, and beliefs) influence their educational participation in the Catholic education? • How did the participants' cultural backgrounds (language, <i>whakapapa</i>, <i>tūrangawaewae</i>, location, household routines, <i>whānau</i> rituals, traditions, spiritual values, and beliefs) influence their Catholic church-going participation experience? |

Although this research is about capturing the participants' meanings, perceptions, interpretations, definitions, and descriptions of events, to identify the data as simply interview data excludes the complexity and richness within this cultural context. Instead, the nature of the data collected in this study can be considered 'ethnodata' - a type of qualitative data relevant and meaningful to *Māori*.

To ensure that such data is generated, this study integrates *Māori* cultural principles derived from *Te Ao Māori* and are present in other *Māori* research traditions.

As is apparent in the Catholic education literature there is a paucity of research that examines *Māori* educational participation experiences, instead much of the Catholic education research focuses on secondary data and little is known about *Māori* first-hand experiences. *Māori* research traditions privilege *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face to face) and is a *tikanga* that many if not all *Māori* researchers tend to primarily use to gather data. In addition, the gathering of first order data as the central methodological approach to this study is consistent with *Māori* research traditions, as well as those traditions of qualitative research. Furthermore, this study is guided by both these unique traditions.

4.2 The Qualitative Research Tradition

Qualitative research emerged in the 1960s as a reaction against the earlier forms of quantitative research. Durkheim (1964) and other commentators (Cohen & Manion, 1989; Guba and Lincoln, 1998) claim that problems began to appear from within the quantitative paradigm and from the outside of the paradigm. These include (but are not limited to as it is impossible to describe all the contributing factors in any depth) – methods used to gather and analyse data; its deductive approach; the influence of objectivity on the researcher as an observer, the creation of unnatural settings (such as laboratories), the tools and technique used (those of a physician and/or scientist) and the methodological issues (concepts and their measurement and identification). What became apparent was the fact that positivist perspectives not only influenced the research but also the discipline in which the research was being conducted.

Crowther and Lancaster (2008) purport that the bulk of the research in positivist studies usually adopt the view that data can be collected independent of the social and/or political perspectives of the researcher. Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) and other researchers (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1993; Mutch, 2013) maintain that research in the social sciences has historically been dominated by positivist perspectives, that is research data is collected and interpreted in an objective way to prove a hypothesis. The introduction of qualitative research to the social science domain was to address the perceived shortcomings that were inherent in the thinking of quantitative research.

Qualitative research is used to understand how people experience the world. While there are many approaches to qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) describe qualitative research as a field of inquiry in its own right, “surrounded by a complex, interconnected family of terms, concepts and assumptions” (p. 2). Patton and Cochran (2002) claim that qualitative research is characterised by its aims, which relate to understanding some aspects of social life, and its methods which in a general sense generate words, rather than number, as data for analysis.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) broadly define qualitative research as “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived by the means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (p. 17). Panoaho (2012) localises this distinction by simply stating that:

Qualitative research, for many reasons and in many of different ways, employs a non-statistical orientation of data collection ... Despite persistent critique and movement away from the notion that measurement is equal to truth qualitative research is often considered the poor cousin of the statistical or quantitative genre. (p. 71)

Smith (1999) and other researchers (Black, 1999; Cohen & Manion, 1989; Cram, 1993; Te Awekotuku, 1991) have long debated the relative value of qualitative and quantitative research. Nonetheless, it is generally accepted that qualitative and quantitative research can be effectively combined in the same research project. While quantitative research can highlight areas of concerns and has the potential to persuade decision makers to act if needed, it does not in itself tell us what we can do to bring about change. This is one of the key areas where the interface between quantitative and qualitative research takes place.

Qualitative research offers the opportunity to generate information directly from the participants perspectives, such as *Māori* Catholics. However, the philosophical perspectives of the methodology used to interpret the information gathered may distort the worldviews and perspectives of the participants. *Māori* have criticised research where the interpretations and explanations of *Māori* lived experiences and phenomena have been undertaken through a ‘Western perspective’ (Bishop, 1996; Durie, 1997; Pihama, 1993; Smith, 1999). Smith (1999) goes further and maintains that methodologies are also underpinned by Western assumptions. For example, critical theory as a methodology offers an analysis and explanation about how power issues impact on marginalised groups but fail to deliver effective resolutions due to the structurally and socially embedded nature of the issues that affect these groups. Furthermore, the cultural context in the analysis of critical theory and research is influenced by the researcher’s ‘Outsider’ stance and the ‘Western’ interpretation placed on the research findings (Bishop, 1994).

This study is informed by established and emergent *Māori* principles and epistemological assumptions of *Kaupapa Māori Research*, and therefore is not compatible with the ontological and epistemological assumptions that undergird quantitative research.

4.3 Kaupapa Māori Theory - Katorikatanga

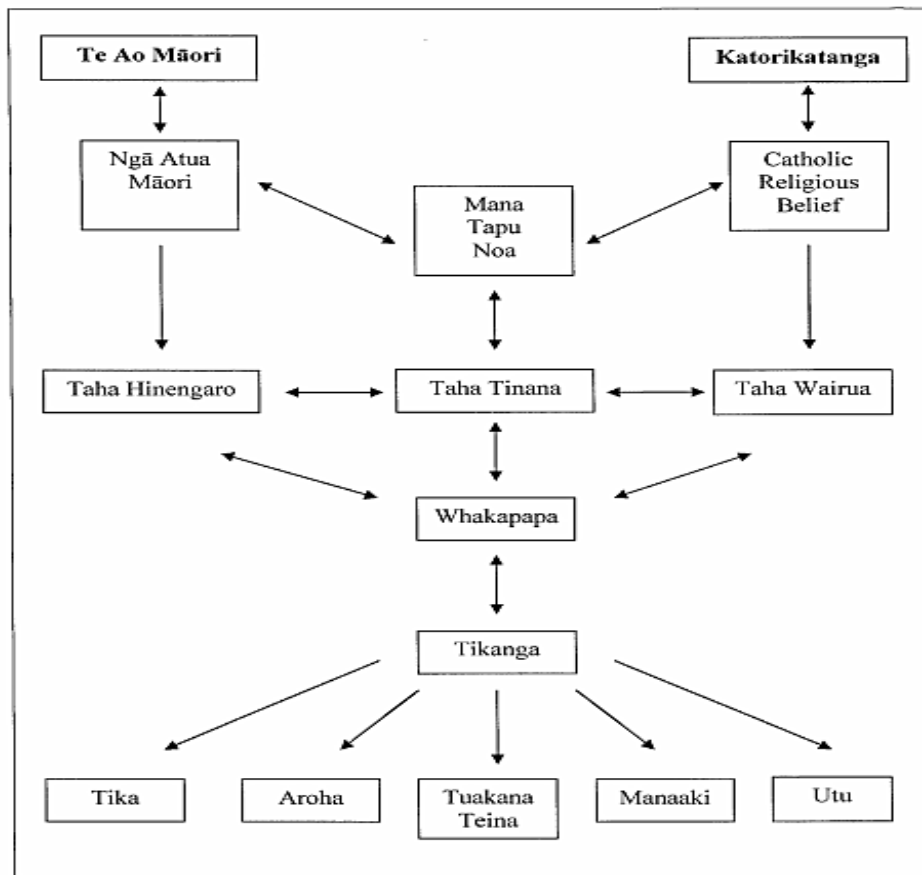
This research is situated here in Aotearoa New Zealand and is concerned with a *Māori* discourse which focuses on the effects of the Catholic education context on *Māori* participation. The rationale to ground this research in *Kaupapa Māori Methodology* is not for cultural appeal, but rather for its ability to contextualise the experiences of *Māori* Catholics from a historical, cultural, social, political, and contemporary perspective. Therefore, it is the researcher's intention to indicate that *Katorikatanga*¹⁷ can provide a *Kaupapa Māori Theoretical Framework* that engages issues from a *Māori* Catholic perspective and in doing so engages issues as the impact specifically on *Māori* Catholic children and adults.

Matthews (2006) in conjunction with Higgins (cited in Matthews, 2006), adapts and further develops the insights of other *Māori* academics (Durie, 1994; Irwin, 1984; Pere, 1997). Centred around the Marist Catholic education principles and *Māori* students, the *Katorikatanga* worldview offers a unique perspective that combines the *Māori* and Catholic cultures. Both sides feed into the dimensions of *taha hinengaro* (mind), *taha wairua* (spirit), and *taha tinana* (body) to ensure the wellbeing of the individual through the pre-eminent *Māori* cultural concepts of *mana*, *tapu* and *noa*. All of these aspects connect *whakapapa* with *tikanga* and to other cultural concepts that contribute to the overall interpretation of a *Māori* Catholic worldview (Matthews, 2006).

Matthews (2006) attests to the variability of *Katorikatanga* and the various forms in which it can be constructed and applied to include the research environment, advocating its applicability within *Kaupapa Māori*. Below in Figure 4.1 is the Māori Catholic Worldview - *Katorikatanga*.

¹⁷ The traditions of Katorikatanga are those traditions of both Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Katorika (Matthews, 2006).

Table 4.1: Māori Catholic Worldview - Katorikatanga



Analysing and articulating the influences of the Catholic education context on the lives of *Māori* Catholics requires a sensitive approach that does not. Freire (2000) makes the point that knowledge can be twofold – used in a fashion that either oppresses or liberates, domesticates or emancipates, controls or frees a person. To better understand and advance the development of this study, qualitative methods are utilised.

4.4 Kaupapa Māori Methodology

In the background of this thesis, the positioning of *Māori* Catholics is appropriately contextualised within *Kaupapa Māori Methodology*. *Kaupapa Māori Methodology* has informed this research in

that it encapsulates the traditional values and beliefs of *Te Ao Māori*. The application of these values and beliefs in modern-day society is important to understanding the intra-actions and dynamics between *Māori* and non-*Māori* in the Catholic education context. For example, many *Māori* Catholic believe *te reo Māori me ona tikanga* is a crucial aspect to nourishing the *wairua* of *Māori*. However, many non-*Māori* (including some bishops and clergy) do not believe that *te reo Māori me ona tikanga* has a place in the Catholic education context.

Māori Catholics who are accustomed to traditional and contemporary practices help to explain traditional and contemporary methods that address the exclusion of *Māori* participation. *Māori* Catholics who held this knowledge inadvertently became instrumental to many *Māori* and *Māori* Catholics alike. For example, in 1970, Ngā Tamatoa a *Māori* activist group emerged from a conference at the University of Auckland organised by Ranginui Walker. The group operated throughout the 1970s and 1980s to promote *Māori* rights, fight racial discrimination, and confront injustices perpetrated by successive governments, particularly violations of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. According to Fitzsimon (2016), Ranginui Walker's commentary and activism shattered the broad *Pākehā* consensus that New Zealand's race relations were ideal. Further to this, he demonstrated that underneath the patriotism and rhetoric of our national unity is a more sinister version of our national history, "predicated on the notions of European superiority, racism and the destruction of the territorial and cultural integrity of indigenous communities" (Poata-Smith, 2005, pp. 211-212). Ranginui Walker's advocacy also helped prompt a dramatic shift in the Crown's approach to *Māori* where he influenced the then Labour government to extend the remit of the Waitangi Tribunal to 1840 (Fitzsimons, 2016).

As Fitzsimons (2016) recalls, Ranginui Walker was also well-known for his sharp commentary, and regularly responded to public claims made by political figures and Church leaders alike. He was constant in his messaging, in that *Māori* had their own political view about the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. Whilst this example may illustrate just one *Māori* Catholic's response to the world around him, it contributes to the growing body of new *Māori* knowledge where *Māori* Catholic relationships and reactions to the political behaviours of successive governments and educational institutions towards *Māori* are shared. More importantly, this example of a remarkable *Māori* Catholic leader highlights the mechanisms required to uphold the structural integrity of our status as *tangata whenua* when political attempts to eliminate our *Māori* worldview occurs – *Ka whawhai tonu mātou!*

Using *Māori* methodologies honouring cultural traditions and protocols is integral when working with *Māori* population groups. *Katorikatanga* and *Kaupapa Māori* theories and methodologies set the parameters that enable *Māori* Catholics the opportunity to critique and analyse their experiences as first and foremost *Māori*, and second as Catholic.

In this study, the collective experiences of *Māori* Catholic are conveyed through qualitative processes. *Kaupapa Māori Methodology* is a knowledge system that is beneficial for the organisation of people informing *Māori* researchers about the way in which certain activities are carried out. This study intentionally sought the church going and school experiences of *Māori* Catholics and the challenges they face navigating through the issues that still remain within the confines of the Catholic education context. To respectfully acknowledge our historical and modern-day realities, *Māori* knowledge and Western knowledge were weaved together to convey the versatility in the various roles we undertake as *Māori* and as Catholic.

Intra-active Māori Actors

Many **Māori** Catholics have placed themselves with other **Māori** in cultural contexts to represent a shared understanding of the **Māori** worldview. In doing so, they have depicted insight of the intra-active processes where people, culture, artifacts explore a mutual constitution in of their ability to act (Barad, 2003). Barad (2003) defines the ability to act emerges from within the relationship not outside of it and, that this ability to act constantly changes and adapts according to the processes involved.

In 1986, Bishop Takuiria Mariu¹⁸ composed a *waiata* (song) with Taite Cooper to celebrate the return of ancient *taonga* (**Māori** art) of the *Te Māori Exhibition* in 1986.¹⁹ In this example, the *taonga* (and the exhibition), Bishop Takuiria Mariu, Taite Cooper, the inclusion of **Māori** and Catholic discourses, and preparation undertaken by others leading to the exhibition can be viewed as intra-active actors. Barad (2003) calls it “agential realism” (p. 810). Barad (2003) explains intra-active processes indicate that it is impossible to know where one starts and the other one ends in that all actors are intra-related in an ongoing situated practice.

Te Hokianga Mai is a *waiata* that depicts the ongoing **Māori** situated practice among celestial and terrestrial actors. For example, symbolically the *ruru* (morepork) is associated with the night and spiritual world. From ancient times till today **Māori** carvers have incorporated the piercing eyes of the *ruru* into their carvings. This stems from the myth of *Rongo-mā-Tāne* (the god of peace) who built a carved dwelling from knowledge gained from the house in the celestial realm. The haunting call of the *ruru* sent shivers of foreboding down the spines of the early settlers to New Zealand as

¹⁸ First Māori Catholic Bishop of Aotearoa.

¹⁹ A team of curators in New Zealand under the guidance and auspices of Māori historian, carver and academic Professor Hirini Moko Mead assessed what objects would make up the exhibition.

well as the *Māori* who revered it as an ancient spirit. This study draws inspiration from the ancient *Māori* intra-active processes of *Te Ao Māori* and the role of the *ruru*.

Tangi a te ruru,
kei te hokihoki mai e.
E whakawherowhero
i te putahitanga.
Nāku nei ra koe
i tuku kia haere.
Tēra puritia iho
nui rawa te aroha e.

The cry of the morepork
keeps coming back to me.
It is hooting out there
where the paths meet.
I was the one
who allowed you to go.
It was curbed,
my deep love for you

Te Hokinga Mai,
tēna koutou
Tangi ana te ngākau
i te aroha
Tū tonu ra te mana
te ihi o ngā tūpuna
kua wehea atu rā
Mauria mai te mauri tangata
hei oranga mo te mōrehu
tangi mōkai nei
E rapu ana i te ara tika
mo tātou katoa.

But now the formal return home;
greetings to you,
How my heart weeps
with joy.
Still standing tall is the prestige
and the enchantment of the ancestors
who have passed on.
Bring back the true spirit of the people
to help heal the survivor
crying like a slave (*with loneliness*)
and searching for the true path
for us all.

Te Hokinga Mai,
Te Hokinga Mai
Tū tangata tonu!

Te Hokinga Mai!
Te Hokinga Mai!
Stand tall!

The methods and theories developed in this study have privileged both *Mātauranga Māori* and Western knowledge. This *Kaupapa Māori* approach is supported by oral narratives – a method of collecting data. This has enabled the use of contemporary analytical conventions - listening guide and thematic analysis methods that includes the cultural concepts of *kanohi ki te kanohi*, *manaaki ki te tangata*, *aroha ki te tangata*, and *whanaungatanga*.

4.5 Research Methods

When considering the two research questions of this study: (1) How do some *Māori* Catholics perceive their participation in the Catholic education context? (2) What were some of the

educational experiences of *Māori* in the Catholic education context? It was important to ensure that the methods encapsulated the experiences of *Māori* Catholics and that these experiences were contextualised within theories of *Katorikatanga* and *Kaupapa Māori*.

Ratima (2001) explains that cultural ways of operating within a study or research topic acknowledge interconnectedness, collectivism, *Māori* control, *Māori* identity, and *Māori* potential as essential elements of a *Kaupapa Māori* approach. This research approach appreciates that the research questions have been framed in such a way that recognises that *Māori* Catholics draw their strength from within *Te Ao Māori*. This research set out on an inspiring journey to seek solutions that will benefit our *Māori* Catholic *rangatahi* and *whānau* by seeking solutions from *Māori* who have participated in the Catholic education context. This statement recognises that *Māori* Catholics are first and foremost *Māori*, and second Catholic. As previously stated, (in Chapter One), it has been difficult to locate literature or research that specifically focuses on the nature of *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context. For this reason, the pathway forward is to provide a specific literary view on the *Māori* experiences in the Catholic education context and to seek solutions from those *Māori*, when European superiority, racism, and isolation intersects with one's ability to be *Māori*.

Participant Recruitment

In the first instance, participants for this study were drawn from the researcher's *whānau whānui*, *hapū*, and *iwi* affiliations. Intentional seeking is an approach similar to purposeful sampling, where the research participants are identified as rich information sources regarding the research topic (Patton, 1990). Purposeful sampling allows for the research to hand-pick participants where personal experiences and expertise are considered relevant to the research aims. Patton (1990)

suggests that purposeful sampling provides a perceived richness as a data source and coverage of the conglomerations of issues being explored.

Snowballing or snowball sampling provides the opportunity for the recommendation of potential research participants to suggest and identify other potential research participants within the researcher's own network. With regard to the use of snowball sampling, Bryman (2004) explains how "the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and then uses these to establish contacts with others" (p. 100). The snowball sampling technique is comparable to the concept of *whanaungatanga* where kinship ties extend beyond the immediate family system. In a traditional sense, *whanaungatanga* is a culturally acceptable way of making and forming connections with others. Both intentional sampling and snowballing helped to identify the *Māori* Catholics who engaged as research participants in this study. Ten *Māori* participated in this study and the researcher provides a background discussion concerning the research participants later in this chapter.

Interview Procedures

When considering appropriate methods for interviewing *Māori* Catholics, the researcher drew upon her own experiences as a *Māori* Catholic and as a person with inside knowledge of cultural nuances. To begin and upon the completion of formal greetings, it is important to remain humble in your approach and delivery of any *kōrero*. By creating an atmosphere of mutuality and affinity enhances the likelihood of self-disclosure and responsiveness. Indications of what might be perceived as *Pākehā* dominant ideals such as structured interviewing techniques and prescribed interview schedules can be viewed as tools that serve to disadvantage a *Māori* persons *mana* when

employed inappropriately. Therefore, it is preferable to conduct the interviews in a less structured style in order to allow the interviewee's point of view to flow freely.

Mutch (2013) points out that when conducting qualitative research “the aim is to illuminate the experiences and understanding of others but not to generalize from it (p. 46). The interviews were designed within a *tikanga Māori* reflection style, and in doing so provided a culturally appropriate process that encouraged the participants to convey what they saw as relevant and important to them in relation to the research topic. Smith (1999), Cram (2001) and Benham (2007) attest that an indigenous narrative approach must be mindful of the delicate cultural tensions around age, gender, time, power, and space. Consequently, the researcher must employ culturally appropriate strategies to elicit conversation among the respondents and cultural experts (usually elders) to guide the process of making meaning to the context of the research and researched (Benham, 2007; Cram, 2001).

A conversational exchange of ideas between two people is similar to the concept of reciprocity is a highly valued principle in education involving *Māori* students and their *whānau*. The researcher consciously conducted interviews with participants in this manner while incorporating an open-ended interview approach that focused on the topic of interest. To further the benefits of such an approach, a semi-structured interview guide was developed as a visual aid to assist the interview process in prompting participants to expand upon their experiences (Styles & Taylor, 2001). The semi-structured open ended interview guide was expected to deliberately and intentionally illicit information regarding the participants' perceptions concerning their lived experiences in the Catholic educational context, the nature of their current participation in the Catholic Church, and their relationships *whānau* members who continue to acknowledge their Catholicity in their everyday lives.

Kanohi ki te Kanohi – Face to Face

Kanohi ki te kanohi interviews in this study were conducted according to ***Māori tikanga*** and ***kawa***. The researcher's intentions were made clear prior to their first interview with the research participants. In addition, contact was negotiated through ***whakapapa*** connections and links in ***Māori*** communities where the researcher undertook the task of meeting participants ***kanohi ki te kanohi*** to explain the research aims. These initial meetings enabled me to gain access to ***Māori*** Catholics whom they had a ***whakapapa*** connection to (close, extended or distance). This approach is consistent with ***Kaupapa Māori*** and ***Katorikatanga*** that have guided the qualitative methods utilised in this study.

Kanohi ki te kanohi allows both the researcher and the participants of the research to engage in a mutual ***kōrero*** that allows for articulation of communication through verbal and animated forms (Cram, 2001; Smith, 1999). For example, opportunity for the research participants to express oneself with references to influential characters from the parables in scriptures from the bible specific to Catholic doctrine, for example, Saul of Tarsus²⁰ was also taken into account. This provided the researcher with a unique opportunity to make important connections concerning the research topic with the ***Māori*** Catholics. The researcher anticipated that each interview would take between sixty to ninety minutes, and these were conducted at venues preferred by each research participant.

²⁰ Refers to Saul's Conversion. Saul of Tarsus was a Roman soldier who actioned the stoning of Stephen (one of the disciples) and killed many people who followed Jesus. On his way to Damascus (Syria) with the intention of killing more followers of Jesus, he was blinded (seen as a form of punishment for his lack of faith and belief in the word). The narrative states that when Saul came to accept that his own beliefs were flawed and his actions were derived from leaders who saw Jesus as a threat to their hierarchy, he started to see again.

Interview Questions

The interview questions were designed to generate as much information as possible from participants to avoid yes or no responses. For example, can you tell me something about your experiences as a young person going to church? Designing open-ended questions encouraged participants to elaborate further as their narrative unfolded. Closed questions were used when the researcher wanted the questions to reflect specific yes or no answers. For example, was *te reo Māori* a part of your growing up? A questionnaire guide was developed to aid the interview process and act as a prompt for the researcher (Appendix F).

Manaaki ki te tangata

In designing the research process there was a level of cultural responsibility that the researcher of this study had to adhere to – ensure that the participants were able to access culturally appropriate support during the interviews. This consideration was designed to help mitigate any cultural safety issues for the researcher and the participants themselves. It was important to identify whether the *kaumātua* and *kuia* felt comfortable being interviewed by a younger *Māori* person. Informed by the cultural practices of the *marae* and having considered how best to manage the various levels of cultural safety during the interview phase it was imperative to include in planning a specialised person who could support and provide advice when need.

The services of a cultural advisor to attend the interviews was made available to all the research participants. The researcher believed that where possible it was important to engage in the services of a cultural advisor who was *Māori* Catholic and well known among *kaumātua* and *kuia* within the tribal structures of Te Taitokerau for his impeccable language acquisition, negotiation skills, and cultural expertise. Furthermore, this consideration would help provide a specific *Māori* cultural

response so that *mana* and *tapu* of *kaumātua* and *kuia* would be retained throughout the interview process.

4.6 Ethical Issues

The research proposal for this research project was reviewed and approved by the Massey Human Ethics Committee (MUHEC) South B (Application SOB 18/42). In addition to Western ethical research standards, *Māori Research Methodologies* continue to influence the nature of research with *Māori*. The MUHEC have recognised the significance of culturally responsive ethic standards with increased scrutiny and challenge of research proposals. For example, this research proposal was required to identify and demonstrate consultative efforts consistent with some *Māori* research expectations.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

From the outset the choice of confidentiality concerning name disclosure was discussed with each of the research participants. This offered the research participants the opportunity to maintain their independence while asserting their own *mana* in terms of name disclosure and their personal desire to either protect themselves and their whānau or have their names revealed. The research participants indicated their preference to not identify themselves or have their comments attributed to their real names within the text of this research. In the context of this thesis, celestial and terrestrial pseudonyms have been used to replace the actual names of the research participants.

The purpose of this chapter is to present an overview of the *Māori* Catholics who participated in the interviews for this study and to present some of their experiences and reflections. While discerning on the ‘how’ in terms of describing the participants, the researcher considered a thumb nail description of each participant where the details concerning their *iwi*, *hapū*, and *whānau*

connections, where they grew up, where they are now living, what activities they are currently engaged with, where they first encountered Catholicism, and how they now see themselves as *Māori* people who have engaged with the Catholic world at some time in their lives. However, given the relatively small geographical nature of Aotearoa New Zealand and *Māori* as a population group, while also considering the demographic details, it became quite clear that this approach had the real ability to jeopardise the anonymity of the research participants and expose them to potential risks. More importantly, there was greater need to consider the generous nature of the *Māori* Catholics who shared much about themselves, their *tamariki*, *mokopuna*, *whānau* and their relationships through their narratives and how best to maintain their privacy.

The use of anonymity in research presents is a unique but complex dilemma, particularly when the descriptive nature of the narratives threatens to undermine the obscurity of the narrators, and in doing so has the potential to reveal the participants identities. Maintaining anonymity in this research also presented further restrictions, in that it was not possible for this thesis to include each participant's narrative as relayed to the researcher in full detail. Such a task will require more time and resources afforded to me through this journey. Furthermore, this thesis is at a doctoral level and therefore, the length of its written text is constrained by the recommended word count.

In the interest of addressing and managing these issues, the researcher has chosen to (1) exclude introducing each participant in detail, and (2) the narratives have been edited to provide insights into the personal lives and experiences of the participants describing the main themes that emerged. The presentation of statements made by the participants through emerging themes may have the potential to profoundly affect the narratives by minimizing the importance of contextual social and historical factors within the environment. Therefore, the reader is encouraged to take variable factors into account when reading the statements so that socio-cultural and socio-political

environmental circumstances of *Māori* and the Catholic Church are appreciated. The *Māori* Catholics who participated in this research have chosen to remain anonymous and as such will remain shrouded and protected in the mist of their statements until such time that they choose to reveal themselves. In total there were ten *Māori* who participated in this research with eight identifying as Catholic. There were two *Māori* in this study who did not identify themselves as Catholic but did acknowledge they had a Catholic *whakapapa*.

Dynamics of Cultural Power Sharing

The function of *kanohi ki te kanohi* is by no means a new approach to engaging *Māori* thoughts and experiences and continues to serve as an appropriate traditional procedure when bringing people together to focus on issues that are considered important. Similarly, the traditions of qualitative research incorporate interviewing techniques that enable researchers to interview participants individually (Bryman, 2004; Mutch, 2005). The protocols used to conduct the interviews with participants were based upon their individual preferences.

From the outset the research participants were given the first option to determine place, time, and space. This enabled the participants the opportunity to be in a setting which by its nature acknowledges the *mana*, *tapu*, and *aroha* of *Māori*, and in this instance, the voice of *Māori* Catholics. The utilisation of participants homes and workspace as preferred venues helped to facilitate a process based upon tikanga and assist in minimizing power imbalances between the researcher and the participant. An awareness of individual *whānau* dynamics and *Māori* values and beliefs are essential to understanding how relationships are maintained and nurtured to counter explorative practices and power imbalances.

The concepts of reciprocity, accountability, and dialectal processes that are individual are way of knowing that are concerned with *mana* and *tapu*. Smith (1999) draws upon *Kaupapa Māori* ontology when discussing the importance of indigenising cultural narratives, arguing that the main difference between Western academic knowledge and indigenous knowledge is the positioning of power in relationships. *Mana* and *tapu* embodies an acknowledgement that knowledge is transmitted to generations and is shared to benefit both the individual and the community. From this perspective, Smith (1999) asserts that story telling is both solely personal but is deeply communal.

This research seeks to undertake an interpretation of *Māori-Centred Research* guided by the principles of *Kaupapa Māori Research* whereby this study goes beyond simply acknowledging ethnicity and the research process. The basis of this approach to this research is a personal one, in that as a person brought up in both *Te Ao Māori* and *Te Ao Pākehā*, who has absorbed the values and attitudes of *Te Ao Māori*, my approach to things *Māori* has been largely driven through compassion. My lack of abstract thought in the way I interpret most things in this world does not concern nor phase me. This research is firmly rooted from within the confines of *Māori* philosophy such as that articulated by Marsden (2003) when he states:

The route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach. That is more likely to lead to a goal ... the so-called objectivity some insist on is simply a form arid abstraction, a model or map. It is not the same thing as the taste of reality. (p. 2).

Marsden (2003) makes the point that understanding of the route to Māoritanga through a passionate and subjective approach enables researchers and others alike to understand the *Māori* experiences and cultural idiosyncrasies. Furthermore, the importance of subjectivity and participation

underpins *Māori-Centred Research* and *Kaupapa Māori Research* where knowledge is often generated in situations based on a shared understanding of the world.

Engaging in the Māori Catholic Space

Karakia (prayer) was used to commence and end the interviews, in that it enabled both the researcher and interviewee to enter a relationship with **Io** (God the Creator) - placing ourselves within the sacred space of **tapu** (Tate, 2012). Barlow (1991) and Tate (2012) raise the importance of **tapu** and being-in-relationship with others to understand the spiritual and relational covenant with God. An understanding of **tapu** being facilitated by **karakia** empowers the relationship of God between the researcher and the researched throughout the interview.

For many **Māori** Catholics, traditional **karakia** and Catholic prayer are central to their beliefs system in regard to our respect for the celestial and terrestrial that guide us. Whilst Catholicism still remains a contentious issue for many **Māori**, for others Catholicism is fully embraced. The **Māori** Catholic **whānau** has evolved since the early 1900s, whereby **whānau** had placed a huge emphasis on conforming to Catholic doctrine at the expense of their **Māori** culture (Walker, 2004). Today, the **Māori** Catholic **whānau** is more **Māori** oriented – honouring **Te Ao Māori** while embracing traditional beliefs of **Te Ao Katorika**. Regardless of which **karakia** was used by the participants (in their homes or workplace) did not diminish the **mana** or **tapu** of those present.

Managing the relational and spatial elements of the interviews also included taking the time to engage the support of my supervisors, and cultural advisor to ensure that careful regard was implemented and considered prior, during, and at the end of each interview session. Despite the space being restricted to myself and the participants, there was a deep knowing that in time other **Māori** Catholics would benefit from the knowledge shared.

The Application and Legitimacy of Māori Time

The interview timeframes varied in length, allowing each participant to tell their stories at their own pace without interference of time constraints. The approach adopted by the researcher to guide the interviews of this study was positioned within the *Māori* consciousness evidenced in *te reo Māori* language usage and cultural practice. My understanding of time comes from my own personal experiences of being nurtured in *Te Ao Māori* and more formally supported through the extraordinary scholarly work and literature of Timoti Karetu, Rangi Matamua, Wharehuia Milroy, Tuakana Nepe, Rose Pere, John Rangihau, Linda Smith, Graham Smith, and Ranginui Walker.

The researcher saw it as her responsibility to ensure that the research design worked effectively for the research participants, allowing them to respond to questions and relay their stories in an open and honest manner. Utilising the traditional *Māori* knowledge and contemporary *Māori* application of time assisted the researcher to maintain the structural integrity of *Kaupapa Māori Research* while creating spaces for Māori Catholics to use an oral narrative about their experiences.

The benefits of utilising traditional and academic *Māori* concepts of time allowed the researcher to attend to important processes throughout the various stages of the interviews. For example, the traditional notion of time enabled the oral narrative method to occur and unfold from a unique spatial position where the realities of the spiritual and physical personifications of *Māori* Catholic experiences could be held. The *tikanga* embedded within the traditional notion of time also made it possible to transition through moments of time where necessary. It was important to ensure that cultural considerations were observed and that any risks associated with the ethical obligations of this research were mitigated. Furthermore, the traditional notions of time allowed the researcher to attend to the needs of each participant, particularly when the stories were filled in grief, sorrow, resentment, and pain. On several occasions, the researcher would offer reassurance and allow for

breaks during interviews. It was also important for the researcher to talk about comfort levels and whether those participants continued participation might serve to compromise their mana. When these considerations had been attended to both the researcher and participant were able to carry on.

In comparing traditional *Māori* notions of time with Western ideas of time, each interview varied in length, with one interview taking approximately sixty minutes while five other interviews averaged one hour and forty-five minutes, with the remaining four individual interviews taking just over two hours. The traditional *Māori* notions of time embraced and legitimised *Māori* knowledge against the backdrop of Western lineal views of time. Separating these often-conflicting views of time allowed contemporary *Māori* Catholics the genuine opportunity to have their voices heard on the agreed terms of reciprocity (between the researcher and each participant). The application of *tikanga* and understanding how both the researcher and each participant entered a reciprocal space wholeheartedly influenced the levels of safety, trust, and self-disclosure. The researcher of this study noted that this was demonstrated in both the depth of sharing and the length of time research participants were willing to commit in order to have their voices heard through their oral narrative experience.

Principles of Aroha ki te tangata - Ethical Care

All the interviews with the research participants were audio-taped and recorded along with written notes. The audio-taped recordings were reviewed by the researcher herself, to ensure that material of a sensitive nature was managed appropriately. Whilst the provision to have the interviews transcribed by a transcriptionist had been made in the original ethics application, on the completion of the interviews, the researcher decided against this. This was due to the sensitive nature of the interviews and the disturbing content which was often painful for some of the participants to

disclose and for the researcher to hear. The interviews were lengthy, and the research participants gave very intimate and descriptive details of their experiences.

My experiences growing up with my grandparents, especially my grandmother - who would often be visited by people who had various forms of *Māori* sickness taught me about the importance of protecting oneself against the transmission of other people's sickness taking hold of one's own body and spirit. My decision to not engage with a transcriptionist was based on these learnings and a sense of responsibility regarding the principles of *aroha ki te tangata* and ethical care. The opportunity for the researcher to exercise discretion was intentional, in that the potential transcriptionist may not have had the capacity or support to navigate through the stress and trauma as a result from the content recorded in the interviews.

Throughout this study, I have used self-care strategies such as *karakia* and *takutaku* (chanting) meditation, scripture reading, physical exercise, and recreational diversion to manage my own responses. The frequency in the use of these self-care strategies increased (some more than others) during the interview collection phase and were maintained post-interviews when I undertook the task of transcribing the interviews and throughout the analysis process. In addition, I remained in regular contact with my supervisors. My doctoral supervisors provided valuable support where together we worked to maintain the useful aspects of Western theoretical knowledge, integrating valuable aspects of *Mātauranga Māori*.

In terms of maintaining the acquisition of *Mātauranga Māori* I remained engaged with other *Māori* doctoral students and noted *Māori* Professors (Distinguished Prof. Hingangaroa Smith, Prof. Linda Smith, Prof. Leonie Pihama, and Prof. Rangi Matamua) through webinar-series and online guest lectures. Further to this, I was also engaged with a *Māori* doctoral group in Te

Taitokerau led by Dr Lillian George and noted *NgāPuhi* educational practitioner Dr Te Tuhi Robust.

4.7 In-depth Semi-structured Interview Method

Interview methods are commonly used for collecting qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2013). A research interview can be thought of as a type of conversation where participants are encouraged to describe and recount narratives of experiences and perceptions in relation to a pre-determined research topic (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Kvale, 1996; Seidman, 2013). Further to this, interviews are well suited for *Māori* experience-type research questions such as the one being explored in this study. Seidman (2013) explains that “when people tell stories, they select details of their experience from their stream of consciousness” (p. 7). The process of selecting, reflecting on and making sense of experiences enables the opportunity for the researcher to make meaning of those experiences. Additionally, interviewing allows the researcher to gain access to the lived experiences through the participants’ narratives (Seidman, 2013).

In-depth semi-structured interview method was used to collect data in this study for two reasons. Firstly, *Māori* are not homogenous, and attaining a meaningful random sample of any *Māori* population can be difficult. Therefore, the interview method needed to be distinct and versatile, enabling the researcher participants’ the opportunity to communicate in ways that would make them feel comfortable. For example, if participants wanted to speak in *te reo Māori* and/or use traditional *Māori* oratory mediums such as *whakapapa* (genealogy), *waiata tawhito* (traditional *Māori* songs), *whakatauki* (proverbs) and *tauparapara* (incantation) to tell their stories - it was there for the taking. Secondly, the in-depth semi-structured interview method provides a balance of flexibility and structure (Patton, 2002). As an example, in-depth semi-structured interviews provided a level of flexibility that allowed me as the researcher to prepare a list of indicative

questions as a guide where I could remain responsive to each participant's account and be open to exploring unanticipated issues. Equally, this flexibility provided each research participant the space and time to explore their thoughts and ideas they considered important in relation to the study. Braun & Clarke (2013) attests to the flexibility of in-depth semi-structured interviews in which they have the potential to generate useful and richly detailed data, allowing the researcher to be spontaneous within the interview process.

The Māori Narrative

Oral tradition was the first, and still is the most widespread mode of human communication. Oral tradition is more than just talking, rather it is a dynamic and highly diverse oral-aural medium for evolving, storing, and transmitting knowledge (Foley, 2019). Prior to the first encounters with *tauiwi* (foreigners) and the establishment of a written language in Aotearoa New Zealand, *Māori* composed, performed, and memorised *whakapapa*, *waiata tawhito*, *whakatauki*, *tauparapara*, and *karakia*. Our *tūpuna* (ancestors) also developed mythology to explain and record their own past and the legends of our *atua* (Gods).

Sadler (2007) and Higgins & Loader (2014) draw on *Māori* epistemology when discussing traditional *Māori* oral narratives through reciting of *whakapapa* and *waiata tawhito*. Sadler (2007) asserts the legitimacy of reciting *whakapapa* as an oratory domain, originating from *Te Ao Tawhito* (the traditional world). Higgins and Loader (2014) attests to the versatility of traditional oratory mediums used in *waiata tawhito* where songs and *haka* (war dance) have included the composer's own personal experiences and interactions with the world around them.

In addition, oratory on the *marae* (tribal meeting place) involving voice, facial expression, and gesture was, and continues to be, an important part of our *Māori* culture. As a traditional cultural

mechanism inherent to *Māori* where the transmission of knowledge was passed down from generation to generation through personal narratives, oral narratives are also symbolically communicated through *toi whakairo* (the art of *Māori* carving), *tukutuku* (ornamental lattice panel work), *raranga* (weaving) and *mahi hoahoa whare* (architecture). Notably, oral narratives continue to be embedded in our modern *Māori* day-to-day realities (*wānanga, tangihanga, hui, powhiri, poroporoaki*, and *hura kōhatu*), providing historical and contemporary reference points for further cultural understanding and development. Further to this, oral narratives have just as much relevance in our current *Māori* settings as they did in the traditional *Māori* society. *Māori* Catholics have numerous, similar, and different kinds of narratives to share and tell. The oral narratives contained within this thesis provide explanations concerning *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context.

4.8 Data Analysis Method

Data analysis is a process of systematically applying analytical and logical reason to determine patterns or themes, relationships, or trends (Awang, 2012). The key focus of a data analysis process is on turning raw data into useful statistics, information, and/or explanations (Mutch, 2013). Marshall and Rossman (1999) provide a clear but cautious description of the process of data analysis, stating that:

Identify salient themes, recurring ideas or language, patterns of belief that link people and settings together is the most intellectually challenging phase of data analysis and one that can integrate the entire endeavour. (p. 154)

Similarly, Wong (2008) draws attention to the difficult but crucial aspect of the data analysis process, particularly in qualitative research. When discussing the nuances of the data analysis process in qualitative research Wong (2008) writes:

It is not a technical exercise ... but more of a dynamic, intuitive and creative process of inductive reasoning, thinking and theorising ... Data analysis in qualitative research is defined as the process of systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, observation notes, or non-textual materials that the researcher accumulates to increase the understanding of the phenomenon. The process of analysing qualitative data predominantly involves coding or categorizing the data ... It involves making sense of huge amounts of data by reducing the volume of raw information, followed by identifying significant patterns, and finally drawing meaning from data and subsequently building a logical chain of evidence. (p. 15)

Thematic Analysis

The most common approach to analysing text is thematic analysis (Kellehear, 1993; LeCompte & Pressle, 1993; Mutch, 2013). Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns or themes within data. At a minimum, thematic analysis organises and describes the data set in rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Further to this, Braun and Clarke devised a six-stage framework for conducting a rigorous thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) explain that:

Thematic analysis is not wed to any pre-existing theoretical framework, and so it can be used within different theoretical frameworks ... and can be used to do different things within them. Thematic analysis can be an essential or realist method, which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants, or it can be a constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society. It can also be a 'contextualists' method, sitting between the two poles of essentialism and constructionism, and characterised by theories such as critical realism ... which acknowledge the ways individuals make meaning of their experience, and in turn, the ways the broader social context impinges on those meanings, while retaining focus on the material and other limits of 'reality'. Therefore, thematic analysis can be a method which works both to reflect reality, and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality'. (p. 9)

Braun and Clarke (2006) attest that the underlying logic of the process is simple and requires the research to (1) familiarise themselves with the raw data; (2) generate initial codes; (3) search for themes; (4) review themes; (5) defining and name themes; and (6) produce the report. Braun and

Clarke (2006) also point out that analysis rarely proceeds in a step-by-step manner and therefore, each stage may involve multiple steps depending on the nature of the research and the data collected.

Given the sheer scope and time constraints of this study, I was faced with a dilemma as to how I would perform this analysis. My aim was to find a tool that would not only assist me in completing this analysis in a time manner, but also uphold the integrity of the raw data. I remained open to the idea that there may be instances where I needed to perform tasks manually. Nevertheless, it was important to consider this issue to ensure that the analysis was performed in a rigorous and consistent way. So, in a sense, I need an analysis tool to be both appropriate and efficient in time. Following both my supervisors' recommendations, I opted to use NVivo a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS).

As Wickham & Woods (2005) report, NVivo has been widely used by many researchers in qualitative research. NVivo has a number of benefits including efficient in time, transparent and multiplicity (Hover & Koerber, 2011), and can accommodate different types of data (word document, images, PDF, video, spreadsheets, web pages, etc). More importantly and, in relation to this study, NVivo works with data from any language, organises information using theme and case, and can import articles from different reference management such as EndNote. Further to this, NVivo visualises project data, and keeps the track of memos and annotations (Durian, 2002). The key features of NVivo are shown in Table 4.2 below.

A brief description of these key features follows. Sources refer to internal (people import data to NVivo) and external (represents data outside of NVivo) source. The term node relates to a virtual container that allows the researcher collect content across internal and external sources to group

related material together. Case is the term related to a virtual space that represents research subjects, while coding is the action of assigning internal and external source content to a node or case. Classification is associated with the method to add descriptive information to internal and external sources and case such as references, journals, and location. Attributes relates to personal case such as age or gender. Finally, annotation is connected to a specific comment from the researcher linked to specific content in an internal or external source. As Dollah, Abduh and Rosmaladewi (2017) write, “mastering the functions and associated names of these features enable a researcher to operative NVivo effectively” (p. 61).

Table 4.2: Key Features and Associated Names

| NVivo Key Terms | Associated Name |
|------------------------|---|
| Sources | Data, material, documents, survey, transcripts, project items |
| Node | Code, theme, category, topic, concept |
| Case | Units of observation, units of analysis, objects of study |
| Coding | Quotations, analysis and tagging |
| Classification | Types, sorts, classes |
| Attributes | Variables, characteristics, rating, descriptors, demographics, bibliographies |
| Annotation | Comments, reminders, observations, footnotes |

(Adapted from Dollah, Abduh & Rosmaladewi, 2017)

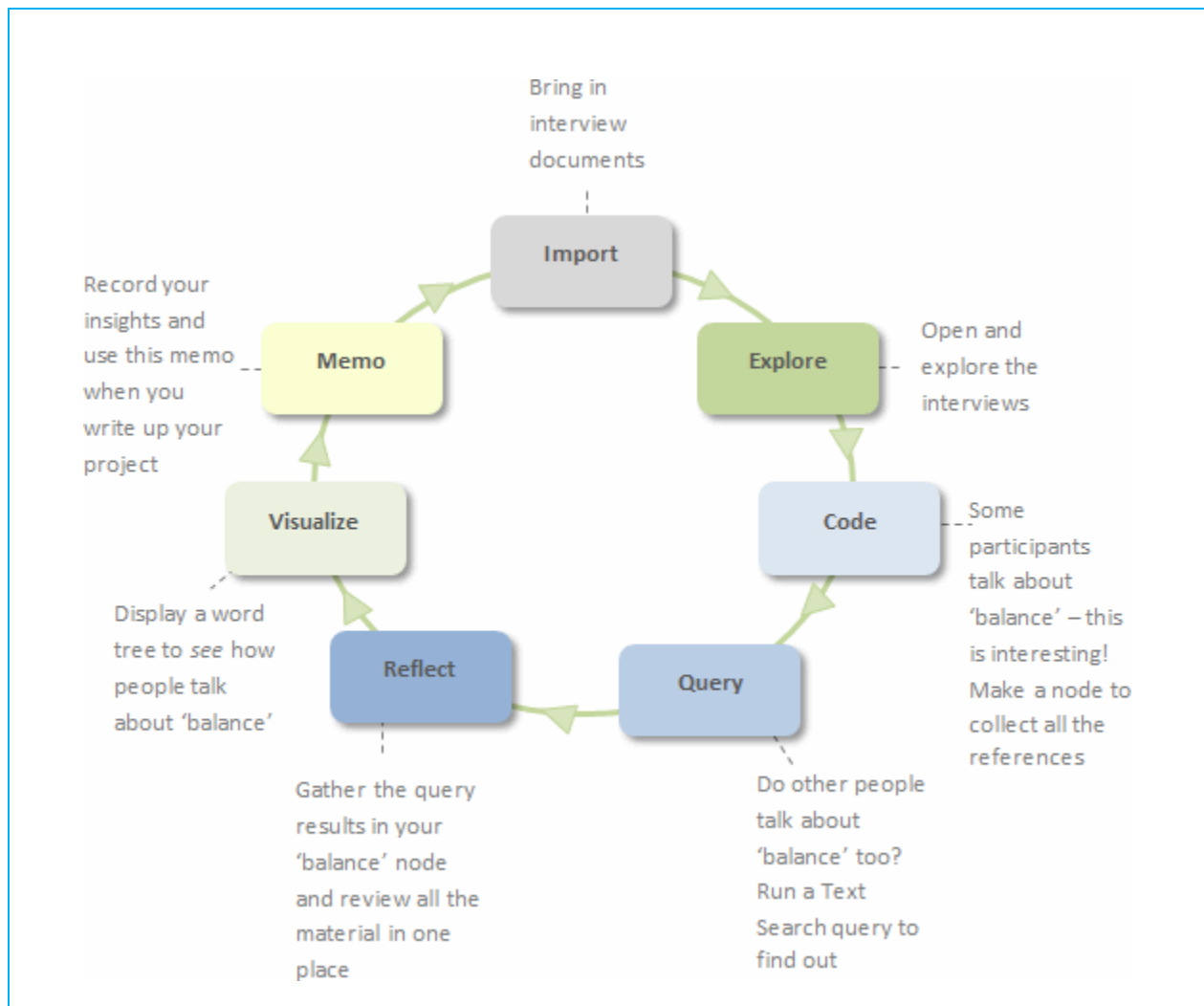
4.9 Mixed Method - Data Analysis Process

This analysis used a mixed method where the use of NVivo assisted in accelerating Braun and Clarke’s (2006) thematic analysis guidelines. I did not begin analysing the transcripts until all ten interviews were completed and fully transcribed. This ensured that themes I had noted in earlier interviews did not unduly influence later interviews.

This analysis involved importing extract of interview transcripts, exploring the data and identifying key words, making nodes for key words, running a query search of key words, reflecting and

reviewing all the data, and subsequently displaying the data and recording insights, that constituted a gradual consolidation (reduction) of the data. Although this may indicate that analysis largely proceeded in a CAQDAS step-by-step manner, it was very much an iterative process where each step involved revisiting early stages and re-examining how and why themes were grouped together to ensure internal consistency of nodes. As an example, I would explore the extract of an interview transcript, code, reflect, memo, code some more, query, reflect, memo, visualise, code some more, reflect, memo. An illustration of the analysis I used is provided below in Figure 4. 2

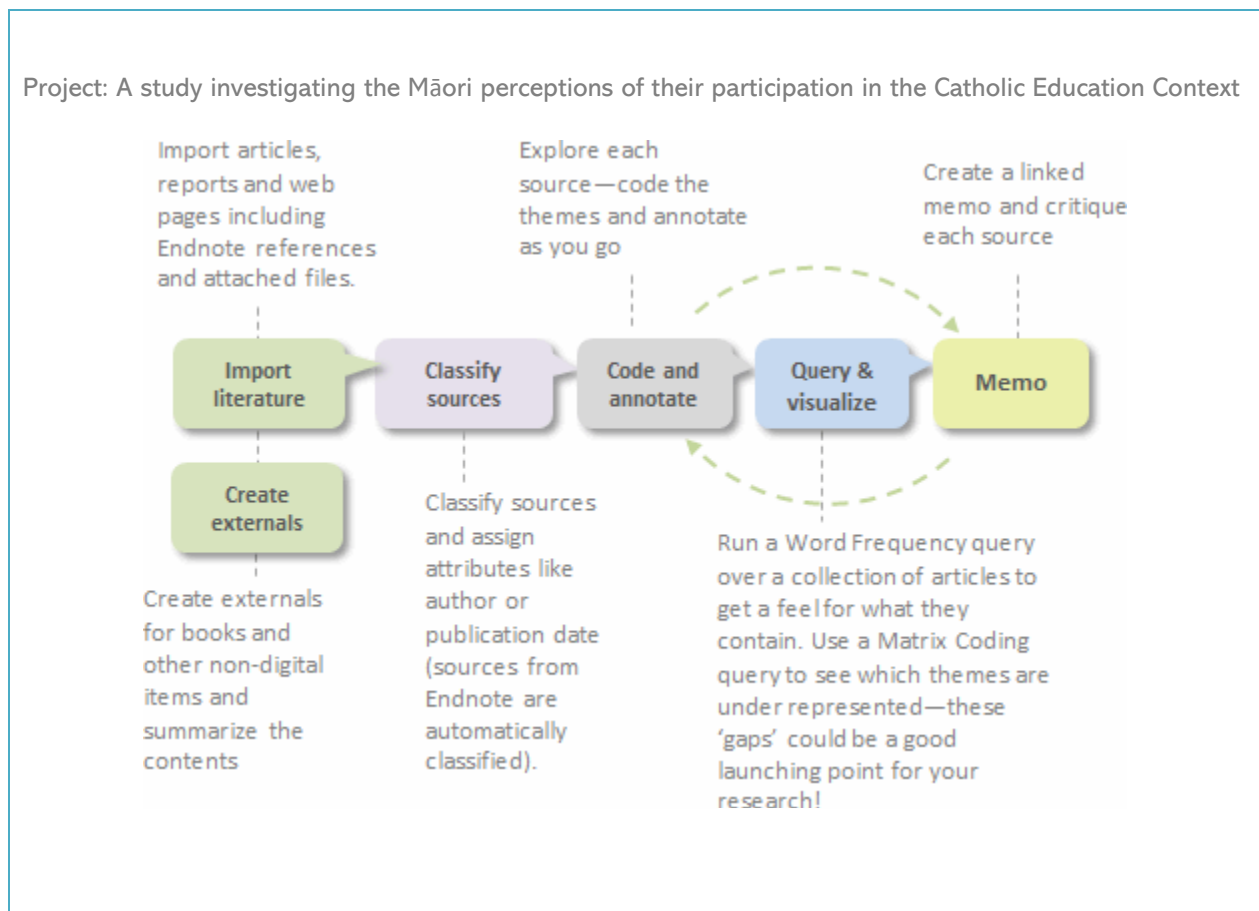
Figure 4.2: NVivo Seven-Step Cycle



(Windows QSR International, 2019)

Although in theory analysis seems to involve a gradual reduction of data, in reality it was much more a back-and-forth process of reducing, expanding, and considering alternative reductions. Due to the nature of the research interviews (in-depth semi-structured) where each participant was asked the same set of questions and following the QSR International guidelines I used the following scenario below in Table 4.5 to create a project for analysis.

Figure 4.3: Project Scenario



(Windows QSR International, 2019)

Re-familiarising myself with the data

As described, the NVivo data analysis process employs a seven-step cycle procedure followed by creating a project. However, before commencing the Nvivo analysis process I re-read each

interview transcript from beginning to end to get a sense of the whole description. Braun and Clarke (2006) explained that familiarisation is about “reading the data in an active way” (p. 87). Accordingly, I started engaging with the raw data, casually noticing segments that I found interesting and surface patterns that I began to see. At the same time, I was mindful not to read too much into these initial findings, given that they most likely reflected either most apparent features or what we as researchers bring to the data ourselves (Braun & Clarke, 2006). During these initial readings, I also noticed segments in the transcripts that did not seem to be immediately relevant to the topic, and therefore marked them for re-examination.

Close-text-coding and ellipsis

The decision to conduct an inductive thematic analysis meant that codes needed to be data driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Hence, I decided to use a ‘close-to-text’ coding that would enable me to stay as close as possible to what the participants had said, to help minimise interpretation. However, even at this level of close-to-text coding is not possible to completely eliminate subjectivity, given the fact that subjectivity inevitably influences how, and which data extracts are selected for coding, and which aspects of an extract should be focused on in creating codes. Following Braun and Clarke’s (2006) recommendation, I coded for as many potential themes and patterns as possible. As an example, I coded any descriptions related to *Māori* culture and identity, *te reo Māori*, Catholic Church, Catholic education, New Zealand education system, legislation, acts and ordinances, ways of being *Māori* and Catholic identities in practicing with other *Māori* and Catholics.

The first initial phase of coding was undertaken using Microsoft Word. I created a table with two columns in a word document and placed the interview transcript in the left-hand column of the

table. I proceeded to select and highlight small sections of the transcript related to the description of a single idea and recorded corresponding codes in the right-hand column. I systematically worked through each transcript using this method. To mark alternating segments in each transcript and corresponding codes, I used two different coloured highlighters to keep track of which codes belonged to which data set. In Table 4.3 below are two examples taken from extracts of transcripts.

Table 4.3: Examples of Extracts and Close-to-text Codes

| Extracts of Transcripts | Close-to-text-codes |
|---|---|
| <p>Interviewer: Can you tell me about what it was like growing up and your experiences with Māori and Māori culture?</p> <p><i>Example One:</i> What were my experiences with Maori culture ok. Whanaungatanga was there, manaakitanga also there, and lots of aroha it was also there and was definitely a part of our upbringing as children of the faith. We lead very full lives, and that’s because we are first and foremost Māori, rather than anything else. We are Māori first and we are heavily involved in our work, our experiences count, our knowledge around ourselves count, our community knows our contribution, and to be Catholic.</p> <p><i>Example Two:</i> ...um you know I was taught the ways of old around tikanga and kawa, respecting the elders, showing manaakitanga to manuhiri and respecting protocol. I think it was quite integral our kaumatua and kuia teaching us rangatahi to, well live, no teaching us those values and beliefs of discipleship as part of our tikanga and kawa because it allowed us to become comfortable with whom we are as individuals connecting to tribal lore.</p> | <p><i>Example One:</i> Whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, and aroha was definitely a part of our upbringing as children of the faith. We lead very full lives, and that’s because we are first and foremost Māori, rather than anything else. We are Māori first and we are heavily involved in our work, our experiences count, our knowledge around ourselves count, our community knows our contribution, and to be Catholic.</p> <p><i>Example Two:</i> I was taught the ways of old around tikanga and kawa, respecting the elders, showing manaakitanga to manuhiri and respecting protocol. I think it was quite integral our kaumatua and kuia teaching us rangatahi ... those values and beliefs of discipleship as part of our tikanga and kawa because it allowed us to become comfortable with whom we are as individuals connecting to tribal lore.</p> |

As shown in Table 4.3 data were essentially coded on a word-by-word, line by line basis where codes generated closely reflected each participant's language and ideas. This was very time consuming and, at times overwhelming. Regardless of this, I felt that being meticulous and consistent in this approach was needed to minimise the risk of researcher bias.

With the main purpose to preserve contextual information, the use of ellipsis was also included in the close-to-text coding to either show that parts of the speech had been left out, a pause in speech or that a sentence trails off. An example of this is illustrated in Table 4.6 under *Example Two*.

Data extracts from transcripts that were marked as relevant during the initial transcription phase were re-examined during the close-to-text coding. This resulted in the exclusion of small sections of the transcripts I determined as not being relevant to the topic. For example, one transcript that contained descriptions about why a participant had chosen to undertake teacher training and tertiary studies. Whilst these descriptions contained interesting and idiosyncratic information, they did not directly relate to *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context. Nevertheless, the majority of the raw data was included in the coding and resulted in the generation of 1186 codes. Samples of the initial phase of coding using node (a virtual container that collects content across internal and external sources to group related material - codes, themes, categories, topics, concepts together) is shown in the following figures.

Like any other qualitative data analysis, this analysis involved the desegregation of interview transcripts in segments, examining the data similarities and differences, and grouping together conceptually similar data in their respective nodes (Wickham & Woods, 2005). Nevertheless, the NVivo software did not do the analysis for me as I was still required to create the categories, code, and decide what to collate, identify the patterns, and subsequently interpret and draw meaning from the data. Using NVivo took care of the marking, cutting, and sorting tasks. It helped me maximise efficiency and sped up the process of grouping the data together accordingly. Therefore, NVivo merely made organisation, reduction, and storage of the data more manageable. The decision to use a mixed method was both beneficial and justified considering the nature and scope of this research.

Summary

In this chapter, I have provided a discussion about the methodology for this research study. I conveyed the approach that I had chosen derived from my research questions. I offered the rationale for the study, situating it within the broad concerns of validity, rigor, depth, and breadth of *Kaupapa Māori* qualitative research. I discussed my research design, including the process which led to my choosing contextualist thematic analysis, a full discussion of my participants, including the recruitment process. I discussed the data collection procedures, including how the information would be captured and stored, and how ethical considerations were made. I discussed the interview process and how all ten interviews were conducted, and how data was stored and analysed. I included a thorough description of the coding process using NVivo a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). I then spoke of the process of how I could utilise thematic analysis. In the next chapter, I will discuss the results from the thematic analysis in depth.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

Ko tāku reo tāku ohooho, ko tāku reo tāku mapihi mauria

My language is my awakening

My language is the window to my soul

The purpose of this research study is to investigate the experiences of *Māori* Catholics who participated in the Catholic education context. This chapter begins by restating the central research questions, followed by a narrative of the findings, and concluding with an overall summary of the key themes that have been identified in this chapter.

This study employed a mixed method analysis to code the data and identify the emergent themes of the study. The data was then analysed through both a *Katorikatanga* and *Kaupapa Māori* theoretical framework in relation to the research questions.

5.1 A Priori Research Assumption and Research Questions

The research questions attempt to identify and collate tensions and challenges that both enabled and constrained *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context. There was the a priori assumption (from some of the participants and their *whānau*) that *Māori* continue to experience some cultural incommensurability in the Catholic education context. Table 5.1 restates the a priori research assumption, central, and sub research questions for this study.

Table 5.1: A Priori Research Assumption and Research Questions

| THE A PRIORI RESEARCH ASSUMPTION | THAT MĀORI CATHOLICS WILL EXPERIENCE SOME CULTURAL INCOMMENSURABILITY IN THE CATHOLIC EDUCATION CONTEXT. |
|----------------------------------|---|
| CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTIONS | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do <i>some Māori</i> Catholics perceive their participation in the Catholic education context? • What were <i>some</i> of the educational experiences of <i>Māori</i> in the Catholic education context? |
| SUB-RESEARCH QUESTIONS | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did the participants’ cultural backgrounds (language, <i>whakapapa</i>, <i>tūrangawaewae</i>, location, household routines, <i>whānau</i> rituals, traditions, spiritual values, and beliefs) influence their educational participation in the Catholic education? • How did the participants’ cultural backgrounds (language, <i>whakapapa</i>, <i>tūrangawaewae</i>, location, household routines, <i>whānau</i> rituals, traditions, spiritual values, and beliefs) influence their Catholic church-going participation experience? |

5.2 Participants and Themes

Of the twelve possible research participants, ten (*Māori* who acknowledge their Catholicity) formally agreed to participate in the study and to share their lived experiences with me. The interviews provided participants with an opportunity to share their backgrounds, church-going, and educational experiences openly. Table 5.2 outlines commonalities discovered through the participants interviews.

Table 5.2: Participant Backgrounds and Commonalities

| Commonalities | Number of Participants |
|---|-------------------------------|
| Identify as Māori | All |
| Identify as Male | 7 |
| Identify as Female | 3 |
| Identify as a Kaumatua | 4 |
| Identify as a Kuia | 2 |
| Speaker of Te Reo Māori | 8 |
| Parents-native Māori speakers | 9 |
| Parent(s) Identify as Catholic | All |
| Years of Schooling – 1940 to 1950 | 2 |
| Years of Schooling – 1950 to 1960 | 2 |
| Years of Schooling – 1960 to 1970 | 4 |
| Years of Schooling – 1980 to 1990 | 1 |
| Years of Schooling – 2010 to 2020 | 1 |
| Attended a Catholic Secondary School | 2 |
| Attended a State Secondary School | 4 |
| Attended a Māori Boarding School – Catholic Secondary | 4 |
| Attended a Māori Convent – Primary School | 2 |
| Attended a Native Primary School | 8 |
| Attended a State Primary School | 2 |
| Attended a Catholic Primary School | 2 |

Collectively 14 hours and 54 minutes of interview time was recorded. Virtually every interview included general introductory comments and links to explicit connections to *whakapapa* and *tūrangawaewae* as well as tangential discussion. These tangential comments were set aside and not considered as being part of the data. As a general principle, responses that did not relate to the research questions were excluded. Furthermore, any responses that identified the speaker or the parish, and/or region where the place, name, or designation could not be made generic or disguised

were also excluded. However, on three occasions, two participants permitted additional detail to be included in order to contextualise their individual experience. Interviewer content was excluded as were comments without content such as “um”, “oh” and “yeah”, thus condensing responses into paragraphs of narrative. Most responses were single paragraphs or short sentences. Some paragraphs have included generous amounts of *te reo Māori* narration in the responses (without translation) to assist with context. Quotations from participants are presented in bold and italics with each participant opting to use a pseudonym throughout this study.

In considering the involvement of the researcher in the social construction of knowledge, the theoretical and methodological lens, and the nature of the research position, the questions and the objectives a thematic analysis were constructed clustering around three *Māori*-Centred Catholic themes. They were as follows: *Ko wai ōku tūhononga?* (Who am I connected to?), *He aha ngā wheako ō tōku Hāhi?* (What are my church-going experiences?), and *He aha ngā wheako ō tōku kura?* (What are my school experiences?).

The first - *Ko wai ōku tūhononga?* (Who am I connected to?) - presents data about participants’ cultural and religious nexus. The second - *He aha ngā wheako ō tōku Hāhi?* (What are my church-going experiences?) - concerns the participants’ relationship with the Catholic Church and clusters data on the juxtaposition of *Te Ao Māori* (*Māori* worldview) and *Te Ao Katorika* (Catholic worldview). The third theme - *He aha ngā wheako ō tōku kura?* (What are my school experiences?) - draws upon intra-action relationship data and is organised around role expectations. Table 5.3 provides a brief description of the themes, followed by an accompanying dialogue and discussion.

Table 5.3 Overview of Themes

| <i>Ko wai ōku tūhononga?</i> (Who am I connected to?) | <i>He aha ngā wheako ō tōku Hāhi?</i> (What are my church-going experiences?) | <i>He aha ngā wheako ō tōku kura?</i> (What are my school experiences?). |
|---|---|--|
| Tino Rangatiratanga | Clergy | Whānau Support |
| He Pononga Au | Whānau Culture/Background | Language Barriers |
| Cultural Distance and Isolation | Sense of Belonging | Pastoral Care |
| Cultural Relations | Elitism | School Culture |

These themes are both *whakapapa* and religious based, thereby calling to the fore deeply held spiritual beliefs, values, and meanings. These are used in a contemporary sense and have been utilised as a tool to assist in interpreting contemporary *Māori* Catholic reality.

Whilst it is not a comfortable experience to use and adapt *Te Ao Māori* and *Te Ao Katorika* together into such an academic setting, to not acknowledge either worldview is even more uncomfortable. To remain silenced and not challenge theory and practice is to reinforce and perpetuate colonial institutional hegemony (Walker, 1990), particularly in the case of this study which challenges the realm of the Catholic Church and its administration here in Aotearoa New Zealand.

5.3 Theme One - Ko wai ōku tūhononga? (Who am I connected to?)

The themes under “*Ko wai ōku tūhononga* - Who Am I Connected To?” - captures data relating to the participants’ cultural connections, their educational experiences in the Catholic context, and how these connections have influenced their perceptions of their participation as *Māori* and as Catholic. The participants spoke consistently of the complexity of their formal and informal educational experiences in both their indigenous nexus and Christian nexus. Nexus is a term used

to describe connections or a series of connections linking two or more things.²¹ In a similar way, indigenous nexus and Christian nexus are terms used to describe the participants’ connections with *Te Ao Māori* and *Te Ao Katorika*. This theme recognises the interconnections between the participants and their *Māori* Catholic knowledge systems and is organised around the subthemes listed below.

As Nepe (1991) asserted, *Māori* have their own distinctive knowledge system attached to origins in the metaphysical realm that is built on a history of interpretations and interactions within and between successive generations, which is markedly different from the Western metaphysical base. The questions asked provided participants with opportunity to share how they interpret their interactions with their *Māori* culture and the culture of the Catholic Church. While some participant experiences can be generalised as being similar or comparable to the Catholic Church, what is distinctly *Māori* lies within the *Māori* mind and thus results in “thinking *Māori*” (Nepe, 1991). Table 5.4 provides a brief description of the first theme - *Ko wai ōku tūhononga?* (Who am I connected to?).

Table 5.4: Overview of Theme One and Subthemes

| Theme One | Subthemes | References (Total: 150) |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Ko wai ōku tūhononga? | Tino Rangatiratanga | 35 |
| | He Pononga Ahau (The disciple) | 67 |
| | Cultural distance and isolation | 23 |
| | Cultural Relations | 25 |

²¹ Oxford Dictionary of English (Oxford University Press 2010, 1017, 2019)

Tino Rangatiratanga

Tino rangatiratanga “expresses the unique *Māori* concept of rangatiratanga that relates to concepts such as leadership and governance” (Toki, 2017, p. 143). Smith (1997) relates *tino rangatiratanga* to sovereignty, autonomy, control, and independence. He describes *tino rangatiratanga* as a principle of self-determination that asserts and reinforces the goal of *Kaupapa Māori* initiatives - by allowing *Māori* to control their own culture, aspirations, and destiny. *Tino rangatiratanga* in the general sense can also be described as a praxis – an action that is created by *Māori*, reflecting *Māori* ideals, values and perspectives. Paulo Freire (1970) defines praxis as “reflection and action directed at the structures to be transformed” (p.1 26). Almost all participants offered various interpretations of *tino rangatiratanga* as a praxis and how they were very much connected with it.

Obi Wan: Just so we are vividly clear about what tino rangatiratanga is about. I have taken three Māori. Sir James Henare he said, tino rangatiratanga was the power to determine who lived or who died. Koina, ōna kupu. John Rangihau a Māori intellectual from Tuhoe he said tino rangatiratanga was the power to determine to be Māori. And I said, he aha te tikanga o tēnei tangata Māori?... Me patai au ki tāku karoua, ka puta te kōrero: “Ko te Māori te tangata, e rongo ana i ngā karu, e kite ana i ōna taringa. A Māori is a person who can see with their ears and listen with their eyes. When you get to that stage ahh ko Māori koe. From that my own interpretation of tino rangatiratanga is the power to determine one’s destiny.

Participants highlighted the connectedness that they derive from their *tino rangatiratanga* and they explicitly linked this connectedness with their education and learning. *Maz*, for example, stated that:

It’s about education and learning. Qualifications are only one part of the person, what you do with them is more important. If you forget your compassion and your humanity you might as well just throw them away. We were not raised that way ... Whānau they always made it quite clear that if you think you’re going to leave school like your mate, you got another thing coming ... Before you leave, you’re going to decide what you’re going to do otherwise you’re gonna go back until you can decide. So that type of thought followed us all the way through our lives.

In their accounts most participants highlighted how their connectedness to *tino rangatiratanga* broadened as a result of following their Catholic education experience.

Han: I'm probably not as focused on what some people now call tino rangatiratanga and being proud to be Māori. However, in terms of real experience and how that prepared me for the world outside, I am grateful that I was able to go to a school where there was religious practice and a sense of fostering our Māori identity. I have been able to make a lot of progress in this Pākehā dominated world and in the Pākehā education work for the government most of my life.

One participant detailed the understanding of connectedness to *tino rangatiratanga* in terms of three critical areas of *Māori* development.

Yoda: We as a people [Māori Catholics] should have our mother tongue taught without asking ... With te reo we are not only learning through the cognitive functioning of the body, but we are learning through the emotional intelligence. We're learning through the spiritual intelligence, and we are learning through our cultural intelligence. Spiritual intelligence kei roto nei ... It's about the depth and intensity of what those three different aspects of tino rangatiratanga is about. For Māori Catholics it is a normal part of our faith.

The issue highlighted here is the need by *Māori* Catholics to have increased control over ones' own life and cultural wellbeing in the Catholic education context. Greater *Māori* autonomy over key decision making in Catholic schooling and education regarding governance, administration, curriculum, pedagogy, and *Māori* cultural aspirations may see possible gains in terms of *Māori* 'buy in' and commitment by *Māori*. A major point regarding *tino rangatiratanga* is that if *Māori* are in charge of the key decision making within the *kaupapa* of *Māori* educational participation in the Catholic education context, they are able to make choices and decisions that reflect their *Māori* Catholic preference.

He Pononga Au

The term **pononga** comes from the word **pono** which means “to be true” (Williams, 1985, p. 291). In **Māori**-Christian culture, **pononga** is referred to as true servant of God. For example, from the *Magnificat Mary’s Cantic* **pononga** is referenced as a servant – *kua mahara ia ki tōna atawhai, ā, kua manaakitia e ia a Iharaia, tōna pononga*. He has come to the help of his servant Israel for He has remembered his promise of mercy. However, for some **Māori** the term **pononga** is often associated with the negative connotations of the English word - slave or captive (Moore, 2011; Williams, 1985). This theme reflects on the **Māori**-Christian ideas, aspirations, values, and principles of **pononga**.

The term **pononga** was reference by participants to mean – (1) one being imbued in the faith (Obi Wan), (2) praxis of faith (Yoda), (3) **tūturu Māori** (authentically **Māori**) in their beliefs (R2D2), (4) real life experiences and connecting these to scripture (Sachè and Luke), and (5) awareness of the possibilities to support and help others in a given moment (Sabè). A general consensus among most of the participants was that referring to scripture helped them reflect on their own personal experiences as disciples of Christ in the Catholic Church. Day (2016) points out that, “by reading scripture Christian disciples are able to enter into God’s story” (p.45). One participant best articulates this viewpoint in his relay of two divergent perspectives representing often conflicting epistemological stances.

Obi Wan: In doing some research it became clear to me that in the words of Saint Paul, it was clear that the impossible could become possible. If a Roman soldier who was persecuting Christians could become a disciple of God, there was hope for the Māori ... In that process, in that ritual it goes from the terrestrial to the celestial. It changes from being profane to sacred. That’s the sort of thing we as Māori Catholics know happens. Me mutu tēnei mahi, e rere hua, ko te pirihi kai mua i a mātou, haere mai na, ki te wharekarakia. He manuhirihia mātou, e hara nō te Hāhi, nō taua ke.

In their accounts, other participants highlighted how the role of *pononga* derives from the *Māori* animistic understanding of the world; that is, we are connected to *Io* – supreme being - and there exists no distinction between the physical and spiritual dimensions (Irwin, 1984).

Mace: I am Catholic, I am not so much into following the Catholic faith but I believe in Io and all those connections, and the fact he created everything in that Iotanga is running through us, through ira atua, ira tane ... we are all here for a purpose. We are kaitiaki for our whānau and our hapū.

Maz: Whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and aroha was definitely a part of our upbringing as children of the faith. We lead very full lives, and that's because we are first and foremost Māori, rather than anything else. We are Māori first and we are heavily involved in our work, our experiences count, our knowledge around ourselves count, our community knows our contribution, and to be Catholic.

Owen: There is one thing that I really find difficult and it's again this clash of the Māori. The appreciation of what the Void was at the beginning and the comprehension of that. I make a point that when making a final farewell is not to farewell that person into the depths of Darkness. To me if you got a Christian understanding and if the Māori perception of the Void is light and knowledge that is a Christian principle, and I just converted to that and I feel comfortable doing it that way.

Sabè: What I learnt especially in my childhood is that discipleship was a conflicted life. Priests struggled to cope with their issues of celibacy. The nuns were literally slaves to the priests, and they struggled to get support from the diocese. It is a reason why I prefer to play the support role to my sister and her husband when I go back home. They are the disciples of our whānau back home – they are at the marae, running the liturgy at church because there are not enough priests, they are at the school providing a spiritual perspective to support the whānau, the community and hapū.

Luke: I was taught the ways of old around tikanga and kawa, respecting the elders showing manaakitanga to manuhiri and respecting protocol. I think it was quiet integral our kaumatua and kuia teaching us rangatahi ... those values and beliefs of discipleship as part of our tikanga and kawa because it allowed us to become comfortable with whom we are as individuals connecting to tribal lore.

In considering the above meanings and associations, *pononga* anticipates both *tikanga Māori* and *tikanga o te Hāhi* in that, similar to *tikanga Māori*, *tikanga o te Hāhi* is distinctively the Christian ways of doing things and cultural behaviours through which Christian rites of divination are expressed and made tangible. Therefore, *pononga* in a general sense is an ‘agent’ of the interaction of *tikanga Māori* and *tikanga o te Hāhi*. Thus, *He Pononga Au* responds to three questions of the *Māori* Christian life namely – (1) Who am I? What is this world that I exist in? and What am I to do?

Cultural Distance and Isolation

Participants shared that cultural distance between *Māori* and the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the isolation of *Māori* culture, has affected their participation in the Catholic education context. Participants noted more detailed awareness of the cultural distance between the Catholic Diocese of Auckland and *Māori* educational experiences (Luke), and felt greater involvement with *Māori* parents, *whānau*, community, and *hapū* would benefit the diocese (Maz).

One participant reported that *“the current administration of the Catholic Diocese of Auckland needs better understanding of its partnership with Māori ... it [the Auckland Diocese] needs to provide Māori with resources and education to make them strong individuals. I think they [Catholic Church] have placed too much of an emphasis on integrating all cultures in New Zealand rather than reinforcing the current partnership they have with Māori”* (Sabè).

While many participants expressed being aware of the isolation of *Māori* culture, language, and identity in the church, responses to this practice within the church varied. Some participants were pragmatic about it while others were frustrated.

R2D2: You only see the Bishop may be once a year, or when he wants something. Normally, it's to tell the poor Māori you are not doing a good enough job to finance the church or the school, so I am going to close it.

Another participant pointed out the lack of *Māori* participation in the church might be explained by the lack of effort by the current administration of the Catholic Church. *Obi Wan* noted how the *Māori* history documents the fond memories that *Māori whānau* had of Pompallier and his priests; they had learnt the language – *te reo Māori* – to preach to our people in our language. *Obi Wan* further stated that:

If there was hope for Māori e titiro ki te mauī, ki te matau koi te Māori e huarahi haere tēnei mahi. I didn't see anyone. Me pehea te whakamāori tō tātou whakapono i ngā rohe. I mua i te taea mai o Pīhopa Pomāpiria, he iwi whakapono tātou. Nō reira, ka haere mai a Pīhopa Pomāpiria ka haramai te Hāhi, ka whai haere tātou katoa. I a mātou ka waimarie te Pīhopa tana papa whaihaere ngā pirihī.

All the participants in this study are *tamariki* or *mokopuna* of those who were a part of a beaten generation. Some of the participants who are speakers of *Māori* are so because of a commitment from some of their *whānau*, school priests, nuns, sisters, brothers, and rectors of the Catholic *Māori* boarding schools – Hato Hohepa, Hato Petera, and Hato Paora. Other participants who were physically, emotionally, and psychologically denied *te reo Māori* through the formal system of Catholic education (and State education). Most of the participants were constantly fed the ideology that in order to survive in the European-dominated world all they needed was English.

Cultural Relations

Participants reported being embedded in two cultures that were at times at odds with each other. They reported that their participation in the Catholic education context requires them to know and act in a Catholic manner but not to know and act in a *Māori* manner. However, at the same time, they are expected to bring to the non-*Māori* table their *Māori* understanding.

Obi Wan: You go to a wananga hui directed by the church...karakia in Māori, mihimihi in Māori and all the rest is in English. The whole hui. One day, two days in te reo Pākehā. Matakitaki wa tā tātou nei tamariki i a tātou i te reo Pākehā i roto i ngā hui nunui o te Māori. Ka puta te whakaaro i a mātou. Ka piki te kaha o te tangata nei kōrero Pākehā. That is the message that is seen that Pākehā is more important than te reo.

Importantly, one participant saw failure in some of the church practices as being a step backwards for both *Māori* and the church. *Han* noted how the Catholic Church had become oblivious to its own colonial religious traits and behaviours towards *Māori whānau*, with little acknowledgement of and respect for local knowledge around *Māori* culture and *te reo Māori*.

Han: For me ... in 1962 both Māori and Catholic cultures were intertwined. As I have got older now that I am living in a total Māori community there are some clear distinctions around what colonisation may or may not have done to Māori in the church. Māori identity within the church has changed back to something that probably doesn't sit comfortably as it could be the resurgence of Māori identity and tikanga around different approaches to religion. I don't think it will become that helpful for Māori or the church.

Tino rangatiratanga, he pononga au, cultural distance and isolation, and cultural relations were the key themes identified in this section. These themes directly addressed the research question that centred on the aspects of *Māori* perceptions that support participants in their connections to both their indigenous nexus and Christian nexus. Thus, the bringing together of *Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Katorika* – two divergent perspectives representing often conflicting epistemological stance in this study - is important. These two perspectives mirror the cultural distance and isolation between *Māori* and the Catholic Church.

5.4 Theme Two - He aha ngā wheako o tōku Hāhi? (What are my church-going experiences?)

The second theme, “*He aha ngā wheako o tōku Hāhi* – What are my church-going experiences?”, centres on the common experiences of participants as they progress through the sacraments of initiation, and how the participants *whānau*/cultural backgrounds influenced their church-going experiences. The participants could not describe their church-going experiences without also explaining how the culture of their *whānau* influenced those experiences because the two are inseparable. According to Rangihau (1992), “the way in which *Māori* conceptualise their world derived from their history and traditions” (p.1 83). Participants consistently reported that struggle, hostility, and frustration characterised their relationship with their respective parish and the administration/leadership of the Auckland Diocese. This was attributed to a variety of reasons - differing status amongst *Māori* and between *Māori* and other non-*Māori* parishioners [Pākehā, Filipino, Pasifika, Indian, and those from both Eastern and Western Europe], stereotypical assumptions, and general discomfort with what was perceived as being preferential treatment or ‘the elephant in the room’.

Generally, participants reported that the leadership of Auckland Diocese were, at best, reluctant and, at worst, resistant to engage collectively in *Māori* pastoral discussion. As one participant observed, “*the Catholic Church is uniquely situated to challenge the gaps between the comfortable and the afflicted and to deal with the toxic residue of elitism and cultural prejudice that continues to divide us as a people and as Māori*” (Maz). This theme deals mostly with the responses that relate to the juxtaposition of Catholic doctrine, dogma and teachings, and *Te Ao Māori*. Table 5.5 below provides a brief overview of theme two.

Table 5.5: Overview of Theme Two and Subthemes

| Theme Two | Subthemes | References (N=122) |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| He aha ngā wheako o tōku Hāhi? | Clergy | 23 |
| | Whānau culture/background | 38 |
| | Sense of belonging | 25 |
| | Elitism | 36 |

Clergy

Key actors in Catholic communities are not the bishops but rather pastoral agents – the clergy (priests, brothers, sisters). The clergy can be a major support or barrier to the ongoing wellbeing of our *Māori whānau* and their Catholic communities. The general consensus from most participants was that they felt supported and encouraged by the clergy who had played a significant role in their church-going experiences, although some participants noted that, at times, the support they received from clergy could be blunt and challenging. *Obi Wan* was one such participant who recalled that:

My whānau from my local church asked me to become a Catechist. I started to go to regular Mass and there I met one of our local pirihi, and he said to me what are you doing here? I said I am thinking about becoming a Catechist. He said, you better think again! I did and I decided not to. I realised that the only reason the whānau wanted me to become a Catechist was because the last one died. And so, I thought when I die they are back in the same position. So, something needed to change. I realised then the priest was encouraging me to seek a different role in supporting the whānau and the church.

Setting high expectations and expressing the desire for their *Māori whānau* to further their children's education or become more educated than their parents appeared to be powerful and pervasive beliefs and attitudes among clergy. *Han* shared his experience of the support he had received from one of his rectors:

My mother held a very healthy regard for our priests who used to visit [home] ... That's how we got sent off to Paora ... I remember his words clearly ... we're not here to make wishbones, we are here to make back bones, so that one day you can go back to your communities confident in that fact that how you can relate and be able work with them in the future.

Other participants remembered how priests would preach at the *whānau* homestead as a way of connecting *whānau* with each other from within the community. *Sachè* for example, stated that:

Our first priest we had ... he was Dutch. At the start we were always scared of him, because he looked different. After the main karakia he would take us, the kids for bible lessons while the adults prepared lunch. As time went on, we got to know him, and we became more comfortable with what he was teaching us ... to be strong in the knowledge of the faith.

Maz shared the following observation:

When the priests used to come, there was a lot, they would descend on [the homestead] ... it became a dedicated home for Mass ... we had mass in Latin and would sing bits of the liturgy in Māori ... and sing our Māori hymns. The priests were like demi-gods that was how we got sent to the Conven t... These priests were all Mill Hill from the Mill Hill order ... Naturally, they knew how to speak Māori. They knew how to connect all the families together ... They knew everybody and that's how the community ended up down at [the homestead] ... They were awesome. They always spoke Māori to the elders and also to the kids, they were brilliant.

Luke identified how having multiple encounters with local clergy has influenced his commitment to both his *Māori* culture and to the faith:

I have had multiple main influences ... our first local priest. He had just come back from the Philippines, and he was curious to know whether te reo Māori actually being used in the church, and I said no there was much Māori being used. So luckily, he actually could speak and understood Māori so implemented a little bit here and there even though it wasn't much it allowed me to gain a better insight in how the Catholic Church uses the Māori language ... also another influential figure ... he had connections to Māori Catholics in Te Taitokerau. There were priests who were confident to use Māori in Mass and did well ... Other priests ... were all willing learners of Māori and encouraged other parishioners to accept the role of Māori but also using little commands in the Mass ... As a young person it is inspiring to see how

these Pākehā priests are willing to learn our language to help us feel welcome at church.

Some participants also shared how they had struggled to adhere to the demands of the Catholic Church and their obligations to the spiritual and cultural wellbeing of their own immediate *whānau*.

Obi Wan: When we first got married, we converted to Catholicism not so much because of me, but because of our children ... To understand where I am coming from is that I left the church ... There were biases I never knew could exist in the church ... The priest said he would not baptise my son unless I came to Mass. Ka pū au te rae, ka riri tonu atu, whiua te aha. So for a while I left the church and then I came back again for our children...

The relationship that the clergy had with *whānau* leaders and influential *whānau* members played a key role in how participants dealt with clergy. Some participants reported huge cultural tensions and conflicts between being born *Māori* and being baptised as Catholic. Other participants noted personal issues with clergy, specifically in terms of how they would encourage *whānau* leaders and influential *whānau* members to preach scripture readings, doctrine, dogma, and personalised sermons at marae and *whānau* gatherings to highlight the wrongs of *Māori* culture.

R2D2: I can't understand why some priests not all, I said some, think that they should be treated like gods. They are disciples of Christ, to guide us out of darkness into the light, so they say. That's not their job. They are to help us become more spiritually inclined, but not at the expense of our language or culture. Kei hea te reo Māori i roto i te Miha? In today's time, we have to sit in Mass and listen to these Pākehā and Asian priests bastardise our language. If we say anything, we will be cast out – ex-communicated.

Yoda also noted similar feelings:

If we speak up, we are told we are ungrateful and rude. How is it rude to ask for your language to be spoken and used properly? Back in the old days those old priests spoke fluent te reo Māori and knew how important the language and culture meant to our people.

Due to the specific focus of the research questions and the nature of this study, it was agreed with the participants not to publish individual historical clerical abuse cases in detail, but rather to note that such realities do exist within *Māori whānau* within the Auckland Diocese.

Whānau Culture

The evidence reveals that participants *whānau* culture had its own extensive body of knowledge – *karakia*, rituals, *whakapapa*, history, myths, and legends. These facets influenced the connections between *whānau* and the Catholic Church.

All participants shared experiences with various *whānau* members. However, women appear to have been the main source of influence, strength, and support.

Luke: When I decided I wanted to become a Catholic my mother became a Catholic as well. I am fortunate enough to be able to reflect with my parents about all of my church experiences and how these relate to the gospel readings and the parables. My extended whānau ... are aware of our whānau history with the Catholic Church and how it has shaped our entire whakapapa and who we are.

Obi Wan: I had the fortunate choice of being firstly raised by my maternal grandmother. When I went to high school I was fostered by my maternal grandmother and her Pākehā husband who was a very devoured Katorika. We used to go to Mass and I used to hang on to her panekoti and I would sit beside her and he used to ramble away. I said to her, “e kui he aha te taunga o tēnā reo? Ō Roma, she said. Hei aha tau? And she would tell me to hoihoi.

Sabè: Both my parents were Catholics ... my mother was a devout Catholic my father was probably a devout Catholic. My mother was devout to the extreme because she went with the Latin and Latin to her meant everything ... My mother was the main influence and probably my father as well because when we were little on a Sunday morning he used to get us up very early in the morning to get ready for church ... he used to walk us and take us along to Mass, so he did participate.

Other participants noted that not only did women members influence the *whānau* culture, but they also led the teaching of prayer that would become a key component in the household routine:

Han: Mum was brought up as a Catholic she's from the family out of the Hokianga she was quite a stanch Catholic so out of the six children she had four of them were baptised Catholics and the other two were baptised originally as Methodists because they were named after my grandfather and grandmother. Later on in life they became Catholics ... Mum's family has a history with the Catholic Church, they were the backbone of Catholic religious practice in the Hokianga ... So mum had us saying prayers at an early age be it in English, the Hail Mary, the Apostles Creed, number of things like that.

Sachè: Out of all my siblings I am the only Catholic because of my karani. I lived with her. Tāku karani, she would lead us in our prayers it was a part of the household routine. So we did morning prayers, prayers before kai, prayers at night, prayers when someone died.

Some participants reported that women members were influential figures in parish life and how parish life also played an integral role in the *whānau* culture:

Maz: My dad's sisters and my mum's sister would help out in their parishes which is how we got involved. We sort of grew into it, it was a part of our life ... I know some of the parents in the whānau were leaders in the church. If there was a meeting called the family would all turn up. You had to do readings, prepare the table for the altar, the wine and bread, led the hymns ... there was always the knowledge that somehow this part of our whānau, our parish life was going to survive was going to survive and we were going to have to pass it on to the next generation.

All participants made specific references of women within their *whānau* culture. *Whānau* kinship is a cooperative and reciprocal systems of work and education, in that each member of a *whānau* contributes to several *whānau* (Nepe, 1991). For many of the participants the role of women (mothers, aunts, grandmothers) was significant in terms of nurturing their commitment to the faith and education. Within the *Māori* Catholic *whānau* culture leading women and/or kuia

relations were attributed to the spiritual nature of “Mother Mary” and “*Papatūānuku*” – noted peace-makers, repositories of wisdom, and the trusted link that provided security and serenity to all *tamariki*. As an inspiration for knowledge, these women were invaluable. Many of participants reported that the lead women in their respective *whānau* were the force of maintaining equilibrium and harmony within the whānau, hapū, and they were constantly sought by the priests, nuns, sisters, brothers, and lay people as they were also respected and seen as treasured members of the Catholic Church community.

Sense of Belonging

It is evident that *whānau* participation in the church was a significant factor in shaping *whānau* culture, but there is growing evidence to suggest that the primary aim of religion was to convert “the souls of the indigenous culture in an attempt to replace their identity” (Te Rire, 2009, p.18). Unfortunately, the assimilation of the minority culture to the hegemonic culture of the Catholic church continues to plague the minds of *Māori* Catholic descendants. *Yoda* captured this perfectly when he stated, “*There are realities that we have to recognise of our past and of our history that we have to take with us.*”

One participant - *Mace* - pointed out that the priest has an active role in helping *whānau* feel a sense of belonging or not recalled that when he “*went to a Catholic funeral some time back, and the priest was just out of touch with the tūpapaku and the whānau. It was like he was there to do his Catholic thing and everyone had to follow along. It was the driest feeling ever.*”

Another participant - *Maz* - had established her own criteria to determine whether or not individual churches were welcoming of *Māori*, and observed that:

You're always listening for what part te reo Māori plays because that tells me a lot about what it is this parish is about. And if it not there, I think I'm not coming back here.

Sachè shared a similar experience and viewpoint:

When I look at the way the Catholic Church engages with whānau especially our Māori families, it makes me wonder why our people change to other religions or just can't be bothered going to church ... When I was growing up with my grandmother, I really really believed at the time that the Catholic faith was a good thing for me. I guess when you grow up and start making decisions for yourself things start to change ...

Some participants reported that during the 1950s and 1960s the kind of Catholic education was very much centred on *whānau* and community wellbeing. However, the contemporary Catholic approach still appeared to be deeply entrenched with elements of individualism and institutionalisation. *Han* was very reflective about how his idea of belonging derived from his parish life during his secondary schooling years when he disclosed that:

In recent times I have experienced some levels of racism in my local church. I just can't be bothered with it ... We have had people, Māori coming from our neighbouring churches thinking it is their role to come and tell us Māori what to do in our church. It's probably easier to stay at home and say a prayer. As a comparison when I was at boarding school. We served at Mass. We were fully embedded in and assisting the priests in Mass and liturgy.

Luke shared how his experiences with a number of different parishes gave him a greater sense of understanding about the difference between the administration of the church and parishes:

Being at Te Unga Waka and under Pā Ryan's guidance he showed me the various Māori groups that existed in Te Taitokerau ... He made it his job to make sure that the place of Māori culture at Te Unga Waka was honored by the Catholic Church ... Sunday Miha was in Māori this I hadn't seen in any other church except for Hata Maria in Motuti with Pā Henare. I learnt from Pā Ryan that there was a place for Māori to be Catholic and to be comfortable with the rituals of the Catholic Church

despite the ongoing discrimination Māori had experienced from the Auckland Diocese ... I found a sense of meaning in the sense of enlightenment in knowing that the church wasn't necessarily trying to discriminate against Māori but it was down to individuals themselves ... I learnt that on a community level there was some willingness to accept the presence of Māori but on an individual level there wasn't much willingness ... we are continuously faced with a difficult challenge to the point where some individuals think their views about Māori were more important than the church. The interesting thing is that these individuals weren't kiwis', like they weren't born here, they have actually migrated from other countries.

As most participants reported, *Māori* in the Catholic Church continue to struggle with a sense of belonging, and this had led some to withdraw from active participation. Whilst there may be instances where individuals of the Catholic Church make special efforts to make *Māori* feel welcome, the leadership within the Auckland Diocese continues to be challenged in their approaches when engaging with *Māori*.

A lack of acknowledgement of *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga* within the structures of the Catholic Church has also made it easy for some participants to withdraw from active participation. As R2D2 pointed out, *“when the Church deliberately ignores the language and culture of its flock, who are tangata whenua, it says a lot. Māori are not a conquered people, nor will they be conquered.”*

What is evident though is that the denial of *te reo Māori* within wider society has been systemic, in that it did not happen by accident. Rather, it was debated and planned as a national strategy into European belief systems.

Elitism

Participants generally referred to three kinds of meanings of elitism. The first meaning suggested that the belief that the church should be led by an elite – namely, anyone other than a *Māori* would make decisions. The second meaning refers to the dominance of the church and its administration.

The third definition discusses the superior attitude and behaviour across the entire structure of the Catholic Church - Bishops, priests, sisters, brothers, the leadership within the Auckland Diocese, and lay people in parish life. As Fletcher (2016) points out, the elite define themselves by their status and accomplishments, and talk in a language meant at once to impress and exclude. These concepts correlate with how St Paul the Apostle warned the church at Corinth they had become “puffed up and arrogant” (1 Corinthians 4:18). *Maz* reported having similar thoughts when she stated that:

In terms of a comparison with the Catholic Church it has no peer really in terms of its own culture and its own rituals, and the face that it gives the world. There is no comparison ... Its cultural beginnings are about elitism. You know it's very much around elite knowledge and the preservation of that aspect. It's not common knowledge until you care to go through the archives, and then you can't get permission to go through the archives if you don't have the right connection. The gatekeeping is amazing and you do have to respect that because there are aspects of history of the world that really they are the only ones who got it ... If the Pope can speak his own language in Italy then he needs to be able to get people to speak their own language ... You know this racist elite stuff that is practice in our churches needs to stop ... There are those over there, the hierarchy and those over there who live totally different lives. They are forced to have totally different experiences.

Obi Wan noted that “*the church can't be blamed entirely because they know no better than to act with superior attitudes towards Māori*” and further commented that:

They know nothing better than what they have been taught to do which was not to produce a succession plan for Māori ... we are good sheep who follows the shepherd? And for a lot of us we were taught that we will never become shepherds unless we became brothers or priests. So, we allowed the priests, brothers and the sisters to carry the burden of the faith for us ... When I did some research, it was clear that not only Katorika Māori but Katorika generally in Aotearoa was a faith for the sick, the lame and those with one foot in the grave. Now an indictment on the institution on the faith of the church ... this is the reality we need to face. Me pēhea e taea te whakatipu anō te whakapono i a tatou tamariki me te hunga kua ara? How do we re grow?

Han felt that the church had moved away from the wellbeing of people and focused on its own financial wellbeing:

The Catholic Church has changed in a number of ways ... it has become so diverse with other cultures expressing their interests and it has become more about how much money you contribute to the church financially rather than the design of what can the church do for you as a person.

Mace's experience with the church was similar:

Too many rules to follow. I think religion, rather Christianity including all the churches not just the Catholics, has taken over some of the things that we as Māori saw as sacred and have tried to keep us in line with their thinking. Our Māori way of doing things, whether it's maramataka, wananga, kapa haka, kura, marae those sorts of things are an important part of who we are. It's in our DNA, the churches need to recognise that. The thing I find the hardest to understand is what was the intentions when they first came over here to Aotearoa?

Sachè felt that she could related to feeling ostracized as she had experienced this throughout her schooling life:

Back in the old days ... it didn't bother me at the time, but I guess the closest word might be ostracisation, you were ostracised. The church was ostracised ... and it was ostracised at college. We didn't question it back in those days, you were never allowed to question any decisions, not like now, why do you do that? In that time, you didn't question, you did as you were told. All the person would say te mea, te mea, and you just did it.

Some participants reported that hypocrisy and manipulation were used as tactics to suppress **Māori** from questioning the validity and legitimacy of the decision-making processes. These same participants reported that these processes contradicted the doctrine beliefs, attitudes, and values espoused in the gospel readings that church leaders would preach to its own communities. **Sabè**

noted that although she was young, she felt that she was being manipulated, making it difficult to discern what was going on.

I think it was a manipulation thing and I didn't like the manipulation and I was very young when I started to see the hypocrisy in some of the things that were happening, and I started to question to be told I was bad. A lot of bad things happened.

R2D2 stated that, “Everything changed when they brought Pompallier back, the idea of doing such a thing was decided between an elite few that include Māori.” Reflecting further on this *R2D2* believed that:

They should never have brought Pompallier back it wasn't anyone's right to do such a thing ... they got it wrong. He went home [France] to be at peace and live out his days, and some bright spark decides, let's go get him back. I think the whole thing was about money and how the church could use our Māori culture to make money. Our Māori people are pōhara that's why the church won't come to the Māori communities, they got no money. If Māori had money, they would be here alright ... see the other thing, the church has been playing Māori off against each other.

Luke believed that looking at both sides of the partnership allow him to put things into perspective. Firstly, many *Māori whānau* have benefitted from the alternative education provided by the Catholic Church. Secondly, *Māori* participation is political in nature, irrespective of the context. Thirdly, *Māori* are as much to blame as the Catholic Church for the lack of *Māori* participation at the decision-making table. He also admitted feeling disappointed that:

Here are people who are high up in the church who didn't bother and couldn't be bothered in their attempts to accept Māori in the church ... I started to question the idea of Māori sharing our cultural knowledge with others because I started to notice that some people in the church were trying to take advantage of our beliefs and our customs for their own benefit and to keep Māori from only occupying certain positions within the structures of the church ... My local church is going through some cultural challenges at the moment and although we go to church and I play the organ and organise the music, I feel a little awkward. There is a lot of hurt that needs healing.

The participants' examples highlight how the church sought to educate and teach *Māori*, to empower them with spiritual guidance for *whānau* to support themselves and others. *Māori* reciprocated by acknowledging the teachings of the Catholic Church: Article 4 of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* is evidence of this recognition. The juxtaposition of their vastly different cultures has tested the structural integrity of the Catholic Church's commitment to *Māori*.

5.6 Theme Three - He aha ngā wheako o tōku kura? (What are my school experiences?)

He aha te wheako kura? – What is the school experience? - draws on the participants educational experiences in the Catholic Church context. The subthemes presented here highlight an historical context of the natural groupings of the *Māori whānau* setting and how these sites of learning influenced how participants both perceived and interpreted their Catholic educational experiences. For decades the *Māori* child, the *Māori* home environment, and the *Māori* language have been blamed by many European educationalists, teachers, principals, and politicians as being the reasons why *Māori* children do not succeed or achieve the same standards as other students in a *Pākehā* - oriented education system (Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1997; Walker, 1990).

Some participants, now that they are older and living in their own *Māori* communities, question the credibility of the education system they were forced to participate in, particularly with regard to the assumed beneficial assimilative and integrative educational policies that continue to aggravate the structural dysfunction that exists within *Māori whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, and communities (Nepe, 1991; Walker, 1990). As *Yoda* stated, "*I finished primary school being taught a way from being Māori.*" *Sabè* reported a continuous conflict of cultures during her education:

We went from this white Catholic school in Mt Roskill that taught us how to be white ... and then we went to the convent up North and we were taught how to be Māori. Then we came back to Auckland and we went back to the white Catholic schooling ...

they did not appreciate or respect Māori culture...We were forced to literally pretend we never went to the convent and the things we were learnt there were considered bad.

Table 5.6 presents the subthemes that emerged from the interviews with participants.

Table 5.6: Overview of Theme Three and Subthemes

| Theme Three | Subthemes | References (Total = 52) |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| He aha ngā wheako kura? | Whānau Support | 5 |
| | Language Barriers | 7 |
| | Pastoral Care | 15 |
| | School Culture | 25 |

Whānau Support

Māori parents, *Māori* grandparents, and *Māori* people who are a strong combination of various *whānau* (Nepe, 1991) understood the educational opportunities Catholic schools would provide for their children. For many *Māori* Catholic *whānau*, sending their children to Catholic schools further reinforced a holistic approach to their childrens’ entire educational needs - cultural, social, and spiritual wellbeing. Participants reported that *whānau* support was key factor to their educational wellbeing. *Maz* noted there was an expectation for all of the children in her *whānau* and extended *whānau* to do well not only at school but also in life, because “seeds had been sowed” for them by their *Karani Pā*. She believed that *“we had a rich history with our great grandfather, he was a businessman ... They, our parents, knew what needed to be done and so did it. We were expected to do well at the school. There were no excuses really as our parents had worked extremely hard to get us there.”* *R2D2*, *Sabè*, *Maz*, *Luke*, and *Mace* also noted similar conversations with their parents and grandparents:

He, our karani Pā ... he went to jail because he refused to pay dog taxes ... whilst he was in jail the Catholic priests were the only ones to visit him. Even his own religious priests had abandoned him. He asked the Catholic priests' why they chose to visit him despite belonging to another denomination. Their answer was, they were not sent to the prison to condemn nor to judge, but to simply help prisoners reconcile with themselves over their actions. It is there, while he was in jail that he converted to Catholicism, and vowed to make sure his descendants followed in his footsteps.

Participants also reported being raised with an understanding of, and pride in, their *Māori* identity and *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi* history with the Catholic Church. *Luke* acknowledged that his mother's Catholic education had played a pivotal role in the decision to send him and his three older brother's to *Hato Pāora* and commented that *"mum's father sent her and her sisters to St Joseph's Māori Girls, and so I guess her educational experience there helped make the decision."*

Maz believed that her father had contributed significantly to increasing her understanding of the *whānau* identity within the community during their schooling years:

We were expected to do well I think, expectation is a key driver ... When we went to school even at boarding school, my dad always became involved with what was happening to us, so he made it his business to join the school committee or the board of governors ... so he could keep an eye on what was happening to us. So, I guess because of that, we were treated differently.

Luke's experience was similar:

I asked dad what it was like for him to receive a Catholic education ... he said back in the days at Hato Paora the priests would do everything in their power to ensure that they would provide the best educational opportunities possible ... he reiterated that Catholic education helped reinforce values such as love, forgiveness and compassion and that those values would put me in good stead to understanding te ao Māori and te ao Pākehā ... My mum being a school teacher, told me to go to school with an open mind to learn from others both in the classroom and outside ... and that her and dad would take care of the politics ... My parents would keep reinforcing and telling me it was ok to be comfortable in your Māori culture and Catholicity despite the ongoing

discrimination and aversion to Māori culture at the school ... I just had to be patient with them [staff and students] because for some of them it would take quite a while for them to understand trying to move past their own predisposed ideas.

The decisions that *Māori* parents and *Māori* grandparents believed would benefit their offspring were well informed, based on their personal experiences. *Yoda* thought that his parents had encouraged him and his siblings to learn English language so that they could have a better opportunity getting a job and making a life for themselves without having to rely on anyone. He also stated that:

My parents would speak Māori to us, but they didn't expect us to speak it back. They didn't encourage us to speak Māori, but rather to learn and speak Pākehā because of fear we would be punished. It was not until I got to secondary school that I started to speak Māori. That's because the priests were teaching us Māori. I think that is why my father sent me there?

Some participants reported older siblings filling the parental role while they were away from home and attending boarding school. *Han* remembered that:

Mum was adamant to send me and my three older brothers to Pāora ... two of them were still there when I arrived so I was supported by them. Every week we got the opportunity write a letter home, put it in an envelope and send off ... mum and Aunty would write back telling us all the gossip and how dad and the rest of the whānau were getting on.

Sabè also shared her memories of her boarding school experience:

We were sent away to boarding school ... to the convent in Waitaruke. I was only young. It was such a shock for all of us ... I thought we were going on a holiday, but clearly mum and dad had organised this in advance. They didn't even tell us we were going there until we arrived at the gate ... I guess the better part of it all was we were altogether ... Being the oldest at the time, I had to get the little ones up and dressed and ready for prayers ... I was like mum to all of them ... it was tiring at times, but I had to get use to it quickly, otherwise ... you know, you got into trouble.

Whānau support, according to many of the participants, committed *whānau* members to be active participants not only in the parish but also in the school (where possible). Most participants reported that *whānau* would fund-raise, send produce – vegetables from the *whānau* gardens, fish, seafood, and whatever else they could from home to help support the boarding schools. Some participants also recalled that their other siblings did not attend a Catholic Māori Boarding school because of the huge financial strain it had on their *whānau*, and so they were sent to their local secondary school. For many participants Catholic schooling was an expensive exercise and, at times, was exhausting for their *whānau*. Some participants used this knowledge as motivation to succeed and try harder to learn all they could at school. However, other participants at the time, saw going to Catholic school as punishment.

It is important to note here that all those participants who went to a Catholic Boarding school have had quite successful careers with various government agencies and departments and leadership roles in the private sector. Furthermore, they have also become leaders within their respective *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, and communities. Whilst *whānau* support is accepted as being integral to the child educational success and achievement, the financial commitment required from *Māori whānau* to support their children to succeed in education in contemporary society is almost unattainable and, in most cases, unachievable. Nonetheless, most of the participants agree that parents, *whānau* who are more involved in their children's education have children who are more academically successful in school. Some participants also felt that when school rectors, priests, and education staff reached out to *Māori whānau*, especially through personal contact, there was a strong connection made that, in turn, opened the door to *whānau*/school connectedness.

Language Barriers

Current perennial practices in the New Zealand Catholic education context revolve around English as the dominant language, with some reference to other cultures, particularly *te reo Māori*. In Catholic *Māori* Boarding schools such as Hato Hohepa and Hato Paora, *te reo Māori* is spoken and taught at varying degrees. *Māori* education resources are also available for teachers to implement alongside English language subjects in Catholic primary schools, and *te reo Māori* is offered as an elective subject at secondary school NCEA Levels 1, 2, and 3.

Participants also were critical about how the education system in Aotearoa New Zealand had adopted deliberate policies and pedagogical practices to burden the structural integrity of the *Māori* society. *Yoda* stated that ***“I went through a school system that was separatist and segregated ... I was not allowed to learn my language at school. I was not allowed to speak my language at school. Couldn’t be more separatist more segregationist than that. I finished school being taught away from being a Māori ... Imagine what Pākehā people or parents would do if their mother tongue was substituted for Māori do you think they’d sit back and not jump up and down.”***

Sachè stated, ***“I went to Northland College ... I didn’t get to go to Catholic boarding school ... but yes, us Māori Catholic kids were required to act like the Pākehā Catholics, so we did ... It was easier to say nothing and follow what they did to avoid getting into trouble.”***

Participants who attended Catholic *Māori* schools reported how they were encouraged to learn and use *te reo Māori*, and to familiarise themselves with the many other facets of their *Māori* culture – weaving and *tāniko*, *kapa haka*, *poi*, *whaikōrero*, *waiata*, and sports games. *Maz* shared how the things she had learnt from her grandmother, such as *tāniko* and weaving, were a formal part of the school curriculum at the convent: ***“These Irish nuns the taught us how to weave and make tāniko.***

They had learnt these skills while moving around the communities Panguru, Mitimiti and those places in the Hokianga. She told me she felt it was her duty to pass it on to us.”

Other participants reported how attending a Catholic Māori Boarding school for their secondary education taught them things about who they were as *Māori*. Han stated, *“I never really picked up Māori until I went to boarding school ... Te reo Māori was an essential part of the curriculum ... By the time I came out of it ... I was able to whaikōrero and understand a lot of what was going on around me at home, down the marae and in whānau hui.”* Yoda shared a similar experience, noting that *“It wasn’t until I went to secondary school that I started to realise that I was a Māori, that should never have happened.”*

What is evident is that within the use of *te reo Māori* there exists ways of explaining the world that is distinctly *Māori*. Many of the participants reported that the priests, nuns, sisters, brothers, and school rectors of Catholic Māori Boarding schools understood this, and the need to teach the differing functional forms of *te reo Māori*, with distinctive *kōrero* for ritual purposes such as *pōwhiri* and *karakia*. The following *Māori* proverb articulates the pivotal part of *te reo Māori*:

Ko te pūtake o te Māoritanga ko te reo Māori, he taonga tuku iho na ngā tūpuna. The root of Māori culture is the language, a gift from our ancestors.

At the inception of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, *Māori* struggled to be free from England, to stand firmly on their own feet, and to participate in democratic government that acknowledged the status of *Māori* as *tangata whenua* and pivotal role of *te reo Māori*. Despite opening a new world of opportunity by operating using only the English language, the national schooling system weaned *Māori* students from their mother tongue. Some of the prominent *Māori* leaders of that time, believed that schools operating in English only would give *Māori* an equal footing in society and

petitioned to the government to support the move of English speaking only schools. It is unfortunate that Māori Boarding schools since their inception have struggled and continue to struggle to attract funding from consecutive governments, this has led to a number of school closures including the most recent – Hato Petera in Auckland. As *Han* noted:

It was because of schools like Hato Petera, Paora, Hato Hohepa, St Stephens, Queen Vic, Turakina and those other Māori missionary boarding schools as why te reo Māori stayed alive. Most of the people who set up Kura Kaupapa schools were ex or old boys and girls of those Māori missionary boarding schools.

Pastoral Care

Pastoral care of students has always played an important part in the delivery of education in Catholic schools. The central tenets of school pastoral care from a Catholic perspective derive from the Christian-spiritual origins (Rennie, 2003 cited in Ollerenshaw & McDonald, 2006). The roots of this unique kind of pastoral care can be traced back to the Gospel of John 15:12, “Love one another as I have loved you” (cited in the New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference, 2014). Most participants reported that their Catholic education settings permeated an integration of the academic, *Māori* culture, social, and religious dimensions. These dimensions arose from the vision and mission of the *Māori* communities themselves, as *Han* noted: ***“The local community out of Fielding would come. Usually 15 or 20 of them. Most of them got to know the boys especially the kuia and kaumātua and they would help with some of the pastoral care work.”***

Han also shared how *kuia* had played a key role with helping the boys get over their homesickness.

He stated:

Some of us were just too homesick at times, especially the new ones. The school used to have an old kuia who used to come out and comfort us, spend time with us during the day. I can remember I struggled a bit been only 11 years of age, because she went

to school with my mum at St Joseph's at the same time I went and spent a couple of weekends with them to get over my homesickness, so she, Mrs Lawton had a huge influence in my pastoral care and getting used to being Catholic and being away at boarding school.

Maz identified the teaching of social and co-operative skills as being an integral part of the school curriculum and remembered that when she first arrived at the convent “*the nuns were teaching the kids how to do tāniko and weaving. I thought that was interesting ... I was not very well at the convent, because I wasn't eating, the nuns used to let me stay inside and read and that's where I found my love for reading.*” *Maz* also noted the immaculate teaching skills and depth of knowledge of the nuns, especially around *Māori* arts and crafts:

These Pākehā women were able to do those types of things ... Sister Rita told us that she had learnt these skills from kuia over in Hokianga ... So you know they were very switched on women in relation to religious folk lore and Māori culture, you would never think they would do that for children, so they must have thought a lot about us. They [nuns] were really good, they had good perceptions about the kids ... they tried their best to keep them out of harm's way.

Sabè reported a similar experience:

So many things happened, some of the good things to come out of the convent were that we were exposed to these white Pākehā women who were experts at teaching Māori stuff like tāniko and how to weave baskets, making pois, how to sing in a group ... they were amazing women, but there was a whole mile of abuse ...

Luke reflected on how *Pākehā* dominated the pastoral care space in one of his secondary Catholic education settings:

There were pastoral care staff. I think we were expected to be supported as Catholics rather than as Māori. The Pākehā staff in charge including our deans had no understanding on how to provide pastoral care, no clue about Māori pastoral care.

In earlier times, *Māori* parishioners sent their children to the local Catholic schools, and *whānau* were closely connected to the parish. However, in the last couple of decades, the Roman Catholic Church of Aotearoa New Zealand and its schools have been caught up in the social, economic and cultural transformations of the world. *Sabè* shared a similar view, noting that:

The Catholic church is no longer the power-house it once was in our Māori communities and in the general scope of society ... The number of priests and religious clergy are diminishing and the place of parish life especially for our younger generations is no longer as important as it was when our parents and grandparents were alive.

School Culture

A school's culture should reflect the ethnic cultures of the students within the school community (Cohen & Manion, 1983). Catholic schools are required, where possible, to endeavour to make all students feel welcomed (New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference, 2014). It is noted that each Catholic school will have its own school-wide practices that reflect its unique communities (New Zealand Catholic Education Office, 2020). Participants reported that the school culture of their *Pākehā* Catholic schools was very much influenced by dominant monocultural practices. *R2D2* for example, asked *"Why were we [Māori] being taught, educated to be someone we could never be ... We could never be Pākehā because we were born Māori ... the interesting bit is they [Pākehā] are still trying to teach our Māori children to be something else other than Māori."* Some participants reported how their parents were reluctant to encourage them to speak *Māori* out of fear they (students) would be punished. For *Yoda*, *"Mum and dad talked to each other in te reo ... They would talk to my aunties and uncles in te reo, but they were clear that we were to learn Pākehā at school and talk back to them in Pākehā."* *Luke* reported that, despite the monocultural practices embedded in *Pākehā* Catholic secondary schools, he was fascinated by the way that the school managed the multiple cultures. He shared:]

I attended ... College ... in Auckland ... it was actually quite multicultural. There was a diverse range of cultures ranging from Filipinos to Pasifika, to Māori and to Europeans. It was quite an interesting educational experience I had ... because it showed me that you can actually have multiple cultures that respect each other ...

Good relationships between school rectors and principals and their students can sometimes be difficult to achieve. However, participants acknowledged that their school rectors and principals Catholicity and understanding of how the Catholic Church came about in Aotearoa New Zealand had played a key role in the whole school approach to accepting the place of *Māori* culture in the school. *Luke* remembered that:

The principal at the time ... he was a staunch Catholic educationalist, he believed that in valuing the cultures of all of his students and their whānau background the students could then create a whānau for Marcellin. He was quite strict and orderly, didn't muck around, he didn't tolerate bullying in the school, but he did believe in healing. He was really inspirational. He told us at my interview that he believed Māori had a significant role to play in the delivery of education in the Catholic Church. He said, the longer they leave it, the worst it will get for them not for us.

Participants who attended Catholic Māori Boarding schools reported that the monocultural practices were based on social teaching principles derived from Catholic doctrine. Reflecting on how his life suddenly changed when he attended boarding school, *Han* recalled that:

Life ramped up once I got to boarding school where we had church everyday up at 6:30 in the morning off to church. Prayers before everything we did class, grace, Benediction at night and on holy days. We did a number of things around Bible activities...It certainly did a lot to shape both my Catholic Church life and identity and me being able to identify as Māori...We were all right into the Catholic Church from the day we got off the bus and walked into the place.

Han remembered how the clergy had played a significant role in the school culture, including the teaching of *te reo Māori*. He also recalled that:

Eight priests and three brothers were not only our teachers but took care of most of our pastoral needs. Part of the school culture was Māori language was compulsory, so that was interesting. The priests were fluent speakers, all of them even the brothers could speak fluent Māori. I learnt to speak Māori at the same time learning Latin because at the time in 1962 till 1966 the Mass was still all in Latin. Learning Māori and Latin alongside each other proved helpful for me in a positive way, especially on the way I approached the English language.

Sabè reported how the school culture at the convent she attended was strict and orderly:

We were taught by nuns, the school culture was managed by these women and you were disciplined in ways to make sure you understood the school culture if you know what I mean. They [nuns] didn't have time for children who were lagging back. I was constantly reminded that I was responsible for my younger siblings because I was the oldest. It was hard, I had issues with my eyes. They [nuns] didn't seem to care about that. When I left the Convent I could do pois, sing Māori songs, we knew a couple of kids hakas, and we knew stick games and stuff like that had been taught to us.

Maz reported a similar experience, having also been taught by the nuns:

Before you went to morning prayers you got up and you got dressed and then you went to Mass. After Mass we had breakfast and then you had more prayers, and at 10 o'clock everything stopped, and you did the Angelus. Then you went down to the refectory and you had prayers again before lunch and at 4 o'clock you did the same thing all over again. So, those rituals were quite strict. And in the evening, we would have Mass and prayers in the church. On Saturday's we helped the nuns clean the church, do the flowers, clean the brass, all that sort of stuff ... I wouldn't say it was the most joyful time of my life. I was skinny, I was sickly there...It was not the happiest time of my life; it was prayer, prayer, prayer, church, Mass and you became attune to it.

Looking back at the school culture at her non-Catholic secondary school, *Sachè* remembered the Catholic children being separated from the non-Catholic during school assembly and bible studies:

When I went to college, the Catholics were always separated out of the assembly. We had to go around the corner and do our morning prayers, because the main assembly did their morning prayers ... The Catholics were always asked to leave the assembly

and we went off and did our thing. Nobody questioned it, you just did as you were told ... it was our morning routine every morning at school assembly. We would take turns to listen out for the main assembly to finish their prayers and then we would go back and join in for the rest of the assembly.

By and large the Catholic Māori Boarding schools enjoyed close and productive links with *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*, pioneered the teaching of *Māori* and were champions of culture – at least those aspects that did not conflict with Christian values of principles (Lawton, 1996). Most participants reported that their Catholic Māori Boarding schools had sound Catholic religious training with *Māori* needs being met. Nonetheless, participants reported that there was something critically wrong with the entire education system during their schooling years, from the early 1950s to the late 1990s, when it came to educating *Māori* children. Participants reported that the Catholic schools deliberately sought to introduce their students to their new surroundings as quickly as possible. This included prioritising students learning in the Catholic faith and referencing *Māori* customs and culture to paganism.

5.7 Summary of Findings

This chapter provides a brief overview of the approach and framework used to analyse the data, and themes analysed through the theoretical framework, the literature, and participants data to answer the central and subsidiary research questions. The themes were grouped under three main sections: *Ko wai ōku tūhononga?* (Who am I connected to?), *He aha ngā wheako ō tōku Hāhi?* (What are my church-going experiences?), and *He aha ngā wheako ō tōku kura?* (What are my school experiences?).

Under *Ko wai ōku tūhononga?* (Who am I connected to?): *tino rangatiratanga*, *he pononga ahau*, cultural distance and isolation, and cultural relations influenced the participants' informal

and formal relationships in both their cultural and Catholic nexus. This theme explored the complexity of these informal and formal relationships, specifically in response to the participants' respective cultural and Catholic nexus. Many of the relationships between *Māori* and between *Māori* and the Catholic Church seem to be determined by powerful colonial discourses and will be more fully described and analysed in the following discussion chapter. Participants spoke of the tension they experienced between cultural accountabilities and religious accountabilities, although these were not always seen as mutually exclusive. However, participants noted that sometimes these accountabilities were conflicting.

Clergy, *whānau* culture, a sense of belonging, and elitism emerged as themes grouped under, *He aha ngā wheako o tōku Hāhi?* (What are my church-going experiences?). The clergy section specifically related to how or if the clergy supported the participant to participate fully in the Catholic Church. Participants reported how their *whānau* placed a high value on clergy, and specifically indicated valuing those clergy and school rectors who spoke and valued *te reo Māori*. All participants shared that their mother or mother figure (aunty or grandmother) was involved primarily in their church going experience whereas their fathers (if present) were involved only minimally. This made participants feel comfortable, and more readily able to trust the clergy. In addition, the *Māori* knowledge that clergy provided to the day-to-day teaching and learning was invaluable. All participants were third and fourth generation Catholics, whose parents possessed the knowledge and “know how” to witness the effects of Christianity on *Māori* society at the time.

Whānau support, language barriers, pastoral care, and school culture were the main themes under *He aha ngā wheako o tōku kura?* (What are my school experiences?). School experience referred to the participants' progression through their education and how their *whānau* culture had influenced their experience. Participants had commented that although their *whānau* did not have

the knowledge to support them in navigating the school environment, there was an ‘expectation to do well’. For some participants, having such an expectation that was whānau driven was enough of a motivation. The participants’ backgrounds and language played a major role in their primary and secondary schooling education. The majority of participants identified and discussed language barriers, both for themselves and their parents. In general, the participants had struggled to adjust to the Catholic school environment and feel a sense of belonging.

It is evident from the participants data that Catholic education did make a positive contribution to the participants’ lives. It is also evident that the Catholic education system was not designed to provide *Māori* parents, *Māori* grandparents, or *Māori whānau* with the time, guidance, encouragement, and sharing of knowledge needed to navigate the Catholic education environment successfully.

The next chapter discusses the findings from the analysis with references to *Te Ao Māori*, as well as various literature on case studies and research undertaken in the Catholic education context in Aotearoa New Zealand. In addition, a discussion on the juxtaposition between government legislation and *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* is also provided.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

“The purpose of a narrative is to give meaning to the world, not to describe it scientifically. The measure of a narrative’s ‘truth’ or ‘falsity’ is in its consequences: Does it provide people with a sense of personal identity, a sense of a community life, a basis for moral conduct, explanations of that which cannot be known?” (Postman, 1995, p. 7).

For many *Māori* Catholic,

... there has been a play of two key narratives within the context of their lives; two seemingly contradictory traditions, Catholicism and Māoritanga ... it is apparent that the purpose of each of these narratives has been to give meaning ... each of these narratives provides ... a sense of personal identity - a sense of community and a basis for moral conduct. (Connor, 2006, p.166)

Participants in this study have offered rich and unique raw data allowing considerable insight into the educational and cultural experiences of *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context. Whilst I have chosen to make numerous references to literature from the previous chapters, it is seen as an opportunity to provide the reader and audience with distinct but complex links between existing literature and the findings of this study.

6.1 Theme Summary

The purpose of this chapter is to organise and report data in an effective and meaningful way. Themes and associated meanings have been constructed within the interplay of context and theory, with the social and political nature of knowledge production, both recognised and confronted. Thematic organising, clustering around three main sections specific to the research questions, facilitated preliminary analysis - *Ko wai ōku tūhononga? He aha ngā wheako ō tōku Hāhi? He*

aha ngā wheako o tōku kura? Under *Ko wai ōku tūhononga, tino rangatiratanga, he pononga au*, cultural relations, cultural distance, and isolation have emerged as the major themes. Clergy, whānau culture and background, a sense of belonging, and elitism have emerged as key themes under *He aha ngā wheako o tōku Hāhi?* The major themes under *He aha ngā wheako o tōku kura?* were whānau involvement in the participants schooling, language barriers, pastoral care, and school culture.

6.2 What are the experiences of Māori in the Catholic education context?

The motivation to pursue this study is to investigate the experiences of *Māori* who participated in the Catholic education context. Arguably, this context is determined in fundamental ways by Roman Catholic canon law and doctrine, although some Catholic educational settings accommodate bi-cultural processes more fully than others (Matthews, 2006; Pulham, 2014). National settings clearly do not. It is also evident that without specific provision in the *PSCI Act* of 1975, along with a commitment from the Church to accommodate *Māori* participation, *Māori* presence across the Catholic education system is much less likely because current policies and practices has proved to be, thus far, an ineffective way to facilitate *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context.

What is apparent in this study is that bicultural awareness has emerged over time, with participants reporting variable degrees of cultural recognition and support in their intra-action processes. While some non- *Māori* parishioners, clergy, school staff, principals, diocese staff, and administration were viewed as being more receptive to *Māori* participation concerns, others were not. Many instances were reported where, after challenge and confrontation by *Māori*, support and recognition was then forthcoming. Collectively, participants report that *Māori* Catholic experiences introduced a different voice, and it was this voice that was the catalyst for challenging the status quo. All

participants felt, despite improvements in *Māori* participation in education being difficult to measure, that their educational experiences offered some insight into the context of Catholic education and education in general.

The empirical nature of this study, in combination with existing theoretical approaches, has allowed for fresh insights that arise out of the entire study, rather than being restricted to the exploration of a single theme. First, prior to this study, the nature of New Zealand's Catholic education system under the *PSCI Act (1975)* was presumed to be relatively straight forward, in that, references of Te Tiriti o Waitangi under the *Education Act 1989* acknowledging *Māori* participation were sufficient. Participants' experiences, in light of postcolonial theoretical interpretations, require a reconsideration of this assumption. For example, the place of anger as a vector for systemic change is one of these insights. Second, the research objective to explore the sources of the intra-action tensions, challenges, and issues inherent in the Catholic education context is discussed using a postcolonial lens. Third, while the place of *Māori* participation in Catholic Church has emerged from a historical place of anger, struggle, and resistance their presence now offers an opportunity that non-*Māori* leaders in the Catholic Church have yet to fully embrace and comprehend. Using the tools of postcolonial theory and critique the focus is then turned towards the coloniser and the deficit thinking in *Pākehā* knowledge is examined before, as Smith (2003) argues, transformative possibilities can be proposed.

The interaction between the theoretical underpinnings of this study prior to data collection and the thematic analysis based on participants' perceptions, interpretations, meanings, and beliefs has invited previously unforeseen connections with additional literature. This additional literature has offered tools with which to interpret, articulate, and understand a new theoretical/empirical interplay with implications for the Catholic education context.

Māori Participation and the Catholic Education Context

Catholics are required to participate, function, and perform as Catholics. The education literature derived from both *Māori* education research and Catholic education paradigms, therefore, informs and supplements this discussion of *Māori* participation experiences.

Participants' educational experiences in the Catholic education context resonate with *Māori* education research literature in a number of ways: concerns with information asymmetry, a lack of sensitivity and sensibility towards the cultural background and experiences of *Māori* students, language barriers, a lack of recognition about the role of *whānau* support and involvement in students' education, limited *Māori* representation and control over strategic implementation, limited *Māori* education staff, and so on.

For the purposes of this discussion these experiences are categorised broadly into either agency or non-agency concerns. Agency concerns, in particular state sector accountability, will be discussed below in the State Administration section. For example, agency concerns around representing *Māori* education participation as *Māori* on one hand and representing Catholic education participation as a Catholic on the other stands out.

The intention to make Catholic education accessible to everyone has not been reflected fully within the Catholic Church hierarchy. These consistent education experiences are analysed in relation to State Administration. Given the call from participants – namely those from the *Māori* Catholic community – to generate more first order data descriptions and explanations, the utility of a Catholic education approach for *Māori* is critiqued.

6.3 State Administration, Tomorrow's Schools, and Agency

The introduction of the *Tomorrow's Schools* (1988) policy into the New Zealand education sector brought with it specific administration accountabilities, accountabilities that were more in keeping with those of the business world. Despite the introduction of State-led administration language and principles, *Māori* educational research and State-integrated educational research have not benefitted from extant business administration type education research. Those involved in researching *Māori* education participants and participation offer multi-theoretical challenges to the business administration type education research. In particular these scholars note that student educational participation and performance cannot be adequately inferred by second-order data involving simple input-output measurements. Instead, they propose that intra-action processes be a focal point of study. *Māori* education participant research in State-integrated education invites a broader sociological engagement. Participants' experiences of intra-action processes in this study can enrich our understanding of the overall administration of our State education system in Aotearoa New Zealand and, in particular, the Catholic education context.

Some of the negative experiences that participants reported can in part be explained by the limited engagement of State educational administration research with State-Integrated education research, essentially aligning with the economic and legal paradigm. State administered schooling, with its uncritical adoption of economic constructs, is underpinned by an input/output model of student performance:

Education in terms of a production function where certain factors and influences go in, and products of interest come out. This production function or "input-output" approach is the model behind much of the analysis of the economics of education. (Moore, Blick & Davies, 2015, p. 6)

Moore et al. (2015), however, do point out that over the past decade, concerns have arisen regarding the pattern of educational achievement in Aotearoa New Zealand, in particular regarding the relatively poor performance of *Māori* students. The state education system has not been appropriately calibrated to support the achievement of *Māori* (New Zealand Treasury, 2011) and the State sector administration does not adequately accommodate these changes (Graham, 2003). This has created additional tensions for those *Māori* students in state-integrated schools, particularly given that low attainment, as identified by the New Zealand Treasury (2011) and Ministry of Education (2014), was not confined to a few schools serving relatively disadvantaged communities but is widely distributed across schools. Most of the participants in this study report that the Catholic education context, in particular for *Māori*, is an unwelcoming space for participation. The NZCBC (2014), in a comprehensive report about the Catholic education system, concludes that:

Barriers to access a Catholic education may be more than geographical or financial. If they are to be truly accessible to all Catholic children, their communities must feel that the school is ‘their place’. The first Catholic school in New Zealand were for Māori, and there is an ongoing obligation to determine whether there are barriers (tangible and intangible) to access to Catholic schools for Māori families, and whether Catholic schools are places where they feel at home. (para.100, p.21)

In addition to geographical and financial barriers to accessing Catholic education, *Māori* face additional barriers to making Catholic education accessible to other *Māori whānau* as members of the Church. Despite the Catholic Church’s desire to make Catholic education accessible to all, Catholic schools are restricted in their ability to offer such an aspiration because of State sector and Church regulatory mechanisms (O’Donnell, 2000).

Participants report frustration and disappointment in attempting to meet conflicting demands between participation goals as a treaty partner and the regulatory demands as a Catholic. In addition, as treaty partners *Māori* experience acute conflict with accountability because the distribution and allocation of state funding and resources towards *Māori* education participation is inextricably and simultaneously entwined with neo-colonial forces of benevolence and resentment.

As one commentator on *Māori* education partnership (2003) points out:

The lack of power that the Treaty exercises in school charter frameworks, and the lack of Treaty knowledge in school communities have all served to widen the gaps and subvert partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities ... since the implementation of the Tomorrow's Schools educational reforms ... partnership relationships between schools and their Māori communities have been left to develop in an ad hoc fashion. (Graham, 2003, p.8)

Graham points to the underlying tension between conflicting *Māori* and *Pākehā* conceptions of biculturalism that have so problematically plagued *Māori* participation across the education sector.

6.4 The New Zealand Curriculum, the Treaty of Waitangi Principle, and the Bicultural Foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand

Pulham (2014) notes that power relationships between *Māori* and their state-integrated Catholic schools are critical foundations for biculturalism. Pulham goes further in saying that with increased *Māori* participation in Catholic education there are additional power considerations such as ethnicity, indigeneity, and colonisation. *Māori* scholars point to the fundamental forces - those of colonization - that have so problematically influenced contemporary *Māori* participation in education (Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1990, 1997, Walker, 1995). Appleby (2002) points to the ways in which neo-colonial forces have perpetuated the problematisation of state sector accountability for *Māori*. Appleby (2002) argues that the *Tomorrow's Schools* model of educational administration has conceived of accountability as a linear and hierarchical process, thereby overlooking the

opportunity for accountability “to *Māori* collectively” (p. 110). Participants in this study reported that *Māori* accountabilities in our education context are often determined by the State with very little recognition of the *Māori* educational experience.

This study illustrates multiple ways in which the neo-colonial agenda for education participation affects *Māori* stakeholder legitimacy. Smith (1998), in *Decolonizing Methodologies*, notes the indigenous participation struggle in education:

There is a very rich history of research which attempts to legitimate views about indigenous peoples which have been antagonistic and dehumanizing. Discussions around the concept of intelligence, on discipline, or on factors that contribute to achievement depend heavily on the notions about the Other. The organisation of school knowledge, the hidden curriculum and the representation of difference in texts and school practices all contain discourses which have serious implications for indigenous students. (Smith, 1998, p.1 1)

Despite, at first reading, the *New Zealand Curriculum* (2007) acknowledging the principles of the *Treaty of Waitangi* and the bicultural foundations of Aotearoa New Zealand, many school leaders and teachers are finding the *Treaty of Waitangi* principles challenging to implement (Education Review Office, 2011). This contributed to a sense of mounting frustration, tokenism, and powerlessness with the entire interpretation of the *Treaty of Waitangi* principles and implementation process (Education Review Office, 2011). A lack of transparency with the interpretation of the *Treaty of Waitangi* principles and, implementation process continues to hinder *Māori* educational participation and achievement in the education sector. Contrary to what was generally accepted by *Māori* Catholics themselves and by other Catholics, including schools, teachers, and church administration, representation of the *Māori* education experience in the Catholic education context was at the behest of the Catholic Church leaders and not an absolute duty on the part of the government. The inclusion of the state’s best endeavours to engage with

Māori students, parents, and *whānau* may imply, where consultation with local the *Māori* community was lacking, that there was an unwillingness from *Māori* to participate. It is not possible to adequately frame participants' experiences of frustration, tokenism, and powerlessness without also adequately acknowledging the socio-political antecedents of such legislative moves. Veracini (2001) has identified and isolated a period which he describes as marking the 'historiographical revolution' in the portrayal of New Zealand's history:

In the rapid social and political change which engulfed New Zealand from the late 1960s and which peaked in the 1980s, the most prominent and immediate factor stimulating historical research and history rewriting has been the political and public attention paid to race relations; in particular, to what is sometimes referred to as the 'Waitangi process', the overall process of legal, social, ethical and constitutional upgrading of the Treaty of Waitangi. (Veracini, 2001, pp. 2-3)

By the end of the 1980s, Veracini (2001) claims that historians had begun to re-write the former hegemonic colonial discourses of benevolent colonisers, whereby ignorant and undeveloped *Māori* 'savages' somehow were 'rescued' and now began to embrace a "fully-fledged historical revisionist interpretation to fill the gap that recent rejections of traditional historical images had created" (p. 4). Historians, in this revisionist interpretation, not only included *Māori* writings of *Māori* civilisation but also *Māori* accounts of colonial malevolence. The Waitangi process served, and continues to serve, as a conduit for significant *Māori* empowerment and legislative change, assisted in part by the *Māori Language Act, 1984* and the *Education Act, 1989*. In Veracini's (2001) research into the Waitangi process and subsequent legislative changes, *Māori/Pākehā* relations is an important feature in determining *Māori* participation and consequently the intra-action process.

Tauri (1996, 1998, 2005) and other *Māori* politico-legal commentators (Jackson, 1995; Maaka & Fleras, 2005; Webb, 2003) have questioned whether state sector legislative progress with

Māori/Pākehā relations has in fact been adequate. Tauri (1998), in tracking “the token nature of the government’s indigenisation programme during the 1980s”, reported that the program reflected the state’s bicultural experiment which largely concentrated on a variety of ‘cultural sensitivity’ exercises with no room for organisational accommodation (p. 173). With no substantive organisational accommodation, the state had full control over the way in which *Māori* culture and philosophy would be included or not. Tauri argued that only superficial *Māori* cultural practice and philosophy were adopted by the State in order to draw attention away from critical questions and concerns expressed by *Māori* (Tauri, 1996b). Tauri (2005) concluded that this strategy had served to undermine any professed attempt to offer *Māori* true autonomy or control. To date, *Māori* continue to be co-opted to simply participate in *Pākehā* processes.

The inability of the *Education Act, 1989* and the *PSCI Act, 1975*, to consistently provide for *Māori* participation recognition in state-integrated education - namely, the Catholic education context - fuels allegations of tokenism. Recognition of *Māori* participation across our state education sector is still firmly in the hands of the Minister of Education despite legislative provisions. Furthermore, the lack of cultural accommodation at regional and central government and administration levels within the Catholic education context belies the notion of biculturalism, a truly inclusive State education sector and Treaty expectation, and instead supports Tauri’s (2005) claim about the co-option of *Māori* into *Pākehā* processes.

Participants note that the idea of partnership between *Māori* and the Catholic Church was enshrined in the *Treaty of Waitangi* (Article 4). The introduction of the policy of ‘biculturalism’ into the education arena was a *Māori* response to the policy of ‘multiculturalism’ and to the Pākehā ‘one people’ egalitarian ideology (Walker, 1986, p. 2). It is interesting to note that, while *Māori* Catholics have had to be bicultural - that is to operate competently in both *Te Ao Māori* and *Te Ao*

Katorika - *Pākehā* Catholics have not. Aspirations of biculturalism in the Catholic Church was, in practice, an attempt to educate *Pākehā* Catholic about *Māori* culture but it did nothing to promote the educational advancement of *Māori* Catholic children nor address the wider structural inequalities with the Catholic education context.

6.5 Anger as a Vector for Systemic Change

The importance of a legislative move to potentially recognise *Māori* language, culture, and participation in education should not be diminished, nor should it be considered adequate. The nature of postcolonial theory and critique, and *Kaupapa Māori*, informs us that legislative moves to address colonial injustices in *Aotearoa* New Zealand are still within the confines of a colonial relationship. In his more specialised works - *The Political Development of the Māori People in New Zealand* (1984), *The Meaning of Biculturalism* (1986), *History of Māori Activism* (1983), *Perceptions and Attitudes of the New Generation of Māoris to Pākehā Domination* (1981), *Liberating Māori from Educational Subjection* (1991), and *Ngā Mamae o te Iwi Māori* (1987), as well as a collection of his finest columns - *Ngā Tau Tohetohe* (1987) – along with his book - *Ka whawhai tonu matou - Struggle without end* (1990), *Māori* scholar Ranginui Walker tracks the emergence of the *Māori* resistance as “an underground expression of rising political consciousness” (p. 210). As Walker (1990) points out, the *Māori* struggle for socio-political recognition across the multiple sites of education, health, development, justice, and government policy provided a platform for *Māori* resistance and re-action. In addressing the existence and potential of anger as a driving legislative force in *Aotearoa* New Zealand, Lane West-Newman (2004) writes that:

[The] Law is the focal point for the engagement of anger in the politics of decolonization. Once a significant mechanism for colonization, it now mediates possibilities of material decolonization and even restoration of submerged (but never lost) languages and cultural

practices. Because the majority do not easily give up their material and intellectual dominance, this is a process of contestation; and in that process the two sides approach law very differently. (p. 191)

According to Walker (1990), very little has been conceded to *Māori* without ongoing struggle, protest, and anger. Other *Māori* commentators have argued that, despite increased recognition over time, the legal recognition has always been reactive, not proactive (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). In defining the use of reactive and proactive strategies associated with the legal recognition of *Māori* participation, Penehira, Green, Smith and Aspin (2014) draw upon the practical, political, and sovereignty contexts:

Unfortunately, the basis for Māori inclusion in policy making is underpinned by State principles of participatory, democracy, citizenship and social inclusion, rather than recognition of Māori self-determination (Humpage, 2006). The ‘reactive’ strategy available to Māori is to take part in State-led consultation processes when social policies are being planned or finetuned for implementation. The results have been disappointing, despite Māori repeatedly seeking opportunities to engage in proactive policy making strategies. (Penehira, Green, Smith & Aspin, 2014, p. 104)

Barrett and Connolly-Stone (1998) argue that government always has a choice – it can choose either to ignore the issues or take a proactive stance and consult openly with *Māori* about their aspirations. Although participants in this study report that the legislative move for schools to consult with *Māori* communities is significant and positive, most participants remained frustrated with the lack of transparency and certainty in the requirement. The *Education Act, 1989* sets out to make sure that everyone in the New Zealand education system is aware of, and meets their legal responsibilities under the education legislation, and is administered by the Ministry of Education. The Act also institutes some of the government’s major education reforms, including key aspects of *Tomorrow’s Schools*, and ensures that schools give better effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Part 7 section 60 (1) c (ii) of the *Education Act, 1989* states that:

- (c) [school] board requirements relating to schools' consultation with parents, staff, school proprietors (in the case of integrated schools) and school communities, and the broad requirements to ensure that boards take all reasonable steps to discover and consider the views and concerns of Māori communities living in the geographical area the school serves, in the development of the school charter.

Part 7 section 61 (3) of the *Education Act, 1989* also states:

A school charter must contain a section that includes –

- (i) the aim of developing, for the school, policies and practices that reflect New Zealand's cultural diversity and the unique position of Māori culture, and
- (ii) the aim of ensuring that all reasonable steps are taken to provide instruction in tikanga Māori (Māori culture) and te reo Māori (the Māori language) for full-time students whose parents ask for it.

Accordingly, the *Education Act, 1989* requires school boards and school proprietors to take all reasonable steps to discover and consider the views and concerns of **Māori** communities living in the geographical area served by the school. Furthermore, school charters must recognise the importance of **Māori** culture, and instruction must be provided for **tikanga Māori** and **te reo Māori** for those pupils whose parents request it. However, there is no absolute duty on the Crown to also enforce collaboration between **Māori** and the Catholic Church in the decision-making processes.

For Catholic schools (in the case of state integrated schools), the *Education Act, 1989*, contains references to the provisions of state integrated schools in Part 33, sections 416 and 417. Section 416 outlines the objectives of the Crown and states that, “on integration a state integrated school becomes part of the state system of education in New Zealand” and section 417 specifies that the conditional integration provisions of the Act shall apply to the special character needs of the schools. The *PSCI Act, 1975*, contains no reference to **Māori** needs or aspirations. However, Part 1 Section 4 of the *PSCI Act* states that an integrated school is subject to all the provisions and

regulations made under the *Education Act, 1989*. Despite its one size fits all approach, the administration of the *Education Act, 1989* lacks consistency in its monitoring of provisions for *Māori* participation across State-Integrated educational settings. Barrett and Connolly-Stone (1998) point out that the *Education Act, 1989*, avoids establishing Treaty-based rights in the education sector that could serve as a basis for subsequent litigation.

Participants in this study report that an important distinction needs to be made between *Māori* education needs and *Māori* education rights in the Catholic education context. To date the dominant discourse in Catholic education has been concerned with how best to address the particular education needs of young Catholics. The application of Article 2 of the Treaty to Catholic education would change the discourse from one of needs to one of *Māori* rights to Catholic education, thereby creating a legal obligation and fiscal risk for both the government and Catholic Church. Fleras and Maaka (1998) point out that *Māori-Pākehā* discourses around principles of engagement need to be re-calibrated. In describing the government's approach to Treaty issues, Barrett and Connolly-Stone (1998) state that:

[The] Government has a choice to ignore the issues or take a proactive stance and consult openly with Māori about their aspirations ... The Treaty above all else envisages a relationship of openness and goodwill between two peoples who have agreed that the interests of both are strengthened by partnership. (p. 14)

Barrett and Connolly-Stone point to the lack of clarity and consistency in the approaches that have been adopted by successive governments to lead and to engage in an open dialogue with Māori about social policy objectives that have positioned contemporary *Māori* participation in the education sector so problematically.

To date, it appears that legislative measures to potentially include recognition of *Māori* participation in the education sector do not guarantee the same recognition for *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context.

Various theoretical analyses of our country's neo-colonial history (Anaru, 2011; Bray, 1993; Pihama et al., 2014) offer insight into the limitations of the legislative process to redistribute colonial power in relation to *Māori* as Treaty partners so as to enable *Māori* participation in Catholic education governance and administration at regional and central levels. The *Education Act, 1989* Part 7 Sections 60 and 61, and Part 33 Sections 416 and 417 do not extend to adequate consultation over recognising *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context.

6.6 Intra-action, Agential Realist and Participation

This study has explored the participants' educational experiences as whole (sacramental programmes and school experiences) and how their *Māori* background influenced their experience.

Stereotyping, elitism, racism, and lack of opportunity are persistent issues that *Māori* Catholic students are navigating every day in their fight to do right and advance themselves and their *whānau* in the Catholic education context – “*ka whawhai tonu mātou.*” The discussion that follows focuses on the application of intra-action and agential reality by focusing on participants' experiences with stereotyping, elitism, systemic, and institutional racism within the Catholic education context. Intra-action, in this instance, signifies that the object of *Māori* knowledge cannot be separated from the way, the practice, or the phenomenon that makes it known whereas agential reality explains the practices of phenomena that creates our knowledge about the world (Barad, 1996). *Māori* Catholics arrive at the Catholic education context from within an already colonially determined, problematic identity and are placed in a double bind. Participants spoke of their

grassroot origins and how that contrasted so remarkably with the origins of their *Pākehā* Catholic teachers, priests, school rectors, and church leaders. From the participants' reflections the transformational opportunity to view this as a mutual constitution to intra-act is not captured. As Barad (1998) states, "when two entities intra-act, they do so in co-constitutive ways. The ability to act emerges from within the relationship not outside of it. This ability constantly changes and adapts according to processes it is involved in" (p.96). Instead, the *Māori* lived experience is mired in what *Kaupapa Māori* terms as a deficit discourse. The lack of recognition of this potential phenomenon is similar to the mainstream explanations that have exacerbated educational disparities in New Zealand (Sheriff, 2010; Thrupp, 2007), suggesting that non-participation by *Māori* in education is of their own making. Bishop (2003), in his critical introduction to the power imbalance in state education that largely favours mainstream cultural deficit explanations, describes the education experiences of *Māori* in Aotearoa New Zealand as follows:

It is the patterns of dominance and subordination and their related classroom interaction patterns that perpetuate the non-participation of many young Māori people in the benefits that the education system has to offer. Such an explanation stands in contrast to many theories promoted by mainstream educational theorists in Aotearoa/New Zealand (as elsewhere). Many of these theorists locate the problems of Māori development and educational achievement with the learners themselves. Among these are the adherents to genetic theories that suggest Māori are inherently, that is genetically pre-disposed. (p. 222)

Primarily, participants reported experiencing struggle, hostility, and frustration with the way that successive Ministers of Education and the Catholic Church continue to observe and to understand *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context. Participants reported being typecast in numerous ways, simply because they were *Māori*. Such assumptions demonstrate how a clear power imbalance, one of dominance and subordination, arise and are (or become) perpetuated in any educational context (Bishop, 2003). The double bind of apparent self-determination and

autonomy, implied by the recognition of the unique position of Māori culture, needs and aspirations, and the absence of freedom, implied by the imposition of multiple stereotyping roles – as a *Māori* and as a Catholic - constrains the unique contribution of local *Māori*.

Most, if not all, *Māori* Catholic simultaneously experience multiple (and often conflicting) role expectations, as all Catholics are reported to do. However, *Pākehā* Catholics do not face the same accountability complexities, nor the vestiges of colonialism experienced by *Māori* Catholics. Embodied in the roles ascribed to *Māori* Catholics lies the conundrum of having had to be bicultural - that is, to operate competently in both *Te Ao Māori* and *Te Ao Katorika* (the *Māori* world and the Catholic world) whereas *Pākehā* Catholics in general do not. Participants who were sent away to boarding school, “through their learning, acquired the tastes, and sampled some of the benefits and privileges” of living within the Catholic culture (Smith, 2009, p. 64). Other participants who attended predominantly mainstream day schools consistently reported feeling isolated and marginalised at school, at best the result of minority status or, at worst, the result of overt racial abuse. Participants reported being confronted with stereotypical expectations of incompetency in that Catholic schools accept and retain only the most academically able students, least likely to cause disciplinary problems (Bruno, 1985).

Participants in this study had varying educational experiences in the Catholic education context ranging from sacramental participation to day school, to *Māori* boarding school student. Virtually all participants reported being involved in sacramental programmes. Regular visits from the local parish priests helped identify them and other talented children in the whānau, who were then ‘singled out’ for more advanced education, namely at a boarding school.

6.7 The Implications of Cultural Backgrounds

A student's cultural background can positively and/or negatively affect how he/she progresses through the educational system (Bishop, 2003; MacFarlane et al., 2007; Nepe, 1991). In addition to students' own perceptions of how their background might affect their abilities, parents, teachers, clergy, school staff, and church leaders add another layer of possible assumptions and stereotypes that might lead students to be disillusioned with all levels of the Catholic education experience. *Kaupapa Māori Theory* in education can be defined as a transformative praxis, a framework that challenges the dominant discourses on race and class as it relates to education by examining how educational theory, policy, and practice subordinates *Māori* (Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1997). By utilising this framework, Catholic education policies and practices can be perceived in a different light, one that highlights how such policies and practices can affect *Māori* negatively. Bishop (2003) contends that:

It is through the reassertion of indigenous Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices ... termed *Kaupapa Māori* theory and practice (after Smith, 1997, and Smith 1999), that historical and ongoing power imbalances will be addressed. (p. 223)

At what point is enough, enough? At what point are we going to change the way that we observe *Māori* participation in education in Aotearoa New Zealand? This study provides a wealth of data demonstrating the low participation rate of *Māori* in the Catholic education context, yet it is entirely possible for the Catholic Church to set about deconstructing the systemic racist nature of its education and pastoral care programmes that are ineffectual with *Māori* students. How are teachers in the Catholic education context guided by the Catholic Church so that they create culturally relevant connections with their students? Is the Catholic Church examining the deficit nature of Catholic schooling and pastoral care in Aotearoa? Do church leaders in the context of the Catholic education sector understand that teacher effectiveness is the single greatest barrier to student

achievement (Hattie, 2012)? Are teachers in the Catholic education context reflecting critically upon, and rejecting/denouncing their own deficit perspectives of *Māori* students? Hattie's (2012) claims that the most powerful impact that teachers have on students relates to how a teacher thinks.

Bruner (1996) declares that teaching occurs, progress is evaluated, and practices are modified as “a direct reflect of the beliefs and assumptions the teacher holds about the learner” (p. 47). Conversely, as stated by Bishop (2017), our already established perceptions of others essentially serve to justify why and how we interact with them:

Our actions as teachers, parents, or whoever we are at the time, are driven by the mental images or understandings that we have of other people. For example, if we think that certain other people have deficiencies, our actions will tend to follow from this thinking and the relationship we develop will be negative and our subsequent interactions with them will tend to be negative and unproductive. (p. 2)

Creating a culturally safe Catholic education context needs a theoretical framework that critiques and analyses the detail of the *Māori*/Catholic knowledge phenomena. The Baradian explanation states that phenomena do not precede their interaction, rather, phenomena emerge through particular intra-actions (Barad, 1996). The practices of phenomena, and the details and actors in the practice of knowledge phenomena, reinforces difference in the education debate about the dominance of *Pākehā* knowledge codes and their related ‘interaction’ patterns that have influenced the participation of many young *Māori* in education in Aotearoa New Zealand. As Mikaere (1998) points out, the privileged “are blissfully unaware of the implications of what they say, of the damage that they are capable of causing” (p. 12).

Reports of social isolation were prevalent amongst the study participants. Even with the very best of intentions and the least discriminatory schools, parishes and dioceses, *Māori* in the Catholic education context still report social isolation. According to some participants, they were

characterised as aggressive, disruptive, bothersome, and defiant, misfits in the social matrix of school, parish life and their community. As one participant shared, *“I was seen as a disruptive child ... They didn’t see me as a child who needed extra support because of my ... impairment, rather they saw me as a child who was troublesome that needed to be disciplined”*. R2D2 also shared a similar experience and viewpoint stating that, *“As Māori we are seen as the aggressors, needing to be disciplined in the Pākehā way of life ... some not all treat us like that.”*

Generally, *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context was not discussed openly and participants offered various explanations for this. Speculation ranged from a nervousness, or a reluctance to engage for fear of offence, through to a conscious choice to reject any involvement.

Māori participating in the Catholic education context are additionally implicated by attempting to address disparate education and pastoral care needs whilst in an isolated and marginalised position within their own school community (that also includes their parish and diocese). This reluctance on the part of the non-*Māori* church administrators and leaders to engage in *Māori* educational participation discussion, and the consequential isolation experienced by *Māori* Catholic participating in the Catholic education, represents a fundamental organisational practice dilemma. Participants report that there is very little evidence to suggest that any form of investigation and/or accommodation of the contribution that a *Māori* world view might make to the Catholic educational practice is occurring.

Elitism in the Catholic Church

Elitism is one of two attitudes that allows abuse to thrive in the Catholic Church (Pope Francis, 2018) and indeed one that participants report as ubiquitous. Historically, the Catholic Church in Aotearoa New Zealand has worked to meet the educational needs of its members and responded to

the passage of the secular *Education Act* in 1877 by establishing its own network of spiritually, culturally, and linguistically responsive Catholic schools (O'Donnell, 2000).

However, the Catholic education landscape has changed drastically to the point where Catholic schools have become increasingly selective (Trautman, 2018), moving away from the mission of inclusion (Scanlan, 2013). In reviewing the historical sediments of elitism in the Catholic education context, Abellanosa (2020) points out that elitism is promulgated on a number of fronts:

Elitism within the [Catholic] Church is concrete in the various forms of privilege and distinctions, rooted in traditionally held theologies, culturally reinforced beliefs, and repeated practices of fame and honour. (p. 361)

These various forms of privilege and power constitute what Abellanosa (2020) refers to as 'ecclesiastical elitism' and provide a substrate upon which relational forms are perpetuated and experienced. In a discursive examination, Abellanosa (2020) discusses the feudal vestiges of elitism in the Catholic Church:

Church elitism is, in essence, the Church's self-recognition that it has a special mission that serves as a basis of its special identity. The self-notion of the Catholic Church is practically wrapped with so much elitism, most notably the claim that 'outside the Church there is no salvation.' This corporate identity, a branding if you may, at the onset gives the feeling of privilege and thus power. Within this privileged body of believers, however, is a more privileged group of individuals who are not only tasked with a special mission but also special powers to accomplish them. (p. 368)

The term elitism was also mentioned by some participants in this study to reflect what they considered to be a prevailing covert and overt discourse. Although elitism in the Catholic Church is not a widely debated topic, the findings in this study and other research referenced in this thesis confirms that it is still present in the Church.

Institutional Racism

In examining the invisible nature of institutional racism, Walker (1986) explains that “members of the dominant group were often unaware of its origins or its function in maintaining a structure of *Pākehā* domination and *Māori* subordination” (p. 94). The findings from the interviews with participants also highlight the invisible nature of institutional racism, giving expression to *Māori* educational participation experiences and responses that are specific to the Catholic education context of Aotearoa New Zealand. A Ministry of Education (2001) discussion paper on *Māori* educational participation confirmed that:

There is no doubt that Māori students face a certain amount of discrimination in schools, mainly in the form of teacher or school discrimination and racism from other students ... Teachers need to reflect on their own racial attitudes if they are to provide supportive learning environments for students. (p. 16)

Participants reflected on the Catholic Church’s practice and its legal and policy frameworks that tell parishioners what it believes as a viable Catholic education in Aotearoa New Zealand and ultimately silences *Māori* experiences, histories, and worldviews. The experiences that some participants spoke about in this study are similar to those reported in other research conducted with *Māori* secondary school students in Aotearoa New Zealand (Bishop et al., 2003). Further to discussion with participants explored the ways in which discriminatory practices continued to characterise the Catholic Church’s coverage of *Māori* issues. Social justice and poverty stories were seen as being prime examples where *Māori* ethnicity is named and *Pākehā* ethnicity is silent.

6.8 How do some *Māori* Catholics perceive and understand their participation in the Catholic education context?

Historically, Catholic schools and the parish community were indivisible – schools were founded, staffed, and funded by local parishes and, to this day in Aotearoa New Zealand, Catholic schools remain under the authority of diocesan bishops (proprietors). *Maz* reflected on the current state of the church and its relationship with society and shared that, *“the church is no longer the power house it once was in our society, here in New Zealand ... the numbers of priests, sisters, nuns are declining rapidly with no one wanting to fill these positions, particularly those who are young.”* These changes have had a profound impact on the way in which *Māori* now relate to the Catholic Church and its schools in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Pākehā Deficit and the Māori Disciple

Many Maori parents desire a different educational pathway for their children. Notwithstanding this, there is little research evidence to indicate that Maori put a lower value on education than non-Maori. (Else, 1997, cited in Carpenter et al., 2001, p.175).

Primarily, participants reported experiencing some form of deficit thinking. In particular, participants reported being told that if they did not conform to the traditions of Catholicism, they were not likely to succeed in education or life. Such assumptions demonstrate how a contradictory relationship can come about and be perpetuated. Deficit thinking is often discussed here in Aotearoa New Zealand in relation to the success gap between *Māori* and non-*Māori*. Valencia (1997) explains the long history of this problematic viewpoint in education stating that:

Of the several theories that have been advanced to explicate school failure among economically disadvantaged minority students, the deficit model has held the longest currency – spanning well over a century, with roots going back even further as evidenced by the early racist discourses from the early 1600s to the late 1800s ... the deficit thinking model, at its core, is an endogenous theory – positing that the student who fails in school does so because of internal deficit or deficiencies. (p. 2)

It is easy to argue that there is a deficit in *Pākehā* knowledge, competency, and skill in matters of colonial history in Aotearoa New Zealand and of matters *Māori*. *Māori* are bicultural, *Pākehā* are not. Participants reported that their non-*Māori* parishioners held many misunderstandings about *Māori*, the colonial history, and the implications for *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context. *Māori* parishioners in their respective church communities report being called upon repeatedly in an attempt to address this knowledge deficit, to connect the causal dots of colonisation and poor *Māori* participation in education for the benefit of their *Pākehā* parishioners, and in the interests of improved *Māori-Pākehā* relationships.

In short, the expectations placed upon *Māori* Catholic parishioners to engage with non-*Māori* parishioners, clergy, church leaders, and administrators in matters of *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context were reported as extraordinarily demanding, due to the varying deficits in *Pākehā* bicultural competence and skills and also the deficit in a postcolonial understanding of contemporary education in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This research has been informed by *Kaupapa Māori* principles. In many ways *Kaupapa Māori* epistemology and methodologies challenges researchers to re-evaluate their position critically from within the academy in a way that reconstructs the binary, to gaze back sometimes with indignation or at the very least with suspicion toward the colonizer, rejecting and resenting their on-going benevolence. Bell (2004) captures this dynamic with the observation that “Māori invoke a dynamic, rather than static, cultural essence as the basis for their claims to autonomous difference and that this substantive difference is crucial to their assertion of full human agency” (p.119). In a discussion about the intellectual scrutiny of *Māori* one participant challenges the traditional view of the colonizer with the observation that:

The coloniser is no longer white. Some of our own Māori people have become the new coloniser ... it's also a form of gatekeeping, but the intentions are still the same it's all about control and power. Who can control and the power that is attached to that control? Our Māori people have become good at playing each other off against one another. They learnt that off the Pākehā.

Some participants spoke of their problematic yet essential place in their parishes. Some spoke of a sense of privilege and honour to be entrusted by the Catholic Church to speak for *Māori* at parish level and provincial level. For others there was some disquiet about the appointment process in that *Māori* engagement was determined by non-*Māori* within the Catholic Church, despite advocacy from *Māori* Catholic leaders for centralised *Māori* decision-making processes. Currently in Aotearoa New Zealand there are a number of sites in education, health, and sports where two worldviews complement or, at the very least, coexist with each other without antagonism. Durie (2011) points out that these sites function as “catalysts for transformation” (p. 343). He explains this function by stating that:

Working between two bodies of knowledge – science and indigenous knowledge – recognises that neither indigenous knowledge nor science alone provides a universal answer ... The challenge is not to dismiss either knowledge base, nor to explain one according to the tenets of the other. (p. 343)

The Catholic education context is a potential site for powerful catalysts transformation. Given that this transformational potential is not yet evident, how are *Māori* to participate and proceed? Can there be a shared belief system or is a shared belief system useful or possible? Many participants spoke of distrust and cultural distance due to experiences of racism and elitism. Many experienced intra-action processes as oppressively monocultural. **R2D2** explained and shared:

The way the Catholic Church is structured there is no place for the Māori. When there is no place for the Māori, there is no place for the Māori to discuss what's not working for Māori in the church.

Monoculturalism – My Way or the Highway

Monocultural practices is also a force at play in the Catholic education context and indeed one that participants report as ubiquitous. These monocultural practices included the deliberate use of teaching and learning practices to exclude a child's cultural background and language as they were seen by *Pākehā* educationalists, teachers, principals, and politicians as potentially limiting the educational success of *Māori* children. Historically, this view can be traced back to the nineteenth century and changed very slowly following the introduction of *Māori* arts and crafts (but not te reo *Māori*) into the primary school syllabus from the late 1920s. All participants spoke of an experience where their *Māoriness* was used to justify their behaviour and learning styles. The historical legacy of these exclusive monocultural practices in Aotearoa New Zealand has created a major social crisis which plagues the structural dysfunction that exists within *Māori whānau* (Nepe, 1991).

The Euro-centric structure of Aotearoa New Zealand was used by participants to reflect on what they considered to be a prevailing covert and overt discourse. Considerable division, debate, and opposition to the Euro-centric structure of Aotearoa New Zealand is documented within academia across multiple disciplines and is critiqued locally (Smith, 1999; Walker, 1985), and particularly within education (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1991, 1997). Henderson (2013) argues that “those unmotivated to engage in cross-cultural experiences often remain unaware of their own ‘cultural lens’, ignorant of the fact that it affects everything – the way they live, relationships, and professional practices” (p. 12). Smith (1996) and other scholars (Baker, 1996; Bishop, O’Sullivan & Berryman, 2010) claim that people and the institutions that they represent remain ignorant to the impact of their values, practices, and approaches on *Māori* participation in education. Jesson (1997) notes that:

New Zealand's colonial origins have meant that thought in this country is derivative. For several generations New Zealand's educational institutions borrowed their courses from Britain and barely studied their own society at all. (p. 11)

Underpinning this thinking is the strong intellectual inheritance from British social policy that has influenced New Zealand – “first by the empirical ideas, later by the more structural analysis and the various mixes therein” (Lunt, 1999, p. 2). Participants reported that these monocultural ideas and influences have been absorbed into the foundations of education administration and education policy within Aotearoa New Zealand.

To complicate matters further, or rather further illustrate the silencing of colonisation, the *Native Schools Act, 1867*, initially promoted community involvement – to protect the educational interests of *Māori*. In addition, the school committee management system was also introduced to regain *Māori* confidence and give them leadership in schooling. However, the underlying intentions of the Native School's Act, 1867 was to promote *Pākehā* knowledge at the expense of *Māori* knowledge, discourage the use of *te reo Māori* in the classroom, and deliver a curriculum that would restrict *Māori* to working-class employment (McMurchy-Pilkington, 2001; Simon & Smith, 1998; Stephenson, 2006).

Awatere (1984), in her much-cited collection of articles published in *Broadsheet Magazine* and then in a republished series book, *Māori Sovereignty*, makes a crucial point:

The white New Zealand system was designed for whites. To get through school, to have good health, to get jobs, to get a little justice. If the system was designed for Maori people it would not be the way it is now. And we would get through schools, we would not have poor health, we would have jobs, we would not be getting arrested and being sent to jail. (p. 20)

Bishop, O'Sullivan, and Berryman (2010) are critical of the power imbalance that exists in the New Zealand education system and suggests that educators at all levels need to examine their own

cultural assumptions and the impact that these have on the marginalisation of *Māori* students in their classroom, schools, and the wider system. Nepe (1991) points out that the longstanding pattern of generations of *Māori* children passing through the New Zealand education system with no formal qualifications is a major social crisis which aggravates the structures within whānau, hapū, iwi, and the wider Māori society (p. 2). Nepe states that:

There is something critically wrong with the existing system, when it comes to educating Māori children. The reality is that ... the New Zealand education system has failed the majority of Māori children who have passed through it. Real attempts can only be made to address and readdress the Māori educational crisis when educationalists and government officials face the reality of the crisis and the reality of the solution. (p. 3)

Nepe (1991) makes the point that, despite education being the key to readdressing the *Māori* crisis, “this does not mean submerging *Māori* children into ‘more of the same’ education” (p. 3).

Monolingualism and the Catholic Education Context

Most of the participants in this study had varying experiences in the Catholic education context ranging from being forced to learn in one language to the options of learning three languages (English, *Māori*, and Latin). However, participants did report experiencing numerous stereotypical expectations at school and in parish life.

Language barriers for *Māori* children are often labelled as self-inherent or *whānau* inherent (Beauchamp, 2016; Henderson, 2013; Nepe, 1991). Hence, there are other hidden language barriers that are not always apparent. The main barrier to *Māori* educational success in Aotearoa New Zealand (Bishop & Glynn, 1999) is caused by monocultural practices that stemmed from the ideological values and beliefs of the elite (Nepe, 1991). These were set in place a long time ago and have proved particularly resistant to challenge and change. The participants themselves reported being faced with stereotypical expectations of incompetency. Such assumptions are supported by independent research. Nepe (1991) argues that “for decades the Māori child, the

Māori home environment, and the Māori language have been blamed by Pākehā educationalists, teachers, principals, and politicians as being the reasons why Māori children are failing in an exclusive, 'Pākehā-oriented' education system" (p. 2). Given Nepe's findings, the *Māori* child, the *Māori* home environment, and the *Māori* language can be considered a cause, an indicator, and a consequence of social distance. The *Māori* child, the *Māori* home environment, the *Māori* language then, in an education setting, were not conducive to colonial educational success, rather they were used to isolate and exaggerate a minority position. Reports of isolation were prevalent amongst participants. Even with the best intentions, and the least discriminatory of Catholic schools and parishes, *Māori* Catholics still report isolation. Generally, *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context was not discussed openly and participants speculated on a number of reasons for this. Such speculation ranged from nervousness, or reluctance to engage for fear of offence, through to a conscious choice to reject any involvement.

The negative associations between educational success, student achievement, and monoculturalism is a persistent finding in the literature across different international contexts (Coenders & Scheepers; 1998; Espenshade & Hempstead, 1996; Fleras, 2009; Ford, 2008; Guo, 2014). Regardless of the academic, legal, and moral debate around race, ethnicity, and indigeneity discourses, it is how in Catholic education context that these discourses are experienced by participants themselves that matters. Virtually all participants reported struggles with negative associations such as racism, discrimination, marginalisation, and isolation. Without exception, *Māori* leaders within the Catholic Church initiated confrontation/discussion and *kōrero* on these matters. Many reported overcoming these difficulties and, upon reflection, accepted the process worthwhile. However, for some, the confrontations were not satisfactorily resolved and were reported to have occurred at a cost to the intra-action processes of trust and confidence.

6.9 Limitations

All research contains limitations, especially when collating subjective experiences that explore the convergence of *Māori* educational participation of State policies. I have sought and gained the external support of *Māori* mentors to encourage the development of Kaupapa *Māori* qualitative research ideals. One key limitation of this research relates to the composition of the sample. Three key issues are important to acknowledge in this respect. First, in terms of the number of participants, this research was limited to ten *Māori* who participated in the Catholic education context. Subsequently, the analyses cannot (and should not) be generalized to apply to all *Māori* Catholics who participated in the Catholic education context, because this was never the aim of this study. In addition, the age range of the participants and the schools they attended, the educational programmes, and the ministry training they participate/d in, do not allow for generalizability. Second, only *Māori* participated in the research so the findings are not applicable or generalizable to non-*Māori*. Finally, two-thirds of the sample comprised both men and women who were leaders in their own *whānau* and/or had some form of leadership role at their *marae*. In addition, over half the sample was over 60 years old, and this is not representative of the *Māori* population. While I acknowledge the nature of the study's sample is a key limitation, I would also point out that all participants interviewed have complex lives and, at certain periods of their Catholic lives, they reported personal circumstances wherein they were subjected to subtle forms of discrimination, elitism, and racism. Some participants also reported times in which they felt negatively about their *Māori* cultural backgrounds and upbringing. The empirical findings in this study point to implications of this issue are pivotal to the results of this study and have been discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

Ki te kore te pūtake e makukungia, e kore te rākau e tupu

If the roots of the tree are not watered, the tree will never grow

7.1 Background

Traditionally, the *Māori* society and the Catholic Church were well structured societies. Each had their own metaphysical bases that sourced their own bodies of knowledge (*Kaupapa Māori* knowledge and Catholic doctrine) that influenced, framed, and regulated each society's kin relationships of production and exchange, disciplines of power and control, and systems of educating generations. The connections that exist between *Kaupapa Māori* knowledge and Catholic doctrine and the societal-based kinship relationships of *Māori* and Catholics show how the systematic organisation of their respective beliefs, experiences, understandings, and interpretations of their worlds, functioned to formulate their own distinctive bodies of knowledge. Each system would also reflect the refinement of *kawa* and *tikanga* (common sense thinking) and *ngā mahi a te mātauranga* (intellectual activity) in the knowledge that was transmitted to each generation. It is important to this study to adopt a stance that combined *Te Ao Māori* and *Te Ao Katorika* to respond to that gap. To encourage *Te Ao Māori*, *Te Ao Katorika*, the principles, and values of *whanaungatanga*, *manaakitanga*, *aroha*, *mana*, *tapu*, *noa*, and *pono*, the qualitative research systems inherent in *Kaupapa Māori Theory*, sustained the epistemological stance that *Māori* research be conducted by Māori, with Māori, and for Māori.

The literature regarding *Māori* participation in education from a post-colonial perspective has been well documented (Berryman, Egan & Ford, 2017; Bishop, 1996, 2001, 2003; Bishop & Glynn,

1992, 1999; Durie, 2001; Nepe, 1991; Penetito, 2010; Sheriff, 2010; Smith, 1997). However, Catholic education studies that have considered the perspective of *Māori* in the Catholic education context are relatively limited. For example, current statistics of *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context remains elusive with only a few reports and anecdotal commentaries produced (Education Review Office, 2003; Lawton, 1997; Matthews, 2006; New Zealand Catholic Bishops Conference, 2014). As such, there is a limited understanding of the intra-action processes between *Māori* and the Roman Catholic Church of Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly around education and parish life. It is evident that the few studies investigating *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context suggest that much more analysis is required in order to arrive at a more complete and critical understanding of the relationship. As a result, the following research questions and objectives were formulated:

Research Questions:

1. What were some of the educational experiences of *Māori* in the Catholic education context?
2. How do some *Māori* Catholics perceive their participation in the Catholic education context?

Research Objectives:

1. To generate primary data from within the Catholic education context that is *Māori*-centred.
2. To explore the sources of intra-action tension inherent in the Catholic Church membership heterogeneity.

Identifying the core intra-action processes where the Catholic education context and *Māori* participation converge and the tensions that may exist at that intersection necessitated a sensitive and respectful approach that would capture participants' personal experiences.

The Catholic education context is an essential component of the Roman Catholic Church. Since the arrival of Bishop Pompallier to Aotearoa New Zealand, *Māori* have participated, shared, and contributed to its development (Taylor, 1936). When Bishop Pompallier began to preach to *Māori* in Te Taitokerau, it was the *Māori* chiefs who gave him permission to do so, especially within their respective *whānau*, *hapū*, and *iwi*. However, in recent times *Māori* have become a minority feature of the Auckland Diocese within the contemporary Catholic Church landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand. Reflecting on my experiences, along with my current perceptions of the Catholic Church and the limited research available in the area, inspired me to explore the range, depth, and quality of experiences that *Māori* have had in the context of the Catholic Church.

7.2 Foreground – A Summary of Key Findings

There is a paucity of research that has investigated the experiences of *Māori* who participate in the Catholic education context. This thesis is but one attempt to address this largely unexplored area. Much that has been written about *Māori* generally, and the *Māori* Christian in particular, are stereotypical constructions written by 19th century male commentators. Many of these Eurocentric views have found their way into contemporary writings by non-*Māori* male and female scholars. The historical accounts by *Māori* scholars provide analyses grounded in a *Māori* worldview that deconstruct the Eurocentric views of *Māori* culture and *tikanga*. Recent Catholic Church publications written or edited by *Māori* Catholics offer further insights into the lives of *Māori* Christian that provide a theoretical basis upon which to analyse the experiences of Catholic people.

This thesis has considered the historical, social, and political influences of *Māori* participation within the wider social construction of education in Aotearoa New Zealand. Despite the influences of dominant ideologies that tended to see the *Māori* child, the *Māori* home environment, and the

Māori culture as somehow being deficient, participants were able to articulate their personal interpretations of *Māori* Catholicity through three sites - *kāinga* (home), *kura* (school), and *Hāhi* (church).

A connection with *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, *hapori*, and *Hāhi* continue to play an integral part in how *Māori* Catholics configure and create meaning of their Catholic education and life (Matthews, 2006). Matthews explains that for *Māori* Catholics there is cultural value and fulfilment that emerges from continued links with *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, *hapori*, and *Hāhi*. Most of the participants indicated that they had geographical connections to their origins in both cultures (*Māori* and Catholicism) and physical location, and that they had maintained these links.

All participants were able to express links to their *whānau*, *hapū*, *iwi*, parish, and *Hāhi*. However, some participants recalled feelings of compunction, guilt, and sadness given that they were unable in their later years to exhibit some of the Catholic cultural behaviours, such as engaging in the rites for baptism, confirmation, reconciliation, last rites, and going to church regularly that they had associated with Catholicism. Additionally, some participants reported that they were unable to readily access links to Catholic cultural knowledge given that some aspects of Catholicism were not a major feature of their upbringing. Although going to church had not been a priority for the majority of the participants, it was perceived as a key element that was significant to their perceptions of participation.

It is unfortunate that only a small number of participants were able to maintain a positive outlook and orientation toward their Catholicity and participation in the Catholic education context. This was largely due to their formative years of Catholic education where *te reo Māori* and Catholic

doctrine were encouraged, thereby affirming that learning *te reo Māori* and Catholic doctrine or participating in traditional *Māori* and Catholic cultural behaviours during their upbringing was significant in the way they created meaning for their *Māori* Catholicity (Lawton, 1997; Matthews, 2006). In conclusion, the participants' narratives highlight a more problematic issue that not all *Māori* Catholics share the same alacrity associated with the Catholic education context, reinforcing the reality that traditional forms of European superiority, racism and elitism continue to firmly subjugate *Māori* to non-*Māori* within the Catholic education context.

Some participants also shared that engagement with *Te Ao Katorika* had been motivated by inter-generational learning. That is, for some participants the reconnection and investigations into their *whakapapa* has provided them some opportunities to explore and understand their connections to the Catholic Church. Significant in the lives of all the participants were positive models of womanhood that were grounded in specific sets of experiences and informed by culturally specific knowledge bases of *Te Ao Māori* and *Te Ao Katorika*. These were models of strong and devout *Māori* Catholic women (grandmothers, mothers, aunts, and older cousins) who remain a significant influence in their lives.

For all participants the ethnicity of the local priest was an irrelevant component in encouraging a positive parishioner-priest relationship, especially when the priest is aware of the role *Māori* culture plays in their spiritual lives, and they show an appreciation for the *Māori* as a person of faith rather than as an object. Many of the participants reveal that priests, when they were young, all spoke *te reo Māori* and had a genuine respect for *tikanga* and the *Māori* ways of life – *karakia* for everything, hymns, respect for the dead, and rituals.

7.3 Distinctive Challenges for Māori in the Catholic Education Context

The educational experiences of the participants illustrate the complex positioning of *Māori* within the education system in general and, more specifically, *Māori* participation in the Catholic education context. Most of the participants recalled positive experiences of schooling related to pastoral care and support from the Catholic priests, nuns, and brothers and therefore experienced educational success. This was further reinforced by parental emphasis on education that contradicted commonly held deficit views that blamed parental apathy and the home environment for *Māori* educational failure. Whilst those participants who attended Catholic Māori Boarding schools experienced a strong cultural connection between home and school, other participants who attended Catholic day schools experienced the cultural discontinuity between home and school. This discontinuity was evident in the racist attitudes among peers, the multiple experiences of marginalization and isolation, and being taught a curriculum that reinforced the dominance of *Pākehā* culture and practices. By contrast, the boarding schools and convents perpetuated notions of the boarding school culture, based not only on Western cultural aesthetics (Tomlins-Jahnke, 1996) but also on *Māori* cultural practices that affirmed them as *Māori* and as young men and women.

A common thread in the parish life trajectories of many of the participants was a commitment to the Catholic Church – a commitment that has lessened as more priests lack the basic *te reo Māori* language acquisition and have no regard for the inclusion of *te reo Māori* or the principles of *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Participants expressed frustration and indignation regarding the lack of respect and use of *te reo Māori* in the Catholic Church, perhaps as a result of inter-generational assimilation. Certainly, some participants discussed the Catholic Church in several ways;

hierarchical, authoritative, colonial and, in more recent times, out of touch (with its people), all of which describe *Māori* participation as a relegated feature.

Analyses of some *Māori* participating in the Catholic education context highlight how *te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori*, and references to *Te Ao Māori* adds to their church-going experience. Unquestionably, the integration of *te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori*, and references to *Te Ao Māori* were valued by *Māori* Catholics because they allow them to conceptualise their world and to interact with other cultures (Marsden, 2003a; Rangihau, 1992).

The analyses also highlighted that in the context of the Auckland Diocese a high level of mutual respect and acknowledgement was necessary between the Bishop and *Māori* who shared *kaitiaki* (stewardship) responsibilities in their respective churches. Furthermore, *te reo Māori, mātauranga Māori*, and references to *Te Ao Māori* had been utilised by specific parishes and churches resulting in parishioners experiencing “*Katorikatanga*” – a *Māori* and Catholic worldview - while participating in Mass allowing for a positive amalgamation of both cultures – *Māori* and Catholic. A distinct aspect of some participants experiences revealed the tikanga and cultural practices they used that connected them and their fellow parishioners to *Te Ao Māori*. This demonstrates that cultural expressions of *te reo Māori me ōna tikanga*, while participating in the Catholic education context, can co-exist successfully.

Māori Catholics, who attended formal school events, emphasised the predominantly positive experiences of *Māori* cultural practices in these settings. However, some participants revealed that the challenges they faced when *Māori* cultural practices were ignored or at risk of being compromised in these settings where a *Pākehā* worldview is dominant. These feelings of awkwardness, offensiveness, and uneasiness are apparent when the use of *te reo Māori me ōna*

tikanga is watered down by non-*Māori* staff, despite *kaumātua* advising otherwise. While such perceptions may largely be imagined or implied by *Māori*, those feelings highlight how they internalise their participation and, more importantly, how they negotiate or try to manage perceptions of other Catholics. A strategy used by some to diffuse those negative feelings included focussing on or privileging their *Māori* status and their ability to preserve their *mana* and *tapu* with those around them, including their local parishioners.

Participants indicated how *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination) and *pononga* (discipleship) assist with their personal understandings of their participation in the Catholic education context. Participants also described an inherent responsibility to reciprocate and give back to *whānau* who contributed to their Catholic educational success.

In recent years, the two remaining Catholic Māori Boarding Schools – Hato Hohepa and Hato Paora - have called on past students to help with rebranding, and with the redevelopment of old school buildings that have been left unattended by the Catholic Church. There is substantial evidence that, despite the Catholic Church receiving some government funding for school building maintenance, the Catholic Church continues to redirect this money into diocese administration costs and new school developments. In 2016, Hato Petera, on Auckland’s North Shore, closed due to health and safety concerns - namely its boarding facilities - as it struggled to find financial support from the bishop of the Auckland Diocese. In August 2018, the Ministry of Education, at the request of the Auckland Diocese Bishop, cancelled Hato Petera’s integration agreement. The college was the only Catholic Māori Boarding school in Auckland. For some participants who attended Hato Petera, the closure sent a strong signal to *Māori* within the Auckland Diocese – that is, the school only survived as long as it did because *Māori whānau* fundraised to pay for everything that needed to be fixed. These acts of social responsibility and contribution also afforded

Māori students an opportunity to strengthen and maintain links between home and the church. For some participants, the reality that some *Māori* Catholic *whānau* no longer feel welcome in the Catholic Church is disheartening, considering that their grandparents, granduncles, grandaunts, and wider *whānau* members had worked tirelessly to strengthen and maintain the intra-action within the Catholic education context. Feelings of dejection and despondency are apparent when *whānau* do attend Mass and/or attempt to participate in parish life activities. As a consequence, parents are choosing to send their children to other types of secondary schools - Wharekura, State secondary schools, and private secondary schools.

7.4 Contribution of and to Other Māori Studies

This research contributes both academically and practically to the wider education sector in Aotearoa New Zealand. Furthermore, the findings in this thesis also have some important policy implications for both the government and the Catholic Church. Firstly, with respect to the academic contribution, this research adds to the existing literature that has focused on *Māori* participation in education. It has been some time since the experiences of *Māori* Catholics in Catholic education have been examined. Lawton (1997) provided early insights into the history of Catholic Māori Boarding schools, namely the history of Hato Paora. As Matthews (2006) points out, Lawton's MA thesis "Whaia te Tika" focused on:

Giving a lineal account of the development of the College taken largely from interviews with the former rectors ... He looked in depth at the year by year operation of the school using themes of governorship, curriculum, religion, *taha Māori*, extra-curricular, cadets, old boy's association, community, amenities and the farm. (p. 11)

Matthew's (2006) case study on Hato Paora draws on testimonies derived from the perspectives of old boys, those who had experienced the school environment first-hand. Matthews (2006) makes

the point that, despite choosing a different method used by Lawton, it was the only other piece of work produced that related directly to Hato Paora. For this reason Matthews argued that:

I felt it desirable to use relevant parts of his research as much as possible so that I could focus on those areas not covered in Lawton's MA. In the longer term, having complementary studies provides us with a far greater understanding of the College than either work could have achieved on its own. (pp. 11-12)

However, the decline in *Māori* attendance at church, accompanied with the past students choosing not to send their children or grandchildren to Catholic schools, indicates that a more recent examination of how *Māori* Catholics perceive their participation the Catholic education context is required.

The justification of this doctoral research is aligned with the work of Emeritus Professor Graham Smith (1997) who declared that transformation has to be won on at least two fronts; a confrontation with the colonizer and a confrontation with ourselves. Education, and specifically *Māori* participation in education, is an important agent in the formation of conscientization, because, as Smith (2003) claims, “freeing up of the indigenous imagination and thinking given that one of the important elements of colonization is the diminishment of the indigenous ability to actually imagine freedom or a utopian vision free of the oppressor” (p. 2). As such, the *Māori* Catholic narrative might provide additional insight and understanding of the careful unconscious, and conscious management of *Māori* participation negotiation, interpretations, and tensions experienced in the Catholic education context. In this sense, this research contributes to *Māori* knowledge and development within the Catholic education context – a context that has been describe as being made up of multiple “contextual elements” (O'Donnell, 2000, p. 50) including home, school, and parish life.

Secondly, if *Māori* participation in the Catholic education continues to decline based on its current trajectory, particularly in education where *Māori* comprise at least 15 per cent of students (Ministry of Education, 2019; New Zealand Catholic Education Office, 2019), *Māori* student participation in the Catholic education context will become more uncertain. This anticipated uncertainty justifies not only provides research on this particular education population but also provides the pragmatic contribution of this study.

Future *Māori* Catholic students and those involved in the Catholic education context – government agencies and departments, the New Zealand Catholic education office, diocesan education offices, bishops, school proprietors, principals, staff, school governance boards, and parish administration involved in the Catholic education context - stand to benefit from the analyses of this study in two ways. First, from a *Māori* Catholic standpoint, the narratives provide a unique perspective of how to navigate challenges that exist where *Māori* participation and the Catholic education context converge. As such, the participants’ words might act as trajectories for future *Māori* Catholics to either follow or diverge from. Second, for government agencies and departments, the New Zealand Catholic education office, diocesan education offices, bishops, religious orders, school proprietors, principals, staff, school governance boards, and parish administration involved in the Catholic education context, this research suggests a need to reflect on their policies and practices to consider *Māori* political resurgence and cultural revival that has resulted in a reaffirmation of the value of *te reo Māori* and *Māori* culture that are particular to *Māori* Catholics.

Smith (2003) points out that “the educational and schooling revolution that occurred in New Zealand in the 1980s developed out of Māori communities who were so concerned with the loss of Māori language, knowledge and culture that they took matters into their own hands and set up their own learning institutions” (p. 4). Thus, this research may further extend and deepen our

understanding and clarify how government agencies and departments, the New Zealand Catholic education office, diocesan education offices, bishops, religious orders, school proprietors, principals, staff, school governance boards, and parish administration involved in the Catholic education context can respond to adjust to or to accommodate the challenges that *Māori* Catholic students face in the formation of new *Māori* interventions.

7.5 Future Research

The generalizability of the emergent theme from this study could be tested in other educational contexts, such as the Anglican, Methodist, Mormon, Adventist, Presbyterian, and other religious State-integrated schools' contexts. This raises the question: to what extent, if at all, are the results from this research study applicable only within the Catholic education context? Successfully utilising and applying these thematic groupings to other contexts would establish the validity of these themes as a possible template for intra-action analysis.

Findings from this study might also offer insights and tools for broader *Māori* educational participation study such as school governance, organization development, and change in Aotearoa New Zealand. Any group situation where *Māori*, non- *Māori*, and/or Pākehā and the State interact might encounter similar inter-group processes as those reported by the participants interviewed in this research.

Other indigenous theorists might find that this study offers fresh insight into the international Catholic education domains in their own contexts. Furthermore, this study might provide a useful template for intra-action and intra-group process research with other 'Others.' Whilst the themes that emerge from this study are those grounded from in a *Māori* cultural perspective, the themes might be useful in furthering our understanding of identity in relation to any group process.

Future research questions generated by this study could include the following:

- What are the experiences of *Māori* Catholics in other Catholic governance settings?
- What are the experiences of *Māori* Catholics in other public sector settings?
- What are the experiences of *Māori* Catholics in the Catholic corporate governance setting?
- What are the experiences of other indigenous/ethnic Catholics in similar educational contexts in other countries?

7.6 The Takoha of this Study

This study achieves the research objectives, aims, and purpose by providing primary *Māori* centric data on the intra-action process. Furthermore, this primary data, with the assistance of Kaupapa *Māori* research traditions and post-colonial theory and critique, has generated considerable insight into participation heterogeneity.

Kaupapa Māori Research tradition calls for a theoretical examination using a *Māori* lens. *Māori* scholarly challenge to research methodologies is recognized as being both trans-disciplinary and international. The theoretical analysis of this study specifically highlighted productive tensions between *Māori* and non-*Māori* Catholic understanding of the intra-action process. *Kaupapa Māori-Centred Research* traditions offer culturally determined methodologies and analyses, thus validating the *Māori* worldview and lived experiences and generating participant empowerment. The opportunity to research with *Māori* Catholics using *Kaupapa Māori-Centred Methodologies*, in combination with a critical theory such as post-colonial theory and critique, has expanded one such research context by producing, and analysing, a unique and rich source of data.

*Aroha mai e Hēhu atawhai ki ō iwi e tangi atu nei
Māu tonu e whakamārie nāu hoki ngā kupu whaiora
E Hēhu pai kaha rawa!
Āwhinatia mai tōu iwi Māori*

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APPENDIX A: APPROVAL OF ETHICS APPLICATION



MASSEY
UNIVERSITY

TE KUNENGA KI PŌREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Date: 07 September 2018

Dear Vicky Lawson

Re: Ethics Notification - SOB 18/42 - Ethics Application: Maori Catholic Education in Aotearoa New Zealand: An investigation into the responsiveness of Catholic Diocese of Auckland to the participation of Maori in Catholic Education

Thank you for the above application that was considered by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Human Ethics Southern B Committee at their meeting held on Thursday, 16 August, 2018.

On behalf of the Committee I am pleased to advise you that the ethics of your application are approved.

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tracy Riley'.

Associate Professor Tracy Riley, Dean Research
Acting Director (Research Ethics)

Research Ethics Office, Research and Enterprise
Massey University, Private Bag 11 222t Palmerston North, 4442, New Zealand T 06 951 6841; 06 95106840
E humanethics@masseysac.nz; animalethics@massey.ac.nz; gtc@massey.ac.nz

APPENDIX B: INFORMATION SHEET

Information Sheet

In the research project: **Māori Catholic Education in Aotearoa New Zealand: An investigation into the responsiveness of the Catholic Diocese of Auckland to the participation of Māori in catholic education.**

Introduction

Tēnā koe, my name is Vicky Lawson and I'm a doctoral student from the Institute of Education – Te Kura Mātauranga at Massey University. My supervisory panel consists of Professor Howard Lee and Associate Professor Alison Kearney. This research is being conducted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy in Education degree at Massey University.

Project Description and Invitation

As the title suggests, I am interested in talking to Maori Catholic of NgāPuhi descent, either an 'old boy' or 'old girl' of a catholic Maori boarding school, or a former Maori student of a catholic school or a Maori Catholic living in Te Taitokerau. You might ask, why do you want to talk to me? Well, the answer is: for quite some time now, Māori have been under-represented in many of the decision-making areas within the Catholic church and its educational settings. Although parish life often discusses Māori participation in catholic education, little academic research has been conducted. As a result, I am genuinely interested in finding out more about Māori experiences from Te Taitokerau, and if you are interested in telling me about your experience, I would very much like to hear from you.

Your involvement – In order to gain an in-depth understanding, I would like to use several methods of research, starting with an initial interview. This would be like an informal chat, where I would ask you a number of questions. The interview will last about 1 to 1 ½ hours and be at a time and place that suits you.

After the initial interview, you will be asked to participate in two further stages of this study. In the second stage, if you agree, I would like to observe you in one cultural activity or ritual leading up to and during Advent (Nov -Jan) and Lent (Feb-Apr) for the purpose of better understanding your participation within your catholic setting(s). The final stage of the research involves a short follow-up interview after your observation and would last approximately 30 minutes. This short follow-up interview will be an informal catch-up to see if you want to discuss further any reflections and also to see how you felt about your participation in this research.

What does it mean to be a participant in this research? – If you choose to participate, you can contact me through my details on the first page and ask any questions that you might have concerning this research. If you are agreeable to meeting with me, we will discuss a suitable time and place for us to sit down and have the interview. If you agree, I will also use an iPhone with voice memo app for an accurate record of our discussion; however, if you do not feel comfortable (for whatever reason) about being recorded that is okay, and instead I will only take notes as we go. In addition, if you agree, I will have a cultural advisor as a support for me in our interviews (mihimihi/whakataua and translator); however, if you do not feel comfortable (for whatever reasons) about the cultural advisor's role in the interview that is okay, and instead I will have the cultural advisor drop me off and pick me up.

What are my rights as a participant? – As a participant you will have rights that are governed by ethical protocols to protect your participation in this research project. You have the right to:

- Withdraw from the research project at any time up until four weeks after the initial interview;
- Refuse the use of audio-recordings;
- Refuse the presence of the cultural advisor in interviews;
- Refuse to answer any question;
- Ask any further questions about the research that occurs during your participation in this research project;
- Receive a summary of the research findings;
- Privacy and confidentiality; and
- Review transcripts of my interviews for accuracy.

Confidentiality – I will treat all discussions held within the interview as private and confidential and will not share them with anyone outside of that situation, except for my supervisors. The cultural advisor is fully aware of their role within this research project (to provide cultural support to me during this research project) and therefore, will treat all discussions held within the interview as private and confidential. In addition, a confidentiality agreement specifically designed for the cultural advisor’s role will be discussed with you and signed by the cultural advisor (in front of you) at the beginning of your interview. Unless your permission is obtained, your name or any other identifying characteristics will not be disclosed in the final report or any other report produced in the course of this research. Any information pertaining to third parties will also be treated with the same respect. The recordings and written transcripts will be stored securely in a locked cabinet within my home. Any electronic information will be accessible only by password and this will be changed regularly to ensure documentation security.

What will my information be used for? – The findings of this project will be presented as part of my PhD thesis. In accordance with Massey University guidelines, two hardcopies must be produced, and one accessible on-line copy. The research findings may also be used in conference presentations and journal publications.

If you want to participate – Just call me (Vicky) on 09 4037381, text me on 027 391 1111, or email me at vja.lawson@yahoo.co.nz and I will organize a time for us to meet. You can also ask me any questions you might have concerning my research. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Kia tau te rangimārie me te aroha o te Atua ki a koe me tōu whānau i ngā wā katoa.

Vicky Lawson

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 18/42. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 ext 83657, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM

Consent Form

In the research project: Māori Catholic Education in Aotearoa New Zealand: An investigation into the responsiveness of the Catholic Diocese of Auckland to the participation of Māori in catholic education.

“I agree to take part in this research and acknowledge receipt of a copy of this information sheet and consent form. I understand my rights as a participant in this research and that my identity will remain confidential unless I state otherwise. I have read and understood the Information Sheet. I agree to participate in the research project ‘Māori Catholic Education in Aotearoa New Zealand: An investigation into the responsiveness of the Catholic Diocese of Auckland to the participation of Māori in catholic education’. I have had the opportunity to discuss this study and I am satisfied with the answers given”.

(Please tick boxes to verify your informed consent)

- I agree to take part in the **initial interview**.
 - All the data collected will remain **secure** within a lockable cabinet, or on a computer database that is password protected.
 - I would like my identity to remain **confidential**.
 - I would like you to use my real name in any presentations or written work.
 - I **do/do not** give consent for this interview to be **audio-recorded**.
 - I **do/do not** give consent for a **cultural advisor** to be present at this interview.
 - Taking part in this research is voluntary. I have the **right to withdraw** from the research, without explanation. If I withdraw, any audio-recorded material will not be used in any future research or publications.
 - Information will be used for a PhD thesis, journal articles, conference presentations, seminars and/or lectures, and no details that may compromise my rights of confidentiality and anonymity will be used in any research findings or publications.
 - I wish to receive a summary of the findings.
-

- Second stage: I would like to be observed during one cultural activity or ritual.

Final stage: I would like to participate in a follow-up interview after my participant observation.

“I (your name) agree to participate in this research. I acknowledge receipt of this Consent Form and the Information Sheet”

Participant’s signature: Date:
(Please note: A signature is not necessary if this is being used as an electronic document)

“I (the researcher) agree to follow by the conditions set out in the information sheet and consent form”

Researcher’s signature: Date:

APPENDIX D: CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT FOR CULTURAL ADVISOR

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT FOR CULTURAL ADVISOR

I (Full Name - printed)

agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project: *Māori Catholic Education in Aotearoa New Zealand: An investigation into the responsiveness of the Catholic Diocese of Auckland to the participation of Māori in catholic education.*

I will not discuss (including whānau of participants, other participants, or others not included in this research project) any information shared during interviews for this research project.

Signature:

.....

Date:

.....

APPENDIX E: CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT FOR TRANSCRIBER

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT FOR TRANSCRIBER

I (Full Name - printed)

agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project: *Māori Catholic Education in Aotearoa New Zealand: An investigation into the responsiveness of the Catholic Diocese of Auckland to the participation of Māori in catholic education.*

I will not retain or copy any information involving this research project.

Signature: **Date:**

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Interview Guide: Questions for Participants

1. Can you tell me about what it was like growing up and your experiences with Māori and Māori culture?
 - Tell me about your whānau and community. When you were growing up was Māori culture a part of your whānau life?
 - How do you make sense of your whakapapa and iwi affiliations? Would you say that both give you a sense of connection? Why? Why not?
 - Were both your parents Māori? Did they identify themselves as Māori?
 - Was te reo Māori a part of your growing up? Where was te reo Māori used mostly? What are your feelings about your own ability to use te reo Māori confidently today? How do those feelings influence your perceptions of Māori identity?

2. From your earliest recollections, can you tell me about how you came into the catholic church?
 - How did you come to know the catholic church?
 - Who was the main influence of your interest in the catholic church? Mum/dad/local priest/grandparents/other whānau
 - Who were the main people in your catholic church life that shaped the way you see your identity as Māori?
 - What did you learn from these people about being Māori when you were a child?

3. Tell me about your education?
 - Were you sent away to boarding school? Or did you attend your local school?
 - What was school like for you? Were you treated differently from the others because of your affiliations to the catholic church? If so, how?
 - Were these experiences different to those experiences of being Māori?

4. During your secondary schooling years were there many other Māori Catholics from your parish or community at your school or in your year/class?
 - If so, what influence did they have on your ideas of Māori identity or participation with the catholic church?
 - Did knowing that they were from Ngapuhi make any difference in terms of your participation or continued development in catholic education?
 - What about the influences of the clergy (priests, nuns, brothers, sisters) in your school?
 - In what ways did those people influence the way you perceived your Māori identity?

5. What were your secondary schooling years with the catholic church like?
 - Were/are they any experiences you can think of where you felt positive/secure, or awkward/uncomfortable about your Māori identity?
 - Can you describe the situation for me?
 - Where did this happen? What have happening at the time?
 - How did these experiences create meaning and make you feel about your Māori identity?

6. Were there any experiences in your secondary schooling you can think of where participation in catholic church influenced your notions of Māori identity?
 - How did these experiences make you feel? How did you react? How did mum/dad/whānau/grandparents/siblings (others) involved with the catholic church or any significant other(s) who played a role in your catholic participation react?
 - What influence if any did those others have on your ideas of Māori identity or participation in the catholic church?

7. In what ways do you contribute back to both your catholic faith and Māori communities?
 - Do these connections and contributions assist in making sense of your Māori identity? If so how?
 - How different do you think Māori culture is from catholic culture?
 - What are your current perceptions of Māori identity?
 - What are your current perceptions of the catholic church?

- In what way have your connections to the whakapapa and iwi affiliations changed? If not why? If so how?
 - In what way have your connections to the catholic church changed? If not why? If so how?
 - What does this mean for you, your children and whānau?
8. Can you tell me how often did you go to Masses/liturgy when you were young?
- What role do you have at Mass/liturgy?
 - Do you have any memorable moments/times at Mass/liturgy?
 - Who was your priest (s) at the time of your young life? Could he speak te reo?
9. What kinds of things do you think will help encourage Māori to become more involved in church/Mass/liturgy? Why?
- Is incorporating te reo Māori me ona tikanga elements that appeal to Māori parishioners? If yes, why? If no, why?
 - In what ways do you see te reo Māori me ona tikanga affecting Māori parishioner participation?
10. What are the “things” that make you proud to be Māori and to be catholic?
- Why is being catholic important to you?
 - If you have one word to describe your experience within the catholic context, what would it be?
 - If you could change one thing in the catholic church, what would it be?
11. Some people (who are not Māori) may assume that Māori parishioners don’t care if te reo Maori me ona tikanga is incorporated or not in Mass/liturgy/sacraments or other church rituals? What are your views on this?
12. Whose role is it to encourage the use of te reo Māori me ona tikanga in Mass/liturgy/sacraments and other church rituals? Why?
- Do you think the catholic setting of your local church is a place where Māori feel at home? Yes/No. Please explain?

- Do you think the catholic church encourages Māori participation? Yes/No. Please explain?
- Do you have any questions for me?